

mendations for further legislation as may appear desirable.

We concur with the authority of the Executive branch to establish and carry out social programs or policies which are not contrary to public policy, as that policy may be stated or necessarily implied by the Constitution, by Federal statutes or by judicial precedent. But we do not agree that where a statute, such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964, clearly enunciates Federal policy and the methods for enforcing such policy, the Executive may institute programs designed to achieve objectives which are beyond those contemplated by the statute by means prohibited by the statute.

We therefore hope that, as a result of these hearings, there will issue from Congress a clear and unequivocal indication of

its will in this matter by which all parties concerned may be guided in their future actions.

This concludes my statement, Mr. Chairman. We will be pleased to answer any questions.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10 A.M.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the order previously entered, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 9 o'clock and 20 minutes p.m.) the Sen-

ate adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, December 16, 1969, at 10 a.m.)

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate December 15, 1969;

U.S. CIRCUIT JUDGE

Wilbur F. Pell, Jr. of Indiana, to be a U.S. circuit judge, seventh circuit, vice John S. Hastings, retired.

U.S. ATTORNEY

Hosea M. Ray, of Mississippi, to be U.S. attorney for the northern district of Mississippi for the term of 4 years. (Reappointment.)

ONE TOWN MAKES A GREAT SACRIFICE

HON. PAUL J. FANNIN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I invite attention to an article published in the Tucson, Ariz., Daily Citizen of December 10, 1969.

The article details the death of the sixth Marine from this mining town in the mountains of Arizona. On July 4, 1966, nine boys left this mining community for San Diego to be a part of the Marine Corps. Now only three of the nine remain. One is an Indian, one a Mexican-American, and one an "Anglo."

The town of Morenci has made a tremendous sacrifice in the defense of the Nation. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Tucson (Ariz.) Daily Citizen, Dec. 10, 1969]

A FAMILIAR SCENE IN MORENCI—FUNERAL FOR A MARINE

(By Jim Berry)

Citizen Staff Writer

MORENCI.—In spattering rain from leaden clouds, they buried Sgt. Clive Garcia Jr., U.S. Marine Corps, serial number 2269656.

Born Sept. 17, 1947. Killed Nov. 26, 1969.

Shortly after 5 p.m. yesterday, his gray metal casket was lowered to its final berth.

The U.S. Flag was handed to his mother, who stood bravely through the rites, and the ceremony was over.

But for the more than 300 persons who gathered around the fog-shrouded Bunkers Cemetery, it was a grim reminder.

Six times now, they've buried a Marine.

And there are only three left.

It was on July 4, 1966, that nine youths from here shook hands with their fathers and boarded a bus for San Diego. They wanted to be in the "Corps."

The drums rolled and the guns of Vietnam clicked off their toll:

Lance Cpl. Robert B. Draper, 19, Aug. 12, 1967.

Lance Cpl. Bradford S. King, 21, Nov. 6, 1967.

Lance Cpl. Alfred V. Whitner, 21, April 13, 1968.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Lance Cpl. Larry J. West, 19, May 17, 1968.

Sgt. Jose Moncayo, 22, June 18, 1968.

Sgt. Clive Garcia Jr. 22, Nov. 26, 1969.

Surviving are Mike Cranford, David Leroy Cisneros and Jose Sorrelman.

Cranford and Cisneros now work for the Phelps Dodge Corp., as do most of the town's breadwinners. Sorrelman reportedly has moved to Phoenix. All three were discharged from the Marines earlier this year.

"It's weird," said a Morenci man. "Almost as if by design, one man of all our races came back—one Mexican-American, one Anglo and one Indian. I don't understand it."

How does a community accept this?

The Rev. Cornelius McGrenra looked into his coffee and offered this:

"They're just youngsters who are going out into the world."

Asked why this area is relatively free of the hippie and war protest movements, he said "Maybe living in the mountains has something to do with it."

"These are patriotic people, but not the flag-waving type," said the Rev. William C. Bryne of nearby Clifton.

Upon arriving, Morenci, you get the flavor of the material the residents are made of.

"We're a hawk community, pretty much. We feel, 'do it right or don't do it,'" said one.

"There may be one or two hippies around here," said one resident, but he said he doubted there are any more than that.

A young waitress said:

"We don't get them and we don't want them."

GREAT GREY ICE GATHERING

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, too little is heard about the outstanding contributions being made to mankind by the young people of today.

Everywhere I go I am highly impressed by the concern these young people show for the future of this country. Naturally, they are concerned about our plight in Vietnam. But they are just as concerned about other matters, including civil rights, and our fight to improve our environment.

One resident of my district, Randall M. Simmons of Monmouth County, N.J., is an example of what fine contribu-

tions our young people are making. Mr. Simmons is a graduate student, who will be earning his master's degree in environmental sciences this summer. Mr. Simmons and a group of other responsible young people will participate in a "Great Grey Ice Gathering" in Richmond, Va., on December 30, 1969.

Mr. Speaker, the Richmond Times-Dispatch carried an article on these young people and what they are doing to improve the quality of our environment. I am placing this article in the RECORD in the hope that all of my colleagues will take a few minutes from their busy schedules and review this important story:

[From the Richmond Times-Dispatch, Dec. 10, 1969]

A GREAT GREY ICE GATHERING: ACID ROCK DANCE MAY DEFUSE BOMB

(By Hamilton Crockford)

The Federal Water Pollution Control Administration's regional director talked about "a time bomb," and noted "the young people are going to have to live with it."

The students talked about an "acid rock dance," and an "experience" that will last "until the music and word no longer stir the gathering."

They put it all together and announced yesterday there's going to be a "Great Grey Ice Gathering" here Dec. 30, and it will be a dilly.

It will be a blend of "hard rock music movies, speeches, young people and Federal Water Pollution Control Administration officials."

They'll be registering "a first step by FWPCA's boss," Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel, "to involve young people in what is turning out to be a life-or-death struggle to quit destroying our environment," the news releases said.

The joint sponsors will be FWPCA and the just formed Mid-Atlantic unit of the Student Council on Pollution in the Environment (SCOPE).

The plans were laid out at a news conference by the FWPCA regional head man, Eugene T. Jensen; and University of Richmond coed Patti Collins and University of Virginia graduate student Randall Simmons, who overnight had become SCOPE's regional co-chairmen.

They hope the crowd will come from all the Middle Atlantic states.

The crowd won't "gather at the river" as the old hymn goes, but rivers are what it's all about. It won't be an ice show, either.

But it's cold outside in late December, baby,

and that means ice. And the rivers are all gray with pollution, and that makes gray ice.

And that's how you get a "Great Grey Ice Gathering." It will be out at the Richmond Arena and start at 1 p.m. on the 30th and go on "until."

There'll be similar events on the 29th in Boston, Cincinnati, Chicago, Atlanta, Dallas, and San Francisco and on the 30th in Kansas City and Portland, Ore.

Students all over the land have taken up the cry of cleaning up the environment as a new cause, and well they might, it's been noted. That's what Jensen meant about "the time bomb," the pollution that some scientists say could extinguish the species in 50 years.

"These students . . . will be the first generation of Americans to actually experience a lowering of the quality of life because of what's happening to our air, water and land," Jensen noted.

Somebody up there in Hickel's office obviously had the idea that if you can't lick 'em, join 'em, or get 'em on your side.

And SCOPE was born, to be an advisory council to the federal agency.

Randall Simmons, 21, a graduate student who'll get his master's degree in environmental sciences at Charlottesville in August, had other credentials also for a co-chairman, and reasons for joining.

He's from North Shore, N.J., where, he said, the pollution's been fouling the clams.

It couldn't hurt the cause of SCOPE that he also has a reddish beard.

Westhampton College's Patti Collins, 20, a junior in history and political science here, had her credentials and reasons, too. She's from Alexandria where, she recalled, you used to go down to the Potomac for all-day picnics. "Now you can't go near it because of the stench."

The YWCA at Westhampton College organized a petition effort to express opposition to the idea of Richmond's discharging raw sewage to the James River while improvements are made to its waste treatment plant. She and others gathered 672 signatures in three days.

Through various developments, in which protests certainly figured, the raw discharges now are an unlikely prospect.

Jensen and an aide met Monday afternoon and night with a group from Richmond area colleges to set up the regional SCOPE. The FWPCA people chose this area for a start because it's handy to their Charlottesville headquarters; it's expected the council will expand to take in members from the rest of the states in the region, he noted.

For a start, the 11-member council includes, besides the co-chairmen, Dorland Humphries of Richard Bland College; Linwood Creekmore, Lee Bates and Leo Fields, all of Virginia State College; Marshall Davenson and Jay Mangan of Virginia Commonwealth University; and Carl Jerome, Haywood Blakesmore and William C. Brown, all of Randolph-Macon College.

FWPCA will pick up the tab for the Arena, and for necessary travel expenses of the SCOPE members—but not other students—for their future meetings, Jensen said. Otherwise they're on their own.

Their ideas and advice will be welcome, and he didn't think anybody was going to be telling students these days what to think.

"We're not about to try to push a group such as we had yesterday (Monday) afternoon around. There's no point in trying," he smiled.

Miss Collins confided to a newsman that Washington had sent around a kind of suggested agenda for meetings—nothing binding, just something for a point of departure—with blocks of time proposed for different items.

"We said, 'No, we'll have a be-in,'" she said. "Mr. Jensen said, 'M-m-m-m,'" she laughed.

"He wanted a panel of students on the stage" at one point, she said. "We said, 'No.'" It wasn't hard to tell who won.

"There'll be an acid rock dance—something that's dynamic," she already told the news conference. But the Great Grey Ice Gathering will have "a two-fold purpose.—It will also be an educational experience," she explained.

They hope to educate their elders, too.

JUNIPER GARDENS CHILDREN'S PROJECT

HON. ROBERT DOLE

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, preschool education, despite its relative newness, often has a highly positive impact on the lives of many 3- to 5-year-old children. This is especially true of culturally-deprived youngsters, whose parents and playmates cannot communicate the basic skills and attitudes they themselves lack.

The sad result is that when a child is ready to enter kindergarten, his ability to participate in and benefit from public schools may already be seriously impaired, a situation from which he may never recover, a situation which is perpetuated throughout the generations.

The University of Kansas, Lawrence and Kansas City, is sponsoring a particularly vital preschool program, the Juniper Gardens children's project, in Kansas City, Kans. It is a cooperative venture involving underprivileged children, the university, and the community.

To date, the results of the program have been very satisfying and satisfactory—in helping better prepare 4- and 6-year-olds for school and daily life, in valuable research to improve preschool programs and in uncovering answers to some urban social problems affecting a child's motivation, achievement, and happiness.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a brief description of the Juniper project.

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

JUNIPER GARDENS CHILDREN'S PROJECT

As a child grows up, he acquires "culture" chiefly from three sources: from his parents, from his peers, and from the public schools. In view of that fact it is hardly surprising that those who are culturally deprived as infants usually become culturally deprived adults. Parents and peers cannot easily transmit what they themselves lack, and the public schools apparently offer too little too late—or, to put it another way, too much too soon.

When the culturally deprived child enters kindergarten, he lacks the social and language skills that the schools assume a child of five will possess. Since his parents do not stress the importance of school achievement, he also lacks motivation. In addition,

the situation at home may be such that he is not particularly sensitive to the smiles and frowns with which his teacher will attempt to shape his behavior.

One way to attack this problem is to find a way to modify the behavior of the deprived preschool child so that when he enters school, he will be in a better position to learn what is being taught there. This is the purpose of the Juniper Gardens Children's Project.

Behavioral scientists from the University of Kansas Bureau of Child Research work side by side with men and women from the community in programs that modify the behaviors of underprivileged children, helping them acquire the education and training that will permit them to help themselves.

Four- to six-year-old children who can barely speak, and who have never really learned to listen, are taught to shape sounds into new words and to follow increasingly difficult instructions from adults.

Another program of research is conducted in the public school classrooms. The JGCP coordinator, R. Vance Hall, Ph. D., works with public school teachers, helping them master new techniques for controlling bizarre behavior and assisting them in applying praise and attention to individual pupils to encourage better study, both in the classroom and at home.

The JGCP preschool programs, directed by Dr. Risley and Dr. Bushell, are designed to apply known methods of preparing under-achieving children for public school, and to remediate aggressive, disruptive, or withdrawn behavior before public schooling begins.

A large part of the teaching is simple demonstration—helping a child learn how to follow increasingly difficult instructions for doing elementary school work, or showing a child how something works or how it is assembled or disassembled and then getting the child to imitate the teacher. One of the preschool programs is conducted at Turner House Community Center. The staff consists of two teachers and four observers. They monitor the study and play activities and record the words and phrases the children use as they are placed in different situations and subjected to different stimuli. Many of the children in the Turner House preschool are enrolled there because they have been identified by the social work staff as presenting unusual problems in language and social deprivation. Some did not know their own names. Others could barely speak, and the speech of a few was all but unintelligible at the beginning of the session. The program there is designed specifically to speed the acquisition of language and hearing skills. The teachers and observers hold daily sessions with all children. They record how frequently various words are used by each child. The children are rewarded with praise and small snacks of food and candy for using new words and for behaving properly in the classroom and on the playground. From time to time the teachers introduce new words and encourage the children to use them. As the vocabularies grow the children are encouraged to narrate their own experiences in coming to school, going downtown, and playing with other children. They also read stories and rewarded for how well they respond to questions about the story. By recording the frequency of use for both old and new words, and the conditions under which they are used, trends can be established and the most effective methods of teaching children with socio-cultural retardation can be pinpointed.

In a second preschool, the Parent Cooperative preschool at the Juniper Gardens Community Center, 1979 North Third Street, about 30 children are enrolled. They receive

daily individual instruction from their own mothers who have volunteered to come to the school to assist in its operation. The head teacher there is Mrs. Barbara Hughes. Under Dr. Bushell's direction, she helps the mothers learn teaching techniques which they use in the preschool as well as in their own homes. The mothers learn to use reinforcement when working with their own and other children. This program not only prepares preschool children for public schooling, it additionally provides training to the mothers, training which has qualified many of them to be employed as teacher aides in day-care and headstart centers sponsored by OEO.

The project coordinator, Dr. R. Vance Hall, has developed a program of research which is carried out within public school classrooms, with the cooperation of the teachers and school administrators. He helps teachers learn how to apply reinforcement principles in controlling disruptive or dawdling behavior. The program is referred to as an inappropriate classroom behavior research effort. The reinforcement used in this case is social—praise or attention from the classroom teacher, delivered at the proper times to encourage study and good behavior. Research groups in the past have included about 40 third-grade students. The program has proved to be so effective that Dr. Hall has organized special classes to help more teachers learn how to use social reinforcement in the public school classroom. The technique is simple but effective if properly used. Problem students are selected one or two at a time. When they are studying and behaving properly they are complimented and praised by the classroom teacher. When they are dawdling or misbehaving they are ignored. As an example of how effective this can be, Dr. Hall cites the case of one third-grade boy who had been spending only 28 per cent (this was measured by an observer to provide a baseline before the experiment began) of his spelling time creatively. Under a program of social reinforcement, his time-well-spent percentage soon came up to a 79 and his spelling scores made a corresponding improvement—from a beginning low of some 20 per cent correct to a high of 90 per cent correct.

In summary, what has happened at JGCP the past four years? First a solid contact has been established with the community. Some of the distance separating the laboratory from the community has been bridged. Research in socio-cultural retardation is being carried on near its source—the community.

The University of Kansas Bureau of Child Research has been accepted into the community. The residents of the Juniper Gardens area not only accept our presence and our research efforts, but have become, in fact as well as appearance, an integral part of those efforts. Of the twenty-three full-time staff positions in our current research programs, eighteen are held by residents or past residents of the Juniper Gardens Housing Project and environs, including seven planning, administrative, and supervisory positions. It has been our observation that a number of the staff members from the immediate Juniper Gardens area who began as assistants in rather routine behavior measurement capacities have gradually learned to assume more dynamic roles in the design-planning phases of the research. In short, some of our local technicians and observers are becoming major investigators and head teachers.

Any resident or group wishing to visit the Juniper Gardens Children's Project may do so at any time by calling 621-1712.

THE LATE R. HUNT PARKER, CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF NORTH CAROLINA

HON. L. H. FOUNTAIN

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Mr. Speaker, the late R. Hunt Parker, chief justice of the Supreme Court of the State of North Carolina, was a consecrated public servant, a distinguished jurist, a brave soldier, an historian of great repute, a classical scholar of the old school, and first and foremost a Christian gentleman.

Halifax County, N.C., which is located in the district I have the honor to represent, was the birthplace of Chief Justice Parker. This county has given North Carolina's highest tribunal more justices than any other county.

Chief Justice Parker died recently after a lifetime spent in dedicated public service. On October 24, 1969, only a few weeks before his death, he delivered a notable address to the annual meeting of the North Carolina State Bar, which was held at the Sir Walter Hotel in Raleigh, N.C.

I would like to introduce the text of this address, his last great address, into the RECORD in a moment, but first I want to take this opportunity to say something about the life and work of this outstanding American.

Judge Parker served as solicitor, superior court judge, associate justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court, and as chief justice of that court. Before his long years of distinguished public service, he acquitted himself with honor in the military service of our country in World War I and engaged in the private practice of law.

Chief Justice Parker had the keen intellect of a scholar and diligently applied himself throughout his life to a study of the law and the problems of great import in State and National life.

He was an eminently fair judge and always presided with impartial dignity. Chief Justice Parker was a conservative who believed in preserving the best of our great heritage in improving that which needed improving.

Chief Justice Parker dealt out justice strictly according to the law of the land and had no patience with legalistic rulings based on sociological opinions.

Perhaps the best known chief justice in the history of the North Carolina Supreme Court, Chief Justice Parker helped shape and mold an entirely new system of uniform courts across the State. He was the leading architect of North Carolina's new system of district courts and a strong supporter for establishing the new North Carolina Court of Appeals.

In public and private alike, he adhered to rigid rules of decorum and discipline. Everything he did was to the end that justice would be better served.

This eminent citizen of North Carolina

believed in the solid virtues of life. He practiced what he preached. Only a few days before his death, I had the pleasure of being in his company and found his indomitable will unbowed, his brilliant intellect undimmed, and his articulate wit undiminished. He lived life to the fullest and actively used every day, even his final few, in unflagging service to mankind.

What Chief Justice Parker had to say in his final address is worthy of serious consideration by all thinking Americans. It raises some serious questions about the direction America is heading in.

I am, therefore, pleased to insert the last public address of this distinguished North Carolina jurist in the RECORD at this time:

R. HUNT PARKER'S ADDRESS TO THE NORTH CAROLINA STATE BAR, INC., AT THE ANNUAL MEETING IN THE BALLROOM OF THE SIR WALTER HOTEL, OCTOBER 24, 1969

My brethren of the Bench and Bar: Many of our college professors and instructors, many paid professional agitators, many of our newspaper editors and correspondents, and many of the liberalized press shout from the house tops that they are Communists. They believe the Communists are another political party. They ignore the fact that Communist Russia is a mortal enemy of the United States pledged to world conquest or dominion and pledged to the destruction of the United States of America and its form of government. Many of these self-proclaimed Communists in the event of a Communist take-over, in my opinion, will face firing squads.

Action—naked aggressive action—replaced talk on August 20, when troops from five Warsaw Treaty countries, headed by the Soviet Union, invaded Czechoslovakia. The process of democratization which the Soviet leaders had accepted with understanding—or so Dubcek thought—came to a screeching halt. Among other things, Dubcek was ousted as First Secretary in April, and very recently he was kicked out of the Presidium. The Soviet masters, calling the tune for the Czech Communists in the week-end purge, did let him remain as a member of the Party's Central Committee. Within the last few days Dubcek has been removed from the Party's Central Committee. Knowing Dubcek's popularity with the Czech people, the Reds may have tried to avoid going so far as to arouse the Czechs to retaliatory action. Once again the face of Communism is exposed to the world, and it is monstrously ugly.

Dubcek's heretical views included the intolerable concept that people should be permitted to vote as they wish. "Let the struggle of ideas commence," he said—an astounding doctrine in the Communist camp where the free expression of ideas is abhorrent. They were incendiary words to the men in the Kremlin. They summoned Dubcek and other Czech leaders to the Soviet Union for conferences in early May last.

Last month, shortly before the purge—of Dubcek and his allies—Czechoslovakia "temporarily" closed the country's borders. Several days ago the restriction on travel became permanent, for all practical purposes.

Even under the regime of Antonin Novotny, the Communists of Czechoslovakia had been relatively free to travel abroad, but in the months since Soviet tanks and troops invaded the country to halt Dubcek's experiment with liberalized Communism, some 50,000 Czechs have fled their native land for freedom in the West. Very recently the regime announced that henceforth, with few

exceptions, the people of Czechoslovakia will not be permitted to leave the country for any purpose. Prague officials explained that the ban on private travel was essential because of "the danger to stabilization of the economy." That was the same excuse made by the East Germans eight years ago when they built the ugly Berlin Wall. Before the erection of that ugly Wall—which is actually 27 miles long, 300 feet wide, with death traps of bricks, barbed wire, watch towers, searchlights, police dogs, and men armed with machine guns—the East Germans had left Germany by the tens of thousands. Before the Wall was built, in fact, the East German "Utopia" was one of the few countries on the face of the earth where the population steadily declined. In the past eight years the exodus has slowed to a trickle, though some manage to escape at great risk, but many have failed and met death.

The East Germans have generously permitted more than 11,000 transferees to leave the country—but almost all of them are the very old or the very sick who are of no further use in the sweatshops of the worker's paradise, and now represent a burden, rather than an asset, in the stabilization of the economy.

However ugly and obscene the eight-year-old Wall around Berlin and the new ring around Czechoslovakia, they are in one sense, at least, very useful. For nothing else so starkly reveals the cruelty, the inhumanity of Communism, and nothing else so dramatically demolishes the myth that the Soviets and their puppets are mellowing. Prison is a prison.

I wonder if patriotism among many of our people is dying or dead in this country. So far as I am concerned, I agree with the immortal words of Stephen Decatur, a hero of the War of 1812: "Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong."

By a decision of the majority of the members of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Escobedo and Miranda decisions, they have made it almost impossible for the States to enforce their own laws to preserve peace and order. In their zealous endeavor to protect the rights of criminals, they have rendered overbalanced decisions in their favor against the rights of the vast number of law-abiding Americans. In recent times we have seen ugly rioting in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Newark, and Washington City. I have been told by one of the leading biographers now living in the State that the only five-star General alive, who lives with his wife in a fashionable apartment in a high-priced section of Washington City, told him that he and his wife dared not walk around their apartment building at night for fear of being robbed, mugged, or murdered.

We have seen ugly demonstrations on college and university campuses throughout the Nation where a minority of bearded beatniks and hippies and women dressed in pants are seeking to take over and run the colleges and universities according to their whims, or to break up the colleges and universities, when the vast majority of students are zealous to maintain order on the campuses and acquire an education. Such conditions are intolerable. We have seen college administrators, professors, and teachers supinely give in to their demands instead of throwing them off the college and university campuses. Cannot these same people recognize that if they cannot preserve peace and order in our colleges and universities and afford our children who want an education to get it, the people of this Nation will quit voting for the support of our colleges and universities, and they will wither on the vine?

In the face of the rioting in the big cities of this country where bearded beatniks and hippies are fighting the police and calling them "pigs," and in the face of all the rioting that is going on, I seriously doubt if our big cities—sodden with poverty, crime, Communism, and lack of patriotism—can survive. Make no mistake about it, these people are dedicated to overthrowing our republican form of government in the name of Communism. I believe Russian Communists are behind it all. They have proclaimed from the house tops for nearly half a century that they will destroy the United States by revolt and rebellion within, by arraying race against race, class against class, and religion against religion.

The Supreme Court of the United States has made it almost impossible to enforce the State laws against obscenity and the publication and distribution of obscene and filthy matter in the press. We have seen the day of girls dancing bare-breasted, and now we are seeing the day of bottomless dancing and nude dancing in theaters and night clubs throughout the Nation. No decent man is willing to marry such "go-go" girls, to let them bear his name, and to be the mother of his children. The press does not seem to be exercised over this filth and obscenity with which the Nation is being deluged, because they think to stop it will be an abridgment of freedom of the press which is guaranteed by the United States Constitution and the North Carolina Constitution. God save us from such a deluge of filth and obscenity.

I am reminded of the following lines written by Alfred, Lord Tennyson in "Locksley Hall Sixty Years After":

"Bring the old dark ages back without the
faith, without the hope,
Break the State, the Church, the Throne,
and roll their ruins down the slope.

"Authors—essayist, atheist, novelist, realist,
rhymester, play your part,
Paint the moral shame of nature with the
living hues of Art.

"Rip your brothers' veils open, strip your
own foul passions bare;
Down with Reticence, down with Reverence—
forward—naked—let them stare.

"Feed the budding rose of boyhood with the
drainage of your sewer;
Send the drain into the fountain, lest the
stream should issue pure.

"Set the maiden fancies wallowing in the
troughs of Zolaism,—
Forward, forward, ay, and backward, down-
ward too into the abyss.

"Do your best to charm the worst, to lower
the rising race of men;
Have we risen from out the beast, then
back into the beast again?"

* * * * *

"Is it well that while we range with Science,
glorying in the Time,
City children soak and blacken soul and
sense in city slime?"

I do not at all subscribe to that gloomy view of Alfred, Lord Tennyson. I believe in his statement later on in the same poem:

"Follow you the Star that lights a desert
pathway, yours or mine.
Forward, till you see the Highest Human
Nature is divine.

"Follow Light, and do the Right—for man
can half-control his doom—
Till you find the deathless Angel seated in
the vacant tomb."

We hear people expressing the view that they espouse the cause of democracy. The founding fathers were learned and dis-

tinguished men, most of whom had held or were holding high public office in their respective states with vast experience in administering public affairs; they were good Christians who believed in the existence of the Deity, but who were also characterized with a large measure of religious toleration, and some of them were desirous of establishing a monarchy. When the learned and illustrious Dr. Benjamin Franklin, chairman of the Pennsylvania delegation, who was eighty-one years old, was leaving the Convention Hall in Philadelphia after the Constitution had been written, a lady asked him, "Dr. Franklin, have you given us a republic or a monarchy?" He replied, "Madam, we have given you a republic, if you can keep it." The Supreme Court of the United States by its decisions has sought to establish a democratic form of government in this country. Its decision of one man-one vote goes down into even town and village elections. No one will claim that they are equal in stature to the founding fathers, who have been proclaimed for nearly two centuries as the most distinguished legislative assembly that ever gathered in this country.

If you think I have been too severe on the Supreme Court of the United States, I quote from the dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Harlan in the case of Utah Public Service Commission v. El Paso Natural Gas Company, decided 16 June 1969. Mr. Justice White and Mr. Justice Marshall took no part in that decision. Justice Harlan wrote: "All semblance of judicial procedure has been discarded in the headstrong effort to reach a result that our members of this Court believe desirable. In violation of the Court's rules, the majority asserts the power to dispose of this case according to its own notions, despite the fact that all the parties participating in the lower court proceedings are satisfied that the District Court's decree is in the public interest. . . . I cannot possibly subscribe to such an abuse of the judicial process."

Sir Walter Scott was perhaps our greatest novelist and, in addition, a man who could talk to everybody, poor and rich, as if he were a blood brother, and was perhaps the best beloved figure in British literature. As he lay dying within the sound of the murmur of the Tweed River, he said to his son-in-law, who was kneeling by his side, "Be a good man, Lockhart, for nothing else can bring you any consolation at such a time as mine." We have seen the Supreme Court of the United States drive out of the public schools of this Nation everybody who wanted to pray to the Supreme Being though anyone who disagreed was at perfect liberty to walk out or not participate, and even though there was no taint of a religious denomination in such a prayer, thus misjudging entirely, in my opinion, the constitutional provision that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." In my opinion, that provision was written into the Constitution to prevent the establishment of Presbyterianism which at that time was dominant in Scotland, and to prevent the Establishment of Episcopalianism which in England was established by law and supported by taxation. In England at that time there were savage laws against Roman Catholics, although it is said that a majority of the people in England were Roman Catholics, including the wealthy Duke of Norfolk, the premier Duke of England, who, because of his religion, could not sit in the House of Lords. The provision was also intended to prevent the establishment of Congregationalists and Presbyterians, who were dominant in New England; Episcopalians, who were dominant in the South; backsliding Quakers

and Roman Catholics, who were dominant in the Middle Atlantic States. In the days when there were legal giants upon the Supreme Court of the United States, they have said in opinion after opinion that this is a Christian country. When they took their offices, every member of the Federal Supreme Court who outlawed a prayer to the Deity in the public schools of this Nation by their fiat, every member of the Federal judiciary, and the President of the United States swore to and subscribed oaths that they would support the Constitution of the United States and faithfully perform the duties of their offices so help them, God, thus recognizing the existence of the Deity. I cannot see how an innocuous prayer to God, perfectly nonsectarian in character, in the public schools of the Nation, is any violation of the Constitutional provision that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." I wonder how the gentlemen on the Supreme Court of the United States, when they lie on their death beds, will feel about driving God out of the public schools.

Recently, some freethinkers have shouted from the house tops the strange doctrine that "God is dead." I do not believe such arrant nonsense. When one stands on the shores of the ocean and sees the waves roll in as at creation's dawn, and stands and sees the majestic grandeur of our mountains, I do not see how one cannot believe that the Supreme Being is alive and still rules the destinies of men and of nations.

AN END TO SANCTIONS

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an editorial entitled "Time To End Sanctions," published in the Charlottesville, Va., Daily Progress of December 4, 1969.

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

[From the Charlottesville (Va.) Daily Progress, Dec. 4, 1969]

TIME TO END SANCTIONS

The United States should join with the rising voice in Great Britain calling for an end to sanctions imposed against Rhodesia which do not appear to be working as it was intended that they should.

Those in Britain who are demanding that Prime Minister Wilson lift the sanctions have charged that the boycott is not working to the extent that it is hurting Rhodesia very much. On the other hand Britain is losing some 100 million pounds a year in trade—a loss which the financially-burdened little island can ill afford.

Trade-wise the United States is hardly suffering because of the sanctions against Rhodesia, except to the very important extent that it has by its own action lost its cheapest and best source of chrome, a vital element in providing for the national defense.

Time was when the U.S. obtained all the chrome that it needed from Rhodesia and at a reasonable price. But ever since the Lyndon Johnson Administration eagerly joined in imposing and enforcing sanctions against Rhodesia, this country has lost that source of supply for chrome.

Instead, the U.S. is buying its chrome from

Russia now and at almost double the price per ton that it was paying Rhodesia.

Price, of course, is not a critical matter, in a necessary defense item but availability of supply is. It does not require much imagination to see the day when Russia will cut off America's chrome supply, either as an effort to embarrass this country or in a move to impede the nation's defense program.

No comfort can be found either in the hope that Russia will never cut off this nation's chrome supply. That is but a mere hope. This nation does not want to be dependent upon the Russians for anything, especially in the field of national defense.

RURAL DRUG PROBLEM GROWING

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, last Friday, December 12, I advised my colleagues of the growing problems of drugs in countryside America. A problem about which we need more knowledge.

To further alert my colleagues to this situation, I am hereby inserting in the RECORD a news report on my meeting with local law enforcement officials which took place on Friday, November 28, 1969, in Willmar, Minn.

The article, entitled "Zwach: Rural Drug Problem Growing" was written by Mr. Peter Blankman, and appeared in the Minneapolis Star on Saturday, November 29, 1969. I know my colleagues will find the article interesting and informative:

ZWACH: RURAL DRUG PROBLEM GROWING (By Peter Blankman)

Rep. John Zwach, R-Minn., who once said that the largely rural 6th Congressional District was "about as clean an area in regard to drug use as there is in the country" says he has changed his mind.

"There is a serious and growing drug problem in countryside America and I think the federal government should realize that," Zwach said Friday after a two-hour conference with more than 30 law-enforcement officials from his home district.

"We had 10 arrests last year for drugs and none the year before," Willmar Police Chief Lyle Goeddertz said.

"I know about 25 or 30 kids who use marijuana and while it's more prevalent in college it has reached the high schools," Chet Wiener, Marshall police chief, said.

The police and probation officers, who came from Brainerd, Morris, St. Cloud, Redwood Falls and several other communities, voted against reducing the penalty for possession of marijuana.

The one exception was Redwood County Atty. Wayne Farnberg, who said that "while the intent of the law is fine, enforcement is almost impossible because possession is a felony and attorneys are hesitant about prosecuting."

The maximum penalty is 20 years imprisonment and/or a \$10,000 fine. The maximum penalty if possession were a misdemeanor would be a \$300 fine and 90 days in jail, he said.

"Marijuana grows all around here and using it is kind of experimental, especially in the spring when the kids find out what it looks like in biology class," Farnberg said.

"The punishment should fit the crime, al-

though I recognize Mexican variety is more potent than the local kind and should be classified differently," he said.

"I don't think the penalty should be reduced because you should see what happens to people who use drugs," Wiener said.

"They don't give a damn about anything; look at their personal hygiene," he said.

"I can't see any difference between physical and psychological dependence, because if you have to have it, you're hooked," Wiener said.

"I've heard that all the tobacco companies are all set to make the marijuana cigarette if it's legalized," he said.

The Willmar school system has started a drug education program in the 9th grade, using literature, films and speakers from the Willmar State Hospital, Goeddertz said.

"The program seems to work quite well and they hope to go as low as the grade school level," he said.

"Our basic problem is lack of manpower and funds," he said.

"We're dreaming if we try to tell ourselves that we have an adequate treatment program on the state level," Goeddertz said.

Willmar has between 20 and 25 high school students using marijuana or LSD, he said. A tablet of LSD costs \$4, he said.

"A few of the sellers have moved out," Goeddertz said.

"Maybe it's police harassment, but if you have 15 and 16-year-olds getting drugs from these people, I don't particularly care what you call it," he said.

Several officers said they would like to see more studies done about the effects of various drugs.

"We've got more agitation for a change in the law than for research," said one sheriff.

Others said that they had come to observe since they had experienced no definite problems.

The Chippewa County sheriff said he had made no arrests, while a policeman from Brainerd said "we get a rump every day, but we haven't had a conviction yet."

Zwach said he planned to hold similar sessions with school officials and physicians and "might try to talk with some users." He set no time for a return from Washington.

SOLDIER WAR VICTIM

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, it is with deep regret that I announce the death of another of our brave fighting men Pfc. Dennis A. Greeley, of Swissvale, Pa. who was killed in Vietnam on November 28.

We owe a profound debt of gratitude and appreciation to our dedicated servicemen who sacrificed their lives for this great country. In tribute to Private First Class Greeley for his heroic actions, I wish to honor his memory and commend his courage and valor, by placing in the RECORD, the following article:

AREA SOLDIER WAR VICTIM

A Swissvale soldier, Pfc. Dennis A. Greeley, 22, of 2030 Palmer St., Swissvale was killed November 28 in Vietnam.

Relatives were informed yesterday, but details of how he met death were not given. A graduate of St. Anselm High School, Swissvale, he had been working at East Pittsburgh Westinghouse when inducted.

Surviving are his mother, Mrs. Mildred

Greeley, two brothers, James of Warren, Ohio and Michael of West Mifflin and three sisters, Mrs. Kathleen Lombardi of Chicago, Gloria Hagan of Swissvale and Mrs. Maureen Vereb of Pleasant Hills.

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE
MAURICE H. STANS

HON. J. HERBERT BURKE

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, recently the Honorable Maurice H. Stans, U.S. Secretary of Commerce, delivered an address before the 58th annual convention of the Investment Bankers Association which was held on December 8, 1969, in Boca Raton, Fla. Although Boca Raton is not in my congressional district, it is reasonably close thereto and a good number of my constituents journeyed to Boca Raton to hear the Secretary give his talk.

The Secretary gave an excellent address and I personally want to compliment the Secretary on his keen insight into the problems which confront our Nation today, and upon his foresight in speaking on the programs that the Nixon administration has proposed which hopefully will overcome some of these many problems.

Secretary Stans in his talk stressed the fact that the Government alone cannot possibly solve all of the many problems that our country faces and calls attention to the help needed from the private sector of our economy, including industry, business, and the average American citizen. In other words, the Secretary has stressed the need of "togetherness," and I feel he has done an excellent job in his speech in pointing out to us how we all must be a part of this togetherness if we are to solve the many problems facing our Nation today.

I sincerely hope that my colleagues will take the time to read the speech made by Secretary Stans which reads as follows:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE MAURICE H. STANS,
U.S. SECRETARY OF COMMERCE BEFORE THE
58TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF INVESTMENT
BANKERS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA AT BOCA
RATON, FLA., DECEMBER 8, 1969

It is indeed a pleasure to join with old friends in this annual gathering of the investment banking community.

I have come here today to talk about business involvement in helping to solve the great social problems of our times.

This is, I believe, the greatest challenge facing the business community today. It is more: it is the greatest challenge facing the free enterprise system. For unless these problems are solved, our critics are going to say the system has failed, and we need a new system.

In your position at the heart of the financial structure of the Nation, you have a unique opportunity to do double service in this work. Not only can you get involved yourselves in many phases of the effort, you also can help influence your clients to get similarly involved. And we need the help of every single businessman.

Now in order to understand the priorities and problems of the 1970's you have the right to know where government is going and what government is doing.

PRIORITIES IN THE ADMINISTRATION

Next month President Nixon will go before the Congress with a State of the Union message establishing priorities and national goals for the year ahead and for the decade to come. I know you will welcome that report on his stewardship of the Nation.

The President has put himself to the task of improving the society and the atmosphere in which we live. He is committing his skill and compassion to rebuilding the fibre and the substance of the Nation, so that our people can live together in peace and our competitive economic system can thrive for the benefit of all Americans.

The great problems of the 60's are on their way to being solved at last.

The first steps have been taken toward peace with honor in Vietnam.

The first signs of success can be seen in the fight against inflation.

And the first blueprints have been sent to Congress to reform a broad base of social and political conditions left over from the past, conditions which have no place in the United States of 1970.

PRESIDENT'S PROGRAMS

To name just a few: the President has proposed massive reforms of the tax system, the military draft, and the welfare system. He has asked for historic reform of the postal system, and has called for revenue reform. He has asked for major reforms in manpower programs, in social security, grants-in-aid, the electoral college, and many more. He is committed to cleaning up crime, narcotics and the problems of the cities.

PRIVATE PRIORITIES

But Government cannot set goals or priorities alone. It can do so, with hope of success, only when it can rely on the productive strength and resources of the private sector. It can achieve national goals only as it is aided by the Nation's business and industry, by its academic world, and above all by the support of its private citizens.

This is why we take interest in the priorities set by American industry.

May I suggest respectfully that you think with great care about the goals you set for the years to come, because the time of corporate citizenship has arrived.

GET INVOLVED

If you do, your first priority, overriding all others, will be direct involvement—American business and American businessmen involved in solving the social problems of America.

Answers to these questions and solutions to these problems are imperative. The answer to every one lies in that single word, Involvement.

The time is past when the world is nothing but a marketplace beyond the factory gates. Today it is a political cauldron, seething with unrest—that means unprecedented opportunity.

There is no one to match American business in solving technical problems for a technical age; there is no one who can equal your resources of money and talent, inventiveness and creative ingenuity, to transform this Nation and the world into a community where everyone can live in peace and plenty.

PAST FAILURES

But your skills and resources must be brought into play to answer the questions we face. If the last few years have taught us anything, they have taught us that talk alone will not stay the hands of America's critics.

And if the last three decades have taught us anything, they have taught us that Government alone cannot succeed in meeting the great social needs of our times.

Government has tried, Government has launched thousands of programs, Government has spent billions upon billions of dollars, and Government has failed.

Instead, we have spawned something closely akin to rebellion. Our problems are

bigger and more acute now than ever before. I believe this is because Government has neglected to create a productive partnership with private industry.

Your resources and your ingenuity have not been marshalled to meet the changed conditions and the changed thinking which have taken place in America. At the same time, very frankly, much of the American enterprise system has been slow to look up from its profit-and-loss statements, slow to develop its corporate citizenship.

This is not said in fault. America today is wrestling with problems we scarcely knew were brewing twenty years ago. Unwittingly Government, failed and industry failed, and productive, prosperous America failed to invest in its own rehabilitation as we went along.

When meetings of this type are held in 1980 and 1990 and in the year 2000, those who follow will look back in judgment on the response you have given to the questions you face today. What will they wish we had done that was not done?

What will they wish we had addressed ourselves to?

The answer depends on whether business gets involved.

GETTING INVOLVED

The first question I want to answer is why you should get involved. And the reply is very simple: Because it is in your self interest, and because it is right. Because you are a human being and we are talking about the welfare of other human beings. Because you are both a businessman and an American citizen with duties and responsibilities, as well as rights. Because you want to preserve all the good of our great American system.

Now, specifically, *how do you get involved?*

There is a growing range of opportunities for private business to take part in building a better America.

The National Alliance of Businessmen has embarked on an unprecedented, highly productive program to provide jobs in American business and industry for the unemployed and the underemployed. Many corporations are now participating.

The Voluntary Action programs initiated by Secretary Romney offer a means for everyone to join in voluntary assault on poverty and underprivilege.

The National Corporation for Housing Partnerships will provide a means for involvement. It will be a publicly sponsored privately funded, professionally staffed undertaking to motivate the production of homes for low and moderate income families.

MINORITY ENTERPRISE

There are many other ways to get involved, but I want to go into one in some detail: the minority business enterprise effort in the Department of Commerce.

Our free enterprise system is based on rules of fair play. But it is not fair for minority members to be at a disadvantage when they seek a "piece of the action" just like everybody else. Many of them have the inherent ability, they have the brains and the energy and the desire to participate in the system as owners and managers of their own business. But they don't have an equal opportunity. They don't have the training, they often can't get the necessary financing.

Under the President's leadership, we're going to see that they do get their piece of the action.

To carry out his commitment, President Nixon created within the Department of Commerce the Office of Minority Business Enterprise.

Its method of operation is to marshal the best forces in the public and private sectors to get the job done. We are being assisted by President Nixon's 63-member Advisory Council for Minority Enterprise, composed of distinguished Americans like your Association's president, Lawrence Parker. They are

giving us invaluable guidance in the entire range of activities under this program, and are directing concerned with marshaling the forces of the private business in this effort.

Let me tell you how we are approaching the task—and how you can help.

"FOUR PILLARS"

All our efforts depend for success on four principal elements. They involve finding the Man, the Opportunity, the Money, and the Assistance needed. Each is vital for launching a successful business.

First, the man. And I'm not referring to just the male sex. Many women in minority groups are highly capable in business. We are looking for both men and women who have the desire, the drive, the built-in confidence, the natural managerial ability, skill at organization, maybe a knack for promotion and handling personnel.

Finding a person with these traits is not as hard as you might think. Proportionately there are just as many in minority groups as in the rest of the population. Most of those with potential are already working in a small business of some kind—a retail store, a small shop that provides a service, one that operates independently in the trades.

Some of these people run a one-man shop, or have only one helper. Many have the potential for expansion. With the right opportunity, some additional training, a little more capital, they can grow, they can become leaders in their community and an inspiration to other members of our race who are seeking opportunity in our society.

Which brings me to the second pillar supporting this effort: opportunity.

OPPORTUNITY

We all know that for too long, many doors of opportunity have been closed to minority members. And we have all been the loser.

Many of these people are vigorous competitors—just look at them in sports. Our free enterprise system is based on competition—but it has been denied much of the stimulous that minorities could have contributed, had they had an equal chance.

We are now going to help provide that chance, by working with business to open the doors of opportunity.

For example, we have secured pledges from 18 of the Nation's major petroleum companies to substantially increase the number of minority-owned service stations over the next five years.

We have gotten commitments from 20 of the top franchisors in the country to each create 25 minority franchise outlets in the next two years. That's a potential of 500 new franchises. We are working with others.

In government, we've secured a commitment from the General Services Administration to let \$10 million worth of contracts with minority producers for supplies in the current fiscal year.

We are working to open other doors, public and private. But here, as in this entire effort, business leadership is essential. I am looking forward to voluntary commitments by all industries to assure equal opportunity for minority ownership in their fields.

MONEY

The third pillar that undergirds this effort is money.

We are solving this problem by a highly unique and creative program that I am convinced holds great promise.

We are pooling private capital and public financing in a joint undertaking called "MESBIC"—which stands for Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Company.

It works this way: An established corporation forms a MESBIC with a minimum of \$150,000 of its own money. This is matched with Federal funds two-to-one by the Small Business Administration purchase of debentures.

We have already announced plans for 18 MESBIC's and we have set a goal of one hundred by next June 30. If we can achieve this, it will release some \$225 million for minority enterprise.

But the potential of this concept is truly enormous. Fully implemented, this program could raise more than a billion dollars of venture capital. I hope we should eventually have more than 500 MESBIC's in operation.

And I hope that the formation of some of these will be prompted by my remarks right here, right now. I hope that many of you will begin turning over in your minds this minute whether this isn't an ideal way for your firm to fit into the minority enterprise campaign in a meaningful way. I fervently hope you will arrive at an affirmative decision, and will get in touch with me.

ASSISTANCE

The fourth, and final pillar of support in this effort is technical assistance.

Nothing is more vital to success in this program than helping minority members learn some of the fundamentals of business operation. Many have great natural ability, but haven't had the opportunity to learn the principles of accounting, production, distribution, personnel management, advertising and promotion, and other essential skills.

So they need help and want to learn. Who are the only people that can teach them?

We all know the answer: Only businessmen like yourselves. Only members of the business community have the collective, practical know-how that can turn a potential failure in this area into a resounding success.

I know that your association, through its Inner City Business Committee, is packaging financial assistance with a program to provide management skills for minority members. And some individual investment firms are establishing branch offices that are operated and staffed entirely by blacks they have trained.

These are extremely valuable assists, and I hope these efforts will continue to build.

Other associations also are pioneering in this work. The American Institute of Certified Public Accountants is helping to train minority members in accounting procedures. The American Bar Association is helping in the fundamentals of law. Other organizations have similar programs in their specialties.

CONCLUSION

Together, then, these four elements—man, opportunity, money, assistance—can be combined to spell success for minority business enterprise. Not only success for the minority members involved, but success for the whole business community, for our whole free enterprise system.

I say this because business has entered a new era, in which success is no longer measured just by the profit sheet.

There is a new sheet in the ledger. It is headed "Social Progress."

Your books may show a very healthy profit in dollars and cents. But if that "Social Progress" sheet is blank, you have lost, and you have let the entire free enterprise system lose—I don't care how much money you have made.

Most businessmen see this today. Many are acting on this knowledge. But in my job I see others who either don't see this or are not getting down here in the arena where the action is.

American business today is on the threshold of an astonishing new age of growth and service. It can realize its full potential—for profits, and for the Nation—if it becomes involved in solving the great problems of our times, if it meets the exciting opportunity of working with our young people, and if it goes abroad in the land to champion the system of American enterprise.

If you engage in those three pursuits, this land will continue to prosper, and America will remain strong enough to be forever free.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

HON. GEORGE E. SHIPLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. SHIPLEY. Mr. Speaker, Dr. and Mrs. George S. Reuter, Jr., were recently on the campus of the University of South Dakota at Vermillion, where Mrs. Reuter is a graduate with a M.A. degree in guidance and counseling. Dr. Reuter spoke on the subject "Unfinished Business." Because so many of the issues are of national importance, I submit the speech for inclusion in the RECORD, as follows:

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

(By Dr. George S. Reuter, Jr.)

INTRODUCTION

The Greek dramatists used as a guide in their writing the principle, "never inject a god into a play until there is no other way out." It is my conviction that we have reached the hour where we must let God step onto the stage. We have kept Him waiting in the wings all too long. It could be that we have even lost Him in the discarded props of yesterday's productions. He must get into the act if our civilization is to survive and we must give the more earnest heed to the solemn admonition: "Humble yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God."

"Historians will differ," wrote former New York Times correspondent and author Arthur Krock, "on whether the political philosophy and the military economic direction of any nation has changed more fundamentally than those of the United States in a comparable period of time, 1933-1967. But as an eye witness of governmental and other public action throughout these years, I have formed the opinion that the United States merits the distinction of having discarded its past and meaning in one of the briefest spans of modern history."

Dr. William R. Myers, Pastor, North Shore Baptist Church in Chicago, recently noted: "Never in the history of our world has there been such loud cries for peace as today. But from what source does peace come? It is not enough to cry out for 'Peace!' We must work for peace. The prophet, Jeremiah, say of his own generation (not unlike our own in many ways, I might add): 'They have healed the wound of my people lightly, saying, "Peace, peace," when there is no peace: "'

Yes, America is facing much unfinished business, but this not our first serious crisis.

Dr. John Roach Straton of Calvary Baptist Church in New York City, for example, rose to the defense of fundamentalism, declaring that Dr. Fosdick, who died the other day, was "not only a Baptist bootlegger, but . . . also a Presbyterian outlaw. . . . I declare in the name of eternal truth that Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick is a religious outlaw—he is the Jesse James of the theological world." Perhaps the greatest opponent of Dr. Fosdick was Clarence Edward Macartney, who was swept into the moderatorship of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. as a result of the struggle. Under Dr. Macartney's leadership conservative forces were able to force Dr. Fosdick to retire from the pulpit of the First Presbyterian Church in New York City, from which he eventually went to Riverside Church. To those involved in the struggle, the issues were as critical as now. Let us reflect some of the current issues.

THE REFLECTIONS

1. The Higher Education Gap—Archimedes, the great mathematician and engineer of ancient Greece, is reported to have said on one occasion: "Give me a place to stand and I will move the world." In the nineteenth century the university had its Archimedean

point; it knew precisely where it stood. The circumstances surrounding higher education today are not unlike those portrayed by Charles Dickens in the *Tale of Two Cities*, describing the era of the French Revolution. To paraphrase his classic language:

"It is the best of times, it is the worst of times,
It is the age of wisdom, it is the age of foolishness,
It is the epoch of belief, it is the epoch of incredulity,
It is the season of Light, it is the season of Darkness,
It is the spring of hope, it is the season of despair,
We have everything before us, we have nothing before us . . ."

Faculty, students and administrators need to work together with greater resourcefulness than we have in the past to achieve a real partnership which will enhance the efficiency of the college or university as a real center of teaching and learning. The subversion of the fragile structure of an institution of higher learning is all too easy, as we know from the events of recent months. One could cite examples on both sides of many academic issues; only one is cited. The Supreme Court of South Dakota does not understand academic freedom and tenure: "The exact meaning and intent of this so-called tenure policy eludes us. Its vapid objectives, purposes, and procedures are lost in a fog of nebulous verbiage." (*Worzella v. Board of Regents*)

2. The Vocational Education Gap—Jacob J. Kaufman of Pennsylvania State University, in his recently completed study *The Role of the Secondary Schools in the Preparation of Youth for Employment*, has concluded: "Vocational guidance should be expanded in a number of directions. It should begin in the elementary school to prepare youngsters for their experiences in the redirected form of vocational education. In the junior and senior high school, courses in the nature of occupations should supplement vocational courses. To free more of the counselor's time for student contact greater reliance should be placed on group counseling, technological innovations, and clerical assistance."

Speaking to Harvard's graduating class in 1885, Oliver Wendell Holmes said: "Gentlemen, your education begins when what is called your education is ended," hence some of the difficulties in vocational education must be seen in the proper philosophy. Perhaps, Plato should be reconsidered. Plato was probably the greatest of all educational philosophers not because he solved all the problems; so far as we know he solved none of them, and even his influence on the schools of his day was meager. He was great because he formulated the problems so boldly and starkly that there is no way of avoiding them.

3. The Handicapped Children Gap—Educational programs for 6 million handicapped children are needed. Only 2 million presently receive educational services. The lag between large Congressional authorizations and minimal appropriations limit funding to \$5 to \$6 per handicapped child. Children with specific learning disabilities totaling between 500,000 to 1½ million are in especially bad plight with only 18% receiving assistance. The Federal government can and should play an influential role in the development of effective education for children with specific learning disabilities.

4. The Racial Gap—On October 11, 1960, at the corner of Lenox Avenue and One Hundred Twenty-Fifth Street in New York City, I listened to the quick, insistent, challenging speech of Senator John F. Kennedy. This Catholic, who was striving to overcome the traditional bias of the American voter in presidential elections, spoke to his Harlem audience of the need for long-overdue action

against a kind of bias that afflicted the American community.

Ninety-one percent of the total Negro student enrollment in all Northern and Western States is concentrated in California, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and the District of Columbia. Segregation of races in the public schools was at one time either required or permitted by law in each of these jurisdictions. The problem is still very serious. The official records show that of 139,006 students in Washington, D.C., 0.9 percent are desegregated. In Chicago, of 308,266 Negro students, the percentage is 3.2, and in Gary, Indiana, of 29,826, only 3.1 percent are desegregated. One should pause and recall that Thomas Jefferson knew that the destiny of America was inseparable from education—that in the fulfillment of the promise of this new nation, education would be the key. Education long the key to opportunity and fulfillment, is today also the key to survival.

No one who has been listening to what the United States Supreme Court has been saying could have had any doubt that the day would come when the patience of the justices would be exhausted. A child born, for example, on May 17, 1954, the date of the Supreme Court's historic *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling, should be entering the tenth grade this fall. It was 15 years, 5 months, and 12 days before the Court acted again. If the child affected is black and happens to live in one of the Southern States, the odds are better than two-to-one that he will be enrolled in a segregated school. The odds are at least even that he will be graduated from high school in 1972—if he is graduated at all—without ever having sat in a classroom with children who were not black.

Yet there are those who complain about "all deliberate speed." There has been interest as to where the phrase originated. Lawyers have searched history in vain to find clues to its meaning. Some say the words came via Justice Felix Frankfurter from early English courts. Others say it came from Mr. Frankfurter's wide reading, including Francis Thompson's *Hound of Heaven*. Regardless of origin, no one should complain "all deliberate speed" was too fast.

In 1825, Thomas Jefferson, founding the University of Virginia, which was to be based "on the illimitable freedom of the human mind," asserted that "here we are not afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead, not to tolerate error so long as reason is left free to combat it." It seems the Court is helping us today with this principle.

5. The Patriotism Gap—Dr. W. A. Criswell, Pastor of the First Baptist Church of Dallas and President of the Southern Baptist Convention, recently noted: "This is the most critical hour in American history . . . we are witnessing the dissolving, the dissolution of all those principles that come out of the blessed mind of God and out of his holy book." In closing Dr. Criswell said: "If America becomes like that, anybody can sweep us away . . . destroy us . . . come into our country, infiltrate us, leave us in shreds! That's why we need to preach and teach the word and will of God. You cannot stand without the Lord. If you don't stand for something you'll fall for anything."

If in 1776 reports from Philadelphia had ignored the Continental Congress and covered only the busy bawdy houses we'd never have had a country. And if all the decent, honest citizens doing courageous things get less show from us than the dissenters we'll lose America.

In the Godkin Lectures at Harvard University in March of 1969, John Gardner asserted: "A high level of morale is essential if a society is to succeed in the arduous tasks of renewal." A high level of morale is exactly what we do not have in the United

States. Compare the probable reaction that the academic community would give an American student who asserted that his great life's hope was one of patriotism, that he wanted to devote himself to serving his country and his people. I suspect that a large portion of intellectual America would be at the very least, embarrassed by such an outburst of patriotic sentiment, if not actually frightened by the fervor of such "unenlightened insularity."

6. The Generation Gap—The Constitution of the United States represents one of the finest gifts a wise and benevolent God could grant His people. Divinely conceived and nobly perpetuated, this sacred document is designed to ensure our citizens those self-evident truths of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Perhaps it was inevitable that modern-day barbarians assault this bastion of social and political freedom. This assault is explained via the so-called "generation gap." This "gap" is merely a fictitious gimmick, a deadly instrument devised by our enemies to divide and conquer us. In truth there is no "gap," only wide-spread confusion as to the role adults and parents should play in this permissive society. The important battle for our children's minds and souls, is being lost by default. One could be technical as in the Court's use of the pronoun. In a Supreme Court decision (*Adler v. Board of Education*, 342 U.S. 485, 1952) involving plaintiffs all of whom were male high school teachers, the opinion handed down by the Court uses the pronoun *she*. One must, however, be practical.

7. The International Gap—The United States should ratify the Geneva Protocol of 1925, which prohibits the first use in war of chemical and biological weapons. The United States initiated it and signed it, but our pride of authorship became an embarrassment when the Senate failed to vote on it in 1926. Now, after 44 years, there seems to be hope that the protocol will be re-submitted to the Senate for its consent to ratification.

8. The Population Gap—For the first 1600 years since Christ, the earth's population doubled from 250 million to 500 million. It took 100 years for the earth's population to double from one billion to two billion which was achieved in 1930. Only 30 years later we added a third billion, and our world's population will be four billion in a period of fifteen years by 1975. At this rate in thirty more years, by the year 2000, the earth's population will be seven billion persons. After that it is predicted that one billion people will be added to our population at least every five years. Unless we all become painfully aware of this problem and we devote great thought and action toward the solution, the seemingly insoluble problems of great magnitude which we face from day to day will become unimportant by comparison.

Famine and plague used to occur often enough to be accepted as a national part of life and were highly efficient population controls. For instance, one-fourth of the European population died of the Black Plague in the fourteenth century. Now modern miracles of medicine and technology have eliminated many such natural controls, and population is soaring.

9. The Moratorium Gap—Dr. W. A. Criswell recently decried the moratorium participants, by saying: "Our own men are bathing the soil of Vietnam in their own blood . . . and our men over there in Paris at the peace conference . . . trying to negotiate some kind of cessation to these hostilities" yet what the demonstrators are doing here, he further stressed, "is an insult."

The central and the ironic reality in the wake of the much-advertised "moratorium" demonstration against the Vietnam war is that this attack upon President Richard M. Nixon's position, and that of the mildly hawkish forces in general, has boomeranged.

Former Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey has urged nonpartisan support for Mr. Nixon's peacemaking efforts. My view is that it is an ill-timed, misdirected protest, vague in the purpose of quite conceivably dangerous in its precedent.

The stubborn quest for an honorable peace must be based on the fact that any alternative from present policy will both undermine the stabilizing role of the United States in the world—which in fundamental terms has maintained the peace since 1946—and generate a political lynching bee in American domestic politics. President Nixon has wisely stated: "Let us be united for peace. Let us also be united against defeat. Because let us understand: North Vietnam cannot defeat or humiliate the United States. Only Americans can do that."

10. The Foundation Gap—Foundations have pioneered and assisted pioneers, scientists, scholars, and innovators; they have helped to create and strengthen colleges, universities, research laboratories, research institutions, scientific and scholarly organizations, welfare and religious institutions; they have often anticipated social and international problems and mobilized knowledge for dealing with them.

Recently, many foundations have lost contact with reality and financed many foolish projects and rejected many worthy projects. Often the rejection has been based on the size of the project or institution and the fact that no major group suggested it. As a personal example, I developed a project to be funded. It was small but unique. It was rejected, but later a major university was funded to do the exact same thing. My guidelines were "borrowed" from me without permission. It may become necessary to tax foundations in order to get them "back on the track" of service to mankind. One wonders how foundations would react to an announcement like this: "The University of Buffalo has joined the ranks of public institutions, and so has a small college in Illinois which closed one June with about one hundred students and reopened the following September under the banner of Southern Illinois University with an enrollment of 1500." Would foundations discriminate against the former ones and aid the latter ones?

The Economic Gap—One important dimension to determine the relative size of government in respect to other institutions and to the total society is expenditure. Governmental expenditures may be financed by tax revenues, by borrowing, by selling capital assets, by user fees, by corvée, and by inflation. The ratio of debt to Gross National Product is around 45% which represents a continual decline from the peak of 140% in 1946 at the end of World War II. Most of that decline in that ratio is the result of inflation, a form of taxation.

We are not yet at a state where government is other than a servant, although some of the new economists, in anticipation, speak of it as a partner. There is historical significance in the many instances where the major domo became the sovereign. The Stuarts of England were only royal stewards, not kings.

12. The Natural Resource Gap—After millenniums of exploiting and often destroying the riches of the land, man is now hovering acquisitively over the wealth of the oceans that cover three-quarters of the Earth. In the no man's land of the seabed, a scramble for minerals and oil, for new underwater empires secured by advancing armies of technology, could well set a new and wider stage of world conflict.

In a study of the full range of our national interests in marine resources, made public recently, a special Presidential Commission on Marine Science, Engineering, and Resources noted that the threat of "un-

bridled international competition for the seas' resources may provoke conflict," and recommended a series of international agreements that would create new legal political frameworks for the exploitation of the mineral resources underlying the deep seas. It is inconceivable that this last great resource of our planet should not ease the grip of poverty and hunger on much of the Earth. And how tragic it will be if a few centuries hence, these vast oceans that nourish life should become the instrument of our death, a not impossible end.

CONCLUSIONS

Working in the areas of resolving unfinished business, one is apt to acquire what the French call a "de formation professionnelle," which in this instance takes the form of always looking toward the future—often in rather optimistic terms. The reason for this is quite simple: Everything we have been able to achieve has previously been regarded with considerable skepticism, but somehow it managed to get done anyway.

In the second year of the American Revolution the great William Pitt rose in the House of Lords and spoke words which, in a less civilized nation, might have been taken for treason. "My Lords," he declared, "you cannot conquer America . . . You may swell every expense and every effort still more extravagantly; pile and accumulate every assistance you can buy or borrow; traffic and barter with every little pitiful German prince that sells and sends his subjects to the shambles . . . your efforts are forever vain and impotent, doubly so from this mercenary aid on which you rely, for it irritates, to an incurable resentment, the minds of your enemies . . . If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms—never—never—never."

More than a decade ago, the British Theologian, J. B. Phillip, gave an answer to be emphasized in his simple little book, *These Gods Are Too Small*. The cry of the needy and oppressed and the crises of our day demand a personal, living, and loving God. This God, who cares, Simon Peter met as he walked the shores of Galilee centuries ago. This very One must be and longs to be our God and guide today.

Yes, with the philosophy of the French expression, the wisdom of Pitt, and the God revealed by Phillips, we shall overcome our troubled times if we but have the will and the intelligence to shape a realistic manifesto that reflects the principles, the hopes, and the highest expectations of our Founding Fathers—finishing what they so nobly began.

YOUNG AMERICANS ARE SPEAKING OUT

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 3, 1969

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, in these days of student protests opposing President Nixon's Vietnam policies I was encouraged to receive a thoughtful letter from a young lady who is very much a part of the "silent majority" who now wants to speak out. I feel her thoughts are important and should be printed here in the RECORD. More and more young Americans are speaking out today, to counter the impression sometimes given by the vocal minority that there is only one side to the Vietnam debate. There are two sides, as clearly

stated by Miss Christine Kennedy of the Ninth District of Florida.

The letter follows:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ROGERS: I am 17 years old, a senior and until now, a part of the silent majority. I am very, very frustrated with these "so called" peace demonstrations. If they are looking for a peaceful society, they sure have a strange way of showing it. Blowing up buildings is not my idea of showing you want peace.

My main reason for writing is not to tell you how I feel about the dumb-witted minority, but to tell you how I, an American and part of the majority, feel. President Nixon is in a pair of shoes that I would never want to wear. Every way he moves it seems someone protests against him. I am for total escalation of the war, but I'll stick to Nixon's policy as long as we stay in Vietnam.

I imagine in the 1700's when we were forming our nation and asked for help, people were against giving it to us. We needed it badly and Thank God we got it. Without it, I doubt we would be as we are today. Vietnam needs help and deserves it. Maybe they aren't as strong as we were but they need our help and for that simple reason deserve it. They are human beings and deserve to be treated as such. If we can help them again their Freedom, we have helped a country live again, "For what stands if Freedom falls?"

Thank you for listening to my opinion. Please believe that others feel as I do. Those protesting are only a small, small part of the people in this country. I don't call them Americans for I feel that they are protesting everything this great country of ours stands for.

Sincerely,

CHRISTINE KENNEDY.

THE SHOE PROBLEM

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the growing problem of footwear imports is outlined in an editorial that appeared in the Patriot Ledger December 11, 1969, which I insert in today's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I wish to specifically point out the recommendations made in the last paragraph of the editorial wherein the Government is called upon to seriously attempt to negotiate a voluntary import quota system with the major exporting nations.

The editorial follows:

THE SHOE PROBLEM

Another Massachusetts shoe manufacturing plant has closed down—the Victory Shoe Co. of Avon—the 19th in Massachusetts to close this year and the third in the Brockton area in the last six months.

The closing of the Victory plant is a particularly critical index of the plight of New England's shoe industry, since it was a modern facility with semi-automated equipment. President Herbert S. Nagle of Brockton described the two-year-old plant as one of the most modern shoe manufacturing facilities to be built in the area in 50 years.

Yet Victory went under, as have 37 other factories in New England in the past two years, mostly small and medium-sized companies because they have been unable to compete with lower-priced foreign imports. And for the remaining small and medium-sized shoemakers in the region, the outlook is grim in the absence of government action.

The shoe manufacturers for years have

been appealing to Washington for help. Low-priced imports, 50 per cent of them selling for \$10 or less, have increased 643 per cent in the past 10 years, and today one out of every four pairs of shoes bought in this country is imported. New England shoe manufacturing wages are the highest in the country—an average of \$2.86 an hour as compared with a national average of \$2.71 an hour.

In Spain and Taiwan, the source of most of the increased imports in recent years, the wage rates are said to be about 50 cents an hour. Other major competition comes from Japan and Italy.

What is to be done?

The traditional response of a domestic industry hurting from a foreign competition is to seek import restrictions, either by higher tariffs or by import quotas. The shoe industry has rejected higher tariffs as the answer, and instead is asking Washington to help through imposing import quotas—voluntary if possible, mandatory if necessary.

But it is not only the shoe industry which is finding the going tough in the American marketplace because of lower-priced foreign imports. And as restrictions on trade are lowered, other American industries will also encounter rugged competition.

Protectionism, however, is a two-edged sword. As President Nixon pointed out in his message to Congress on trade policy: "Any reduction in our imports produced by U.S. restrictions not accepted by our trading partners would invite foreign reaction against our own exports—all quite legally. Reduced imports would thus be offset by reduced exports, and both sides would lose."

Yet while the President has correctly assessed the dangers of American protectionism, the government also has an obligation to assist domestic industries which find themselves in a struggle for survival because of trade liberalization and the low-cost competition from lower-wage nations.

Congress should promptly enact the President's proposals to make it easier for industries affected by import competition to obtain relief and assistance. It is now generally recognized that the terms of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 were overly-stringent; not one industry, for example, has been granted relief under the "escape clause" providing temporary import restrictions or negotiated quotas. The President would relax the test required for such relief as well as the terms for government "adjustment assistance" to workers or the affected industry.

Adjustment assistance includes such aid as special unemployment pay, retraining allowances, tax relief or loans. The President would make such assistance available upon proof that imports were a "substantial cause" of injury to the U.S. business, an easier test than at present. And with such a provision, the shoe industry should be able to qualify for federal assistance.

Sen. Norris Cotton, R-N.H., has successfully attached an import quota amendment to the tax reform bill, authorizing the President to impose import quotas against a commodity being shipped into the U.S. if he found it was harming U.S. companies or workers and if the producing country was putting restrictions on U.S. exports. Senator Cotton mentioned textiles and shoes as among the industries needing such protection.

Instead of this approach, the government should immediately and seriously attempt to negotiate a voluntary import quota system with the major shoe exporting nations. The shoe industry's plan to have a quota system in which the quota could be raised as the domestic shoe industry expands is one possibility. The government should avoid, however, unilateral trade restrictions which can only lead to retaliation by the importing country affected and thus damage another sector of American business.

LETTER TO THE CLASS OF '70

HON. WILLIAM LLOYD SCOTT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, a letter to the editor in yesterday's Sunday Star signed by Richard H. Eibel of New Carrollton, Md., caught my attention and refers to the conflict between the totalitarianism world and the free world, indicates that the American dream and opportunity for all is still present in this country. Apparently, he is an immigrant from Poland and I believe my colleagues will enjoy and profit from a reading of this item which is set forth in full:

LETTER TO THE CLASS OF '70

NEW CARROLLTON, MD.

SIR: Searching for exotic tid-bits—discarded sticks of chewing gum, half-eaten chocolate bars and unfinished oranges—I found in a trash can a few pages torn out of an American magazine. I will never forget one of its pictures. It haunted me very often during the dark days of my life. The picture showed a large group of well-fed, well-dressed, intelligent-looking, smiling young men standing on a mini-bridge in a park. "That's a graduating class of American college students," explained one of my English-comprehending buddies. Later on, secure in the privacy of my secret hideout on the wooded sea shore, I stared at the picture for hours. Everything in it seemed so different and so distant from the realities of my life. To find myself one day among those happy, elegant young men seemed beyond the scope of my dreams, beyond the limits of my imagination.

"God," I thought, "why was I born here?"

I was a teen ager then, fond of roaming through the drab streets of Gdynia, a war damaged harbor in post-war Poland. My future, I knew, would fall into an entirely different league, beyond any comparison with the glamorous futures of the smiling young men in the picture. I could dream of becoming a shipyard technician, a stevedore foreman, perhaps a local school teacher at the best. It was realistic to assume that I would have to spend my life confined forever to a specific geographic area the size of Ohio or Nebraska, to a specific assortment of the topics which I had a liberty to discuss, never forgetting to stick to a specific slant with which I had to interpret everything.

Even the song ". . . will he be pretty, will he be rich . . ." did not fully apply to me. I could dream of being "pretty" but it was silly to dream of being rich. The ultimate wealth, in my eyes, as far as material things were concerned, was to have one presentable suit and enough change to buy a ticket to a movie.

God must have been listening to my laments, or something, for during the past dozen years I overcame the barrier of a carefully-guarded border, wide ocean, English grammar, college tuition, and whatever undesirable conditioning rubbed-off on me while in Poland.

Three years ago I posed for my own graduation picture on an American campus. It was a picture somewhat different from the one that inspired the days of my youth.

The times had changed. There were some happy black faces around me, a sign that the injustices of the past were being erased. Not all of the white young men in my picture, though, were well-dressed and neat. Some of them, putting it bluntly, wore weird clothes and were simply filthy. Their shabby appearance, ironically, was not a result of

a depression, a foreign occupation, or any other monumental calamity. The GNP, according to the tale my economics teacher told, had doubled and tripled. In the meantime, the astronauts were on their way to the moon and we, the graduates, in the words of my sociology professors "just qualified to be among the best-educated 10 percent of the richest nation in the world."

So we had a reason to look cheerful but we did not. The long-haired ones glanced at me scornfully. In their eyes I was a freak of nature, a low Polack who invaded what they called "ignorant Middle America." I felt hurt and insulted. They did not believe that I, too, had a heart and a conscience, compassion, intelligence and a vision. It was not my fault that they did not go through any real hardships in their lives. Yet they hated me for cherishing the things that they discarded.

Well, so much for whining. My message is this: There is only one real basic conflict in the world today, that is the conflict between the world of totalitarianism and the world of freedom. If your vision is not clear enough to decide which is which, go to where I came from, live there for a while, and you will know.

I hate to sound like a zealot at a patriotic rally, but a spade is a spade.

Be proud to call yourself an American. Put your best suit on for your graduation picture and look neat. Someday some boy somewhere might find it and dream an impossible dream.

RICHARD H. EIBEL.

I AM AN AMERICAN

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to our colleagues' attention a moving letter that was written by a brave American who was killed in Vietnam. It tells poignantly of a young man's dedication to freedom and his country and his pride in being an American. The text of his writing follows:

[Reprinted from the Wisconsin Veteran]

I AM AN AMERICAN

I am an American, defender of freedom and guardian of the Nation.

The service I render to my country is not only duty, but an honor and a privilege. Duty, as a citizen whose life holds responsibility for country in high regard. Honor as an individual before God with respect for the ideals that makes these United States a democracy. Privilege, for the ability to give, and fortunate enough to have been born in a land where my life, mind, and ideals are my own.

To serve our country as a fighting man is a trust bestowed on me by the people. It is my hope for millions outside our borders, who suffer under the rampage of tyranny, the absence of justice and freedom.

As an American fighting man, I find faith in my God, and courage from those who have gone before me. My reason for service is a symbol for all men to see that the sacrifice of my fellow Americans was not in vain.

I make no claim to another's land or government, but stand ready at the borders of freedom, not as an aggressor, but as a defender; and the Nations of the world will know that "the pursuit of happiness" is more than spoken words, but a way of life.

The orders I receive are derived from the people and I am responsible to them.

Lt. JOHN L. BANKS III, USAF.

(Killed in Vietnam, March 29, 1966.)

ETERNAL VIGILANCE IS THE PRICE
OF LIBERTY

HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to share with my colleagues a letter I recently received from a friend of mine whose ancestors lived under slavery. He has expressed to me, to the best of his ability, his fears and sincere concern not only that his own people but all freedom-loving Americans could easily find themselves living under slavery again. He is deeply concerned with the increasing lawlessness and spread of crime in our country as well as with the threat of communism in the world, and he is convinced that all of us must work more closely together to protect our freedom and security. What Mr. Bell is reminding us of in his own way is that "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

The letter appears as follows:

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.,
November 17, 1969.

HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE,
United States House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR REPRESENTATIVE: Our domestic problems are more serious than one would think. We citizens who love our country do not intend to let crooks and drug addicts and sore heads take over the government. We love our country.

Take a second look at some of our immigrants. Please, we do not want this country to become a welfare state.

The President of this great country can tell the public that some of the laws of our country must be changed to fit the specific crime. Do you know that crooks will only go as far as you let them?

We can live here together if we try. Let the public protest as long as it is for unity and brotherly love, and keeping us strong. Just imagine any country telling the U.S.A. we must get out of the oceans or anywhere else. We can't take that!

We must feel this way in order to have the respect of the world. We must have the loyalty and respect from each and every citizen of our great nation. We must! We must! 1965 was four years ago, nearly five. That was the year I had the dream—that the government of the United States—our government—had been taken over by foreign powers.

Be it dream, premonition, or what have you, I, as well as quite a few other people, am aware of a tremendous and constant "rumbling"—not just normal undercurrent, but something, that any moment, might explode; the ravages of which might never be healed.

First, as to the hi-jacking of our planes. If we were alert, the first plane to have been hi-jacked should have been the last. In our prisons we have a device that detects any metal that passes through those gates. Why not install our planes with this device, that they might be guarded at all times?

Then, there is the question of economy—how little or how much? To economize at the price of both crime and intrusion by foreign powers (Communism) would prove to be most detrimental to us—to our freedom.

Today, confronted at every angle by Communism, we must not let their "bluff" scare us and weaken us more and more; we must "meet the challenge" head-on and stop all this "nonsense" and "intrigue" before our "Freedom" is entirely swept away—the freedom for which our forefathers fought and died!

Crime-wise, we were anxious to eliminate Alcatraz. Pressure was brought to bear and thus it is vacant today. The masters of crime, the former inhabitants of Alcatraz, now have the "inside track". Their connections are legion and now being within the "environs" of our country, their opportunities to "wreck" this country are limitless—wide open. Our laws are not capable of coping with the master minds of crime. We are still in the 19th century as far as our laws are legislated. They need to be updated immediately, not tomorrow, or years from now. We are traveling at too fast a pace to be left waiting for legislation needed yesterday, while crime is paced as of the 21st century. At this rate, freedom will be a thing of the past—something no one ever heard of.

There are people in this country who actually think we would be better off ruled by foreign powers; our government having been overthrown. In my opinion, however, we would be nothing but slaves. All our Americanism would be swept away. We would fade away and die.

The Negro situation also is at a stand-still for the moment. Basically the Negro mass doesn't have one so-called leader that 2/3 of the majority respect today. Every preacher is trying to "get in" to the act. All are attempting to be "Martin Luther King". They are all trying to exploit the ignorant and the poor. We must become involved in order to protect our homes, our families, and our freedom. We must! We must!

Your humble servant,
OLIVER BELL, Sr.

VIETNAM AID PROGRAM

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, we have all heard a lot about what is wrong with the Vietnam AID program. A constituent of mine, Mr. Robert M. Hall, is currently involved in this program. In a letter to me, Mr. Hall outlined some of the problems that he has observed firsthand.

These problems are, of course, not new. I have sat on the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations for 11 years, and in that capacity I have tried to readjust our aid program to the realities of the less-developed world. This means we should recognize that self-help measures, without undue American presence in any form, are the key prerequisites to growth.

Mr. Hall points out that the people we are trying to help only appreciate what we have done if they have the feeling that it was they, rather than the Americans, who basically did the job.

Mr. Hall also mentions the problem of corruption in Vietnam. This, Mr. Speaker, is something I looked into closely during this year's hearings. I have the feeling that AID is working hard to clean up the problem wherever it exists, but as Mr. Hall notes, a lot of work remains to be done.

Because of the importance of this subject and the real understanding that Mr. Hall has of it, I am including his letter in the RECORD at this point:

OCTOBER 13, 1969.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN CONTE: I have often thought of writing but never got the nerve to be classified as a "bitcher." Personally my

work isn't as rewarding as it could be. Probably due to my past 18 years as a 4-H agent in Mass. Yet progress is being made in the field of agriculture especially where the Vietnamese farmer has the courage to make a change with his own financial support. Especially when his income increases 6 fold. When this farmer gets his info from the Vietnamese he gains confidence in an agency that will be here longer than I or any other US adviser. But when the farmer relies on the American adviser for technical aid he will continue to rely on this person.

Our job should be to introduce new varieties of grains, vegetables, fruits and livestock that will fit into the local conditions. Demonstrate new cultural practices that will result in increased income and production, then help market the surplus.

We are hindered by two groups of (types) people. The American advisor or the TCN who has to make a name for himself and does so by wasting the tax dollar to support flash in the pan projects, the benefits of which aren't to the war ravaged people but the corrupt Vietnamese official. These corrupt officials both elected and mostly appointed are the other hinderance. A project isn't any good unless there is money involved. The project may be necessary, wanted by the people but for the officials to get their cuts and end up with a school half the size that it could have been if there weren't payoffs.

Our interpreters are something else. They are loyal to the province chief not their employer.

Our image isn't helped by riots, scandals etc. back home.

There are schools here in province built by volunteer labor (the paid labor is paid for by parents, wealthy local citizens.) The only AID is cement and rebar in the amount actually used in the building. No surplus for the village chief to build a new house for himself or self.

These schools are the pride of the village people the VC destroy the school and they are in trouble.

Remove the big financial deal here, get them taxing themselves fairly and one would soon find out how long this war would last.

Cut out the discrimination by the Vietnamese in relation to the Highlanders Charms, Cambodian and maybe there wouldn't be so much underlying feelings of discontent.

Train these people to do their job, then let them do it. Like anyone I guess they'll let John do it as long as John does it. And as long as we pay the bill they'll sit and let the money roll in. They are patient and will wait out the fellow—that doesn't allow dishonesty and doesn't throw the tax dollar around. He will be gone in one or two years maybe the next one will ready to give some of the gravy.

Facts are needed and aren't available in 3 day trips.

Sincerely,

ROBERT M. HALL.

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO WINS
1969 LIBERTY BOWL GAME

HON. DONALD G. BROTZMAN

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, the University of Colorado came from behind to defeat the University of Alabama in the 11th annual Liberty Bowl game. Playing before a record crowd in Memphis, Tenn., Colorado and Alabama

treated fans to an exciting display of offensive power, but in the end Colorado prevailed by a score of 47 to 33.

Led by All-America running back Bob Anderson, who rushed for 254 yards and scored three touchdowns, and All-America defensive lineman Bill Brundige, the Buffs scored 16 points in the fourth quarter while holding Alabama scoreless.

Under the leadership of Coach Eddie Crowder and his able staff, a successful building program has made the Buffs a power in the tough Big Eight Conference and has also taken the team to two bowl victories in the past 3 years.

I was especially pleased with the victory because not only is the university in my district, but it is also my alma mater. Mr. Speaker, I congratulate the Colorado players and coaches for their fine performance and sportsmanlike conduct in Saturday's Liberty Bowl game.

INDIVIDUAL DEPLETIONS

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, it is Monday again, and I am feeling depleted. It is in this light that I ask the following two newspaper articles be introduced into this RECORD.

My distinguished legal friend, Francis Heisler, of Carmel, has introduced a suit in Federal court to give tax relief for individual depletion. I find his suit appealing, and I feel the individual depletion should be pegged to oil depletion allowances. There is certainly as much justification for individual depletion, as there is for oil depletions.

Finally, gentlemen, I do not believe we should be fearful of objections from those under 30 on the subject. After all, when have we ever considered their views on any other matters, such as the draft, our involvement in Vietnam, and our failure to support educational programs. The articles follow:

PEOPLE DEPRECIATE 27 PERCENT, TOO

(By Doug Porter)

A Carmel, Calif., attorney, fed up with taxes and alleged dodges, has decided to do something about it all. Francis Heisler, 73, has figured that if oil companies can get a 27½ per cent depletion allowance, he should too.

Heisler has filed an action at law in federal court asking for recovery of more than \$5,000 for taxes paid in 1965-1967 "erroneously and illegally assessed" by the Internal Revenue Service.

The suit said if this refund is turned down, the 27½ per cent allowance given oil companies should be ruled unconstitutional, too.

The action said Heisler and his wife, Freidy, 69, were "within reach of the Biblical age of three score and 10 years" and "it is expected that their 'natural deposits' and the 'improvement thereof' will be gradually depleted and within a foreseeable time undoubtedly wholly disappear."

Heisler said his suit also was being filed on behalf of 199.9 million persons in the United States who do not get depreciation allowances. He alleged only about 100,000 persons do get such a deduction.

[From the San Francisco Chronicle, Apr. 3, 1969]

AN UNUSUAL TAX APPEAL: LIFE AS

DEPRECIATION

(By Bill Cooney)

The Federal tax man is treating him rather shabbily, an elderly Carmel attorney charged here yesterday.

Francis Heisler, 73, a twinkle-eyed, Swiss-born lawyer charged that, of all things the tax man did not grant a 27½ per cent personal depletion allowance on the lives of him and his psychiatrist wife, Friedy, who is 68.

Tax laws, Heisler said in a Federal court suit, provide "for the depletion and for depreciation of improvements according to the peculiar conditions in each case."

CLAIM

He and his wife, he said, "claim that since they are within the reach of the Biblical age of three score and ten years it is to be expected that their 'natural deposits' and the 'improvements thereof' will be gradually depleted and in a foreseeable time, in absence of a miracle, will undoubtedly wholly disappear."

Claims for refunds for 27½ per cent of the taxes he and his wife paid the past three years have been turned down by the Internal Revenue Service.

That turndown, he said, "is wholly erroneous, illegal and unconstitutional, to boot" and shows "invidious discrimination" by the tax man.

DEPLETIONS

Internal Revenue allows a 27½ per cent depletion on oil and gas wells, 22 per cent depletion on sulphur and anorthosite clay, asbestos, or graphite and/or mica "irrespective of whether or not such resources will be exhausted," Heisler says.

When the tax man says in effect, "that depletion allowance is to be granted for such 'natural resources' as oil and gas wells, minerals, timber and many other natural deposits, but is not to be granted for such natural resources' as a person's ability to earn a livelihood," Heisler said, the tax man is not granting him equal protection under law.

PROFESSIONS

Both he and his wife, Heisler said, "improved their 'natural deposits' by obtaining an education, in schools and outside," and that each of them have practiced their respective professions honorably for more than 30 years.

If the district court upholds the refusal to refund his 27½ per cent, Heisler said, then he wants a three-judge court to be convened to declare the depletion section of the tax law unconstitutional.

Heisler said his suit is a class suit, "meaning I am filing on behalf of 199,990,000 people. The other 100,000 people in the country benefit by the depletion allowance."

Then he said he estimates that the depletion allowance means "those getting it don't pay \$55 billion in taxes each year."

"Why, that is enough to run the war for two years."

STONE MOUNTAIN

HON. BENJAMIN B. BLACKBURN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Hubert Lee has been publisher of Dixie Business for nearly 40 years. In that time he has seen much history made in Georgia and has, himself, contributed to it in no small part.

This coming spring will see the completion of the Stone Mountain Memorial, commemorating the historic conflict between North and South.

In the fall issue of Dixie Business, Mr. Lee recounts some of the early history of the efforts to effectuate this memorial, and relates some of his efforts in this regard.

Mr. Speaker, I submit for inclusion Mr. Lee's article in the RECORD at this point:

STONE MOUNTAIN

Some 3-million eager visitors will visit Stone Mountain this year to see the 8th "Wonder of the World."

The giant outcropping weighs 1-billion-250-million tons.

As a boy, I climbed Stone Mountain. I climbed down to dangerous Buzzards Roost . . . sometimes slipping several feet before catching my bare feet on crevice or a patch of soil on the rocks.

My brother, Russell Fred, gets goosepimples just thinking of the chances I took of falling down off the mountain. He and I dare to go where goats would be scared to venture.

That was before Mrs. Helen Jemison Plane had a vision in 1912 of carving a great memorial in honor of the Southern Confederacy.

I remember boyhood thrills when my mother took us out to Ponce de Leon Amusement Park where Sears is now located.

It was more wonderful than Disneyland, and the street car fare was 5c.

And later there was White City where I turned the crank to unwind the moving picture reels to see the silent picture show. White City Amusement Park is as forgotten as the old Atlanta Daily Star with its red headlines.

Then came Lakewood Park.

And now Stone Mountain has amusement attractions as a plus for visitors to the Mountain in the Sky.

There is a lake for fishing, a modern campground, hundreds of sites for picnicking, riding trails, a glistening white sand beach for swimming. A golf course with 70% built on solid rock with an 18-24-inch fill of crushed granite and 12-24 inches of crushed stone, fill dirt and soil will attract champions, Tom Elliot, park general manager, anticipates. It was designed by Robert Trent Jones.

There is the world's largest carillons, 610 bells, 12-story skyward, the Civil War Museum, the Skylift, a 5-mile Railroad and a riverboat, the Robert E. Lee, that cruises the 446 acre lake.

ATLANTA JAYCEES

As a member of a committee of the Atlanta Junior Chamber of Commerce, I helped raise the money for Borglum to begin his carvings.

I still have one of the folders that I gave to all who subscribed to help finance Gutzon Borglum in 1923.

Outline of a picture of Borglum in leather harness climbing Stone Mountain read:

"Gutzon Borglum, noted sculptor, descending to precipice of Stone Mountain, June 18, 1923, to begin carving General Lee's figure, the central figure in the central group of the great Confederate Memorial."

The Grand Plan that I used effectively to persuade men and women to give!

The Post Card scenic folder I gave to the prospects I called on for pledges to give money in 1923 as a member of the Atlanta Jaycees team read:

"On Stone Mountain Gutzon Borglum has commenced the carving of history's supreme monument in memory of the Southern Confederacy."

Stone Mountain is literally, as its name implies, a Mountain of Stone.

It is the largest single body of granite in the world.

Its foundations underlie nearly half of the State of Georgia.

Several Atlanta Office Buildings rest on solid rock foundations blasted out of the Stone Mountain strata.

The exposed mountain is seven miles around the base and 1,000 feet to the summit.

On the northern side, Stone Mountain drops to a sheer, naked precipice almost a thousand feet. Time has not marked it in the slightest trace. A million years of erosion have touched it as lightly as the clouds touch the sky.

Since the dawn of creation it has stood as it stands when we gaze upon it, unchanged, unchanging, imperishable.

Across the mammoth page of granite Gutzon Borglum will engrave a perpetual and indestructible tribute to the men and women who fought, suffered and died for the Southern Confederacy.

His plan provides for three main features:

1. The Panorama.
2. The Memorial Hall.
- e. The Amphitheatre.

Beginning on the right near the Mountain's summit and sweeping downward and across it a distance of thirteen hundred feet will be carved a picture representing the Confederate Armies marching into battle. On the right will be artillery, the horses straining to back the gun carriages.

Next will be cavalry in full forward motion.

In the center will be carved a magnificent group of Confederate chieftains, including President Jefferson Davis, General Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson and others to be selected.

On the left of this group and extending off toward the end of the Mountain will be the Confederate Infantry swiftly marching.

General Lee's figure in the central group will be nearly 200 feet high, or as high as a 16-story office building.

All other figures in the whole panorama will be in relative proportion.

No sculptured figures in ancient or modern times were comparable to these in magnitude or grandeur.

The central Group alone, were nothing added to it, would eclipse the Sphinx and Pyramids.

Below the panorama will be chiselled out of the living granite, the Memorial Hall.

At the base of the mountain to the right of the precipice, will be built an amphitheatre rivaling the dimensions of the Roman Coliseum.

Mr. Borglum estimates the cost at \$3,500,000 for the entire plan, and the time to complete it, he estimates at six or seven years.

FORMER PRESIDENT JOHNSON

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, I suppose your attitude on President Johnson, like everything else, depends on how you look at him.

In an era when the accuracy and impartiality of the news media is being studied, I invite the attention of the Members to the following articles.

In the Evening Star of Thursday, December 11, 1969, Betty Beale writes:

A somewhat slimmer, completely relaxed LBJ shook hands with old friends and appeared to enjoy it when a photographer said "One more please."

The morning Washington Post on December 12, 1969, stated:

The former President looked well but somewhat heavier than when he left office last January.

ALDERMAN ANTHONY C. LAURINO HONORED AS MAN OF THE YEAR BY THE ALBANY PARK HEBREW CONGREGATION

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last week one of the most highly respected and distinguished citizens of Chicago, Alderman Anthony C. Laurino, was honored as Man of the Year by the Albany Park Hebrew Congregation, which is located in the heart of my congressional district.

We here in Washington very often are awed as great names and personalities pass through the scene of the Nation's Capital. Too often it is dedicated Americans who provide the very mortar of spirit for our Republic at the grassroots level and who are forgotten or obscured by those of greater providence.

The Albany Park Hebrew Congregation, in singling out Alderman Laurino, has afforded us an opportunity to call attention to a dedicated public official who labors hard and intelligently in the vineyards of our great democracy.

Anthony C. Laurino is such a distinguished American.

In his own quiet way he cares for the needs of the citizens in the 39th ward on Chicago's Northwest Side.

Tony Laurino is the closest link between the citizens of the 39th ward and their Government, and he is a model of excellence in rendering public service.

Few men are as highly respected for their dedication to the cause of public service as is Anthony Laurino.

I am pleased to include in my remarks today a brief biography of Mr. Laurino and to also congratulate Mrs. Albert Weinberg, who was the dinner chairman, and Mr. Albert Weinberg, the general chairman of the banquet sponsored by the Albany Park Hebrew Congregation at which Alderman Laurino was honored.

I am sure that Mayer Kaplan and Herman Bush, honorary chairmen, as well as Huncce Naiman, Marvin Rudnick, and Al Sherman, cochairmen, would join me in paying tribute to Mr. Laurino.

Finally, Rabbi Abraham E. Abramowitz and Eli Friedlander, president of the congregation, has provided the spark and leadership to make the honor to Alderman Laurino a most inspiring evening, as well as Mrs. Morris Meyerowitz, sisterhood president, Meyer Reiter, men's club president, Mrs. Huncce Naiman, sisterhood bond chairman, and Sam Primack, men's club bond chairman.

The biography on Mr. Laurino follows:

THE HONORABLE ANTHONY C. LAURINO

Thirty years ago, Alderman Laurino became interested in politics. He first observed and then helped his father, who at that time was the Ward Superintendent of the First

Ward. There were hard lessons to be learned in those early days of his political apprenticeship. Young Laurino discovered the technique of "communicating" with people, long before the Madison Avenue boys started to use the term. It got him places. From a beginning as a Precinct Captain, he was successively promoted, first as secretary to the late Alderman (later judge Philip A. Shapiro, then as a member of the Cook County Central Committee by appointment of Mayor Richard J. Daley; and then later he enjoyed the triumph of elections, by landslide votes as Alderman of the 39th ward.

He is recognized by his constituents as a full-time, hard working and dedicated public servant. His efforts on their behalf include: representing six improvement associations, conferring with the P.T.A., Civic Groups and religious leaders of all denominations. His humble attitude and his untiring effort towards an unending task have won for him the respect, admiration and affection of all of the people of his Ward. His office is always open to his constituents.

An honorary member of the Congregation for a number of years, Alderman Laurino has consistently evidenced a deep interest in the Congregation and has constantly participated in its activities, with a special interest in its Men's Club.

FOR THE BULLETIN BOARD

HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, I have with me today a copy of a note issued by the Denver, Colo. regional director of the Post Office. This is another example of how the Post Office is propagandizing the public and its employees on the supposed merit of the Postal Corporation.

I again feel that the management of the Post Office should be spending more of its time and effort on improving efficiency, standardization, and mechanization of the mail, and other such meritorious projects rather than so much time on "politicking" for a corporate concept.

While postal management is propagandizing the problems of the Post Office continue to mount and so far I have seen no evidence of efficiency that is saving the Post Office money.

I would like to enter this memorandum in the RECORD in order that my colleagues may see how the Department publicizes its effort to convert the Post Office to a corporation:

NOTES FROM THE DESK OF THE REGIONAL DIRECTOR

DENVER, COLO.,
October 17, 1969.

FOR THE BULLETIN BOARD

We have had several inquiries during the past week as to whether H.R. 11750, the Administration's "Postal Reform" bill, was finished by the recent activity of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

For those who are not aware of what has transpired, there was a tie vote in the House Committee as to which of two reform bills to start marking up. We cannot tell you exactly what will eventually transpire in that Committee but it is possible, legislatively, to force another vote and it could go either way if there were a change in the thinking of one or more members. In other words, this is simply one skirmish in one phase of a long-range battle.

Hearings in the Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service are just starting. Upon completion of these hearings there will be a vote on the bill by the Senate Committee. If the Committee vote is favorable the bill would next be taken to the Floor of the Senate for debate and final passage. Should the Senate bill differ from the House bill they would go to conference to iron out the dissimilarities.

The idea of "Postal Reform" is far from dead and activity is still running at its peak.

It is a sincere belief of those who are working to improve the present postal system that H.R. 11750 is for the best interests of postal employees as a whole, and, there is no intention of discontinuing our efforts on this postal reform bill.

Even if H.R. 11750 is rejected by the First and Second Sessions of the 91st Congress there will be continuing efforts in the 92nd.

J. E. KERR.

THE ORDER OF AHEPA 1922-70

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, on January 10, 1970, the supreme lodge officers of the Order of AHEPA will be honored at a dinner at the Biltmore Hotel in Los Angeles. This is the first official west coast visitation in the history of the organization.

The host for this banquet will be Dr. Michael N. Spirtos, supreme secretary of the Order of AHEPA who was instrumental in founding the Beverly Hills chapter in 1967 and served as its charter president. He has served on several national AHEPA committees and in 1968 was named "Hellene of the Year" by the Hellenic Cultural Foundation in Phoenix.

The Order of AHEPA was founded July 26, 1922, in Atlanta, Ga., and its jurisdiction extends to 49 States, Canada, and Australia with 430 local chapters. The Order of AHEPA is a secret fraternal organization, which is nonpolitical and nonsectarian. The word "AHEPA" is an acronym, and is derived from the first letters of the following: American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association.

Membership in the Order of AHEPA is open to men of good moral character who are citizens of the United States of America, or Canada, or who have declared their intention to become citizens.

The "AHEPA family" is composed of four separate organizations, all of which work in harmony on a local, district, and national level. They are: The Order of AHEPA—The Daughters of Penelope—senior women's auxiliary—Maids of Athena—junior young women's auxiliary—The Sons of Pericles—junior young man's auxiliary.

The Order of AHEPA has contributed financially to many worthy causes during its 48 years of existence, on a national and international level. These contributions do not take into account the many local activities of the chapters within the realm of their communities. Local AHEPA chapters have always given generously, and vigorously supported local community undertakings in the fields

of education, charity, and civic improvement.

Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me to recognize and congratulate the Order of AHEPA on its 48th year of service and accomplishment and to extend to its officers and members my best wishes for the future.

ON REORDERING OUR NATIONAL PRIORITIES

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, for some time, I have been sponsoring legislation to establish a Select Congressional Committee on the Utilization of Federal Funds as the Vietnam war deescalates. I envision such a committee delving deeply into the ordering of our national priorities so as to allow the Congress a meaningful voice in the spending policy which is currently completely dominated by the Bureau of the Budget.

At present, the advance work on the budget precludes Congress from participating in any responsible way on the budget or its composition until it is presented to us as an accomplished fact. All that the Congress is able to do is to spend a good deal of time discussing dollar figures within present categories rather than determining the overall budget for each area of spending. It has become impossible in my judgment for Congress to change the course of expenditures in any significant way.

In other words, even if we in Congress wanted to change our national priorities away from certain defense expenditures which are not essential to our national security, the Congress presently is at a great disadvantage since we are continually dealing with present-day budget requests after the major budget decisions have already been made. This system must be changed to allow Congress to help plan the budget as well. Thus the reordering of our national priorities can be a reality.

Recently, the D.C. Coalition on National Priorities and Local Needs conducted a "hearing" on these important matters, as they relate to the District of Columbia. Similar meetings were held throughout the country. At the December 12 meeting in the Rayburn Building, Mr. Robert Benson, who was formerly in the Comptroller's Office of the Department of Defense, and who currently is assistant to John Gardner at the Urban Coalition, delivered a thought-provoking and hard-nosed speech on the specifics of the budgetary process as it relates to the Defense Department, the so-called peace dividend and the vast waste which currently exists in our monetary commitments to specific defense programs. I commend this fine speech to the attention of every Member of this body.

Sometime in the near future, the Congress and the people of this Nation must face the reordering of our priorities head-on. The decay of our cities and the polarization which results from that de-

cay, and the deterioration of our environment and our Nation must and can be halted if we are to survive as a Nation.

Mr. Benson's speech is as follows:

REMARKS BY ROBERT S. BENSON AS DELIVERED AT THE TOWN MEETING OF THE D.C. COALITION ON NATIONAL PRIORITIES AND LOCAL NEEDS

Today we gather to discuss local needs and national priorities—to examine the relative merits of competing demands on limited and precious national resources. If this nation's priorities today made sense, there would be no need for such a session. America's priorities today are not sensible. Our fetish for physical security against outside threats is excessive; our regard for the quality of life and the provision of human opportunity is undernourished.

But we have all frequently heard and employed such general rhetoric during the past year. What I find particularly encouraging about these hearings is that by moving away from rhetoric to a specific enumeration of untended local ills, we force a measure of accountability on the Congress and the President. As long as we talk solely in general terms, our pleas are easily ignored. When men as knowledgeable as John Hechinger, Walter Fauntroy, and Channing Phillips lay out the problems of the District in highly concrete fashion and we compare the merits of spending money to remedy these problems against the wasteful way much Federal spending is currently being squandered, our case becomes much harder to ignore.

As a citizen of the District of Columbia, I am aware of many problems of inadequate social services and physical decay, but I today leave their exposition to my better informed co-speakers. I do know one thing however: unlike some communities, Washington has no lack of ideas for solutions or will on the part of local leadership to face up to these problems. Our need is for more dollars.

That comment brings me to my own role here today. I have been asked to discuss the broad fiscal parameters surrounding the backlog of urban and environmental needs faced by the nation, with particular reference to possibilities for securing funds through reduction of defense spending.

I will turn to defense in a moment, but I would be remiss in not commenting first on tax policy. The most spectacular move toward reordering of priorities in the past year has emanated from Congress—and it is not encouraging. The House has passed a tax bill that would provide billions of dollars in tax cuts over the next few years, and the Senate is greatly expanding that impact. What started out as a well-intentioned effort to correct serious inequities in our tax structure is developing into a monster which promises to reduce federal revenues at just the time when they are urgently needed to solve domestic problems. John Gardner said it well: "Extra dollars in the consumer's pocket won't buy him an adequate police force or good schools or clean air and water. Handing money back to the private sector is a formula for making us—as individuals—richer and richer in filthier and filthier communities, more and more sated with consumer goods in an unlivable environment—Croesus on a garbage heap."

It is absurd for the fattest, richest nation on earth to assert that it can't afford to cope with the problems that are tearing at its vitals. We can't indulge in such hypocrisy and continue to respect ourselves. We must tax ourselves to deal with what ails us.

At the same time we should move with all possible energy to reorder national priorities on the expenditure side. There are many points at which money might be saved, if anyone has the political courage to do it. Farm prices and income supports run to \$4 billion a year. Highways cost us \$4 billion a

year. The Bureau of Reclamation and the Corps of Engineers spend about \$2 billion a year. And there is now talk of doubling the maritime subsidy to a billion dollars a year. One could list many other examples of expenditures that at the very least deserve searching reappraisal in the light of desperately important priorities of the moment.

But the part of the budget that most urgently calls for continuing scrutiny is the defense budget. Of the \$184 billion the government is paying out annually, some \$80 billion go for defense purposes. Thanks to vigorous public discussion, the Department of Defense has worked to reduce that figure and is now thinking in terms of \$71 to \$73 billion for the 1971 budget. But unless very strong public pressure continues, the demands of the military will be re-asserted.

Ten months ago the Council of Economic Advisors predicted that the end of United States involvement in Vietnam would bring a "peace dividend" of \$22 billion. On August 25, Daniel Moynihan reported rather wistfully that the expected peace and growth dividends "turned out to be evanescent like the morning clouds around San Clemente"—there no longer would be any peace dividend. Which prediction is correct? Is the peace dividend fact or fiction?

Either of these alternatives could prove correct. Which course is ultimately pursued depends purely on national will and purpose. That choice will affect significantly the quality of life and general welfare in the United States over the next decade. I want to see that choice made in the direction of maximizing national security—and I assert strenuously that national security will be maximized by creating a \$22 billion peace dividend, thereby implicitly cutting defense spending from the \$80 billion level requested this year by the Nixon Administration down to \$58 billion.

To get a feel for these choices and competing demands on limited funds, let's make the perhaps rash assumption that all U.S. troops will be withdrawn from Vietnam by June 1971 and examine the 1972 budget. I might point out that since Administration review of the 1971 budget is now virtually complete, 1972 is the first budget we still have an opportunity to substantially affect.

In 1972, Federal Government revenues will be about \$220 billion. What demands will be placed on that sum? To begin with, I prudently suggest the need for about a \$5 billion surplus to help combat the continued inflation which is one of my assumptions and to leave sufficient money available for investment in housing and other private needs. Rises in population and prices will increase the cost of the 1970 package of domestic programs to \$127 billion by 1972. That is the price of theoretically not losing further ground in addressing our domestic ills. The key question then becomes how much of the remaining \$88 billion will be sucked up by defense and how much allocated to new domestic ventures.

If the Administration is allowed to have its way, the prospects become alarming. I have carefully tried to sift through the rhetoric of Secretary Laird and other Defense Department spokesmen, and until the last two months they consistently claimed defense spending of about \$79 billion would be required in FY 1972 even assuming our complete disengagement from Vietnam. If a full volunteer army concept were adopted and implemented, the cost would rise to about \$85 billion.

This would leave only \$3 billion for new domestic ventures—not even enough for the new income maintenance program already announced by President Nixon.

How can a so-called "post-war" defense budget of \$85 billion be possible when pre-Vietnam defense budgets totalled only \$50 billion? To begin with, inflation means that the same forces we procured for \$50 billion

in 1965 would cost \$67 billion in 1972. Add on military modernization requests; new programs like the Advanced Manned Strategic Bomber, a super-hardened missile, supersilent submarines, and others; and continue programed acquisition of the multitude of new aircraft, tanks, and ships approved this year—you are up to \$79 billion. The volunteer army takes you the rest of the way.

This explains how the military can talk about an \$85 billion 1972 defense budget. It does not begin to justify it. Such an explanation begs the question of whether these new weapons systems are really required to meet expected threats to our national security. It also fails to address the issue of whether all the forces procured in the pre-war package still makes sense. We have a great tendency to focus solely on the new programs; the old programs are never re-questioned to determine whether their purpose still pertains in a changed political and technological environment. Neither, with the exception of the excellent report issued last week by the House Appropriations Committee, has the Congress or the public looked hard at management inefficiencies in the defense sector.

It is not my purpose here to offer a detailed examination of the sinew and the fat in the current or projected defense budgets. I have treated this subject at some length in recent articles in *Fortune* and *The Washington Monthly*. It is probably sufficient simply to suggest a few examples and to restate my basic conclusions which are that most of the expected modernization and performance increase requests—about \$9 billion worth—are unjustifiable; that at least \$10 billion worth of outmoded, no longer relevant defense forces could be safely excised from those we procured prior to Vietnam; and that \$3 billion could be saved by improved management efficiency on manpower and procurement.

Let me pinpoint my concerns with a few illustrative questions in each of these three areas. First, with regard to modernization and performance increase requests—

Because helicopters have proved valuable in fighting guerilla war in certain kinds of Vietnamese terrain, does it make sense to spend a billion dollars equipping all 18 Army divisions—even those prepared to fight on the open terrain of Central Europe—with a full complement of helicopters on top of their regular equipment?

Why build hundreds of F-14 and F-15 fighter aircraft at \$10-15 million per copy, involving complex electronics gear like that which hasn't worked reliably in recently purchased hardware, when we have as an alternative a simple, uncluttered \$3 million per copy fighter model which promises better performance?

After the B-70 experience showed us strategic bombers were an anachronism in a missile age, why repeat that folly by launching a potentially \$15-12 billion AMSA program?

Why build nuclear carriers, destroyers, and frigates at nearly twice the cost of conventionally powered ships when the only advantages are very minor increases in cruising speed and range of the fleet?

Switching over to outmoded, no longer relevant defense forces, consider these queries—

Does it make sense to maintain and modernize a 15 attack aircraft carrier fleet at an annual operating cost alone of over \$3 billion a year—more carriers than all the rest of the nations in the world, friend and foe, possess—when the conventional war at sea scenario is no longer plausible in today's nuclear age?

How rational is it to maintain a fleet of 6 ASW carriers and to build a new multi-billion dollar airplane to put on them when performance studies show that the cheaper, land-based P-3 airplane now being phased in does a more effective job?

Is it still equitable for the United States to bear the cost of 310,000 troops stationed

in Europe long after economic prosperity has been restored to our Western European allies?

Finally, looking at the kind of management efficiency issues the House Appropriations Committee has begun to take action on, reflect on the following—

Even allowing for inflation and technical complexity, might there not be something wrong with a procurement system in which we are told that \$19.9 billion cost growth was experienced over a \$74 billion baseline plan—an overall increase of 26%—in 35 major systems now being procured?

Is it really necessary to spend \$2 billion annually just moving men between assignments when this means in practice that the typical soldier receives a changed station assignment nearly once a year?

Clearly many of the practices and forces pointed out in these observations do not make sense. Substantial cuts can be made in the defense budget without adversely affecting our real security against external attack. Based on my work experience at the Department of Defense and my perception of the United States position in world affairs, I can state unequivocally that I would feel quite secure with a 1972 defense budget of \$58 billion. Such a budget would mean that \$30 billion would be available for new domestic programs.

I want to stress that a \$58 billion defense budget would not smack of unilateral disarmament, as Congressman Ford might be wont to charge, nor would it lock us into rusting old equipment. There would be room in such a budget for continuing research, development, and equipment modernization. The 1964 budget of \$54 billion, for example, included \$22 billion for research, development, and procurement. Cutbacks I propose would eliminate fat and outmoded programs, not cut into the relevant sinew.

Thus we have an envelope of from \$3 billion to \$30 billion for new domestic ventures in 1972, depending on the kind of military budget we permit. For the principle alone of stemming further drift toward a national security state, it is worth struggling to push the post-war defense budget as close as possible to the \$58 billion mark. The case is made even more compelling, though, by an examination of the diversity and scope of new domestic demands on available funds.

The President's postwar planning committee provides a good initial shopping list. First they point to a \$6 billion gap between amounts currently authorized and funded for social programs already making important contributions. Two-thirds of this gap is in low-income housing, elementary and secondary education, and higher education.

On top of these, the committee offers a long list of new efforts—totaling about \$40 billion in potential 1972 spending—either totally new programs or major expansions of current domestic ventures. These do not represent far out dreaming. The list was compiled from a review of recommendations by task forces in the fields of education, health, manpower, social insurance, welfare, urban development, crime prevention, pollution control, natural resource development, transportation, space technology, and science. Some examples from the list—

\$1.0 billion to establish 350 additional comprehensive neighborhood health care centers;

\$1.8 billion to provide 500,000 additional public service jobs for the disadvantaged;

\$2.5 billion to double federal aid to elementary and secondary education.

These are not extraordinary amounts. No further monies are provided, for example, for necessary expanded housing subsidy programs. The total funds earmarked for nutrition are \$1.0 billion; yet the Senate has already approved a bill calling for a \$1.5 billion expansion of the food stamp program alone. The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education would have us spending more like an

additional \$7.7 billion rather than the President's Committee's \$3.0 billion on Federal aid to higher education. Specifically excluded from the committee's list is the much discussed idea of a comprehensive income maintenance plan, which at moderate levels likely would cost \$15-20 billion annually.

Altogether, I calculate that these new or expanded domestic program ideas would cost \$60 billion annually. I expect that no two of us here could agree on precisely which of these ventures are most critically needed. Clearly the country and the District of Columbia could progress without all of them being implemented by 1972. I honestly believe though that the alternative of doing nothing to address this vast catalog of unmet domestic needs would pose a much greater threat to our national security than paring down the defense budget to the levels I advocate. I trust that the point is sufficiently clear that domestic needs are so vast that it makes a vital difference where in the \$3 billion to \$30 billion range the so-called "peace and growth dividend" falls. This is the choice all of us must work to influence.

PROJECT HEADSTART: THE FAILURE

HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, of all the projects associated with the Office of Economic Opportunity, Project Headstart has been heralded as eminently worthwhile, for it is concerned with the education of our children.

Dr. Nancy L. Kearney, one of my constituents, has conducted extensive research in the area of Federal educational programs, and she has prepared an article on Project Headstart for the December 1969 issue of the Pennsylvania School Journal. This article is entitled "Project Headstart: The Failure," and because it casts off the mantle of emotion that customarily clings to an examination of this project, it offers some interesting insights into the pertinent project. I submit this article to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

PROJECT HEAD START: THE FAILURE

(By Dr. Nancy L. Kearney)

Isn't it time someone said the negative and critical thing about Project Head Start? For we have failed. Our Project Head Start programs are not the utopian answer that we expected. The taxpayers' dollars, many valuable hours of professional effort, selected talent being directed for a going program, a public smiling because something is being done for the children of poverty—what do we really have to show for all this?

Project Head Start is the most difficult to criticize federal program and the last to be cut from the federal Office of Economic Opportunity budget. The taxpayers won't criticize the one program they believe is doing something for children, those poor kids. Everybody loves children—and how better can you use the conscience dollar but for the little ones? Make this a better world. If we can't understand the adult poverty dilemma, maybe the children we help will produce a new society.

The educators won't criticize their own program and the new preschool opportunity it gave them, for it coincides with the educators' recognition of need for earlier edu-

cation for all children. They know most of the learning begins in these years before six, the formative years of a child's life. Now educators have a captive group of preschool children, and preschool programs have become an integral part of public education.

And all those talented resource people contributing their thing to the cause—every volunteer who drove a car, cut out a paper posy, fed those dear children a fresh orchard apple, or sang a folk song—needs to know it was a "good" project and they were part of a worthwhile program.

So do the medical doctors, the dentists, and the mental health people who gave professional time helping to show they are a human bunch and don't always need a dollar return on each professional commitment.

All the ingredients seem right—a united effort of a society bent on contributing to the war on poverty—and which one of these groups can possibly come forth with a self-criticism? Isn't it time now to take a critical look at the whole picture, recognizing the deficiencies in spite of the very valuable parts and pieces?

STUDIES SCARCE

A paucity of organized educational literature exists concerning Project Head Start successes. A review of the empirical studies shows it to be very general in nature, suggesting alarm, concern, need, possible successes, and new curriculum needs. Little empirical research is available; opinions are many.

Educators have authoritatively stated that culturally deprived children have special needs. Martin P. Deutsch, in his treatise concerning lower class children, asserts that they enter school so poorly prepared that the initial failures are almost always inevitable. These same children show a high incidence of school failure, school dropouts, reading and learning difficulty as well as life adjustment problems. The schools need to compensate for the shortcomings. Programs need to be developed and it is easier to overcome these difficulties in the earlier years than in later years.

Educators have proposed solutions for cultural deprivation. In 1962 Havighurst presented a paper to the Work Conference on Curriculum and Teaching in Depressed Areas, proposing the innovation of a number of educational programs. One of these proposals calls for "a set of preschool centers in areas where children live under conditions of emotional and intellectual deprivation. These centers would supplement the home in an effort to give children a better start in school."

In 1964, at the University of Chicago, a research conference on Education and Cultural Deprivation was held to review the problems of education associated with cultural deprivation. The recommendations from the early experience section of that conference proposed a special nursery school and kindergarten to be organized on a national level. When Project Head Start was initiated in 1965, educators were the guides and specialists involved.

Now Project Head Start is a fact. It exists within and without the school systems from coast to coast. Does it have the answer for the children of poverty?

1965 REPORT NOTED

During the summer of 1965, 29 observers from the Educational Testing Service visited 335 Project Head Start centers. Findings of their study, in part, were that the success of Project Head Start in its first summer was less noteworthy in the teaching of intellectual skills than in "showing up" the social and emotional shortcomings of socially and culturally deprived children. As early as 1965 we should have recognized failure.

In May of 1967 after the culturally deprived children of Philadelphia had experi-

enced Project Head Start programs from their inception in 1965, the Executive Director of Research and Evaluation for the Philadelphia Public Schools reported that the IQ and achievement of children in the schools declined as the children moved from grades one to eight. Children from poverty areas lagged far behind other children. His research suggests that Project Head Start had not had any effect on the academic achievement of children in the Philadelphia Public Schools.

In 1968 the *Saturday Review* stated that poor children still appear to lag in schools despite the federal funds that are being spent.

The most recent and comprehensive study ever made of Project Head Start was completed by Westinghouse Learning Corporation and Ohio University between June 1968 and March 1969. The authors of this study have very clearly shown that Project Head Start in its present form is not worth the cost and ought to be radically revised.

Under the terms of the contract with OEO, the Westinghouse study attempted to measure the extent to which children in the first, second, and third grades who had attended Project Head Start preschool programs differed "in their intellectual and socio-personal development from comparable children who did not attend."

The mandate of failure is clear. Poor children who participate in Project Head Start are not appreciably better off than equally disadvantaged children who do not participate. From this study released to Congress in April of 1969 came the strong recommendation to find a more effective program or technique for remedying the effect of poverty on disadvantaged children. But federal money is still allocated to Project Head Start. The dollars are still being spent for these programs of failure.

Project Head Start programs thus far have had some positive effects. Note well, however, that these are not aligned with the money spent and the goals of the program.

POSITIVE EFFECTS

(1) Poverty areas have been located, charted, and realized. A new impression has been formed of how poor, poor people are in this country. The American dream of great potential for all individuals has been enlarged to include the poor of our ghettos and rural America.

(2) Local communities have needed to pull together, incorporate to form agencies, and become a working force "to be where the action is," community action, that is. For under the section of The Economic Opportunity Act concerned with the development of Community Action Program. Project Head Start was born and the federal OEO direction was that local communities were to design, organize, direct, and operate their own programs. Thus, the local community has gained new organization and impetus for change.

(3) The third positive effect which may be listed for Project Head Start is the alerting of all people to the fact that formal education should start at a very early age. The research indicates that IQs can be raised through education in these early formative years. All mothers have been alerted to the fact that their children need them from the day they are born. Education starts at birth! If early education is good for the ghetto child, why not mine?

But the goals of Project Head Start have not been achieved and dollars spent to "erase patterns of frustration and failure" have not accomplished the mission. We, in 1969, have not been able to note or record any lasting educational effects for Project Head Start.

So we have failed. Our Project Head Start programs are not the utopian answer. When a homemaker bakes a cake and the results are not a delectable success so far as cakes are concerned, she revises the recipe by changing the method or the ingredients. She may even discard the recipe peculiar to the failure.

Then the next cake by another recipe has a chance to be successful.

She does not decide not to bake any more cakes or that she can't bake cakes, but she certainly doesn't again follow the same recipe of failure. With a different quality or quantity or combination of ingredients, she tries again.

Why can't we do that with Project Head Start? We know and have proved we have not been successful. The Project Head Start product is not in accord with the anticipated and desired goal. Let's change the recipe and bake another cake!

AN EDITOR'S VIEW OF WRIGHT RESOLUTION

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, the editor-in-chief of Hearst Newspapers, Mr. William Randolph Hearst, has provided some very significant comments on the importance of the Vietnam resolution recently adopted by the House of Representatives.

In his December 7 editorial, Mr. Hearst points out that the solid endorsement given the President's efforts for a just and honorable peace may well convince the Communists they must make concessions in the negotiations in order to end the fighting.

Unlike the cursory "whole lot of nothing" comment attributed to the resolution by Washington's morning newspaper, the editor-in-chief of Hearst Newspapers sees the resolution as possibly the most important step toward peace since our initial involvement in Vietnam. I commend Mr. Hearst for his positive and responsible approach to the Vietnam resolution, and include his editorial in the RECORD, at this point:

OF PEACE TODAY AND FLIGHT TOMORROW
(By William Randolph Hearst, Jr.)

NEW YORK.—The most important story of the past week—and really one of the most important since the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin resolution—was the vote in which the House of Representatives of the United States Congress by six to one (333-55) supported President Nixon's conduct of the hostilities in South Vietnam and his steps to achieve peace.

The vote was particularly significant since the House of Representatives is just that—its members are your congressmen and the nearest thing to one-man, one-vote pure democracy that we have in our republican form of government. These 333 congressmen, representing both political parties and a broad geographic cross-section of the nation, were literally the voice of the silent majority that the President referred to last month.

Until this week, the leaders of North Vietnam have probably labored under the delusion, and acted on the assumption, that the Peace At Any Price students and senators reflected the views of the majority in our country. It's easy to understand why they should, because the same students and Senators make the most noise and get by far the most publicity on television and often in the press of our nation.

I am inclined to think that not even the land-hungry Communists of North Vietnam would have continued to fight against a nation with the most powerful military force in

the world unless they thought that the majority of the people in this country were out of sympathy with our nation's philosophy.

I agree completely, as regular readers of this column know, with a recent statement by that fine soldier, Gen. William Westmoreland, that American public opinion—or at least the false tortured version of public opinion that we have had so far—has been the greatest detriment to the achievement of our goals in Vietnam.

It is highly understandable to me that Hanoi should have concluded that its tactics would be successful, especially since internal pressure in this country forced President Johnson to stop the bombing and President Nixon to announce that he will withdraw tens of thousands of our troops.

Had North Vietnam not labored under that delusion, it would have made some concessions at the so-called "peace talks" in Paris, where they have not given a single inch in 19 months.

Now, though, an overwhelming majority of the most representative body of our Congress has indicated that it supports the policy as outlined by our President. That policy calls for South Vietnam to take over a far greater burden of the fighting while we pull out slowly and steadily. It also calls for free, internationally-supervised elections in South Vietnam to let the people determine their leadership as they do in this country.

Every recent public opinion poll has demonstrated that a majority of the people in the United States support this policy. The latest was a telephone survey showing that more than 80 per cent of the people are behind President Nixon.

It may be wishful thinking on my part, but I am inclined to believe that Hanoi's attitude at the negotiating table in Paris may soften up a bit as a result of these demonstrations of public support for our government.

I am not surprised that the Communist delegates utilized Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge's last day at the Paris talks for a propaganda exploitation of the alleged Song My massacre.

They have indulged in little other than propaganda since the talks began in May 1968, and it was strictly in keeping with their attitude that they should accuse us of "thousands of barbarous" crimes.

But once they begin to give serious consideration to the vote in the House of Representatives and to the recent polls, they may see things in a different light.

I know the last 11 months have been frustrating for Cabot Lodge, as the previous nine months were for Averell Harriman and Cy Vance. None of them achieved anything.

Cabot left things in Paris much as he found them last January. But his successor may find the Communists a bit more reasonable—especially if the silent majority in the United States continues to make its will known as it did this past week.

THE CASE FOR TAX REFORM

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, in this critical time of housing shortages, I believe we should not overlook one of the villains of the tragedy—tax inequities.

The inequities exist at all levels of government. They have helped to bring about the housing shortage and are contributing to the prolonging of it.

Because I expect that few of us fully realize what has taken place and is taking place because of these tax inequities

as they affect housing and our cities, I place before the Members an article written by Mr. Alvin E. Gershen for New Jersey Business, a magazine of the New Jersey Manufacturers Association.

Mr. Gershen is president of the New Jersey State Board of Professional Planners and without doubt is one of the top men in his field in the Nation.

Mr. Gershen's article is entitled "A Planners View—The Case for Tax Reform." It will be noted that Mr. Gershen's strongest barbs are directed at New Jersey's horrendous property tax situation, but he also has directed a few warranted and deserved criticisms at our Federal tax structure.

There is no question that tax reform is needed at all levels of government, but our legislative efforts can only be directed at Federal taxation. I question just how much we are doing to achieve real reform at this session of Congress.

I do not believe we have been afforded the opportunity or will be afforded the opportunity of voting for real tax reform at this session of Congress. I say this in regard to the House bill, the Senate bill, and the eventual conference report, and I might add that the President's proposals for reform are even worse.

All of the proposals will give pebbles to low- and middle-income people and mountainsides to the rich. In some instances inequities are continued and in others they are expanded.

This is the text of Mr. Gershen's article:

A PLANNER'S VIEW—THE CASE FOR TAX REFORM

(By Alvin E. Gershen)

It is virtually impossible these days to talk to anyone about anything without recommending that whatever it is being discussed be changed. We seem to be obsessed with the idea that nothing works any more—our schools, our churches, our political system, our colleges, our foreign policy.

Even that most inflexible of American institutions—baseball—is in the throes of a major overhaul. The pitching mound is five inches lower, there are new teams and new divisions all over the place and Willie Mays is leading off.

Those of you who like things pretty much the way they are can take some solace in this:

Two constant factors remain. We still die and we still pay taxes and we do these things in the way we have always done them.

NO CHOICE

I know of no way of doing anything about the former—deep freeze techniques notwithstanding. And as for taxes, well, we are going to have to keep on paying them one way or the other.

The question I want to put to the reader is simply this—is one way as good as another? I don't think so. I think we are going to have to change our tax structure and do it pretty darn quick.

It is abundantly clear that the patience of the public is becoming a trifle strained with a federal income tax whose exemptions allow millionaires to get away with paying no taxes, while the average guy has got to turn in 12 percent of his annual salary. People are beginning to wonder about the wisdom of mineral depletion allowances when the supply of minerals never seems to become depleted. It is becoming more and more difficult to explain to the wage earner the need for the capital gains break and how immensely profitable buildings can depreciate away to nothing in 10 years.

President Nixon has said that tax reform will not be a priority item this year but I suspect that before his first term is up, we will have some version of federal tax reform. The pressure is on. And it is growing.

I would like to add here, parenthetically, that I hope the Administration's zeal for tax reform does not lead it toward the totally unwise step of abolishing state and municipal bond exemptions. With current interest rates on municipal bonds pushing six percent that kind of reform would make municipal financing of new projects prohibitively expensive.

FIRMING UP

I think there are signs in this state, also, that pressure is building up for tax reform. If there was any common strain running through the campaigns of our 11 candidates for Governor, it is that property taxes are getting out of hand. Democrat and Republican, liberal and conservative, they were all saying the same thing—we have just about hit the property tax ceiling in many communities.

But it isn't enough to say the real estate tax levels are too high. Nor does it help all that much to suggest that we replace the sales tax with an income tax or even add an income tax to the existing base. What we have to do is change the real estate tax structure and change it fundamentally.

Our real estate tax system is nonsense. We have just about reached the point where we can no longer live with it.

In Newark the equalized real estate tax rate is \$6.12 per every hundred dollars of valuation. In Clifton the rate is only \$2.02.

Trenton's rate is \$5.85 but in adjacent Hamilton Township, it is \$2.95. In Ocean County's Lacey Township, the rate is \$1.63 but taxpayers in Jackson Township in the same County pay \$4.03. Linden \$1.48—Hoboken, \$5.54, and so on. The inequities border on the incredible, and the cities are inexorably losing the battle for ratables.

SHORTCOMINGS

How long are we going to put up with a system which penalizes people because they don't choose to live next door to an oil refinery or because they can't afford to live in a neighborhood of \$50,000 homes? What possible justification is there for a system which says that a homeowner in Newark or Jersey City should pay three times as much as people who live in Summit.

How long are we going to apply the same tax rate to a private home as to a bank or a railroad roundhouse? What kind of sense does that make?

Are we one state? Or are we 567 independent fiefs?

Now I am a planner and as a breed we perhaps spend too much time looking at the big picture—chasing the ideal, the ultimate solution. So I can tell you that I believe we ought to start talking about standardizing the real estate tax all across the state. Or eliminating it and replacing it with personal and corporate income taxes, collected by the state and redistributed to the communities.

But as a planner, I am a realist, too. And my common sense tells me that the men who make the decisions for New Jersey are not quite ready for that kind of fiscal revolution.

Still I think that within the next few years we will have an income tax. And the real estate tax system will be modified. But this will be done within the framework of the art of the possible and our solutions will be the products of compromise.

Still, we can do a much better job with what we have and at the same time make sure that when the income tax does come, the state will be in a position to spend the money where it is most needed—and that is in the cities and the immediate city suburbs.

GREATEST DAMAGE

The cities are being crushed by the weight of the real estate tax. To my mind, the real estate tax rate is the single worst problem of modern cities—worse than the bad schools, worse than the crime in the streets, worse than the racial hatreds, worse than the slums.

Let's suppose for a minute that these other problems could be cleared up—that by some miracle the schools would begin giving ghetto children a decent education, that police were numerous enough and good enough to clear the streets of muggers, holdup men and burglars, that black men and white men learned to live comfortably with one another, that the slums were transformed into decent housing.

What good would it all do if the tax rates remained so high that people still couldn't afford to live in the cities and businesses couldn't afford to locate or remain there?

The process of deterioration would only begin all over again. Once prosperous stores would continue to be converted into bargain basements or cheap whiskey bars. The middle class, unable to pay the taxes and seeing their property values fall as a result, would still move out, and they would be replaced as they are now by the unskilled workers and the welfare recipients.

INCOMPATIBLE

The most insidious feature of the real estate tax is not the high rates. It is the difference in those rates between city and suburb. A difference so pronounced that the city cannot compete with the suburban communities for the kind of new construction it needs to grow and prosper.

The result is that virtually all significant new construction in cities is underwritten by some sort of tax relief procedure. And in cities like Newark or Jersey City that can mean tax gains from new construction only a third as large as they would be if the full rate were paid. Alternatively, with no tax relief we probably would have no construction at all.

The problem is very simple. The city can't compete with the suburb in attracting new industry or new housing. So it sacrifices potential tax revenue to get the construction.

The Fox Lance Law for industrial development and the Limited Dividend Law for housing development enable cities to grant the tax concessions as well as give tax predictability necessary for new development.

But even with this kind of help there are very serious drawbacks. First of all, municipalities using these laws are not getting the tax revenue they need and in the long run the advantage of the new development will be offset by the increased cost of providing municipal services for it.

Secondly, long-established residential, commercial and industrial owners are paying the full rate and are inexorably being pushed toward leaving by the ever-increasing tax rate.

The new construction does little to stop the tax rise, the existing owners refuse to expand or rehabilitate, and thus, the tax relief procedures are ultimately self-defeating.

So what's the answer?

CALL ON THE STATE

As simple as the problem. The state must make up the difference between the normal tax rate and the revenue gained through Fox Lance and similar procedures.

The Mutual Benefit-Blue Cross office building that will go up in Newark's Washington Park will provide the city with \$260,000 a year under Fox Lance. If the developers were going to pay the normal rate, Newark would get \$800,000.

Newark is willing to take what it can get. But in a lot of other cases, the local government can't do what Newark has done or cannot continue to do it forever because the financial or political price is too high.

When competing businesses and homeowners are being ground under by high tax rates, it is a little difficult to explain to them the need for permitting a brand new enterprise to get away with paying only a portion of the local tax rate. Dying men are not interested in cures for someone else's disease.

I know of at least a dozen instances in New Jersey where mayors and governing bodies would like very much to grant tax relief to developers but can't continue to do it because of the political pressures.

And as the tax rates go higher, the opposition will grow yet more fierce.

There is only one reasonable approach to this problem. The state should make up the difference to the communities in every case where tax relief is granted for industrial commercial and residential projects. This would mean an enormous spur to city development.

REWARD REPAIRS

And the state should take this approach in municipalities in which it has extensive holdings, such as Newark and Trenton. It should also offer tax benefits to property owners who rehabilitate their buildings whether they are for housing, commercial or industrial purposes.

There are those who would argue that if housing codes were more strictly enforced such abatements wouldn't be necessary. But you know as well as I do what would happen if housing codes were strictly enforced across the board.

Many owners, rather than sink substantial sums in improvements would simply abandon their buildings. Indeed that is precisely what is happening right now in city after city in this state and across the nation.

Try and sell the owner of a building in a deteriorating area on the wisdom of extensive improvements, when he knows that as soon as the building is improved, it will be reassessed and his taxes will climb still higher.

Let's face the situation squarely. We will not get commercial or residential construction in cities without taxes bearing a reasonable relationship to income and without this relationship being competitive with suburban rates. And this means tax relief in cities.

The cities cannot afford the potential losses in revenue that continued tax relief brings with it and even if they are willing to make that sacrifice, the hue and cry from those already established in the cities is louder and shriller each year.

DETERRENT

Homeowners and landlords are not going to improve buildings when they know that their reward for this will be still higher taxes.

Our cities are not going to be decent places to live, or even work or shop, until we find a way to put up housing fit to live in. This cannot be done by private developers because they can't turn a profit on anything but high-rent living units, and most of the people in cities cannot afford high rents.

State aid is the only way out, and given the shortage of state money available, every dollar is going to have to count.

I am not proposing these ideas in a vacuum. There are a number of bills before the New Jersey Legislature that will do generally what I propose.

But these bills won't pass unless they are supported enthusiastically. Development groups across the state are going to have to put the heat on.

If we don't get this kind of state help, the cities are not going to make it.

TIME RUNNING OUT

This type of legislation could help start the cities uphill again. We have a lot of climbing to do for we won't rebuild our cities as quickly as we let them deteriorate. And if we don't do something meaningful soon, it will be too late even to start.

STATES OF THE U.S.A.:
CONNECTICUT

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Information Agency is currently working on a series of articles entitled "States of the U.S.A." Each article in the series is devoted to one of the 50 States. Upon completion, copies of the article are then distributed to approximately 150 of the USIA posts and libraries overseas for use in their publications and for placement in local libraries and schools.

The article on Connecticut has just been completed and is now in the process of distribution. It discusses the State in general, its historical background, its topography, its economic, social, and political achievements. I am certain many of our colleagues, as well as students, tourists, and the general public will find it of interest. I want to take this opportunity to commend the USIA for doing this series on the States.

Mr. Speaker, I am inserting into the RECORD the article on Connecticut as prepared by the USIA:

STATES OF THE U.S.A.: CONNECTICUT
(The Constitution State)

More than a century before the birth of the American nation, colonists in Connecticut fashioned an exceptional—if not unique—political instrument.

Settlers of three towns, united under a single government, adopted what some authorities call history's first written constitution for a governing body.

That document in its basic form was to serve as a model for the U.S. Constitution, and furnished Connecticut with a proud nickname, the "Constitution State."

The state also could make a strong claim to the title of "Revolutionary State," having been a leader in reforms and innovations throughout its history of more than three and one-half centuries and a participant in four major revolutionary movements.

Connecticut's origin and statehood came about as a result of two such movements—the Puritan revolt in the 1600's against the Church of England, and the 18th century American colonial revolution against the British Crown.

The state's present prosperity—highest per capita income in the United States—attests the leading role its citizens played and are playing in the two major non-political revolutions which have transformed the world: the Industrial Revolution of the 19th century and the Technological Revolution of the 20th.

Although almost the smallest of the 50 United States, Connecticut leads the nation in the production of such items as aircraft engines, ball and roller bearings, copper rolling and drawing, silverware, submarines, helicopters and cutlery.

Traditionally Connecticut has been known for the craftsmanship of its workers. It has also been an acknowledged leader in the fields of government and social reform. It was the first state (in 1943) to set up a civil rights commission to protect the rights of minorities, and has set the pace and example for the rest of the nation in the field of urban renewal.

Connecticut traces its concern for civil rights and religious freedom to its first European settlers—members of the Pilgrim groups who, having already fled from religious per-

secution in England, left their parent colony in what is now the State of Massachusetts because only a few "elect" members of the church were permitted to exercise the right to vote.

Establishing a community on the site of the present state capital, Hartford, these first settlers promptly extended the right of suffrage to any member of the church! This 1636 "liberalization" was adequate only so long as the new colony was made up exclusively of Puritans. Within three years, with the advent of non-Puritan settlers, this restrictive provision was dropped and franchise was given to any property-holder, regardless of religious affiliation.

By 1639 the basic principles of democratic government had been codified in the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, believed to be the world's first written constitution establishing and regulating a governing body. This document was superseded in 1662 by a Royal Charter from the King of England.

A surprisingly liberal colonial charter for its day, the Royal Charter maintained most of the fundamental freedoms and rights established in the Fundamental Orders. It was this document, direct descendant of the Fundamental Orders, which was used as a model by the drafters of the United States Constitution in 1787.

During the American Revolution (1775 to 1781), Connecticut was considered the most "revolutionary" of the 13 rebelling colonies, contributing heavily of its resources and manpower to the Colonial cause. Even then Connecticut ranked as one of the most productive areas in America. George Washington, who commanded the Continental Army which won America's independence from England, called Connecticut his "provisions" state.

Early in the 19th century, Connecticut adopted its present Constitution. The new document abolished property ownership as a qualification for franchise, separated the courts from the legislature, and reaffirmed the separation of church and state.

The skill and precision of Connecticut craftsmen became famous throughout the world in the early 1800's, and two "Connecticut Yankees" of inventive mind produced devices which were to transform American life—the Colt revolving pistol and the cotton gin.

Samuel Colt revolutionized the machinist craft through his development of precision methods which enabled his factories to turn out firearms with universal or interchangeable parts. As graduates of his plants spread throughout the world, Colt processes and precision engineering contributed significantly to the Industrial Revolution.

Eli Whitney's machine for separating cotton fibers from the seed reduced both the time and labor required to prepare cotton for the mills and laid the foundation for the American textile industry.

Colt and Whitney may be the best known of the state's inventive geniuses, but they were neither the first nor last of Connecticut's inventors. Since the U.S. Patent Office was opened in 1790, residents of Connecticut have registered more inventions per capita than the citizens of any other state. Their patents include Charles Goodyear's process for vulcanizing rubber, Elias Howe's sewing machine, and numerous 20th century electronic and metallurgical inventions and processes.

The combination of craftsmanship and willingness to experiment are reflected in prosperous, highly-industrialized 20th century Connecticut. Although ranking 48th among the 50 states in size, the state is 24th in population, fourth in population density, and first in the percentage of skilled workers to total workers.

It occupies a total area of 1.3 million hectares (3.2 million acres), boasts more than 31,000 corporations and more than 53,000 un-

incorporated businesses, and has almost 100,000 dwelling units.

Connecticut also is the fastest growing state in the New England area (which also includes Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Maine and Vermont) with a 43 percent population increase between 1950 and 1967.

Next to industry, Connecticut's main enterprise is the insurance business, with 40 major insurance companies having combined assets in excess of \$22,000 million, making their headquarters in the state, most of them in Hartford, giving that city its unofficial title of "Insurance City."

Geographically, Connecticut is bounded on the north by Massachusetts, the east by Rhode Island, the west by New York, and on the south by Long Island Sound, connected with the Atlantic Ocean. The Connecticut River, flowing southward through the center of the state, divides it roughly in half.

This central valley and the coastal plain are relatively flat, and contain most of the larger cities as well as the bulk of the 21 percent of the state's area devoted to agriculture. Other sections are hilly, particularly in the northern portion, with the hills covered with hardwood forests. More than two-thirds of the state's area is woodland.

With a relatively mild climate and a long growing season—the first killing frost comes in mid-October; the last in mid-April—agriculture produces approximately \$170 million annual income for Connecticut farmers.

Dairy products account for about one-third of farm income, with poultry and poultry products in second place. Tobacco—primarily shade-grown cigar wrapper leaf—is the third major cash crop.

The state has more than 13,500 kilometers (8,400 miles) of rivers and streams and 6,000 lakes and ponds. Its 82 state parks cover 9,629 hectares (23,783 acres); its 28 state forests 51,460 hectares (127,100 acres).

Connecticut has an unusual government structure in that there are no intermediate levels between the state and its towns and municipalities. Its 169 "towns" (which include 23 major cities) encompass the entire area of the state. Counties, normally intermediate levels of government in the United States, are geographical designations only. Each "town" is a self-governing unit with power to levy taxes, operate public schools and perform other government services.

Major cities, in addition to Hartford, include Waterbury, Stamford, Bristol, Meriden, Norwalk, Bridgeport, and New Haven—site of Yale University since the beginning of the 18th century.

In addition to Yale, Connecticut boasts two other private universities more than 100 years old—Trinity, at Hartford, and Wesleyan, at Middletown—and supports a State University and four state colleges. The U.S. Coast Guard Academy is at New London. The state also is recognized as a center for private secondary and college-level education, with 138 non-public secondary schools and 49 private colleges and universities.

With its extensive shoreline and cool mountain retreats, Connecticut attracts thousands of summer vacationers, who, in turn, support some of the nation's most active summer theater communities. Professional and amateur entertainers combine in summer-long presentations at such places as the Goodspeed Opera House in East Haddam or the Eugene O'Neill Theater in Waterford.

Additional summer cultural attractions include professional productions of Shakespeare at the American Shakespeare Festival Theatre in Stratford (modeled after the famous Globe Theatre in London) and the American Dance Festival, held annually at the Connecticut College for Women in New London, on the Thames River.

Among other popular tourist attractions are the ornate Hartford home of Mark Twain, renowned American author and humorist, and Mystic Seaport, near New London. This "living museum of the seas" is a typical New England whaling town containing shops and homes of the whaling men and merchants who lived there 100 years ago.

Municipalities throughout the world are becoming increasingly concerned about the problem of run-down sections of the inner cities. Hartford, Connecticut, recognized this problem nearly 20 years ago, and its solution to its "urban blight" has been acclaimed as a milestone in urban renewal in the United States.

What was once a slum area comprising approximately five hectares (12 acres) of century-old tenement buildings now is an ultra-modern business and shopping area, combined with an urban park. It is, in fact, the hub of Hartford's commercial life.

The redevelopment of downtown Hartford is the culmination of the efforts of private citizens, private industry, and far-sighted city government. Concerned citizens started the project in 1950 with group and individual efforts to rebuild and renew the physical, cultural and spiritual life of the city.

CRAMER URGES CHRISTMAS EVE PRISONER EXCHANGE

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I have sent an urgent request to President Nixon and other officials, urging them to propose an exchange of U.S. prisoners to North Vietnamese negotiators in Paris as soon as possible. I propose such a prisoner exchange on Christmas Eve.

The Defense Department has reported that slightly more than 6,000 North Vietnamese prisoners are being held in South Vietnam, while 346 Americans are known to be prisoners in North Vietnam. In addition, 914 Americans are listed as missing, their fate unknown.

It is incumbent upon the United States to take the initiative during this season of the year—a time even the Communists recognize is holy and meaningful to hundreds of millions of other people throughout the world.

I admit that the prospects of securing the release of all U.S. prisoners in the north are dim. However, if we are successful in securing the release of even one American, perhaps one of our boys who may be sick or wounded and without adequate medical care, then it will be a major accomplishment.

I support those efforts by the U.S. Jaycees to obtain the names of all Americans imprisoned in North Vietnam. The Jaycees urged Americans to send a "Christmas card for peace," which would be delivered to the North Vietnamese chief negotiator in Paris on December 29.

This is a meaningful step, and I urge all Americans to join in. However, I believe we should go even further—and try to obtain their freedom as well.

This Christmas will be a sad one for millions of Americans with friends and relatives serving in far-off Vietnam.

It is even more dismal for those with relatives who are missing or are known prisoners of the North Vietnamese. Perhaps, if a successful prisoner exchange could be arranged, we could give them the biggest Christmas gift of their lives. We owe it to these brave Americans to try as hard as we can.

One of the possible prisoners may be James White, who has recently been reported missing in action. He is the brother of Ed White, the astronaut killed on a space mission at Cape Kennedy, and the son of Gen. Ed White, a well-known resident of my district.

It is extremely cruel not to let parents and loved ones know if their sons are alive or not, and I pray that we can get the boys safely home.

AIR FORCE TO CELEBRATE DELIVERY OF DEFICIENT C-5A'S

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, December 17, the first C-5A airplane is being delivered to the Air Force at Altus Air Force Base, Okla. This plane will be used for crew transition training. Last week, I made the statement that I was concerned that this plane, which is admittedly structurally deficient, was being used for crew training. I reiterate that statement today despite the fact that the Air Force has said there is no cause for concern. They indicate that the plane will be operating under speed, load, and other restrictions; and therefore, no safety hazard is being posed. Yet I would still like to voice my concern.

The C-5A today—right now—is a sub-standard plane. The Air Force is about to accept an inferior product.

For nearly a year we have been assured that this plane would operate at 101 percent of its specifications. Repeatedly, I have requested both individually and through the Joint Economic Committee, the original and current primary and secondary flight characteristic specifications for the C-5A. They have never been received.

Let us look at just how inferior this airplane is—just from what we know now. First, the wings are structurally deficient. Static tests proved this last summer when one specimen failed at 128 percent and a second failed at 83 percent of design load. The Air Force specification requires 150 percent.

They are now in the process of beefing up the wings of the first two of 33 airplanes that will have to be modified, with 11 structural changes per wing. And they are still not sure that this fix will be effective. In the meantime, Lockheed is still producing these aircraft with structurally deficient wings for which there is no tested fix. But let us now dwell solely on the fact that the wings are weak, because that is not all.

Some months ago we learned that this huge behemoth could not carry a full

load of cargo into and out of rough, unimproved airfields. This was one of the primary features of this plane—and now it had been degraded. If that were not bad enough, we learn that as of right now, the C-5A has been so severely restricted that it cannot land or take off from a rough field at all. So the "remote presence" that was so highly touted to us in Congress a few months ago is more remote than we were led to believe.

But even that is not all. We now learn that speed restrictions have been imposed upon this airplane, and they are not the result of the wing deficiency—it is because the ailerons, the control surfaces on the wings, are also deficient.

The terrain-following radar that permits the plane to fly in all sorts of weather without ground control does not work yet, either.

We were told by the Air Force and the makers of this plane that it would be the big freight train in the sky. We were told it would carry a maximum of 220,000 pounds of cargo. Now we find that until the engineers get finished tinkering with it and patching it up, it has been restricted to 100,000 pounds of cargo. This is not significantly more capacity than that of the current C-141, which the C-5A is designed to replace. I have been told that these restrictions will still be in effect when the plane becomes operational, 7 months from now, in June of 1970.

All in all, there are 25 acknowledged deficiencies in these planes. Although I have already mentioned some of them, let me list the 25 deficiencies that were compiled by the GAO from Air Force sources at the plant at Marietta. This should not be construed as an official GAO report.

First. The primary restriction on the airplane is the result of the static wing failure. It is limited to a maximum of 2G's stress which means the cargo compartment may not be loaded with more than 100,000 pounds.

Second. There has been a limitation of load imposed in one area of the cargo compartment because of pressurization problems. Like the wing deficiency, this is also a structural problem.

Third. Failures have been experienced with the engine mounts. Therefore, restrictions have been imposed on engine throttle limits and the plane cannot take off from unimproved runways.

Fourth. The speed of the craft has been limited as a result of design problems within the ailerons.

Fifth. Problems exist in the terrain-following altimeter. The pilot cannot rely on its accuracy.

Sixth. The terrain-following radar has not been tested and cannot be used.

Seventh. Abnormal stress has occurred within the engine fan blades at certain speed settings. These speeds must be avoided.

Eighth. A design problem in the pitch trim flap system prevents full operation.

Ninth. A problem exists in the landing gear that prevents the use of cross-wind landing capability.

Tenth. Problems with the landing gear prevent the use of the "kneeling" capability until a proposed temporary fix is incorporated.

Eleventh. The cargo door system cannot be operated in flight. The correction to this problem has not yet been tested. This means the plane cannot be used for parachute drops of cargo.

Twelfth. The automatic pilot cannot now be used, and as a result the pilot must maintain manual control of the plane at all times.

Thirteenth. Because of the autopilot problem, the automatic throttles do not operate properly.

Fourteenth. The use of the multimode radar has been restricted.

Fifteenth. The pitch augmentation system is not operable in flight.

Sixteenth. There is a problem with the slat disconnect drive.

Seventeenth. The inertial doppler auxiliary computer has not been fully developed or tested.

Eighteenth. Use of the stall limiter system is restricted.

Nineteenth. The flight director computer has not been completely tested.

Twentieth. There is a problem with power surges in the multimode radar in switching from auxiliary to internal power.

Twenty-first. The engine anti-icing devices do not operate effectively.

Twenty-second. There are mistakes in operating manuals.

Twenty-third. The nose landing gear signal light does not work.

Twenty-fourth. The go-around altitude system has not been fully tested and limits are placed on its all-weather landing capabilities.

Twenty-fifth. And finally, the automatic liferaft release does not work.

Admittedly, some of these are minor problems. Many of them, however, especially the structural problems, can be serious and costly to correct. Yet the Air Force claims there is no problem.

This seems to be a tragic replay of the story of the ill-fated F-111A. The F-111A also experienced a wing crack during a static test at less than 150 percent of design stress. However, the Air Force accepted the aircraft and production continued. According to hearings just released by the House Appropriations Committee, a satisfactory fix still has not been developed.

A number of the F-111 aircraft have crashed. The Air Force has stated that it could not definitely link any of the crashes to the structural deficiency in the wing. However, they pointed out that they could not identify the cause in many cases.

The Air Force also admits to a greatly increased cost to retrofit the F-111 planes with the fix. But, as General Jeffery pointed out in hearings, the common practice in Air Force is to test and produce concurrently, and retrofit when necessary. During the hearings, the Air Force had some difficulty in explaining why they continued to produce the F-111 aircraft under these circumstances. The apparent rationalization was that it was the cheapest alternative available to them.

Evidently the Air Force believes this is the cheapest alternative for the C-5A program also. Instead of waiting until they had a plane that worked, they came back to the Congress this year request-

ing a fourth squadron, knowing full well they had rather severe technical problems. In this respect, they have been less than candid in identifying these problems to the Congress.

Except for the tragic crashes, the story of the F-111 is remarkably similar to the C-5A.

I remind you that we have been paying through the nose for the F-111 for many years as a result of this costly practice of concurrent testing and production and we still do not have an operational combat aircraft.

The Appropriations Committee severely criticized the existence of problems that have resulted from concurrency, problems which existed in many of our recent major weapons acquisitions—the Cheyenne helicopter, the Sheridan tank, the F-111. We nearly invited the same problems on the F-14 program until the committee took the program out of production and put it back in R. & D. until the Navy has an aircraft that flies. The committee pointed out that “premature production releases most often result in extensive and costly modification and retrofit programs which could be avoided by delaying production, possibly only a few months.”

Because of this dismal experience on the F-111, the Cheyenne, and the Sheridan, I would like to raise a question. What are the relative costs of delaying further production of the C-5A aircraft until we are sure that the fix has been tested out sufficiently vis-a-vis going ahead with production and subsequently bringing the planes back for repair? If these relative costs have not been determined, they ought to be. The Government Accounting Office has indicated this retrofit program could be quite costly since it entails returning the 33 planes to the plant in Georgia, disassembling the wing structure and installing the 11 structural additions per wing. Nobody is sure at this point whether the wing fix that is presently being tested will work, or whether it will ever be fixed to the point where the aircraft will meet specifications.

It appears as though we are traveling down the same primrose path on the C-5A program that we have trod before. We have rushed into the production program for these airplanes before development of a workable plane has been attained. We bought three squadrons of these airplanes before we should have, and just recently we bought a fourth squadron. We were told it could do all sorts of marvelous things—carry 220,000 pounds of cargo; fly to remote, unimproved airfields without ground control; land sideways; and kneel down to truck bed height for off-loading; or airdrop the cargo and then quickly fly away. The first plane will be delivered on Wednesday to the Air Force, and how many of these marvelous things can the C-5A do? Not one. As of now, it cannot do one of them.

We are being assured that, eventually, the C-5A will do all of these things. We were also assured that the F-111 would perform its mission. We have been paying for years for the F-111 and I fear, we will be paying for years trying to make

the C-5A work. These planes may work eventually; but at what costs? I have inquired what it will cost to fix the most serious of these deficiencies that has cropped up thus far—the wing problem. The GAO has checked and the Air Force does not seem to know.

Instead, the Air Force has come up with the simplistic answer that it would not cost the Government a cent because the contractor has already exceeded its ceiling and therefore, the contractor will have to absorb the costs of fixing the plane. Yet we all are aware now of the repricing formula—the contractor pays the overrun on the first planes, but additional costs are passed on to taxpayers on the later purchases of the airplane.

Are the costs of these deficiencies covered under the repricing formula?

A second question raised in this regard is whether the Air Force ever intends to enforce the contract in the correction of these deficiencies. They have not in all cases, such as the Mark 2 avionics for the F-111 where they degraded the specifications and accepted an inferior product rather than enforce the contract. And finally, if Lockheed does indeed have to pay the price for their own mistakes, when will they be corrected, and will there be full disclosure in accordance with SEC regulations to the public who are also stockholders?

Mr. Speaker, I raise these questions because they beg for answers. They affect all of us. Celebrations, such as will take place in Marietta, Ga., and Altus Air Force Base, Okla., on Wednesday are empty and meaningless until these questions are answered, until what we originally bought is delivered and until the public's interests have been assured. Then let the festivities begin for then they will be deserved.

CORPORAL TAYLOR, 19, ON
VIETNAM MISSION

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Lance Cpl. Ralph L. Taylor, a fine young man from Baltimore, Md., was killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to honor his memory and to commend his courage by including the following article in the RECORD:

CORPORAL TAYLOR, 19, ON VIETNAM MISSION

The Department of Defense announced yesterday the death Friday of Marine Lance Cpl. Ralph C. Taylor, of Baltimore, while he was on a mission in South Vietnam.

The son of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Taylor, of the 1300 block North Chester street, Corporal Taylor enlisted in the Marine Corps shortly after he graduated from the Fairmount Hill Junior-Senior High School, in 1968.

After basic training at Parris Island, S.C., he was sent to Vietnam in March for a one-year tour of duty.

The Taylor youth, whose 20th birthday would have been this Saturday, had written his sister in October that he “would be the next,” his mother said yesterday.

In a letter to his family which was received just hours before the official notification of the youth's death, Corporal Taylor had sent

his mother money and instructed her to arrange a birthday party for his twin brother on Saturday.

Corporal Taylor, who belonged to a local bugle corps since he was 9 years old, had worked with a plastics firm during his high school years. "He wanted a better living and he was ready to make every effort to get it," his mother said yesterday.

For three years in his early teens, the Taylor youth had waked before sunrise as he worked as a carrier boy for *The Sun*.

In a letter his aunt, Mrs. Sally Wylle, received yesterday, the youth complained about losing weight. He had also expressed pessimism about whether he would ever be able to return from Vietnam, his aunt said.

In addition to his parents, Corporal Taylor is survived by two brothers, Robert and Jerome, both of Baltimore; three sisters, Mrs. Mary Brailey, Miss Theresa and Miss Arlestine Taylor, all of Baltimore.

A TRIBUTE TO DR. HOWARD A.
RUSK OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Howard A. Rusk is undoubtedly the leading national and international authority in the field of rehabilitation medicine. This distinguished American physician has long been a Presidential adviser on health and rehabilitation matters. He has served on several Presidential commissions, including the President's Commission on Heart Disease, Cancer, and Stroke. More recently, he served as chairman of the National Citizens Advisory Committee on Vocational Rehabilitation, and as general chairman of the National Citizens Conference on Rehabilitation of the Disabled and Disadvantaged.

Mr. Speaker, through the medium of his influential column in the *New York Times* over the past nearly quarter of a century, he has brought to public attention the very first news of new directions in vocational rehabilitation. His articles on such topics as international research in rehabilitation, architectural barriers to employment of the handicapped, and transportation problems of the disabled are recent examples of the way in which he has used his column in the *Sunday Times* to strengthen and advance the programs serving our Nation's disabled citizens.

Mr. Speaker, I insert at this point in the *RECORD* the text of Dr. Rusk's final column for the *New York Times*:

GAINS IN REHABILITATION—PROGRAMS FOR
DISABLED OF WORLD WAR II NOW GENERALLY
AVAILABLE TO WHOLE NATION

(By Howard A. Rusk, M.D.)

(NOTE.—This is Dr. Howard A. Rusk's final column for *The Times* on a weekly schedule. Dr. Rusk, director of the Institute of Rehabilitation Medicine, New York University Medical Center, will remain as a contributing editor of *The Times* on health and medical affairs.)

This column first appeared 24 years ago this Sunday. It has been published each Sunday since with but two exceptions. One was in 1953 when it reported a stroke suffered by Sir Winston Churchill and its complications and prognosis. Since the British Gov-

ernment had not officially announced that Sir Winston had had a stroke. The *New York Times* felt such disclosure was not appropriate.

The writer was on his way to Korea at the time and could not be reached so the column was not published.

Two years later, however, when angered in a debate in the House of Commons, Sir Winston in true Churchillian rhetoric warned his opponents that he had had a stroke and conquered it and he would conquer his opponents in the same way. The story of Sir Winston's stroke was then reported in this column.

The second instance was far less dramatic. The copy was lost in the mail between 34th Street and First Avenue and Times Square.

The genesis of this column 24 years ago resulted from a meeting with the late Arthur Hays Sulzberger toward the end of World War II.

LESSONS FROM WAR

In inviting the writer to join the staff of *The New York Times*, Mr. Sulzberger said, "If there is anything good about war it is taking the good lessons we have learned because of war and utilizing them for the benefit of all people. I think the program developed for our disabled servicemen should be made available to all people. I would like *The New York Times* to provide a forum for public education and national and community action toward this end."

During the last 24 years great strides have been made throughout the world in improving the lot of the physically handicapped. For those who were paralyzed by poliomyelitis or stroke or had suffered amputations from accidents or who had broken their back, there was little chance for employment.

Securing employment for the severely disabled is still not an easy task but it is commonplace now to see the severely disabled at all kinds of work. Labor and management have learned that hiring the handicapped is good business.

During World War II, Veterans Administration hospitals were termed the "backwash of American medicine." Shortly after the war they were completely reorganized and have functioned for the last two decades with high professional standards and efficiency.

At the end of World War II there was not a single comprehensive rehabilitation medicine service in any civilian general hospital in the United States. Now all modern hospitals have such services.

PROGRAMS IN SCHOOLS

At that time none of the medical schools in the United States had organized programs to teach young physicians the principles of rehabilitation medicine.

Now the majority of the nation's medical schools have departments of rehabilitation medicine and include this subject in their curricula.

The national supply of physical therapists and occupational therapists 24 years ago numbered in the hundreds. Although such people are still in short supply their numbers are now in the thousands.

In 1945, the total number of disabled persons rehabilitated into employment under the public program of vocational rehabilitation was but 41,925. In the fiscal year ended last June a record total of 241,390 disabled Americans were rehabilitated into gainful employment through this program.

The total Federal investment in vocational rehabilitation in 1945 was about \$7-million. This year it is close to \$558-million.

Studies show that these investments by the Federal Government are returned 10 times in income taxes alone paid by those rehabilitated.

RESEARCH IN UNIVERSITIES

There were no Federally supported research or training programs in 1945 and few universities trained rehabilitation personnel.

Today, practically every large university conducts extensive programs of research and training supported by both Federal and voluntary funds.

These gains have not been limited to the United States. Organized, effective rehabilitation services can be found in all of the developed nations of the world and in an increasing number of the developing nations.

This is the last Sunday that this column will appear as a regular feature in *The New York Times*. It will be published, however, from time to time and will deal not only with rehabilitation but also with the pressing problems of social medicine, medical economics, health manpower shortages and the delivery of health services.

The column is being discontinued on a regular Sunday basis, for after 24 years the objectives of the late Arthur Hays Sulzberger have been met and the rehabilitation program developed for our disabled servicemen in World War II has generally become available to our population.

VOTING RIGHTS ACT—A THREAT
TO BALLOT POLLUTION

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, when the House last week modified the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to permit Federal supervision of the local electoral process in all 50 of the States, and not just in the "conquered provinces" of the South which had repudiated Lyndon Johnson in 1964, cries of anguish were heard from the many supporters of the initial travesty.

These complaints—and they continue to be voiced as the other body handles the measure—fall into two general classes.

First, it is claimed that the act accomplished just what it was intended to accomplish—register large numbers of Negroes in the Goldwater States. That these registrants were patently not qualified and were ineligible under the laws of the several States is apparently of no moment. Close to 2 million of them were registered, to "pollute the ballot" in these jurisdictions.

Second, it is claimed that only in these particular Southern States was there any demonstrated need of Federal supervision of the electoral process—such household words as Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, Baltimore, New York, and Detroit notwithstanding. Hence, it was argued, there was ample justification for applying harsh punitive measures to the South, and including in the administration of the law a hard-nosed presumption of guilt.

Recognizing that two wrongs do not make a right, and that the measure which was unconstitutional in 1965 is still unconstitutional in 1969, I cast my people's vote against its adoption. I sincerely hope that the other body will consign the measure to the oblivion which it so richly merits. Failing this, I sincerely hope that those voices which supported the measure when it applied to my State but loudly contended that it would be un-

constitutional when it was applied to their States were correct. I urge them to test the law promptly—and do not doubt that they will.

The real problem, however, is not the number of registered voters. It is the quality and bona fide character of those who are eligible to cast ballots in our elections. Voting tombstones may be an asset to politicians but they prove a detriment to the people. The real problem is "honest elections."

The loudly ballyhooed slogan "one man, one vote" is the natural consequence of phony egalitarianism, and totally ignores the fundamental concept of popular sovereignty upon which this Nation was established.

The founders believed that when public questions were left to the decision of an informed electorate, the people would be right more often than they were wrong. This presupposed both that the electorate was limited to those who had a capacity to understand public problems, and that they would be fairly and fully informed. An illiterate and uninformed electorate, voicing their personal bias, and voting as puppets does not conform to the formula of the founders, and the results are apparent in all jurisdictions where this is the state of the electorate.

What is needed is a thorough cleansing of the voting rolls, to the end that only qualified citizens have a voice in the determination of public policy. England had its rotten boroughs, and we have ours—until the citizens themselves are moved to act. This act may well supply the tool they need—even if some of its sponsors did not intend its use to bring about honest elections.

In the recent presidential election, Hillsborough County, Fla., cast 49,441 votes for Nixon, 46,917 for Wallace, and 45,848 for Humphrey. With such a close three-way division of public opinion, the legitimacy of the electorate is vital to the validity of any of its decisions.

I submit local opinion on the subject, in the form of editorial comment from the Tampa Tribune for inclusion in my remarks:

[From the Tampa Tribune, Nov. 9, 1969]

IN DEFENSE OF HONEST VOTING

In a democracy, a citizen's vote is his sword and shield.

Through indifference, he can disarm himself by failing to exercise his franchise. But the vote is his, to use as he pleases; he is entitled to assurance that he will not be deprived of it by either error or corruption.

Some three decades ago Hillsborough County had a statewide reputation, well deserved, for rotten elections. Fraud tainted registration rolls and polling places. Honest citizens had little incentive to cast a ballot.

An aroused public finally forced a cleanup. One result was a voter registration system which became a model for many other counties. Another result was a County Election Board, designed to place control of election machinery in non-partisan hands.

But over the years Hillsborough County has been too complacent about the permanency of its reforms.

As the report of an investigation by Associate Editor Bennett DeLoach in the adjoining columns shows, Hillsborough's voter rolls are riddled with inaccuracies and its election supervision is embroiled in political conflict.

Of the 210,000 registered voters an estimated 34,000 should be stricken from the rolls because they failed to vote at least once in a four-year period.

Untold hundreds of persons displaced by Urban Renewal and Interstate highway construction remain on precinct rolls although their dwellings long ago vanished under the bulldozer blade. Other hundreds listed have moved to other counties and states. Some citizens long dead still are enrolled as qualified voters. These errors range as high as 52 per cent in one precinct.

Although there is as yet little evidence that the names of dead or absent citizens have been used for "repeater" voting, the situation is ready-made for election thieves.

Hillsborough cannot go that way again. The situation is made worse by conflict between Supervisor of Elections Jim Fair, who took office in January, the chairman of the Election Board, Ronald Budd, and the County Commission.

All have a responsibility to cooperate to protect the integrity of the Hillsborough voting process.

These measures need to be taken: Mr. Fair ought to concentrate on his responsibility to clean up the registration rolls by removing ineligible voters, doing as much of the work as he can with present staff.

County Commissioners should allow the Supervisor a reasonable sum for those extra costs for which he can prove a need.

Hillsborough legislators should repeal the present special act permitting this county to purge its rolls every four years and place Hillsborough under the same two-year requirement that every other county must meet.

Also needed is legislation requiring a voter to sign his address, as well as his name, at the polling place, to enable the Supervisor to correct improper registration.

And legislators ought to abolish the County Election Board. It no longer serves the purpose for which it was intended; it has become a \$100-a-month pension for some and a political springboard for others. County Commissioners can perform its duties, as they do in 65 other counties.

Personalities and political interests cannot be permitted to obstruct the reforms so clearly demanded. The integrity of Hillsborough's election process and its reputation for honest voting are at stake. The voter's sword, we think, will fall upon the necks of officials who do not recognize the need and act upon it.

[From the Tampa Tribune-Times, Nov. 9, 1969]

HILLSBOROUGH VOTER ROLLS ARE IN A MESS (By Bennett DeLoach)

Hillsborough County voter registration rolls are a mess.

A prominent state official, concerned because he is seeking statewide office, told the Tribune the Hillsborough rolls "are absolutely the worst in the state."

Whether or not they are the worst a Tribune investigation shows they are bad enough.

This investigation disclosed that:

Many voters are listed as living at non-existent addresses in the middle of Interstate Highways, in abandoned houses and on vacant lots; others are registered only by postoffice box number.

The number of voter registrations found to be inaccurate as to current name and address ran as high as 52 per cent in one precinct checked.

The names of three persons who have been dead for years were found among the active voters.

There has been no complete purge of voter rolls in 15 years; there has been no routine purge, to remove those who failed

to vote in general elections or primaries, since 1965.

Supervisor of Elections Jim Fair concedes that perhaps 29 per cent of all Hillsborough voters—estimated at 210,000—are improperly registered.

Registration rolls so riddled with inaccuracy are an invitation to the kind of voting fraud for which Hillsborough was once notorious. Although only one specific report of fraudulent voting has come to The Tribune's attention, officials admit that present conditions would make it easy for crooks to vote in the names of other persons.

Sheriff Malcolm Beard says he knows of no fraudulent voting since the last election fraud case here in 1958.

The only positive proof available to The Tribune that there has been some fraud in voting comes from John E. Cabrera of 3009 Mason Place. Cabrera registered in Precinct 45B in 1946, left Florida for government legal service in 1947 and did not return until 1967.

Cabrera says his name remained on the voting rolls all this time. Upon his return he discovered that twice in 1962 someone voted under his name. He believes such false voting to be widespread.

Although Sheriff Beard has no knowledge of recent vote fraud he can attest to the sorry condition of voter records.

In 1967 he obtained 13,000 voter names from the more affluent areas of the county to solicit funds for the Florida Boys Ranch. Between five and six thousand solicitation letters were returned because of faulty addresses or voters had moved. Beard says the political candidate who buys registration lists for contacting voters is buying a pig in a poke.

To determine the condition of Hillsborough voter rolls The Tribune sampled five precincts:

Precincts 16 and 17, representative of areas reshaped by Urban Renewal projects and Interstate highways; Precinct 42 near MacDill Air Force Base, Precinct 52A near the University of South Florida, both subject to transient population; and Precinct 45C in the Palma Ceia golf course section, which perhaps is the most stable residential area in the county.

In Precinct 16, registration records show 342 voters living at 241 addresses. The Tribune's check shows 28 homes listed at these addresses no longer exist. Where these houses once stood is now the Interstate Highway. Five houses are vacant—four of them condemned as being unfit for occupancy. One home address is a vacant lot. No attempt was made to verify the accuracy of voter names, but this area has experienced a large movement of residents.

For the other four precincts, letters were dispatched to the first 100 names on the voting rolls. If the letter was delivered to the addressee the voter was asked to verify the correctness of his name and address.

Here is what the mail check showed:

Precinct 17—41 percent either undeliverable or with incorrect addresses.

Precinct 42—22 percent either undeliverable or with incorrect addresses.

Precinct 45C—16 percent undeliverable or incorrect address.

Precinct 52A—52 percent undeliverable or incorrect address.

The Tribune also checked the names of 200 persons who died in 1965, 1966 and 1967. The names of three dead persons were located in the master file in the Elections office.

Fair's estimate of 210,000 registered voters in the county's 114 precincts is based on rosters of voters by precinct. In addition to the precinct records there is the master file of all voters, listed alphabetically. This file is required by law. The master file obviously contains many more than 210,000 names and Fair says it has not been checked against the precinct files.

In fairness to Supervisor Fair, the voter rolls have deteriorated over the years. He believes 29 per cent of all voters are improperly registered, running from his own count of 12 per cent erroneous registrations in the Temple Crest area to 52 per cent in Plant City Precinct No. 70, and 71 per cent in the Ybor City precincts.

A special law applying only to Hillsborough County requires purging from voter rolls every four years persons who failed to vote in the preceding four years. Florida's other counties operate under a general state law specifying that the rolls be purged every two years of voters who haven't been to the polls for two years.

Mrs. Dorothy Gllsson, head of the Elections Division of the Secretary of State's office, says all counties operating under the general law have their two-year purges under way.

The last purge of Hillsborough non-voters was in January, 1965. The fourth year for another purge would have been in 1969, but Fair said he interprets the law to mean the purge should be made every fourth year dating from 1958, and the next four-year purge would be in 1970.

The 1968-69 budget for the elections office contained items totaling about \$10,000 from which expenses for a non-voter purge were to be paid. No purge was made that year nor has one been conducted so far this year. Fair turned back to the county \$10,612 in unspent 1968-69 funds.

Fair has compiled a list of 34,000 persons who should be stricken from the rolls for failure to vote for four years. These voters have yet to be notified by the Supervisor's office that they are illegally registered.

Although cleansing the rolls of 34,000 persons who didn't vote in a four-year period would remove a lot of deadwood and help stabilize the rolls that is not the big problem.

The big disturbing blot against the rolls is the person who moved to other parts of the county but hasn't notified—as required by law—the Supervisor of his move. This includes those uprooted from the Urban Renewal area and other citizens who have switched residences. It is therefore entirely possible for one person to be registered in several precincts.

There is no procedure for keeping tab on the precinct mover. Neither is there a law providing for a general purge of the voting rolls. The last general purge in Hillsborough County was 15 years ago.

However, Fair is empowered under state law to remove from registration rolls anyone he believes not to be qualified. He first must notify the voter of his impending removal and give him an opportunity to prove his eligibility to vote.

It is under this act that Fair can make a general purge of Hillsborough voter lists. A local law also would appear to empower the Hillsborough Election Board to order a general purge of voters and Chairman Ronald Budd agrees with this concept. However, he says the Board's attorney thinks otherwise.

Fair has requested money from the County Commission to make a general purge of all disqualified persons. The commission has refused on the grounds there is a shortage of funds.

Commission Chairman Ellsworth Simmons said the Commission takes the position a purge is necessary to ensure honest elections but contends the Supervisor's office has sufficient personnel and money to cleanse the rolls, particularly in areas where defects are so obvious. Fair says he has neither the money nor the help for a general purge.

Fair asked \$59,000 for a general purging operation in this fiscal year's budget. The 1969-70 budget lists \$11,600 for legal advertising to publish names of persons removed from voters rolls. Fair says he didn't ask for

this amount and anyway he doesn't think the sum should be earmarked for the special purpose of legal advertising.

Fair also estimates that to do a thorough job of purifying the voter rolls he should have \$105,000—allowing 50 cents expense for every voter. He also estimates the operation could be done for as little as \$35,000 if bulk postage rates were used to check voters but this procedure will not do an adequate job, he added.

Mrs. Rosemary Richey of Vero Beach, Elections Supervisor in Indian River County and president of the Florida Association of Election Supervisors, purges her complete roll every two years and spends 35 cents per voter doing it.

Pinellas County conducts its required purge of non-voters every two years and spends 12 cents in postage per voter. Pinellas never has had a general purge. The elections office handles the biennial purges with only occasional extra help. Pinellas has a larger elections staff but also many more voters than Hillsborough.

Regardless of the costs for conducting a general purge; that isn't the principal reason why none has been made. The reason is a personality conflict between Fair and the Commissioners and Fair and the Election Board.

None will say so, but it's fairly obvious there's a lot of distrust among the three groups.

The County Commission last week did ask Fair to submit a plan for purging the rolls, an estimate of the cost and to determine whether precincts in the worst shape could be corrected first.

Meanwhile, Hillsborough voter lists continue to erode, thus hastening the day when the county may have a big vote scandal on its hands.

Chief duties of the Election Board are to appoint poll officials for elections, be responsible for storage of voting machines and security of past election records. Together with the County Judge, members serve as the Canvassing Board to review election returns.

The board also is charged by state law with filing with the Clerk of the Circuit Court all changes in voting precinct boundary lines. There's nothing in the Clerk's office to show any legal descriptions of any kind ever has been filed.

The board has come under fire because some of its members have run for other offices while on the board. The most recent criticism aimed at it was its failure to provide the public or the press with Hillsborough returns in the statewide higher education construction bond election last week.

One of the nagging problems of all Supervisors is the voter who moves from his precinct without informing the Supervisor. Such a voter is permitted under law to vote in his old precinct only through the next general election. Then he is subject to disqualification as a voter. The State Association of Election Supervisors says there's no solution for this problem.

Fair offers one possible corrective measure which would be applicable here and statewide. This would be to require every voter to sign not only his name when voting but also his address. State law requires the Election Board or County Commissions—which perform this duty in other counties—to retain custody of these slips for a year. After a year's time these voting slips could be utilized by the Supervisor's office to track the changing voters.

If this method were used and Hillsborough were to move under a general state law requiring non-voters to be purged every two years analysts believe the condition of Hillsborough voter rolls would be greatly improved. First, however, there must be a general purge of disqualified voters.

WILLIAM BROWNE, A GREAT CONSERVATIONIST AND A GREAT AMERICAN

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, Mr. William Browne III, a constituent of mine, has made a magnificent gift to future generations, an inspiration to me as well as to everyone who knows of it.

I have long known and admired Mr. Browne, as well as his brother, the late Saxon Browne. I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the follow articles, which speak of the tremendous gift that Mr. Browne has made; and of his own self-denial in the process:

[From the Florida Times Union, Nov. 26, 1969]

SWAMP'S BEEN HIS HOME: RECLUSE DONATES \$1 MILLION TRACT

(By Bill Foley)

William Browne III, who has lived in the wilds north of Fort Carolina Road for the last 80 years and kept the outside world away from them, is giving better than \$1 million worth of land to be maintained as a nature preserve.

The Nature Conservancy, a private, non-profit organization headquartered in Washington, said Browne is donating 361 acres fronting on the St. Johns River.

The area is to be named the Theodore Roosevelt Preserve, according to Thomas W. Richards, president of the Nature Conservancy.

It is to be used for scientific and educational purposes by Jacksonville University. JU President Robert H. Spiro says the university will observe both the letter and spirit of Browne's wishes in protecting the land.

"Jacksonville University is delighted to cooperate with the Nature Conservancy in effecting the wishes of Mr. William Browne," said Dr. Spiro. "Our biologists and other scientists will assist in the preservation of this property, which also will serve importantly in the scientific education of our students."

Richards said the land represents Browne's entire estate.

"He could have reaped great profit from its sale to commercial interests. He chose, instead, to give the people of northern Florida and their progeny a unique example of natural America," said Richards in announcing the gift Monday.

The land, bathed by wandering marshes and lushly grown with palmetto stands and Spanish moss-draped trees, is virtually the same as it was when Browne's father bought it in 1884.

"Mr. Willie," as Campfire . . . duction of bonded indebtedness already incurred for road and bridge purposes.

"The local governments know where the road needs are," Saylor said. "Let's give them the money and let them build them." He also said they can build roads cheaper and quicker.

"The quality of a city street is not that of a state highway," he added, "and it might after a few years develop a pothole. But it might away he has allowed archeologists from the University of Florida to do extensive work over the years. The property is abundant in Indian mounds and kitchen middens and the scientists say it was inhabited as long as 6,000 years ago by a people unrelated to the Seminole and Timucuan Indians who later settled there.

It's still overgrown with saw and cabbage palmetto, live oak, water oak, hickory, magnolia, long-leaf pine, sweetgum and loblolly bay—dark, silent and far removed from the cluster of commercial and residential Arlington.

The land is a haven for birds and other wildlife, with heron rookeries in each of the two major marshes that break up the dense undergrowth. Yellow-crowned night herons are common and bald eagles can be found there.

The gift was announced in Washington—while Browne remained alone in his preserved wilderness.

The Nature Conservancy also has regional offices in Evanston, Ill., and San Francisco. In its 15 years of operation, it has been responsible for preservation of more than 130,000 acres nationally, said a Conservancy spokesman.

Last year more than \$5 million in land was turned over to the National Park Service, Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife and other agencies by the organization, he said.

[From the Washington Post, Nov. 27, 1969]

LAND DONATED FOR WILDLIFE

JACKSONVILLE, FLA.—Willie Browne III has donated as a wildlife refuge the 361 acres of marsh and palmetto land where he shunned civilization for most of his 80 years.

The gift was announced Monday by the Nature Conservancy, recipient of the land. The private nonprofit organization valued the land at approximately \$1 million.

Denizens of the area include the bald eagle and the yellow-crowned night heron, both near extinction from the inroads of civilization.

Browne never went to school, married, attended church or rode in an airplane. He had hardly left the land—acquired by his lawyer father in 1884—since he was 6 months old. The last other surviving member of his family, a brother died in 1959.

Self-educated under the guidance of his parents, Browne was an avid reader of newspapers, magazines and history books.

He never said why he chose isolation, but expressed one regret in life: He did not achieve his ambition to become a Pony Express rider.

Asked why he gave his land away after so many years of deep attachment to it, the old hermit replied:

"I believe the saying from the Bible that bread cast upon the waters comes back to you."

LOS ANGELES FLEETS ARE MADE IDLE AS DDT IS FOUND IN FISH

HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, man is just now beginning to understand that the ecological results of his new technology are often unexpected and are revealed only after many years.

A recent article in the Washington Post again emphasizes this fact as it applies to the use of pesticides. It is terribly important that the Congress and the Nation recognize that our oceans and the life they contain are much more sensitive and delicate than we had previously imagined.

The article which I am now inserting is but one small additional evidence of that fact:

LA FLEETS ARE MADE IDLE AS DDT IS FOUND IN FISH

LOS ANGELES.—The mackerel fleet in Los Angeles harbor has completely suspended operations in the wake of a health department finding of high amounts of DDT in the fish.

The shipment of fish, involving more than 4,000 cases, was withdrawn voluntarily by Star-Kist Food Inc., a packer at San Pedro, the harbor for Los Angeles.

Tests by the State Health Department three weeks ago showed the shipment contained up to 10 parts per million of DDT derivatives, officials said Tuesday. The Federal maximum limit is 5 parts per million.

A spokesman for the fishing fleet said all mackerel fishing out of San Pedro had been halted.

He called for the federal DDT safety maximum to be raised, saying a multi-million-dollar annual business would be ruined otherwise.

The presence of DDT in fish is commonly blamed on industrial wastes and sewage dumped into the harbor.

PRIVATE ANTIPOLLUTION PROGRAM

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, 16 private electric utilities, including one serving my district, is joining in a \$16 million program to reduce pollution of the air.

The program was announced recently by the president of Central Illinois Public Service Co., Springfield, Ill., and is an outstanding example of private initiative to meet a pressing public problem. It shows what can be done in the private sector with Federal direction or subsidy.

Text of the announcement:

AIR POLLUTION CONTROL

K. E. Bowen, president of Central Illinois Public Service Co., announced this week that CIPS and 15 other electric utilities will join in supporting a new research program to develop an advanced air pollution control system.

The project will be conducted by the Babcock & Wilcox Co. (B & W) and Esso Research and Engineering Co.

Goal of the approximately \$7 million program is a commercial system to eliminate 99 percent of solid pollutants and 90 percent of the gaseous, more-difficult-to-control sulfur oxides from the exhaust of power plant boilers. Sulfur dioxide will be recovered in the form of marketable sulfuric acid to partially offset costs of the system.

A unique material developed by Esso Research absorbs sulfur dioxide from boiler gases and releases it to a sulfur recovery unit. In announcing the project, Bowen said:

"Participation by CIPS in this program represents another major step by the company in cooperating at both the state and national levels in the development of air quality control programs.

"Following approval by the Illinois Air Pollution Control Board last summer, CIPS announced a \$16 million program over a five-year period to install electrostatic precipitators at its four electric generating stations.

"B & W's experience as a leading supplier of power generation equipment to the utility industry and Esso Research's extensive background in desulfurization technology will be brought to bear on the need for a long term

solution to the utilities' air pollution problem."

A total of 14 of the contributing systems, located in the east and midwest, are investor-owned. In addition to CIPS, other participating Illinois utilities are Illinois Power Co. of Decatur, and Commonwealth Edison Co. of Chicago.

A B & W-Esso Research task group has been studying and evaluating the process for more than two years, and a development schedule leading to commercial availability in 1973 has been established. Technical and economic checkpoints have been set to determine the advisability of proceeding with each step of the program.

A test unit to determine durability of the special absorbing material is expected to go into operation this month at an Indiana plant of American Electric Power System. Satisfactory test results will lead to construction of a large-scale demonstration system.

Further research efforts will include investigation of the control of nitrogen oxides and of the direct production of sulfur rather than sulfuric acid.

The attractiveness of a recovery system for sulfur dioxide control is based on the desire of utilities to maintain the low cost of electric power, limited availability of low-sulfur fuels, and the ability of fossil fuel power to compete with nuclear power for an indefinite period. At present there is no commercial process for significantly reducing the sulfur content of coal before it is burned in a power plant.

In the process development program, Esso Research, the principal technical affiliate of the world-wide Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), will have prime responsibility for process development. B & W will have prime responsibility for engineering, and integrating the process into utility power systems.

TRIBUTE TO ANITA AND LOUIS PERLMAN

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last week Chicago paid tribute to two outstanding citizens whose contributions to human dignity are literally beyond measure.

They are Anita and Louis Perlman.

This very dedicated Chicago husband-and-wife team have carved a record of service to mankind that serves as an inspiration to all of us.

Last week B'nai B'rith, with the services of the B'nai B'rith Foundation bestowed upon these two distinguished Americans the highly coveted B'nai B'rith International President's Medal.

In accepting this highly honored decoration, Anita and Louis Perlman joined a very distinguished group of humanitarians who had previously been honored in this way. These include President Harry S. Truman, Philip M. Klutznick, Bernard Baruch, Gen. David Sarnoff, and David Ben Gurion.

This is the first time in the history of this distinguished award that two people have received the President's Medal at the same time and this in itself is a measure of the high esteem and deep respect that these two marvelous Americans carved through their humanity and unselfish effort.

I am enclosing in my remarks today a brief biography of this very unusual but highly dedicated couple. I think we can see from the distinguished list of Americans who participated in the dinner, at which this award was bestowed in Chicago's Palmer House on November 23 the high regard in which the Perlman's are held.

Mr. Ray A. Kroc, founder and chairman of the board of McDonald's Corp., served as general chairman of the tribute to Anita and Louis Perlman and set the tone in his own remarks for the high tribute paid these two wonderful people.

Others who participated in the program were:

Walter Jacobson, WBBM-TV CBS.

Eileen Deneen, coloratura soprano.

Rabbi David Polish, Beth Emet Synagogue, Evanston, Ill.

Dr. Preston Bradley, pastor, the Peoples Church.

David Blumberg, Knoxville, Tenn., national chairman, B'nai B'rith Fund Raising Cabinet.

Mrs. Michael Shapiro, Washington, D.C., international president, B'nai B'rith Women.

Jack J. Spitzer, Riverside, Calif., national chairman, B.B.Y.O. Commission.

Miss Amy Horowitz, Silver Spring, Md., international president of B'nai B'rith Girls.

George F. Brummett, New York, N.Y., president, International Franchise Association.

Hon. Philip M. Klutznick, honorary president B'nai B'rith., Former Ambassador of United States to United Nations.

Rabbi Stanley Rabinowitz, Adas Israel congregation, Washington, D.C.

The biography of Anita and Louis Perlman follows:

WHO IS DESERVING OF HONOR?

The Mishna says, "He who contributes to the dignity of mankind."

Anita and Louis Perlman are a couple whose blend of commitment and vision has generated a better quality to the life of their community, their country, their fellow man. Each has given a lifetime of active service to B'nai B'rith. Their philanthropies and personal services are identified with a wide range of religious, educational, civic and human relations activities, and a host of health agencies.

Foremost is their strong personal identity with youth. Anita was the founder of the B'nai B'rith Girls program. Both are members of the National B.B.Y.O. Commission. Anita served as International president of B'nai B'rith Women, is Vice-chairman of the A.D.L. National Commission, serves as national chairman of "Operation Stork", Vice-president of Leo N. Levi Hospital. She is also active in P.T.A., the National Safety Council, Brandeis University, and serves on Sisterhood and Temple boards.

Lou is a past president of North Shore Lodge, chairman of Special Events Committee of the Youth Services of the B'nai B'rith Foundation. He is chairman of the board of the Martin-Brower Corporation, a member of numerous professional organizations in his industry, the Northwestern University Club and Covenant Club of Illinois.

Their hundreds of citations, certificates, plaques, autographed pictures with national and international personalities is a tribute to their involvement in great causes and programs.

B'nai B'rith is proud to present its Inter-

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national President's Medals to Mr. and Mrs. Louis L. Perlman. They will receive these rarely bestowed medals which in past years have numbered among its few recipients:

Former President Harry S. Truman, Philip M. Klutznick, Bernard Baruch, General David Sarnoff, David Ben Gurion.

HIGH SCHOOL CHALLENGES

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, the principal of the Mayo High School in Rochester, Minn., addressed the student body summarizing the challenges and opportunities facing them.

His address was so well rounded and representative of the best of American education, I am inserting it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that my colleagues and others across the Nation may profit from it.

Those who may be worried about the future of American youth should take courage when they read his remarks, which follow:

MAYO HIGH SCHOOL, 1969—PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

(By Ralph E. Wright)

INTRODUCTION

A speaker recently opened his talk by observing that he would have to refer to his notes frequently because he could never remember who said what—for instance, was it Will Rogers or Elizabeth Taylor who said, "I never met a man I couldn't like!" My reason for using my notes is different—I simply have so much to say in a limited time that I can't permit myself to depart from the script.

Today I want us to think about you and Mayo High School—past, present and future. Your relationship to the school—what we can do together to provide for the greatest advantage to all.

Three years ago in a similar assembly I talked to the student body about our "new school" problems. But now we are beyond that point. We are an established school with many reasons to be proud.

SCHOOL PRIDE

A listing of the honors and awards accumulated since you finished your exams last June 5th is amazing. Here is a sampling:

1. Two state records in track were tied, and our team placed third in the state, and our tennis team placed fourth.

2. Our representative to Boys' State was elected Governor and was also elected to office in Boys' Nation.

3. Plaques were received indicating that our Science Club had been designated the best in the state, and that Mr. Welte and Mr. Walton had been named Science Advisors of the Year for the state.

4. During the summer, Teen Corps students from Mayo represented the school in Appalachia, on Indian reservations, and at the State Hospital.

5. At the Cheerleaders Clinic at Gustavus Adolphus our squad was selected as the best.

6. We have more National Merit semi-finalists than any other area school.

7. Our yearbook has received All-American rating.

And so it goes. This is an incomplete listing, and I apologize for the many unlisted, but these are enough to point out that we all have reason for pride in our school. And,

if you need additional proof, look at the trophy cases by the cafeteria. In fact, we have a problem. Outstanding accomplishments have been so commonplace that we have difficulty acknowledging them all.

MEANING OF COMPREHENSIVE HIGH SCHOOL

There is another reason why I am hesitant to say much about individual honors. We are a comprehensive American high school serving the southern half of the city and the surrounding rural and suburban areas. "Comprehensive" means that we serve students of all races, religions, socio-economic levels, abilities, and handicaps. Physically, the abilities range from future Olympic stars to those in the wheelchairs for whom a walk across a room may be an unattainable goal; from the mentally handicapped to the National Merit winner. And, each individual, of course, has his own range and combination of abilities.

Each one of you is equally important and has a unique set of background, talents, abilities, problems, and needs. Since we are a comprehensive high school, there is no hierarchy of students, classes, or subjects. It is just as important that the business student be a good business student as it is that the math student excel in his field, or others in their fields . . . for in this complex world of split-second timing and mutual interdependence (typified by our space program), it may be just as important that an engine has been properly tuned by a mechanic as it is that the formula for the fuel has been calculated correctly, or that the orbit has been computed accurately. It may be just as important that a word is spelled and transmitted properly, permitting correct communication, as it is that a high government official has made the correct decision.

Communication through the fine arts may succeed where foreign languages fail or are inadequate. The self-discipline, or lack of it, of a serviceman in Vietnam, or Berlin, or Guantanamo, may affect the lives of all of us. And just learning how to get along with each other may be the most important and most difficult thing of all.

INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR EDUCATION

How does all this relate to you? Your primary responsibility to self and society is to attend school and obtain an education suited to your needs and abilities. What you do, what you learn, what you become during these formative years may well determine not only your own future but they may contribute to the survival or destruction or improvement of your way of life. The time is now when our country can afford to waste any of our precious resources, the greatest of which is you.

As the school year gets underway and you look toward the completion of this year and make plans for the future, I hope that your resolution will be to do a better job—to do the best that it is possible for you to do; for being the best student that you can be now is your primary task. "I will study now, for some day my time will come," said Abraham Lincoln as a youth.

Extracurricular activities are important, too. We hope that each one of you can find some special interest or activity which will help you to be a happier and better person, and through which you can accomplish something of value to yourself, your school, and your community.

Recently I visited with a college student and, thinking of this occasion, I asked him what he would do differently if he had the mythical opportunity to do things over. After some thought he said, "I would do less, but those things which I did I would do better." Are you doing your best in your studies, and some extracurricular area, or special activity outside of school?

IMPORTANCE OF PHYSICAL FITNESS

In President Kennedy's inaugural address, he said, "... ask not what your country can do for you. Ask what you can do for your country." He provided an answer and a needed example to young people in connection with physical fitness.

Your generation lives in an age different from any other in the physical requirements which it places on you. You need to do better than many members of the present adult generation who, caught in the transition from the demands of physical occupation to the push-button age, have ended up with overweight and obesity as major problems. This is not only a physical problem but also a moral paradox when half of the world is hungry and starving and we consider overeating and overweight a major problem today.

Opportunities have recently been expanded in physical education, intramurals, and athletics for both boys and girls. Whether you participate in any of these programs or not, I encourage you to make your own physical fitness an important goal. Your physical body is made from the things you eat, drink, and breathe, conditioned by your care and exercise. Don't short-change yourself, or those who will depend upon you.

SCHOOL SPIRIT

I have talked about mind and body, and now I would like to talk about attitude and school spirit. What is school spirit? As Mr. Grosso so adequately pointed out in the Homecoming Assembly, it is the harmony and enthusiasm of the student body. You cannot see it or touch it—yet it definitely exists as a powerful source. It is present and expressed in each player giving his very best to win. It is in you as you urge your teams on with cheers. It is in our students in the halls, on buses, and in our streets as you represent the school's name and reputation. It is present when Special Education students daily devote time to carefully performing school services. It is in your honest effort to profit from three years of high school. It is the courtesy and consideration you show to classmates, teachers, and visitors. It is a careful observance to duty or discharge of your obligations, your self-respect, and high esteem for yourself and your school. It is your enthusiastic loyalty to your school.

Real school spirit is shown by the person who sticks with his school and its ideals through thick and thin. Obviously, there are times when it is easier to show school spirit than at other times. School spirit, like national pride, is just as important when a team is losing, if not more so, than when it is winning, and at times it may be a deciding factor.

Winston Churchill, in World War II's darkest days, when his country was being badly beaten by Germany, challenged the pride and spirit of the free world when he said, "Let us brace ourselves to our duty, and so bear ourselves that if the British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years men will say, 'This was our finest hour!'"

I know that some of you have been concerned about school spirit, and I appreciate that concern because it is an important ingredient in building and maintaining school spirit. Tom Theye, as football captain, told the student body something significant at the recent pep feast. In addition to telling you that he was angry because of what he thought was inadequate support, I think he told you indirectly that students need each other . . . that it's important to let each other know that you care about what is going on at school . . . that cheers help all . . . and that jeers help no one but hurt everybody. And I think Hal Mankin in his sports column pointed out that it's important that we recognize how diversified our school is, and that

we respect the particular interests, or disinterests, of others.

And I would add something that I did not really understand as a high school athlete . . . that a high school game is more than the athletic squad—that it's also cheerleaders, and band, and drill team, and pep club, and concession stands, and ticket takers, and program distributors, and PA announcers, and sports writers, and mascots, and students, and family, and a host of others all working together. And it's that unity that comes from working together that makes school spirit.

Sometimes we laugh and celebrate our victories together, and sometimes we share our sorrows and cry and ache together. And, as Hal pointed out, football isn't necessarily the most important activity for everybody, but it is a fact of life that it occupies the attention of more people in the school and community at one time than any other facet of our program.

Sometime ago I received a letter from Albert Lea, which included the following remarks: "I'm writing because I want to commend you and your staff personally. Never before in any gymnasium I have broadcast from, have I received such courteous and helpful assistance. I hope you can somehow thank them for me. You must be very proud of your school. It would have to be one of the nicest that I have come across."

"By the way, you not only have a good basketball team, but you must also have one of the loudest cheering sections in your student body. It's good to see such enthusiasm."

NEED TO IMPROVE SCHOOL DRESS

Most people who visit our school think that the general conduct and discipline here are very good, and I think so, too. But I also think there are some areas where we can and should improve, and I would like to discuss these.

Last spring, upon the recommendation of the Student Council, a joint student-faculty committee drew up a new set of guidelines for student dress, which was eventually adopted. In case you've forgotten, it says in part . . . "Each Mayo student is charged with the responsibility to represent his school with pride. It is assumed that part of this responsibility is to attend school dressed neatly, and to be groomed with personal hygiene and safety in mind."

In effect, the committee said that students have the maturity to dress in good taste. Many students have accepted this responsibility, but some have not.

The words, "represent his school with pride" and "to attend school dressed neatly," are important parts of that code and they are significant. If the guidelines are to be lasting, all of you need to follow this code responsibly and also exert your influence to see that the extremes employed by some do not lead to the revocation of the present liberal code for all.

Also for you to consider is the loss of pride suffered by all when we have to be apologetic about the appearance of our student body. Visitors from other Big 9 schools have expressed surprise at the "grubby" appearance of some of our students. Recently, one of these, who was generally very complimentary of the educational program and the work being done here, said that he had one reservation. He said, "I noticed a number of students who don't seem to be properly dressed—is this a special day of some kind?"

I ask you individually and collectively to cooperate in representing yourself, and your school, with pride. And I ask you to honestly answer: Do you raise or lower the standards of the school by your dress and grooming?

We also seek your suggestion for solutions to school problems . . . solutions which will help our students to grow in response to challenges and opportunities presented in the development of school pride.

FREER USE OF SCHOOL RESOURCES

Our faculty has a goal . . . to do everything possible to open the resources of the school so each student has the maximum access to its facilities. Study-resource centers have been opened in several subject areas to permit student help in a more informal setting; several departments have permitted students use of the facilities during study hours; and the Apella Program is related, too.

Whether you become an Apella member or not, all will profit by a school in which students are committing themselves to accepting responsibilities for educational purposes. They are seeking freedom to demonstrate maturity, responsibility, and cooperation. But every freedom has an equal responsibility. Freedom without responsibility is license, leading to anarchy.

The "traditional" rules and modes of operation established in the past were designed to protect the educational opportunities for the greatest number of students. Now, interested students are saying that if some of the specific regulations are liberalized to permit more choices, they will apply self-discipline and exhibit a maturity which will permit themselves and others to make better and fuller use of our resources. This is the kind of discipline that a dedicated student employs to break the bonds of ignorance, a musician practices in order to obtain better expression, and an athlete in training exercises in order that his body will function more freely.

DEMOCRATIC BELIEFS AND CHALLENGES

Democracy is not a bequest which can be handed down from one generation to another . . . it is a conquest which each generation must undertake for itself. The challenge is being passed to you! How will you answer?

The American democratic traditions are based on Western civilization and its Greco-Roman, Hebrew-Christian, and other cultural roots and beliefs. What are these beliefs? Among them are:

1. Belief in the dignity and importance of each individual.
2. The belief that each person has a privilege and a responsibility to participate in representative government and to make basic decisions regarding his vocation, political, and religious affiliation, and personal life.
3. The belief that to prepare for this participation in government and self-direction, each individual's physical, mental, and spiritual development and education are important responsibilities.
4. The belief that each person's ideas about the existence and worship of God should be respected.
5. The belief that there must be an essential balance between privilege and responsibility.

Our moment in history is an exciting, challenging, and complex one. We are faced with the potential of plenty and the possibility of total destruction. Whether the wonders of science or its terrors will predominate will be determined by your generation.

Three years ago I said that our challenge was two-fold: (1) the promotion and extension of the opportunities, rights, responsibilities, and duties of freedom to all the citizens of our country; and (2) to meet the threat of the Communist society as it strives to tear down the institutions, ideas, and ideals of the free world.

And now I would add a third one—(3) to find a way to meet the immediate problems of racial unrest, poverty, hunger, war, and and helplessness without destroying and disrupting institutions which have accomplished so much in our country. This challenge has special implications for schools where students have become actively involved in

seeking solutions to national and world problems.

STUDENT ACTIVISM—POSITIVE OR DISRUPTIVE

Activism in extreme forms in the high schools can be disruptive, or it can bring solutions. It can cause a breakdown in student government. It can feed distrust between students and teachers. It can interfere with classroom teaching. It can cause a suspicious, nervous atmosphere throughout the school. It can cause a community to lose confidence in its schools. And it can be used as a wedge for political radicals to influence students.

For, unfortunately, activism is often led by student radicals with a political purpose. There are student groups which openly state that their purpose is revolution; the destruction of our present institutions. Schools are to be the beachhead for this assault.

They advocate that every law, every moral principle, every exercise of authority be challenged and violated, simply because it is there. Or because the individual or particular group does not recognize the right of everyone to place a limit on their action, and they believe that nothing, absolutely nothing, should in any way limit their freedom of decision, their freedom of action, their freedom of choice.

There is validated evidence that there are paid agitators to promote unrest on college campuses and high schools around the country. Their purpose appears to be to undermine confidence in the government and all institutional authority.

But our society is based on a concept of law that necessarily places some restrictions on the freedoms of individuals. We cannot have laws that protect us as individuals without accepting limits on our actions. Law and order are essential to a democracy, and I think most students want to be enrolled in a well-run school where you can devote your attention to obtaining an education. And while here you ought not be harassed by people who are only interested in propagandizing and who are not really interested at all in true and constructive educational experiences of young people; who are interested in convincing young people that their own extremist and sometimes un-American points of view are the only truths.

But, what about your right to free advocacy? You may advocate any minority opinion, any extremist point of view you want in the classroom. But there will be others in that classroom to challenge you, and it is much more likely that in this exchange you will begin to see the complexity of a problem and be more likely to get some glimpse of the truth.

Activism in the high schools can also be valuable. It may make students aware of a world greater than themselves. It can get young people involved in profound social issues. It can provide a forum for curriculum improvement. It ordinarily demands a re-evaluation of student government. And it can present a working exercise in the relationship between freedom and responsibility.

What is most needed now is for students to place movements in the hands of responsible leaders committed to the democratic process as well as to the solution of burning inequities.

WHAT I HEAR FROM STUDENTS

For the youth of today are raising questions and are dissatisfied with yesterday's answers. We adults who have not seriously examined our political, moral, ethical, religious, and intellectual concepts since childhood will find our ideas promptly rejected. During the past year I have listened to young people and learned a great deal.

Youth today struggles with moral questions of an undeclared war—they wonder about an affluent society filled with poverty—they know they live in a country where

overweight and overeating are major problems while half the world goes hungry. The pill and other medical developments raise new questions in the area of sex—developments never before faced by man. Nuclear war is often discussed, but seldom debated. Youth are restless and want to meet modern problems realistically and to be involved on an active level in working out solutions; they are not satisfied just to hear them discussed idealistically.

They are appalled at man's inhumanity to man, and are thoroughly dissatisfied with a Christian community which does not react against the slaughter of modern warfare. They are concerned about the injustice in our slums and ghettos, and what seems to be the hypocrisy of an adult society which does not live by the standards to which it pays lip service.

Many adults are concerned, too, but youth are impatient and seek immediate answers or actions. We deplore many of the means of protest which we see being used—but rebeling youth says, "How else does one get society's attention?"

Last year Dr. Keller gave us two examples: First, a poem by an eight-year old. It is entitled, "Who Am I?"

I have many things I want to say but—
No one listens.
I have many things I want to do but—
No one lets me.

I have many places I want to go but—
No one takes me.

And the things I write
Are corrected but—
No one reads them.

Who am I?

And then there is the poem, "Imagine," written by a ninth grader:

Imagine tears
A mile wide
And a year deep.

Imagine a chain of sorrow
Linking past with present,
Present with future.

Imagine no one to turn
To.

Imagine a never-ending
Search for love
And a God that
May not be.

Imagine all the
Wonderment and
Confusion . . .

Imagine me.

I am not pessimistic about youth assuming a responsible role in the schools and community of tomorrow, for the majority of them are concerned about the problems of society. They are better informed and more dedicated to action programs than similar age groups before.

Recently, in Rochester, youth that I know have been seriously involved in the Peace Corps . . . AFS . . . Flood fighting volunteers . . . Ghetto workers in Chicago . . . Teen Corps in Appalachia and Minnesota . . . "Y" volunteers in Bogota . . . and programs concerned with peace, poverty, and hunger. The list could go on and on.

Paul Brown said it this way:

On Homecoming

I want a cause
For which to live and work,
A mission worth commitment . . .
Not tradition for the sake of tradition.

and

Seventeen

Just in case you're wondering—
I'm seventeen.

Seventeen is old enough for many things:
Old enough to think; to know what's right
and wrong;
Old enough to wish the nights you spend
awake were not
So very long.

Seventeen is
Old enough to be yourself, apart, and yet
to bear a scar not yours.

—Old enough to have a heart.

It's old enough to have a cause and not
give in;

Old enough to lose and
Old enough to win; but sometimes
Seventeen is even old enough to die.

Seventeen is old enough to wonder why.

And at last years graduation we heard these original thoughts from the Student Council president:

Impossible Dreams—Why Not?

(By Gary Jacobson, Student Council President, Mayo High School, 1968-69)

Impossible dreams—Why not?

The young people of today are very idealistic;

The young people of today dream of a better tomorrow. A world where nations do not resort to war. Where countries can settle differences in peace. A world that is free from poverty and suffering. Where black man, yellow man, white man work side by side. A world where people are known and respected as just that, People.

A conflict develops, however. Many who are older and more wise say that ideality and practicality do not mix.

They say, "Now, let's be practical. Do you think there will ever come a time when war is no more? War is as much a part of man as is his desire for survival."

And

"Poverty and suffering are stations in life. You will always have the rich and the poor. Accept the fact and live with it. As for racial equality, sure. We are all for it; fifty years from now. It takes time."

The young of the world dream, impossible dreams, as many say, but don't tell us that. We won't listen.

As the late Robert F. Kennedy once said, "Some men see things as they are and say why. I dream things that never were and say, why not?"

The young people of today dream dreams that never were, impossible dreams. And we say, why not?

We must devise ways to constructively channel student idealism and desire to be involved. I'm most optimistic about young people as a force to change schools to better serve society and youths.

CONCLUSION

Together we can develop our knowledge and skills, spirit and pride, to preserve and improve our democratic institutions so that today's "Impossible Dreams" can become tomorrow's realities.

THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT AND THE CLEVELAND PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, during recent days there has been a great deal of discussion by the President and officials

of the administration, as well as Members of Congress concerning the level of funding required for the vital activities sponsored under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

The President has let it be known that if the Congress decides to fund this important act at the level it has been funded in 1968 rather than the billion dollars less, which he requested, the President feels compelled to veto this measure.

Realizing the value of this critically needed program, the Congress has seen fit, on their own initiative, to add a billion dollars to the President's request, thus maintaining what has been defined to be an adequate and decent level of funding for many essential programs which are currently ongoing.

As one demonstration of the essential nature of this act, I requested a report on the utilization of funds provided by this law from the Cleveland Public School System. The following is a complete text of the correspondence I recently received from Dr. Paul Briggs, superintendent of the Cleveland Public School System. Even a cursory reading of fund utilization will indicate that so much of this programing simply could not be paid for out of existing local school revenues. These programs would have to cease to exist if the Elementary and Secondary Education Act were to be cut back.

Among the most illogical excuses I have ever heard is to base a decision of such a cutback upon inflation. In my own judgment, administration requests for billions of dollars in Federal aid in support of the supersonic transport and merchant marine and corporate tax reductions constitute the real inflationary threat. Minimum adequate funding for elementary-secondary education can only be described as a critical investment in the future of our country.

It is vital that the President join the Congress in reorienting our national priorities to place the solution of human problems and the meeting of human needs before outright subsidies to private corporations which in our free enterprise system have many options to fulfill their needs.

The letter from Dr. Briggs is as follows:

CLEVELAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS,
Cleveland, Ohio, December 3, 1969.
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK,
House of Representatives, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN VANIK: In response to your recent request for a report on the various Cleveland school programs provided by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, I would like to report the following:

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT

TITLE I

1. *Child development project.*—involves 2,000 high poverty area pre-kindergarten children—is a unique educational experience designed to bridge cultural differences and increase the child's readiness to enter kindergarten successfully.

2. *Children-in-institutions project.*—involves approximately 600 students per semester—is designed to provide an enriched educational program for children ages 5 to 18

who have been assigned to various residential institutions.

3. *Diagnostic reading project.*—serves a total of 600 public and non-public students from grades 4, 5 and 6 from high poverty areas of Cleveland—is designed to provide specialized in-depth service to pupils evidencing multiple and complex reading difficulties in the upper elementary grades.

4. *English-as-a-second language.*—involves 500 pre-school through sixth grade students from poverty areas of Cleveland—is geared to meet the language, educational, social and cultural need of each "second language" student enrolled in the class.

5. *Job development project.*—serves approximately 1,400 to 1,500 seniors per year from high poverty areas of Cleveland—offers inner-city high school students who are not planning immediate college entry, practical guidance and assistance in finding gainful full-time employment upon graduation.

6. *Kindergarten enrichment project.*—involves 4,000 children per year five years of age from high poverty areas of Cleveland—is a cooperative effort of teachers, parents and children designed to provide additional experiences beyond the regular curriculum, with people, places and materials which will increase the disadvantaged child's chances for success in the primary grades.

7. *The learning laboratories project.*—involves 210 selected tenth grade students from senior high schools in high poverty areas of Cleveland—utilizes employment-oriented laboratory experiences to improve learning skills and attitudes.

8. *Pre-primary project.*—serves approximately 140 elementary school children ages 5 to 7 from high poverty areas of Cleveland—provides young children with experiences that will aid them in developing the social and learning readiness necessary for admission into an appropriate school program.

9. *Production workshop project.*—involves 160 selected ninth grade students from junior high schools in high poverty areas of Cleveland—combines laboratory experience with the instruction program for a learning environment uniquely adapted to the needs of inner-city children.

10. *Reading improvement project.*—serves 1,200 to 1,500 public and non-public students in grades 1, 2, and 3 from high poverty areas of Cleveland—is a program designed to support children's reading success in the primary grades. It is viewed as a corrective program geared to prevent reading failure.

11. *Remedial mathematics project.*—involves 2,000 elementary students from high poverty areas of Cleveland—is designed to upgrade children who have severe difficulties in mathematics by providing daily successful learning experience.

12. *Resident tutor project.*—involves 3,500 to 5,000 students from high poverty areas of Cleveland—employs tutors to work on regular schedule to reinforce learning and strengthen basic skills of selected pupils and to assist these students in improving their self image.

13. *Summer school project.*—serves approximately 20,000 to 25,000 children per summer from elementary and secondary schools in high poverty areas of Cleveland—is intended to provide a variety of educational and social experiences to enrich the backgrounds of educationally disadvantaged children.

14. *Transition project.*—involves approximately 1,200 selected seventh grade students from junior high schools in high poverty areas of Cleveland—enables participating seventh-grade pupils to make the adjustment into the secondary school aided by special supportive services and an adapted enriched curriculum.

It is important that we have full funding of the E.S.E.A. legislation if we are going to go ahead with the very important projects

that have previously been inaugurated. The Cleveland Public Schools could not have survived without the kind of federal assistance that we have enjoyed the last few years. The problems of urban education have not yet been solved. This is no time to talk about cutting educational funding for inner-city children. Your understanding, help and assistance is sincerely appreciated.

Sincerely,

PAUL W. BRIGGS.

UNO SUPPORTS STATES RIGHTS—
VOTES ALL STATES AS EQUAL

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, in 1967, I pointed out the ridiculous double standard of the United Nations Organization in calling for "one-man, one-vote" equality in the internal affairs of its members while making its own voting body, the General Assembly, more and more unrepresentative of the people of the world—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 113, part 3, page 3313.

Today nations with a population totaling less than that of the United States—which has only one vote—comprise over 51 percent of the General Assembly, and control its actions. Not only do we pay for the great majority of the programs of the UNO, but we also outnumber the total population represented by the majority of the delegates who are spending our money and making our foreign policy.

Since my remarks in 1967, four new ministates have been accorded full membership in the organization. I list them and their respective populations as follows: Mauritius, 774,000; South Yemen, 1,500,000; Swaziland, 385,000; and Equatorial Africa, 343,589.

The most recent action taken to exaggerate this inequity is the announcement that the trusteeship committee of the General Assembly has approved the admission to full membership of another 25 microscopic territories with equal voting status in each case to that of the United States, a nation of 200 million people, and capable of the recent Apollo operations.

One of these so-called nations has a total population—men, women, and children—of less than 100, yet its vote has the same value as ours. We have public housing in Washington which contains more people than that in one wing. Something is badly out of balance, and the situation is not improving.

So that the absurdity of the latest new members can be better appreciated by our colleagues, I include in my remarks a list of several, together with their populations: Pitcairn Island, 90; Antigua, 61,664; Dominica, 68,501; Grenada, 91,967; Nevis Anguilla, 59,476; St. Lucia, 110,142; and St. Vincent, 88,451.

And this is the organization which cries bitter tears about civilized "minority rule" in Rhodesia, and pulls the economic sanction strings which cause the United States to obediently jump

through hoops. Wait until the Indians on Alcatraz Island are granted membership in the United Nations Organization—with full voting rights.

Unless the Congress opens its eyes and recognizes the absolute incongruity of this malapportionment, then takes action to repeal our erroneous UNO Participation Act, it seems that the only relief available to the hard-pressed American taxpayer is in the nature of a taxpayers' suit to prevent the squandering of our tax moneys for the funding of a minority-controlled organization dictating our foreign policy contrary to our national interests.

Mr. Speaker, I include in my remarks pertinent newsclippings and State Department correspondence:

[From the Reuters, Nov. 13, 1969]

U.N. MEMBERSHIP POSSIBLE: SIZE NO BAR TO NATIONHOOD

UNITED NATIONS.—The General Assembly's Trusteeship Committee rejected a British attempt Friday to exclude six of its Caribbean dependencies from a resolution saying they and 19 other small territories are entitled to independence without delays because of their size.

Only 19 countries joined Britain in voting to delete the names of Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Christopher, Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent from a list of 25 small territories.

The committee went on to approve a resolution expressing the conviction that questions of territorial size, geographical isolation and limited resources should in no way delay the granting of self-determination and independence to the 25 territories.

It also urged the administering powers concerned to reconsider their attitude of refusing to permit U.N. fact-finding missions to visit these lands.

The committee's action, which is expected to be endorsed by the assembly in plenary session, established the U.N. principle that even such a small country as Pitcairn Island, with fewer than 100 persons, could attain nationhood, and, theoretically, obtain U.N. membership as the equal in voting rights to the United States and the Soviet Union.

[From the Washington, (D.C.) Evening Star, Dec. 11, 1969]

NIXON PROCLAIMS RIGHTS WEEK

President Nixon has called on America to act so as to provide an example "that will point the way in the struggle to promote respect for human rights throughout the world."

He did so in a proclamation yesterday designating yesterday as Human Rights Day and next Monday as Bill of Rights Day, and the week from yesterday through next Wednesday as Human Rights Week.

The proclamation urged Americans to observe the week "to the end that we may rededicate ourselves as a united people to the task of assuring to every person—regardless of his race, sex, creed, color, or place of national origin—the full enjoyment of his basic human rights."

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., December 1, 1969.

MR. JAMES M. STEWART
Palatine, Ill.

DEAR MR. STEWART: This is in reply to your letter of November 16th to Secretary Rogers. The great ideals encompassed in the Charter of the United Nations are set out most cogently in the Preamble. They may be paraphrased as follows:

Saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war;

Reaffirming faith in fundamental human rights;

Establishing conditions under which justice and respect for law can be maintained;

Promoting social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom;

Practicing tolerance and living in peace with one another as good neighbors;

Uniting to maintain international peace and security;

Employing international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples.

I believe that these ideals continue to be the heart of the foreign policy of the United States.

Sincerely,
FRANCIS W. CARPENTER,
Special Assistant, Bureau of International Organization Affairs.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington.

MESSAGE TO EMPLOYEES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND THE FOREIGN SERVICE ON THE OCCASION OF UNITED NATIONS DAY, OCTOBER 24, 1965

United Nations Day holds special significance this year. The UN is celebrating its twentieth anniversary, and 1965 was designated as International Cooperation Year by the UN General Assembly.

The United States played a leading role in drafting the Charter. We have worked unceasingly with other members to uphold the spirit and the letter of that great commitment. We have supported UN actions for making and keeping peace and establishing the rule of law. We have supported or initiated many of its most constructive programs.

In the quest for peace, in the search for progress, the United Nations—despite some disappointments and setbacks—has served us well. There is no substitute for it. We intend to persist in our efforts to make the UN stronger and still more capable of performing the tasks of an effective international organization.

I hope each employee will reread the United Nations Charter. It encompasses the same great ideals that are the backbone of our democracy and the heart of our foreign policy.

DEAN RUSK.

COLUMN SCORES SMALL DIVIDEND OF U.S. BONDS COMPARED TO THOSE OF CANADA AND GREAT BRITAIN

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, Sylvia Porter, the renowned economist and writer, recently penned a column which appeared in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette.

Miss Porter discusses the very poor comparison between the dividends earned on U.S. Government savings bonds as compared to those offered by the Governments of Great Britain and Canada.

Even with the proposed increase to 5 percent, the American product falls woefully short of its sister countries' bonds.

Miss Porter interprets this fact as a lack of concern for the small saver, the man who gets a \$25 or \$50 bond regularly taken out of his paychecks.

At this point, I would like to enter

Miss Porter's column into the RECORD and ask that my colleagues take into consideration the point of Miss Porter's words. And I add my voice to the idea that a man or woman who has shown faith in his country by buying its savings bonds should be the recipient of a greater dividend than is currently offered for his investment.

The article follows:

YOUR MONEY'S WORTH: AN INDIGNANT GLANCE AT LOW U.S. BOND RATES

(By Sylvia Porter)

If you were a small investor in Canada today, you could buy a new issue of Canada savings bonds paying you 7 per cent for the first year, 8 per cent for each of the next two years, 8½ per cent for each of the last six years. If you hold the bonds to maturity in nine years and didn't cash the interest coupons as they came due, you would get a bonus payment which along with your accrued interest would DOUBLE your original investment in the nine years. You could buy the bonds in denominations as low as \$50 up to a limit of \$25,000. Of course, you could cash in your bonds at any time for their full face value plus earned interest.

If you were a small investor in England today, you also could buy a new series of savings bonds via payroll deductions which would pay you the equivalent of a tax-free 7 per cent for five years or 7½ per cent for seven years—a return which the London Economist says is "not to be sniffed at."

You could get all sorts of bonus deals to encourage you to hold your bonds to maturity plus safety, plus the advantage of systematic savings, etc.

But if you are what you are—a small saver in the United States buying U.S. savings bonds via payroll deductions—you can get 4½ per cent but only if you hold the bonds to maturity in seven years; you get much less if you cash in before maturity.

And while Congress eventually will get around to raising this rate to 5 per cent by shortening the maturity of the bonds to five years and 10 months, the new high rate still will be less than 1969's rise in the cost of living.

The new 5 per cent rate will, in blunt summary, be disgracefully belated, with what the Treasury is paying sophisticated buyers of its marketable securities (8 per cent on a short-term I.O.U. last month).

The rate will be blatantly unfair to the innocent saver in this era of steep interest rates and galloping inflation.

It's getting tougher and tougher to defend this administration's attitude toward the small saver in his land.

I don't want to undercut this program, for it's fundamentally too good to deserve this treatment. I don't want to risk spurring a mass cash-in of the \$52 million of savings bonds held by 10,300,000-plus Americans today, for I understand the inflationary dangers inherent in this.

Nevertheless, when I study what Canada and Britain are offering their savers, I am ashamed of my own government.

The U.S. Treasury is paying the small saver of this country less interest than any other nation in the entire world. It is openly taking advantage of the small saver's apathy while paying more sophisticated investors what the market demands.

The Treasury (with the help of Congress) is severely damaging one of the greatest savings program ever devised. Savings bond sales have lagged behind cash-ins for the past 11 months; while Treasury officials pay lip service to the program, I can't help wondering whether they give a damn.

The debt managers of this administration are showing a shocking lack of imagination and boldness.

If incentives are essential to encourage people to save via bonds in this era, why not give them? If Canada and England can offer bonus rewards to long-term investors, why can't we?

If other major countries try to pay the little fellow enough interest to keep him at least even with rising living costs, how dare our government pay a negative rate of return?

RAY LAPIN—A GOOD RECORD

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, the goal of an administration should be efficiency. For this reason, Government constantly looks to the field of business for men who have proven professional competence to head bureaus and agencies. Usually, these men come to Washington at great personal and monetary sacrifice.

Such is the case of Raymond Lapin, Director of Federal National Mortgage Association. After proving professional competence in the private sector, Mr. Lapin was asked to head "Fannie Mae." In 1966 he brought his experience and knowledge to this agency and immediately won praise from the housing industry.

On November 26, President Nixon acted to remove him from office "for good cause." Mr. Lapin's political affiliation is cited as the "good cause." The question is, should we allow the "spoils system" to take precedence over efficiency and competence? Why should the public suffer simply because a man has one political registry or another?

Today housing is one of the most pressing problems facing the administration. Interest rates are too high—housing starts are off. "Fannie Mae," by making money available for housing at a more reasonable price, where otherwise it should be too high, has been a success.

The administration should be more concerned about housing and less concerned about rewarding its friends.

The administration, a strong advocate of a prominent saying in the 18th Century—"to the victor belong the spoils"—has put aside the public interest in an effort to reward those who happen to be friends of the party.

I believe my colleagues would find much insight in an article appearing in the Washington Evening Star of December 12, 1969, which gives an interesting summation of the case as it stands today.

The article follows:

LAPIN'S "FANNIE MAE AFFAIR"

(By Mary McGrory)

Raymond H. Lapin says he will have to be carried away from Fannie Mae. But this is, being Washington, not a love story but a power struggle, because Fannie Mae is a mortgage association and Lapin was president and director until preemptorily fired by President Nixon on Nov. 26.

Lapin, a tall, balding, sober-sided Californian, thinks he has done well by Fannie Mae.

He has certainly put her name in lights in the financial world and won rave notices from the financial press and perhaps praise of a sort from George Romney, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, which was once Fannie Mae's supervisor and now her principal client.

Lapin looks and sounds like the kind of man Republicans are always looking for to head large organizations. He has presided over Fannie Mae's transformation from government agency to private enterprise, which is in keeping with Republican philosophy about business efficiency.

PAYS TAXES NOW

Under Lapin's direction, Fannie Mae, which has doubled the purchases of mortgages for the Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans Administration, is being taken over by private stockholders, and pay taxes like any corporation.

But Lapin is a Democrat, and thus, it would seem, undeserving of a post which will pay, when the transition is complete, something like \$85,000 a year.

Lapin, however, has no intention of going quietly. He doesn't need the money, but he thinks the real purpose of sacking him was to return Fannie Mae to the clutches of HUD.

To save her from what he considers this evil fate, Lapin has gone to court and is suing Richard Nixon, among others, to keep his job.

The White House is mildly disconcerted by Lapin's unexpected show of force. They say he is not only a Democrat, but he is a gung-ho Democrat who has lobbied for the reelection of a Democratic congressman, Richard Hanna of California. Lapin was appointed by former President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1966.

Lapin admits he wrote 24 letters to friends in the mortgage, banking and savings and loan industries soliciting their contributions for a fund-raising dinner for the congressman, which was held recently in Washington.

CALLED A CLERICAL ERROR

But, he says, he wrote the letters on his personal stationery, not Fannie Mae's, and it was a clerical error that the letters went out in Fannie Mae envelopes.

Besides, he said, since Fannie Mae is now a private organization, his job no longer comes under the Hatch Act. The dinner, he says was heavily attended by Republicans, who also appreciate Hanna's stalwart efforts in the field of housing and home financing.

Last Wednesday, the board of directors voted a new board chairman for Fannie Mae, under deputy secretary of HUD named William B. Ross, who, Lapin says, does not really love or understand Fannie Mae as he does. Ross will keep the president's seat warm until Nixon finds a deserving Republican to take over before next May, when the final stage of Fannie Mae's "privatization" could be accomplished.

Life for Lapin is lonely these days. Ross, who is supposed to be running the association, has taken over the board room next to Lapin's office. Staff members, who have no idea how it is all going to come out, nervously ask Lapin if he thinks he will be locked out. He doesn't see how the government can keep him off private property.

DOESN'T GET HIS MAIL

He doesn't get his mail any more. The general counsel of HUD, Sherman Unger, whom Lapin regards as his real enemy, has given orders that all business letters be kept from him.

Some efforts are being made on Capitol Hill to try to keep Lapin and Fannie Mae together. Sen. Alan Cranston, D-Calif., accompanied his friend and constituent to a meeting with HUD undersecretary Richard Van Dusen, where Lapin was told he could

go with praise if he went right away. Cranston thinks bureaucratic jealousy has added to Lapin's problems.

"Fannie Mae is the only success in the housing field," says Cranston. "George Romney wants to take credit for it. And of course it's too good a job for a Democrat."

Lapin thinks he can litigate against the President and the board of directors for several months yet. He thinks the law guaranteed his appointment until Fannie Mae was entirely free of government control. He thinks that justice is, too. And if he can't keep his job, he hopes he can at least keep Fannie Mae on the road to freedom from government control.

RICHARD ORR HONORED FOR DISTINGUISHED SERVICE TO AMERICAN AGRICULTURE

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, earlier this week the very distinguished and highly respected farm editor of the Chicago Tribune was honored by the Newspaper Farm Editors of America for distinguished service to American agriculture.

I am sure all of us who have read Mr. Orr's article about American farming will applaud the great honor paid him by his fellow agriculture editors.

Agriculture continues to be America's largest single industry and provides more jobs directly and indirectly than any other industry of our Nation.

I am pleased to know that Mr. Orr's very knowledgeable articles about this very important aspect of our society has been properly recognized.

The article of his citation, which appeared in the Chicago Tribune, follows:

TRIBUNE FARM EDITOR HONORED FOR SERVICES

Richard Orr, The Tribune's farm editor, was given an award for distinguished service to American agriculture thru newspaper journalism yesterday at the annual meeting of the Newspaper Farm Editors of America at the Sheraton-Blackstone hotel.

Orr received a silver trophy and \$500 presented by Donald D. Maze on behalf of the Charles Pfizer & Co., Inc., of New York, a pharmaceutical firm. Donald D. Maze, manager of the firm's east-central region, presented the award.

Donald Muhm, farm editor of the Des Moines Register-Tribune was named 1969 farm editor of the year at the same meeting. He received \$500 from the National Plant Food Institute and the Newspaper Farm Editors of America.

Orr was a national winner, selected by a panel of judges from 10 finalists. The finalists were selected by balloting by 3,500 person related to a farm journalism.

In August, Orr won an "Oscar" in agriculture presented by the De Kalb AgResearch Inc., De Kalb, one of the nation's leading producers of hybrid seeds.

Muhm also was elected president of the farm editors group during the meeting. S. Archie Holdridge, farm editor for the Hartford, Conn., Courant was elected first vice-president; and Glenn Cunningham, formerly of the Register-Tribune, was reelected secretary-treasurer. Four regional vice presidents also were elected.

THIS AREA "NUTTIEST" IN
COUNTRY

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, I represent the 20th Congressional District of Pennsylvania, an honor and privilege of which I am most proud. It is an area embracing three cities—McKeesport, Duquesne, and Clairton—and a number of residential municipalities.

Each of the cities has its individual claim, or claims, to fame. McKeesport is the "Tube City" because its sprawling steel plant produces a product used throughout the world; Duquesne is the "Steel City" because its steelmaking ability is paced by one of the first basic oxygen furnaces in the State; Clairton boasts the largest coke-producing plant in the world and also is known as "the City of Prayer" because of its fight to restore prayer to public schools.

There are many other reasons why the 20th District is known throughout the Nation but I recently learned of another distinction held by this area. We are, to use the vernacular, nuts about nuts.

Let me quickly explain, Mr. Speaker, for the benefit of my colleagues who possess a sense of humor and rapier wit which I highly respect, that I am referring to our consumption of the food-stuff and not to certain individuals whose actions lead one to question the content of their cranial cavity.

The McKeesport area, I am proud to say, is the second largest consumer of walnuts in the Nation. It is led in this distinction only by Butte, Mont., according to a representative of the California walnut growers. This information was discovered by a woman newspaper reporter, Mary McKee, who writes for the Daily News in McKeesport.

However, as President Nixon has learned from Pennsylvania State University's football team, Pennsylvanians do not take kindly to playing second fiddle to anyone in anything. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I would serve notice on my esteemed colleagues from the State of Montana that constituents in my 20th District are not satisfied with being No. 2. We will try harder to crack the shell of superiority worn by the nut-cracking citizens of Butte.

John M. Orr, Miss McKee's editor at the Daily News, supported this objective in an editorial on the subject. I include that article, along with Miss McKee's, for the RECORD and invite the attention of my colleagues, particularly those from Butte, Mont., to them:

THIS AREA "NUTTIEST" IN COUNTRY

(By Mary McKee)

The McKeesport area has many claims to fame. Marc Connelly (Pulitzer Prize-winning playwright), Andy Warhol (pop artist) and Murf the Surf (convicted gem thief) all once called McKeesport home. Donna Jean Young, comedian, has been extolling the virtues of her native East McKeesport from coast to coast.

"We're known as 'The Tube City,' thanks to the big National Works here which makes steel tube to ship throughout the world.

We're known, also, for the railroad tracks that cut the city in half and block traffic.

The last distinction we're about to lose, of course. But we have a new reason to boast, one that you may not even have known about.

Next to Butte, Mont., we are now the nuttiest section of the country. How about that!

A representative of the California walnut growers told me all about it at this year's Newspaper Food Editors Conference in Chicago.

"Your section consumes more walnuts than any other place in the country, except Butte, Mont.," he announced.

"Why?" I asked, trying to conceal my civic pride.

"We assume there are two reasons," he went on. "First, you have many first and second generation Americans who came from Europe. Traditionally, they use a lot of nuts in their baking and cooking."

That's all those nut rolls, girls!

"Second, the men in your area work hard, physically, in the mills. They like hearty foods and desserts, made with nuts."

He never did get around to explaining why Butte, Mont., is nuttier than we are. But it doesn't really matter. What does matter is that if we try, if we put on our aprons and get baking, maybe we can capture the title from Butte and become The Nuttiest.

NUTS TO US

Mary McKee, the women's page writer, has come up with the startling intelligence that, next to Butte, Mont., ours is the nuttiest area in the country.

Miss McKee learned this from a representative of the California walnut growers who sell great amounts of their product in the McKeesport market. And she figures, and undoubtedly rightly so, that our ethnic traditions of good nut-filled foods are responsible.

"That's all those nut rolls, girls!" she advised her readers.

But, then, Miss McKee proposed that we forge ahead, gulping down nut rolls along the way until we better Butte and stand alone in the distinction of being, in truth, the nuttiest of all.

We support this objective. Being nutty is a matter of pride these days with brisk competition for the honor under way in most every phase of our society. We have a list of prominent nuts in Washington—and in Harrisburg, too. We have nutty businessmen making millions with nutty products. And what isn't nutty on TV, or the movies or the stage?

So, if this area can become the undisputed nut capital, then what? Added fame and fortune, as determined by present nutty standards, could be ours and this, of course, would not be looked upon as peanuts by Butte, Mont., or any other jealous rival.

WORLD TRADE PROBLEM

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I include the following article in the RECORD:

[From the Ironworker, October 1969]

WORLD TRADE PROBLEM

(By John Herling)

Bitter words were shouted at the AFL-CIO convention because of this country's deteriorating position in world trade. The anger in the voices of men who are generally slow to wrath was caused by the threat to American jobs arising they see in

the rising tide of imports from countries with lower wage and employment standards.

As a result of the large increase in the imports, one union leader after another reported, that jobs are being lost, the union membership rolls are being eroded.

While there has also been a group of "high protection" unions which has sought protection against the inroads of foreign goods, today large industrial unions, once leading advocates of free trade, now also raise the cry for some sort of protection against unfair foreign competition.

One of the key factors in this change of attitude is the "skyrocketing investments" of U.S. companies in foreign operations. American technology and know-how have been transferred to plants which they established throughout the world. As a result large U.S. firms which once exported to other countries now are freed from higher U.S. wage levels and working conditions.

Along with this undercutting of the American foreign trade position by U.S. firms, many foreign producers benefitting by U.S. economic aid policies—originally designed to help them raise their own national standards—manufacture for export to the rich and attractive U.S. market.

Consequently, the AFL-CIO leadership argues that "free-trade" and "protectionism" are both outdated concepts in a world of managed national economies, of international technology, and of multi-national companies.

For example, the United Steelworkers, long a vigorous advocate of free-flowing trade, now has made common cause with industrial sectors advocating a restriction of steel imports. Considerable soul-searching preceded this shift in attitude, but the union spokesmen argue that though the principle of reciprocal trade is desirable, their first obligation is the protection of their members' jobs, many of which are disappearing.

Here are other examples: increased textile and ladies garment imports are now cutting out jobs, both for white and the increasing number of black workers in the South.

Men's clothing: Amalgamated Clothing Workers President Jacob Potofsky pleaded for "voluntary control" to turn back the flood of Japanese clothing imports. He warns of increased "foreign import" demonstrations in front of department stores by his union members.

The threat to the shoe workers comes from Japan, Taiwan, Italy and Spain, where wage scales are incredibly low—in Italy reportedly about 8 cents an hour—and sweatshop conditions prevail. Five years ago the U.S. imported about 63 million pairs of leather shoes, last year this rose to 175 million. Fifteen years ago, only 10 million pairs of shoes were imported.

Paul Jennings, president of the International Union of Electrical Workers, found that many unions find themselves "trapped in the cliché of free trade." Under the banner of free trade, he said, American companies are using their low-wage plants in Mexico, Taiwan and Hong Kong to produce for export to the United States with no reduction in price for the American consumer.

At least a dozen speakers poured their wrath on the waters of foreign trade which under recent conditions they consider a threat to the American worker. They had pleaded for action under President Johnson. To little effect. Now they demand it under President Nixon. No action. So they are moving on to Congress.

In support of their position AFL-CIO President Meany said: "We are not isolationist. We have always been in favor of expanded world trade. But this expansion must be regulated in some way that will protect the jobs and the standards of American workers from further overseas exploitation."