

local governments to adopt more equitable personal income taxes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MINSHALL:

H.R. 15304. A bill to establish an Office of Consumer Affairs to advise the President with regard to all matters affecting the interests of consumers, to have central responsibility for coordinating all Federal programs and activities affecting consumers, and to assure that the interests of consumers are considered by Federal agencies; to establish a Consumer Advisory Council to advise the Director of the Office of Consumer Affairs on matters relating to the consumer interest; and to establish a Consumer Protection Division within the Department of Justice to represent the interests of consumers in administrative and judicial proceedings; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. PODELL:

H.R. 15305. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide for the payment of social security benefits on a semi-monthly basis; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. TALCOTT:

H.R. 15306. A bill to establish a Select Commission on Nationality and Naturalization; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BINGHAM:

H.R. 15307. A bill to implement the Convention on the Recognition and Enforcement of Foreign Arbitral Awards; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DUNCAN:

H.R. 15308. A bill to delay for 1 additional year any reduction in certain pension or dependency and indemnity compensation payable under title 38 of the United States Code resulting from increases in insurance benefits under the social security amendments of 1967; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. GALLAGHER:

H.R. 15309. A bill to require mailing list brokers to register with the Postmaster Gen-

eral, and suppliers and buyers of mailing lists to furnish information to the Postmaster General with respect to their identity and transactions involving the sale or exchange of mailing lists, to provide for the removal of names from mailing lists, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. LUKENS (for himself, Mr. BUCHANAN, Mr. CARTER, Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN, Mr. COWGER, Mr. FISH, Mr. FISHER, Mr. FRIEDEL, Mr. LUJAN, Mr. POLLOCK, and Mr. SNYDER):

H.R. 15310. A bill to exclude from gross income the first \$750 of interest received on deposits in thrift institutions; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RANDALL:

H.R. 15311. A bill to provide additional benefits for optometry officers of the uniformed services; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. STAGGERS:

H.R. 15312. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to provide a 15 per centum increase in annuities; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. WHITEHURST:

H.R. 15313. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to provide for the rank of major general for the Chief of the Dental Service of the Air Force; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. BROTZMAN (for himself, Mr. ARENDS, Mr. NELSEN, Mr. TIERNAN, Mr. POLLOCK, Mr. SCOTT, Mr. PELLY, Mr. ESCH, Mr. BRADEMAS, Mr. MATIAS, Mr. LUKENS, Mr. MCKNEALLY, Mr. STOKES, and Mr. MATSUNAGA):

H. Res. 757. Resolution to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives to create a standing committee to be known as the Committee on the Environment; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. BROTZMAN (for himself, Mr. BEALL of Maryland, Mr. MORSE, Mr. SHRIVER, Mr. DEVINE, Mr. KUYKENDALL, Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin,

Mr. BUSH, Mr. SANDMAN, Mr. HASTINGS, Mr. ADAIR, Mr. GOODLING, Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey, and Mr. BUTTON):

H. Res. 758. Resolution to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives to create a standing committee to be known as the Committee on the Environment; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. MINSHALL:

H. Res. 759. Resolution to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives to create a standing committee to be known as the Committee on the Environment; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred, as follows:

By Mr. DONOHUE:

H.R. 15314. A bill for the relief of Dr. Ghan-sham P. Massand; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PODELL:

H.R. 15315. A bill for the relief of Aveleen Elfredia Hughes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. YATES:

H.R. 15316. A bill for the relief of Miss Ljiljana Nikodinovic; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

358. The SPEAKER presented petition of Bedingfield, Grant & Bedingfield, attorneys at law, Coos Bay, Oreg., attorneys for Larry Lucas, Agness, Oreg., relative to the proposed plan of the Forest Service, Department of Agriculture, for the Rogue River in Oregon under the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act (Public Law 90-542); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

RESOLUTION PAYS TRIBUTE TO SERVICEMEN

HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to be a cosponsor of the House resolution which "pays the highest tribute to the American serviceman who has given his life or has been wounded in the Vietnam conflict" and which "commends each serviceman and veteran of Vietnam for his individual sacrifice, bravery, dedication, initiative, and devotion to duty."

I believe it is important that this position be plainly stated and that it be widely known that this resolution passed the House unanimously last Monday.

Furthermore, we should note that under the House rules, only 25 Members could be cosponsors of the actual resolution which passed—H.R. 661. But that is only part of the picture. There were a total of nine bills—each with a similar message—which were before the Committee on Armed Services. I was a cosponsor of H.R. 662, which contained the same thanks for "the bravery and dedication" of our servicemen.

In addition to the unanimous vote, we should point out carefully that a total of 152 Members of Congress joined as cosponsors of this declaration. Under House rules, the public should know, each of those nine resolutions is considered passed.

The resolution made clear in its wording, sponsorship, and vote that our servicemen have maximum support from the House of Representatives.

SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS OF 1969

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, in March of this year, a noted task force reported to the Special Senate Committee on Aging the following conclusion:

The average social security benefit payable to an elderly couple who retired in December 1950—even though it has been adjusted over the years—would now purchase a significantly smaller fraction of the Retired Couple's Budget for a Moderate Standard of Living than at the time of retirement.

What this means is that the cost of living has been rising at such a pace, even though social security payments have increased more than 100 percent since 1950, a retired couple actually can purchase less now than he did 20 years ago.

The Department of Labor has determined that a retired couple can have a moderate standard of living with an income of around \$340 a month. A poverty, or what has been termed a "lower budget" for an elderly couple averages \$220 a month.

Breaking these figures down, the Department of Labor would allow about \$15 a week for food for retired couples living at the lower budget. Housing transportation, clothing are similarly scheduled.

Now, of course, these figures are just for the lower budget \$220 a month. Present social security benefits are almost 100 percent less than the minimum poverty budget. Today most retired couples depend upon social security for the major portion of their budget. The maximum payment of \$118 per month of the retired poor is supplemented by State welfare—old-age assistance—checks. In no instance do welfare payments bring their recipients up to the minimum poverty budget.

In other words, the majority of elderly Americans receive a monthly income that

is less than what the Department of Labor considers to be a poverty budget. At the conclusion of this statement, I will attach a report, complete with tables, that was released by the Department of Labor late in October of this year. The report identifies the costs of living for the elderly. It defines the types of budgets and indicates the costs of each.

One additional item needs to be discussed. The average budgets included in the report take into account the differences in the cost of living in various sections of the country. In my home State of California, an elderly retired couple will find the lower budget costing from 5 to 8 percent more than the average. As a result an older couple in California at the poverty level will find it much more difficult to make ends meet.

Most of these people have really never been able to enjoy the raises in social security that Congress has provided in the past two decades. Most States reduce the amount of old-age assistance payments in direct ratio to the rise in social security payments. When you couple that hard fact with a 4.5-percent rate of inflation in the past year, the elderly poor are being crushed with no real relief in sight.

The 15-percent raise we are talking about really does not solve the depressing financial squeeze now hurting millions of older Americans. The average raise amounts to around \$17 per month per couple. With the Consumer Price Index increasing at almost one-half percent a month, 15 percent will not begin to even keep the recipients even with the pace of rising prices. Since 1955, the rise in benefits has not equaled the rise in prices and 1969 will be no exception.

The current conditions in our economy have most seriously hurt those on a fixed income. Older Americans depending on social security for the major part of their income have been hurt more than other groups.

A 15-percent raise is the very least we can do. A 15-percent raise is a minimum gesture and no one is entitled to slap themselves on the back with self-congratulations for their generosity. It is merely a holding action. Hopefully, it will prod us into a meaningful program in the immediate future. If we cannot do better soon, the suffering will be tragic.

The report and tables follow:

THREE BUDGETS FOR A RETIRED COUPLE

"In spring 1967, it cost a retired couple almost \$2,700 to maintain the level of living specified in the lower budget, roughly \$3,900 to live at the intermediate level, and about \$6,000 to meet the requirements of the higher budget."

These findings are from "Measuring Retired Couples' Living Costs in Urban Areas," an article that will appear in the November issue of the *Monthly Labor Review*. A research bulletin—*Three Budgets for a Retired Couple in Urban Areas of the United States*—will be published later in 1969 by the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Rising prices between spring 1967 and spring 1969 have added about 9 percent to the cost of goods and services required to sustain the retired couples.

Lower and higher budgets for a retired couple are available for the first time. The intermediate budget (formerly the moderate budget) is a sequel to the retired couple's

budget, autumn 1966, which was published in June 1968.

The budgets have been developed to meet the needs of public assistance agencies, voluntary social and welfare agencies, businesses, labor unions, and individuals concerned with retirement planning.

The retired couple is defined as a husband, age 65 or over, and his wife, self-supporting, living independently in a separate dwelling, and enjoying reasonably good health.

The budgets are based on the manner of living and consumer choices of the 1960's. They permit the couple to maintain its health and well-being, and to participate in community activities. The goods and services were selected as follows: nutritional and health standards, as determined by experts, were used for the food-at-home and housing components. However, the selection among the various kinds of foods and housing arrangements were based on actual choices made by families as revealed by surveys of consumer expenditures. In the absence of standards the choices reported in the BLS Survey of Consumer Expenditures were used for housefurnishings, household operation, clothing, personal care, reading, recreation, meals away from home, and alcoholic beverages.

The style of living provided by the lower budget differs from the intermediate and higher levels in this manner: A smaller proportion of couples own their homes, dwelling units lack air conditioning, couples rely more on public transportation, they perform more services for themselves, and they make greater use of free recreation facilities.

By contrast, the higher budget assumes the largest proportion of homeowners, provides new cars for some couples, allows more household appliances and equipment, and more paid services than at the intermediate level.

Also, a majority of the items common to the three budgets are in greater quantity and of better quality at each higher level of living.

Total budget costs in urban United States in spring 1967 averaged \$2,671 at the lower level, \$3,857 at the intermediate, and \$6,039 at the higher.

Consumption items—food, housing, transportation, clothing, personal care, medical care, and other family consumption in the lower budget cost \$2,556. In addition, an allowance for gifts and contributions amounted to \$115.

The intermediate budget required \$3,626 for consumption items plus \$231 for gifts and contributions, while the higher budget needed \$5,335 for goods and services and \$398 for gifts and contributions. Additional allowances are made in the high budget of \$71 for life insurance premiums and \$235 for personal taxes.

FOOD

Total food costs at spring 1967 prices averaged \$789 for the lower budget, \$1,048 for the intermediate, and \$1,285 for the higher.

Of total food costs in the lower budget, \$735 was for food at home. Compared with the two higher budgets, the lower food allowance calls for larger quantities of potatoes, dry beans and peas, flour and cereal, and smaller quantities of meat, and poultry and fish.

The family also has an allowance of \$54 which permits them to enjoy a restaurant meal about once a month.

In the intermediate budget, food for home consumption cost \$937 and restaurant meals and snacks—\$111. At the top level the couples required \$1,115 for food consumed at home, and \$170 for meals outside the home.

HOUSING

Urban U.S. housing costs ranged from \$939 in the lower budget to \$2,066 in the higher level. The middle group housing costs amounted to \$1,330.

Shelter—the major expense in the housing total—required an average annual outlay of \$704 for the lower budget, \$849 for the intermediate, and \$1,188 for the higher level. These amounts are based on the average costs for rented and owned dwellings.

Rental housing which had 2 or 3 rooms were specified for 40 percent of the couples at the lower level, 35 percent of the middle level, and 30 percent of the higher level couples. The renters' cost included rent plus estimated costs of fuel and utilities, where these were not part of the rent, and insurance on household effects.

The majority of the families at all budget levels lived in 5- or 6-room mortgage-free homes. Typical homeowner costs for these couples include taxes, insurance, fuel and utilities, and routine repair and maintenance charges. The higher budget provides for greater utility usage and a larger repair and maintenance allowance than the intermediate and lower budgets.

TRANSPORTATION

Transportation costs stepped up from \$191 at the lower budget level to \$382 for the intermediate, and \$682 for the higher. These allowances provide for ownership and operation of an automobile for some of the couples at each budget level—except for lower budget families in Boston, Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia who rely on public transit.

The budget level and city size determined whether couples owned an automobile and how much they patronized public transit. In the lower budget it was assumed that car owners bought 6-year-old cars, intermediate group owners bought 2-year-old cars as did 45 percent of the higher budget families. For the remaining 55 percent of the higher budget couples, the purchase of a new car was specified.

CLOTHING AND PERSONAL CARE

Clothing costs—replacement of the clothing, and materials and services—averaged \$134 for the lower budget couple. The intermediate budget couple needed \$234 and the higher \$371, at spring 1967 prices.

The clothing allowances for husband and wife were about the same in the lower and intermediate budgets. At the higher level, however, the wife's allowance averaged about \$20 more than the husband's.

Personal care costs moved from \$83 for the lower budget to \$123 for the intermediate, and to \$178 for the higher budget. These costs constituted about 3 percent of the total family consumption for the three budgets.

MEDICAL CARE

The lower budget couple required \$294 to cover its total medical costs for a year. This was only \$2 less than the intermediate budget couple's \$296, and \$5 less than the top level cost of \$299. Although there is only a \$5 difference between the lower and the higher allowances, in the lower budget medical costs accounted for 12 percent of total family consumption, compared with only 6 percent of family consumption for the higher budget.

The medical care costs include hospital and medical insurance provided by the Federal Medicare program. Also included in the costs are eye examinations and eye glasses, drugs, and a physical checkup for Medicare enrollees not using Medicare services within a year.

OTHER CONSUMPTION

In the lower budget, "other consumption"—reading, recreation, tobacco, alcohol, and miscellaneous expenses—cost \$126. For these same items, the intermediate budget required \$213 while the higher budget totaled \$454.

At the lower level, the largest single cost in "other consumption" was reading (\$46), while at the intermediate and higher levels, costs for recreation—\$81 and \$256, respectively—accounted for the largest portions of the item.

Tobacco—cigars or pipes—and alcohol allowances are part of "other consumption" costs. No allowance was made for cigarettes in view of the findings of the U.S. Public Health Service concerning the effects of cigarette smoking on health.

LIVING COST DIFFERENCES AMONG CITIES

The new budgets provide a wide variety of total budget costs and comparative living cost indexes (tables 1-6) for major categories of consumer goods and services.

All indexes relate to costs for families established in the areas. They do not measure differences in costs associated with moving from one area to another, or costs incurred by recent arrivals in the community.

Within each budget, the intercity indexes reflect differences among areas in price levels, climatic or regional differences in the quantities and types of items required to provide the specified level of living, and differences in State and local taxes.

The annual cost of the lower budget in spring 1967 amounted to \$3,110 in Honolulu and \$2,334 in small Southern cities. In rel-

ative terms, with U.S. urban average costs equal to 100, this constitutes a range of 87 to 116, or 33 percent. For the other two budgets, Honolulu families spend \$4,429 for the intermediate and \$7,219 for the higher. In small Southern cities, families averaged \$3,222 for the middle budget and \$4,827 for the higher.

Of the mainland cities, the lower and intermediate budgets total costs were highest in Hartford—\$3,022 and \$4,343, respectively. The highest cost mainland city for the higher budget was Boston—\$7,198.

For all three budgets, food, rental shelter, and transportation were most expensive in Honolulu, medical care in Los Angeles, and clothing in Portland, Maine. The cost of homeownership was highest in New York for the lower and middle budgets and in Boston for the higher budget.

PUBLICATIONS

"Measuring Retired Couples' Living Costs in Urban Areas" appears in the November issue of the *Monthly Labor Review*. Single copy price 75 cents, annual subscription \$9.

The *Three Budgets for a Retired Couple in Urban Areas of the United States 1967-68*, Bulletin No. 1570-6, will become available later in 1969.

Other published bulletins in the series are: Bulletin 1570-1, *City Worker's Family Budget for a Moderate Living Standard, Autumn 1966*. Price 30 cents.

Bulletin 1570-2, *Revised Equivalence Scale for Estimating Budget Costs for Families of Different Size, Age, and Type*. Price 35 cents.

Bulletin 1570-3, *Pricing Procedures, Specifications and Average Prices, Autumn 1966*, used for the moderate standard of the city worker's budget. Price 75 cents.

Bulletin 1570-4, *Retired Couple's Budget for a Moderate Living Standard, Autumn 1966*. Price 35 cents.

Bulletin 1570-5, *Three Standards of Living for an Urban Family of Four Persons, Spring 1967*. Price \$1.00.

Publications can be purchased from the regional offices of the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C. 20402.

TABLE 1.—ANNUAL COSTS OF A LOWER BUDGET FOR A RETIRED COUPLE, SPRING 1967

Area	Cost of family consumption														
	Total budget costs ²				Housing (shelter, house furnishings, household operations)									Medical care	Other family consumption
	Renter and owner combined ³	Renter families	Homeowner families	Total ³	Food	Total housing ³	Renter and owner combined ³	Renter families ⁴	Homeowner families ⁵	Transportation ⁶	Clothing and personal care				
Urban United States.....	\$2,671	\$2,723	\$2,636	\$2,556	\$789	\$939	\$704	\$756	\$669	\$191	\$217	\$294	\$126		
Metropolitan areas ⁷	2,730	2,785	2,694	2,613	796	991	746	801	710	172	221	298	135		
Nonmetropolitan areas ⁸	2,492	2,536	2,462	2,385	769	783	622	622	548	248	207	281	97		
Northeast:															
Boston, Mass.....	2,757	2,710	2,789	2,639	835	1,109	852	805	884	47	218	290	140		
Buffalo, N.Y.....	2,944	2,938	2,948	2,817	816	1,085	833	827	837	249	237	293	137		
Hartford, Conn.....	3,022	3,065	2,993	2,892	851	1,121	885	928	856	250	227	298	145		
Lancaster, Pa.....	2,704	2,702	2,705	2,588	827	919	689	687	690	210	216	289	127		
New York-northeastern New Jersey.....	2,803	2,706	2,867	2,683	845	1,142	898	801	962	33	223	301	139		
Philadelphia, Pa.-New Jersey.....	2,620	2,588	2,641	2,508	837	983	744	712	765	47	214	290	137		
Pittsburgh, Pa.....	2,680	2,762	2,625	2,565	802	885	652	734	597	228	224	285	141		
Portland, Maine.....	2,778	2,766	2,786	2,659	802	967	710	698	718	216	237	287	150		
Nonmetropolitan areas ⁸	2,764	2,827	2,722	2,645	829	952	754	817	712	263	217	286	98		
North-central:															
Cedar Rapids, Iowa.....	2,778	2,862	2,722	2,659	783	1,006	755	839	699	226	228	289	127		
Champaign-Urbana, Ill.....	2,818	2,916	2,753	2,697	794	1,053	812	910	747	219	217	295	119		
Chicago, Ill.-northwestern Indiana.....	2,664	2,798	2,574	2,550	806	1,048	801	935	711	43	227	295	131		
Cincinnati, Ohio-Kentucky-Indiana.....	2,595	2,660	2,551	2,483	783	858	625	690	581	224	204	278	136		
Cleveland, Ohio.....	2,828	2,929	2,761	2,707	778	1,054	809	910	742	236	227	274	138		
Dayton, Ohio.....	2,689	2,845	2,585	2,574	777	948	706	862	602	219	216	281	133		
Detroit, Mich.....	2,656	2,846	2,529	2,542	804	849	607	797	480	236	228	286	139		
Green Bay, Wis.....	2,663	2,655	2,668	2,549	755	930	682	674	687	221	224	292	127		
Indianapolis, Ind.....	2,850	2,969	2,770	2,728	786	1,077	826	945	746	228	224	275	138		
Kansas City, Mo.-Kansas.....	2,691	2,810	2,611	2,576	799	894	647	766	567	239	220	295	129		
Milwaukee, Wis.....	2,795	2,864	2,749	2,675	768	1,036	797	886	751	228	224	287	132		
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.....	2,775	2,849	2,726	2,656	775	1,012	772	846	723	232	228	276	133		
St. Louis, Mo.-Illinois.....	2,757	2,830	2,708	2,639	820	953	711	784	662	242	215	287	122		
Wichita, Kans.....	2,709	2,818	2,637	2,593	799	936	684	793	612	230	214	286	128		
Nonmetropolitan areas ⁸	2,560	2,635	2,510	2,450	788	829	623	698	573	240	224	275	94		
South:															
Atlanta, Ga.....	2,462	2,566	2,393	2,357	738	752	489	593	420	221	210	292	143		
Austin, Tex.....	2,462	2,593	2,374	2,356	733	787	545	676	457	220	194	295	127		
Baltimore, Md.....	2,616	2,736	2,536	2,504	729	896	641	761	561	238	214	293	134		
Baton Rouge, La.....	2,422	2,542	2,342	2,318	742	714	476	596	396	239	206	285	132		
Dallas, Tex.....	2,511	2,573	2,469	2,403	725	813	574	636	532	228	202	302	133		
Durham, N.C.....	2,554	2,634	2,501	2,443	713	893	651	731	598	218	205	287	128		
Houston, Tex.....	2,531	2,610	2,478	2,422	745	798	549	628	496	246	198	302	133		
Nashville, Tenn.....	2,536	2,573	2,512	2,427	710	857	600	637	576	222	209	291	138		
Orlando, Fla.....	2,572	2,780	2,434	2,462	706	925	673	881	535	213	198	290	130		
Washington, D.C.-Maryland-Virginia.....	2,802	3,014	2,661	2,682	775	1,015	772	984	631	243	221	291	137		
Nonmetropolitan areas ⁸	2,334	2,359	2,317	2,234	732	692	487	512	470	246	188	280	96		
West:															
Bakersfield, Calif.....	2,650	2,714	2,607	2,536	781	854	612	676	569	243	216	318	124		
Denver, Col.....	2,710	2,723	2,701	2,594	797	922	671	684	662	225	230	296	124		
Honolulu, Hawaii.....	3,110	3,455	2,880	2,976	985	1,066	762	1,107	532	272	215	293	145		
Los Angeles-Long Beach, Calif.....	2,818	2,993	2,702	2,697	781	971	739	914	623	243	226	339	137		
San Diego, Calif.....	2,736	2,836	2,669	2,619	763	948	708	808	641	238	208	325	137		
San Francisco-Oakland, Calif.....	2,926	3,062	2,835	2,800	816	1,016	774	910	683	259	244	324	141		
Seattle-Everett, Wash.....	2,971	3,102	2,884	2,843	851	1,051	787	918	700	257	239	309	136		
Nonmetropolitan areas ⁸	2,703	2,734	2,683	2,587	819	881	663	694	643	264	227	292	104		

¹ A husband age 65 or over and his wife.
² The total cost of the budget includes an allowance for gifts and contributions.
³ The total represents the weighted average costs of renter and homeowner families. The weights in the lower budget were 40 percent for families living in rental dwellings; 60 percent for homeowners.
⁴ Average contract rent plus the cost of required amounts of heating fuel, gas, electricity, water, specified equipment, and insurance on household contents.
⁵ Taxes; insurance on house and contents; water, refuse disposal, heating fuel, gas, electricity, and specified equipment; and home repair and maintenance costs.

⁶ The average costs of automobile owners and nonowners were weighted by the following proportions of families; Boston, Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, 100 percent for nonowners; all other metropolitan areas, 45 percent for car owners, 55 percent for nonowners; nonmetropolitan areas, 55 percent for car owners, 45 percent for nonowners.
⁷ For a detailed description see the 1967 edition of "Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas," prepared by the Bureau of the Budget.
⁸ Places with populations of 2,500 to 50,000.

Note: Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

TABLE 2.—ANNUAL COSTS OF AN INTERMEDIATE BUDGET FOR A RETIRED COUPLE,¹ SPRING 1967

Area	Cost of family consumption												
	Housing (shelter, house furnishings, household operations)												Other family consumption
	Total budget costs ²				Food	Total housing ³	Shelter			Transportation ⁶	Clothing and personal care	Medical care	
	Renter and owner combined ²	Renter families	Homeowner families	Total ³			Renter and owner combined ³	Renter families ⁴	Homeowner families ⁵				
Urban United States.....	\$3,857	\$3,976	\$3,793	\$3,626	\$1,048	\$1,330	\$849	\$968	\$785	\$382	\$357	\$296	\$213
Metropolitan areas ¹	3,997	4,124	3,928	3,757	1,064	1,425	904	1,031	836	378	362	300	228
Nonmetropolitan areas ¹	3,440	3,538	3,388	3,234	1,002	1,046	683	781	631	394	342	283	167
Northeast:													
Boston, Mass.....	4,258	4,276	4,248	4,003	1,142	1,621	1,075	1,093	1,065	360	354	292	234
Buffalo, N.Y.....	4,217	4,259	4,194	3,964	1,089	1,520	980	1,022	957	442	385	296	232
Hartford, Conn.....	4,343	4,464	4,278	4,083	1,173	1,557	1,035	1,156	970	445	366	300	242
Lancaster, Pa.....	3,925	4,005	3,882	3,690	1,136	1,302	819	899	776	392	348	291	221
New York-northeastern New Jersey.....	4,265	4,256	4,270	4,009	1,173	1,682	1,137	1,128	1,142	247	368	303	236
Philadelphia, Pa-New Jersey.....	3,993	4,015	3,981	3,754	1,124	1,430	921	943	909	330	348	292	230
Pittsburgh, Pa.....	3,884	4,020	3,811	3,651	1,080	1,273	774	910	701	414	362	287	235
Portland, Maine.....	4,035	4,062	4,020	3,793	1,104	1,364	836	863	821	407	388	289	241
Nonmetropolitan areas ¹	3,828	3,957	3,759	3,598	1,117	1,255	887	1,016	818	410	361	288	167
North-central:													
Cedar Rapids, Iowa.....	4,019	4,146	3,950	3,778	1,007	1,479	924	1,051	855	409	370	292	221
Champaign-Urbana, Ill.....	4,053	4,208	3,969	3,810	1,042	1,506	993	1,148	909	397	356	297	212
Chicago, Ill-northwestern Indiana.....	3,945	4,156	3,831	3,709	1,034	1,454	933	1,144	819	335	367	297	222
Cincinnati, Ohio-Kentucky-Indiana.....	3,765	3,888	3,699	3,539	1,021	1,269	763	886	697	402	337	281	229
Cleveland, Ohio.....	4,057	4,279	3,938	3,814	1,010	1,506	888	1,210	869	422	372	277	227
Dayton, Ohio.....	3,791	4,000	3,679	3,564	1,004	1,296	800	1,009	688	401	357	284	222
Detroit, Mich.....	3,870	4,133	3,728	3,638	1,060	1,265	726	889	584	424	370	288	231
Green Bay, Wis.....	3,825	3,812	3,832	3,596	974	1,337	840	827	847	411	362	295	217
Indianapolis, Ind.....	4,065	4,194	3,995	3,822	1,021	1,507	864	1,113	914	417	367	278	232
Kansas City, Mo.-Kansas.....	3,881	4,051	3,789	3,648	1,032	1,302	771	941	679	434	359	298	223
Milwaukee, Wis.....	4,040	4,132	3,990	3,798	1,015	1,496	969	1,061	919	411	364	289	223
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.....	3,972	4,107	3,899	3,734	1,014	1,425	910	1,045	837	419	366	279	231
St. Louis, Mo.-Illinois.....	3,974	4,096	3,909	3,736	1,073	1,379	861	983	796	436	350	289	209
Wichita, Kans.....	3,863	3,968	3,796	3,632	1,018	1,324	814	937	747	432	350	288	220
Nonmetropolitan areas ¹	3,555	3,682	3,486	3,342	1,003	1,142	766	893	697	382	370	278	167
South:													
Atlanta, Ga.....	3,593	3,804	3,479	3,378	995	1,103	597	808	483	403	348	294	235
Austin, Tex.....	3,574	3,801	3,451	3,360	972	1,155	678	905	555	405	320	297	211
Baltimore, Md.....	3,781	4,024	3,650	3,554	981	1,276	738	981	607	421	357	295	224
Baton Rouge, La.....	3,504	3,671	3,414	3,294	995	1,030	569	736	479	436	329	287	217
Dallas, Tex.....	3,655	3,801	3,577	3,436	978	1,188	710	856	632	411	335	304	220
Durham, N.C.....	3,667	3,789	3,601	3,447	952	1,249	676	898	710	404	339	289	214
Houston, Tex.....	3,679	3,796	3,616	3,459	1,003	1,170	674	790	611	444	326	304	216
Nashville, Tenn.....	3,702	3,835	3,631	3,480	949	1,254	752	885	681	408	347	293	229
Orlando, Fla.....	3,668	3,967	3,507	3,448	941	1,273	786	1,085	625	398	328	292	218
Washington, D.C.-Maryland Virginia.....	3,995	4,228	3,870	3,756	1,045	1,393	849	1,082	724	431	370	294	223
Nonmetropolitan areas ¹	3,222	3,289	3,186	3,029	964	912	564	631	528	395	311	282	165
West:													
Bakersfield, Calif.....	3,815	3,948	3,744	3,586	1,001	1,267	765	898	694	431	355	321	211
Denver, Colo.....	3,887	3,994	3,829	3,654	1,035	1,318	795	902	737	419	372	297	213
Honolulu, Hawaii.....	4,429	4,922	4,163	4,164	1,267	1,530	939	1,432	673	476	352	295	244
Los Angeles-Long Beach, Calif.....	4,019	4,263	3,888	3,778	1,017	1,389	870	1,114	739	430	371	342	229
San Diego, Calif.....	3,853	4,001	3,774	3,622	995	1,310	810	958	731	419	342	328	228
San Francisco-Oakland, Calif.....	4,182	4,414	4,058	3,931	1,068	1,448	915	1,147	791	455	397	327	236
Seattle-Everett, Wash.....	4,273	4,484	4,159	4,017	1,107	1,522	942	1,153	828	458	385	311	234
Nonmetropolitan areas ¹	3,672	3,790	3,609	3,452	1,039	1,159	772	890	709	407	376	294	177

¹ A husband age 65 or over and his wife.

² The total cost of the budget includes an allowance for gifts and contributions.

³ The total represents the weighted average costs of renter and homeowner families. The weights in the intermediate budget were 35 percent for families living in rental dwellings; 65 percent for homeowners.

⁴ Average contract rent plus the cost of required amounts of heating fuel, gas, electricity, water, specified equipment, and insurance on household contents.

⁵ Taxes; insurance on house and contents; water, refuse disposal, heating fuel, gas, electricity, and specified equipment; and home repair and maintenance cost.

⁶ The average costs of automobile owners and nonowners were weighted by the following proportions of families: New York, 25 percent for car owners, 75 percent for nonowners; Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, 40 percent for car owners, 60 percent for nonowners; all other metropolitan areas, 60 percent for car owners, 40 percent for nonowners; nonmetropolitan areas, 68 percent for car owners, 32 percent for nonowners.

⁷ For a detailed description see the 1967 edition of "Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas," prepared by the Bureau of the Budget.

⁸ Places with populations of 2,500 to 50,000.

Note: Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

TABLE 3.—ANNUAL COSTS OF A HIGHER BUDGET FOR A RETIRED COUPLE,¹ SPRING 1967

Area	Cost of family consumption															
	Housing (shelter, house furnishings, household operations)												Personal taxes			
	Total budget costs				Food	Total housing ⁴	Shelter			Transportation ⁵	Clothing and personal care	Medical care		Other family consumption		
	Renter and owner combined ²	Renter families	Homeowner families	Total ³			Renter and owner combined ³	Renter families ⁶	Homeowner families ⁷							
Urban United States.....	\$6,039	\$6,350	\$5,906	\$5,335	\$1,285	\$2,066	\$1,888	\$1,449	\$1,076	\$682	\$549	\$299	\$454	\$235	\$285	\$214
Metropolitan areas ¹	6,342	6,701	6,187	5,571	1,305	2,232	1,287	1,588	1,158	697	545	303	489	284	342	258
Nonmetropolitan areas ¹	5,137	5,303	5,065	4,629	1,225	1,569	892	1,033	831	639	560	286	350	92	117	81
Northeast:																
Boston, Mass.....	7,198	7,312	7,149	6,217	1,375	2,840	1,823	1,916	1,783	675	526	295	506	446	467	437
Buffalo, N.Y.....	6,626	6,938	6,492	5,791	1,310	2,364	1,364	1,619	1,255	747	569	298	503	332	389	307
Hartford, Conn.....	6,860	7,244	6,695	6,002	1,432	2,433	1,461	1,784	1,322	760	545	303	529	339	400	313
Lancaster, Pa.....	6,027	6,141	5,977	5,304	1,371	1,955	1,048	1,144	1,006	670	527	294	487	256	274	248
New York-Northeastern New Jersey.....	6,917	7,079	6,849	6,012	1,418	2,609	1,618	1,750	1,562	617	550	304	514	385	415	273
Philadelphia, Pa.-New Jersey.....	6,372	6,827	6,176	5,557	1,365	2,284	1,324	1,703	1,161	591	519	295	503	329	405	296
Pittsburgh, Pa.....	6,078	6,333	5,968	5,338	1,311	1,990	1,058	1,272	966	699	537	290	511	271	312	253
Portland, Maine.....	6,069	5,980	6,107	5,380	1,319	1,995	1,035	959	1,067	693	575	292	506	217	204	223
Nonmetropolitan areas ¹	5,724	5,685	5,741	5,102	1,366	1,855	1,165	1,133	1,179	660	568	291	362	170	163	173

Footnotes at end of table.

TABLE 3.—ANNUAL COSTS OF A HIGHER BUDGET FOR A RETIRED COUPLE,¹ SPRING 1967—Continued

Area	Cost of family consumption																
	Housing (shelter, housefurnishings, household operations)										Personal taxes						
	Total budget costs				Shelter						Transportation ⁵	Clothing and personal care	Medical care	Other family consumption	Renter and homeowner combined	Renter families	Homeowners families
	Renter and owner combined ²	Renter families	Homeowner families	Total ³	Food	Total housing ⁴	Renter and owner combined ³	Renter families ⁶	Homeowner families ⁷								
Urban United States—Continued																	
North Central:																	
Cedar Rapids, Iowa	\$6,412	\$6,861	\$6,219	5,590	\$1,249	2,284	\$1,330	\$1,696	\$1,173	\$725	\$568	\$294	\$470	\$334	\$417	\$298	
Champaign-Urbana, Ill.	6,288	6,494	6,200	5,553	1,291	2,229	1,332	1,507	1,257	722	551	300	460	250	281	237	
Chicago, Ill.-Northwestern Indiana	6,248	6,943	5,950	5,519	1,275	2,268	1,337	1,924	1,085	639	567	299	471	246	354	200	
Cincinnati, Ohio-Ky.-Ind.	5,724	5,884	5,655	5,078	1,265	1,847	959	1,094	901	680	524	284	478	196	221	185	
Cleveland, Ohio	6,234	6,544	6,101	5,489	1,236	2,219	1,288	1,551	1,176	714	574	279	467	264	311	243	
Dayton, Ohio	6,030	6,582	5,794	5,307	1,225	2,099	1,192	1,656	994	672	554	287	470	256	344	218	
Detroit, Mich.	6,377	7,120	6,058	5,608	1,304	2,231	1,279	1,900	1,013	719	570	291	493	279	401	226	
Green Bay, Wis.	6,161	6,291	6,106	5,353	1,198	2,139	1,232	1,337	1,187	699	562	298	457	338	363	328	
Indianapolis, Ind.	6,304	6,377	6,272	5,553	1,264	2,231	1,309	1,370	1,283	713	568	281	496	266	278	260	
Kansas City, Mo.-Kansas	6,088	6,423	5,944	5,361	1,264	2,023	1,084	1,363	964	741	555	300	478	256	312	232	
Milwaukee, Wis.	6,305	6,496	6,224	5,460	1,264	2,172	1,268	1,422	1,202	698	561	292	473	266	403	351	
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.	6,226	6,481	6,118	5,430	1,247	2,143	1,224	1,428	1,137	716	562	281	481	320	371	299	
St. Louis, Mo.-Illinois	6,031	6,094	6,003	5,317	1,334	1,953	1,042	1,095	1,019	758	542	292	438	246	256	241	
Wichita, Kans.	6,025	6,322	5,898	5,299	1,244	2,017	1,100	1,346	994	746	539	291	462	244	295	223	
Nonmetropolitan areas ⁸	5,265	5,314	5,244	4,726	1,227	1,658	974	1,016	956	617	595	281	348	115	122	112	
South:																	
Atlanta, Ga.	5,475	5,948	5,272	4,908	1,224	1,689	788	1,192	615	689	535	297	474	130	199	100	
Austin, Tex.	5,515	5,872	5,362	4,940	1,188	1,758	905	1,210	775	727	495	299	473	135	187	112	
Baltimore, Md.	6,012	6,206	5,929	5,314	1,231	2,057	1,085	1,245	1,016	709	537	298	482	230	264	216	
Baton Rouge, La.	5,569	5,912	5,422	4,983	1,274	1,668	831	1,123	706	764	505	289	483	143	194	121	
Dallas, Tex.	5,949	6,664	5,641	5,284	1,226	2,010	1,149	1,757	888	731	517	306	494	200	307	153	
Durham, N.C.	5,560	5,734	5,485	4,932	1,169	1,774	908	1,051	846	708	518	291	472	189	220	176	
Houston, Tex.	5,995	6,741	5,674	5,320	1,243	2,019	1,123	1,756	851	780	501	306	471	207	320	158	
Nashville, Tenn.	5,728	6,000	5,611	5,110	1,161	1,932	1,027	1,258	927	720	531	295	471	166	207	146	
Orlando, Fla.	5,590	5,808	5,495	5,000	1,170	1,873	980	1,166	900	692	502	294	469	146	178	131	
Washington, D.C.-Maryland-Virginia	6,240	6,605	6,084	5,493	1,282	2,137	1,178	1,479	1,049	725	568	296	485	270	334	243	
Nonmetropolitan areas ⁸	4,827	5,089	4,714	4,388	1,177	1,410	754	979	658	642	527	284	348	40	77	23	
West:																	
Bakersfield, Calif.	5,978	6,283	5,847	5,307	1,232	1,983	1,049	1,309	938	774	526	324	468	204	249	184	
Denver, Colo.	6,154	6,565	5,978	5,444	1,324	2,100	1,150	1,494	1,003	710	546	300	464	233	300	204	
Honolulu, Hawaii	7,219	8,072	6,853	6,204	1,594	2,436	1,344	2,030	1,050	815	521	298	540	481	648	409	
Los Angeles-Long Beach, Calif.	6,487	7,377	6,105	5,706	1,269	2,301	1,356	2,103	1,036	758	551	344	483	284	427	222	
San Diego, Calif.	6,127	6,548	5,947	5,425	1,230	2,147	1,216	1,574	1,063	732	507	332	477	226	289	199	
San Francisco-Oakland, Calif.	6,540	6,870	6,399	5,751	1,341	2,205	1,232	1,511	1,113	796	588	330	491	289	340	267	
Seattle-Everett, Wash.	6,497	6,725	6,399	5,717	1,367	2,192	1,177	1,370	1,094	793	568	314	483	282	317	267	
Nonmetropolitan areas ⁸	5,519	5,794	5,401	4,909	1,285	1,714	982	1,208	885	660	597	296	357	173	222	152	

¹ A husband age 65 or over and his wife.
² The total cost of the budget includes an allowance for gifts and contributions.
³ The total represents the weighted average costs of renter and homeowner families. The weights in the higher budget were 30 percent for families living in rental dwellings; 70 percent for homeowners.
⁴ The total includes an allowance of \$53 for lodging away from home city. The allowance is the same for all areas. This allowance is not shown separately or included in any of the housing sub-groups.
⁵ The average costs of automobile owners and nonowners were weighted by the following proportions of families: Boston, Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, 75 percent for car owners, 25 percent for nonowners; all other metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas, 100 percent for car owners.
⁶ Average contract rent plus the cost of required amounts of heating fuel, gas, electricity, water specified equipment, and insurance on household contents.
⁷ Taxes; insurance on house and contents; water, refuse disposal, heating fuel, gas, electricity, and specified equipment; and home repair and maintenance costs.
⁸ For a detailed description see the 1967 edition of "Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas," prepared by the Bureau of the Budget.
⁹ Places with populations of 2,500 to 50,000.
 Note: Because of rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

TABLE 4.—INDEXES OF COMPARATIVE COSTS BASED ON A LOWER LEVEL BUDGET FOR A RETIRED COUPLE, SPRING 1967¹
 [U.S. urban average costs = 100]

Area	Cost of family consumption													
	Housing (shelter, house furnishings, household operation)										Transportation ⁷	Clothing and personal care	Medical care	Other family consumption
	Total budget costs				Shelter									
	Renter and owner combined ²	Renter families	Homeowner families	Total ²	Food	Total ³	Renter and owner combined ⁴	Renter families ⁵	Homeowner families ⁶					
Urban United States														
Metropolitan areas ⁸	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Nonmetropolitan areas ⁹	93	93	93	93	97	83	82	82	82	130	95	96	77	
Northeast:														
Boston, Mass.	103	100	106	103	106	118	121	106	132	25	100	99	111	
Buffalo, N.Y.	110	108	112	110	103	116	118	109	125	131	109	100	109	
Hartford, Conn.	113	113	114	113	108	119	126	123	128	131	105	101	115	
Lancaster, Pa.	101	99	103	101	105	98	98	91	103	110	99	98	101	
New York-Northeastern New Jersey	105	99	109	105	107	122	127	106	144	17	103	102	111	
Philadelphia, Pa.-N.J.	98	95	100	98	106	105	106	94	114	24	99	98	109	
Pittsburgh, Pa.	100	101	100	100	102	94	93	97	89	120	103	97	112	
Portland, Maine	104	102	106	104	102	103	101	92	107	113	109	98	119	
Nonmetropolitan areas ⁹	104	104	103	104	105	101	107	108	106	138	100	97	78	
North Central:														
Cedar Rapids, Iowa	104	105	103	104	99	107	107	111	104	118	105	98	101	
Champaign-Urbana, Ill.	106	107	104	106	101	112	115	120	112	115	100	100	95	
Chicago, Ill.-Northwestern Indiana	100	103	98	100	102	112	114	124	106	22	105	100	104	
Cincinnati, Ohio-Kentucky-Indiana	97	98	97	97	99	91	89	91	87	117	94	95	108	
Cleveland, Ohio	106	108	105	106	99	112	115	120	111	124	104	93	110	
Dayton, Ohio	101	105	98	101	98	101	100	114	90	115	100	95	105	
Detroit, Mich.	99	104	96	99	102	90	86	105	72	124	105	97	111	
Green Bay, Wis.	100	98	101	100	96	99	97	89	103	116	103	99	101	
Indianapolis, Ind.	107	109	105	107	100	115	117	125	111	119	103	94	110	
Kansas City, Mo.-Kans.	101	103	99	101	101	95	92	101	85	125	102	100	102	
Milwaukee, Wis.	105	105	104	105	97	110	113	115	112	119	103	98	105	
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.	104	105	103	104	98	108	110	112	108	122	105	94	105	
St. Louis, Mo.-Ill.	103	104	103	103	104	102	101	104	99	127	99	98	97	
Wichita, Kans.	101	103	100	101	101	100	97	105	92	121	99	97	102	
Nonmetropolitan areas ⁹	96	97	95	96	100	88	88	92	86	126	103	94	75	

See footnotes at end of table 6.

TABLE 4.—INDEXES OF COMPARATIVE COSTS BASED ON A LOWER LEVEL BUDGET FOR A RETIRED COUPLE, SPRING 1967¹—Continued

[U.S. urban average costs=100]

Area	Cost of family consumption													
	Total budget costs ²					Housing (shelter, house furnishings, household operations)								
	Renter and owner combined ³	Renter families	Home-owner families	Total ²	Food	Shelter					Transportation ⁷	Clothing and personal care	Medical care	Other family consumption
						Total ³	Renter and owner combined ⁴	Renter families ⁵	Home-owner families ⁶	Food				
Urban United States—Continued														
South:														
Atlanta, Ga.	92	94	91	92	94	80	69	78	63	116	97	99	114	
Austin, Tex.	92	95	90	92	93	84	77	89	68	116	89	100	101	
Baltimore, Md.	98	101	96	98	92	95	91	101	84	124	99	100	107	
Baton Rouge, La.	91	93	89	91	94	76	68	79	59	125	95	97	105	
Dallas, Tex.	94	94	94	94	92	87	81	84	80	119	93	103	105	
Durham, N.C.	96	97	95	96	90	95	92	97	89	115	94	98	102	
Houston, Tex.	95	96	94	95	94	85	78	83	74	129	91	103	105	
Nashville, Tenn.	95	94	95	95	90	91	85	84	86	116	96	99	110	
Orlando, Fla.	96	102	92	96	89	99	95	117	80	112	91	99	103	
Washington, D.C.—Md.—Va.	105	111	101	105	98	108	110	130	94	127	102	99	109	
Nonmetropolitan areas ⁸	87	87	88	87	93	74	69	68	70	129	87	95	77	
West:														
Bakersfield, Calif.	99	100	99	99	99	91	87	89	85	128	100	108	98	
Denver, Colo.	101	100	102	101	101	98	95	90	99	118	106	101	99	
Honolulu, Hawaii	116	127	109	116	125	114	108	146	80	143	99	100	116	
Los Angeles-Long Beach, Calif.	106	110	103	106	99	103	105	121	93	127	104	115	109	
San Diego, Calif.	102	104	101	102	97	101	101	107	96	125	96	110	109	
San Francisco-Oakland, Calif.	110	112	108	110	103	108	110	120	102	136	112	110	112	
Seattle-Everett, Wash.	111	114	109	111	108	112	112	121	105	134	110	105	108	
Nonmetropolitan areas ⁸	101	100	102	101	104	94	94	92	96	138	104	99	83	

TABLE 5.—INDEXES OF COMPARATIVE COSTS BASED ON AN INTERMEDIATE LEVEL BUDGET FOR A RETIRED COUPLE, SPRING 1967¹

[U.S. Urban Average Costs=100]

Area	Cost of family consumption													
	Total budget costs					Housing (shelter, house furnishings, household operations)								
	Renter and owner combined ³	Renter families	Home-owner families	Total ²	Food	Shelter					Transportation ⁷	Clothing and personal care	Medical care	Other family consumption
						Total ³	Renter and owner combined ⁴	Renter families ⁵	Home-owner families ⁶	Food				
Urban United States														
Metropolitan areas ⁸	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Nonmetropolitan areas ⁹	104	104	104	104	101	107	106	106	107	99	101	101	107	
Nonmetropolitan areas ⁹	89	89	89	89	96	79	81	81	80	103	96	96	78	
Northeast:														
Boston, Mass.	110	108	112	110	109	122	127	113	136	94	99	99	110	
Buffalo, N.Y.	109	107	111	109	104	114	115	106	122	116	108	100	109	
Hartford, Conn.	113	112	113	113	112	117	122	119	124	116	103	101	113	
Lancaster, Pa.	102	101	102	102	108	98	96	93	99	103	98	98	104	
New York-Northeastern New Jersey	111	107	113	111	112	126	134	117	146	65	103	102	111	
Philadelphia, Pa.—New Jersey	104	101	105	104	107	107	108	97	116	86	98	99	108	
Pittsburgh, Pa.	101	101	100	101	103	96	91	94	89	108	102	97	110	
Portland, Maine	105	102	106	105	105	103	98	89	105	106	109	98	113	
Nonmetropolitan areas ⁹	99	100	99	99	107	94	105	105	104	107	101	97	79	
North Central:														
Cedar Rapids, Iowa	104	104	104	104	96	111	109	108	109	107	104	98	104	
Champaign-Urbana, Ill.	105	106	105	105	99	113	117	119	116	104	100	100	100	
Chicago, Ill.—Northwestern Indiana	102	105	101	102	99	109	110	118	104	88	103	100	104	
Cincinnati, Ohio-Kentucky-Indiana	98	98	98	98	97	95	90	91	89	105	95	95	107	
Cleveland, Ohio	105	108	104	105	96	113	116	125	111	110	104	93	107	
Dayton, Ohio	98	101	97	98	96	97	94	104	88	105	100	96	104	
Detroit, Mich.	100	104	98	100	101	95	85	102	74	111	104	97	109	
Green Bay, Wis.	99	96	101	99	93	100	99	85	108	108	102	99	102	
Indianapolis, Ind.	105	105	105	105	97	113	116	115	116	109	103	94	109	
Kansas City, Mo.—Kans.	101	102	100	101	99	98	91	97	87	113	101	100	105	
Milwaukee, Wis.	105	104	105	105	97	112	114	110	117	107	102	98	104	
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.	103	103	103	103	97	107	107	108	107	110	103	94	108	
St. Louis Mo.-Ill.	103	103	103	103	102	104	101	107	101	114	98	98	98	
Wichita, Kans.	100	100	100	100	97	99	96	97	95	113	98	97	103	
Nonmetropolitan areas ⁹	92	93	92	92	96	86	90	92	89	100	104	94	78	
South:														
Atlanta, Ga.	93	96	92	93	95	83	70	83	62	105	98	99	110	
Austin, Tex.	93	96	91	93	93	87	80	93	71	106	90	100	99	
Baltimore, Md.	98	101	96	98	94	96	87	101	77	110	100	100	105	
Baton Rouge, La.	91	92	90	91	95	77	67	76	61	114	92	97	102	
Dallas, Tex.	95	96	94	95	93	89	84	88	81	108	94	103	103	
Durham, N.C.	95	95	95	95	91	94	91	93	90	105	95	98	101	
Houston, Tex.	95	95	95	95	96	88	79	82	78	115	92	103	101	
Nashville, Tenn.	96	96	96	96	91	94	89	91	87	107	98	99	107	
Orlando, Fla.	95	100	92	95	90	96	93	112	80	104	92	99	103	
Washington, D.C.—Md.—Va.	104	106	102	104	100	105	100	112	92	113	104	99	105	
Nonmetropolitan areas ⁹	84	83	84	84	92	69	66	65	67	103	87	95	77	
West:														
Bakersfield, Calif.	99	99	99	99	96	95	90	93	88	113	100	108	99	
Denver, Colo.	101	100	101	101	99	99	94	93	94	110	104	100	100	
Honolulu, Hawaii	115	124	110	115	121	115	110	148	86	125	99	100	114	
Los Angeles-Long Beach, Calif.	104	107	102	104	97	104	102	115	94	113	104	115	108	
San Diego, Calif.	100	101	99	100	95	99	95	99	93	110	96	111	107	
San Francisco-Oakland, Calif.	108	111	107	108	102	109	108	119	101	119	111	110	111	
Seattle-Everett, Wash.	111	113	110	111	106	114	111	119	106	120	108	105	110	
Nonmetropolitan areas ⁹	95	95	95	95	99	87	91	92	90	106	106	99	83	

See footnotes at end of table 6.

TABLE 6.—INDEXES OF COMPARATIVE COSTS BASED ON A HIGHER LEVEL BUDGET FOR A RETIRED COUPLE, SPRING 1967¹

[U.S. urban average costs—100]

Area	Cost of family consumption												
	Total budget costs ²				Housing (shelter, house furnishings, household operations)								
	Renter and owner combined ²	Renter families	Home-owner families	Total ²	Food	Shelter			Transportation ⁷	Clothing and personal care	Medical care	Other family consumption	
						Renter and owner combined ⁴	Renter families ⁵	Home-owner families ⁶					
Urban United States.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Metropolitan areas ⁸	105	106	105	104	102	108	108	110	108	102	99	101	
Nonmetropolitan areas ⁹	85	83	86	86	95	76	75	71	77	94	102	96	
Northeast:													
Boston, Mass.....	119	115	121	117	107	137	153	132	166	99	96	99	
Buffalo, N.Y.....	110	109	110	109	102	114	115	112	117	109	104	100	
Hartford, Conn.....	114	114	113	112	111	118	123	123	111	99	102	116	
Lancaster, Pa.....	100	97	101	99	107	95	88	79	93	98	96	98	
New York-northeastern N.J.....	115	111	116	113	110	126	136	121	145	90	100	102	
Philadelphia, Pa.-N.J.....	105	107	105	104	106	111	111	118	108	87	95	99	
Pittsburgh, Pa.....	101	100	101	100	102	96	89	88	90	102	98	97	
Portland, Maine.....	100	94	103	101	103	97	87	66	99	102	105	98	
Nonmetropolitan areas ⁹	95	90	97	96	106	90	98	78	110	97	103	97	
North Central:													
Cedar Rapids, Iowa.....	106	108	105	105	97	111	112	117	109	106	103	99	
Champaign-Urbana, Ill.....	104	102	105	104	100	108	112	104	117	106	100	100	
Chicago, Ill.-Northwestern Ind.....	103	109	101	103	99	110	113	133	101	94	103	100	
Cincinnati, Ohio-Ky.-Ind.....	95	93	96	95	98	89	81	76	84	100	95	95	
Cleveland, Ohio.....	103	103	103	103	96	107	108	107	109	105	105	94	
Dayton, Ohio.....	100	104	98	99	95	102	100	114	92	98	101	96	
Detroit, Mich.....	106	112	103	105	101	108	108	131	94	105	104	98	
Green Bay, Wis.....	102	99	103	100	93	104	104	92	110	102	102	100	
Indianapolis, Ind.....	104	100	106	104	98	108	110	95	119	105	103	94	
Kansas City, Mo.-Kans.....	101	101	101	100	98	98	91	94	90	109	101	101	
Milwaukee, Wis.....	104	102	105	102	98	105	107	98	112	102	102	98	
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.....	103	102	104	102	97	104	103	98	106	105	102	94	
St. Louis, Mo.-Ill.....	100	96	102	100	104	95	88	76	95	111	99	98	
Wichita, Kans.....	100	100	100	99	97	98	93	93	92	109	98	98	
Nonmetropolitan areas ⁹	87	84	89	89	96	80	82	70	89	90	108	94	
South:													
Atlanta, Ga.....	91	94	89	92	95	82	66	82	57	101	97	99	
Austin, Tex.....	91	92	91	93	92	85	76	84	72	107	90	100	
Baltimore, Md.....	100	98	100	100	96	100	91	86	94	104	98	100	
Baton Rouge, La.....	92	93	92	93	99	81	70	78	66	112	92	97	
Dallas, Tex.....	98	95	96	99	95	97	97	121	83	107	94	102	
Durham, N.C.....	92	90	93	92	91	86	76	73	79	104	94	98	
Houston, Tex.....	99	106	96	100	97	98	94	121	79	114	91	103	
Nashville, Tenn.....	95	94	95	96	90	94	86	87	86	106	97	99	
Orlando, Fla.....	93	91	93	94	91	91	82	80	84	101	92	99	
Washington, D.C.-Md.-Va.....	103	104	103	103	100	103	99	102	97	106	103	99	
Nonmetropolitan areas ⁹	80	80	80	82	92	68	63	68	61	94	96	95	
West:													
Bakersfield, Calif.....	99	99	99	99	96	96	88	90	87	113	96	108	
Denver, Colo.....	102	103	101	102	103	102	97	103	93	104	99	100	
Honolulu, Hawaii.....	120	127	116	116	124	118	113	140	98	119	95	100	
Los Angeles-Long Beach, Calif.....	107	116	103	107	99	111	114	145	96	111	100	115	
San Diego, Calif.....	101	103	101	102	96	104	102	109	99	107	92	111	
San Francisco-Oakland, Calif.....	108	108	108	108	104	107	104	104	103	117	107	110	
Seattle-Everett, Wash.....	108	106	108	107	106	106	99	95	102	116	103	105	
Nonmetropolitan areas ⁹	91	91	91	92	100	83	83	83	82	97	109	99	

¹ The family consists of a retired husband and wife, age 65 years or over.
² The total represents the weighted average costs of renter and homeowner families. See the weights cited in footnote 4.
³ The lower and intermediate budgets do not include an allowance for lodging away from home city, but the higher budget includes \$53 for all areas. These costs are not shown separately or included in any of the housing subgroups.
⁴ The average cost of shelter is weighted by the following proportions: Lower budget, 40 percent for renters, 60 percent for homeowners; intermediate budget, 35 percent for renters, 65 percent for homeowners; higher budget, 30 percent for renters, 70 percent for homeowners.
⁵ Average contract rent plus the cost of required amounts of heating fuel, gas, electricity, water, specified equipment, and insurance on household contents.
⁶ Taxes, insurance on house and contents, water, refuse disposal, heating fuel, gas, electricity, specified equipment, and home repair and maintenance costs.
⁷ The average costs to automobile owners and nonowners in the lower budget are weighted by

the following proportions of families: New York, Boston, Chicago, and Philadelphia, 100 percent for nonowners; all other metropolitan areas, 45 percent for automobile owners, 55 percent for nonowners; nonmetropolitan areas, 55 percent for owners, 45 percent for nonowners. The intermediate budget proportions are: New York, 25 percent for owners, 75 percent for nonowners; Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago, 40 percent for owners, 60 percent for nonowners; all other metropolitan areas, 60 percent for owners, 40 percent for nonowners; nonmetropolitan areas, 68 percent for owners, and 32 percent for nonowners. The higher budget proportions are: New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago, 75 percent for owners, 25 percent for nonowners; all other areas, 100 percent for automobile owners. Intermediate budget costs for automobile owners in autumn 1966 were revised prior to updating to spring 1967 cost levels.
⁸ For a detailed description, see the 1967 edition of the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, prepared by the Bureau of the Budget.
⁹ Places with population of 2,500 to 50,000.

TABLE 7.—ANNUAL COSTS OF CONSUMPTION FOR 3 LEVELS OF LIVING FOR A RETIRED COUPLE, URBAN UNITED STATES, SPRING 1967, AUTUMN 1968, AND SPRING 1969¹ (ESTIMATED ON THE BASIS OF THE CONSUMER PRICE INDEX)

	Spring 1967	Autumn 1968	Spring 1969 ¹	Percent change, spring 1967 to spring 1969		Spring 1967	Autumn 1968	Spring 1969 ¹	Percent change, spring 1967 to spring 1969
Food.....	\$789	\$835	\$851	7.9	Intermediate—Continued				
Housing.....	939	986	1,010	7.6	Other family consumption.....	\$213	\$229	\$231	8.5
Transportation.....	191	200	205	7.3	Total family consumption.....	3,626	3,850	3,940	8.7
Clothing and personal care.....	217	234	240	10.6	Higher:				
Medical care.....	294	321	334	13.6	Food.....	1,285	1,363	1,387	7.9
Other family consumption.....	126	135	137	8.7	Housing.....	2,066	2,183	2,239	8.4
Total family consumption.....	2,556	2,711	2,777	8.6	Transportation.....	682	713	735	7.8
Intermediate:					Clothing and personal care.....	549	595	608	10.7
Food.....	1,048	1,111	1,131	7.9	Medical care.....	299	326	339	13.4
Housing.....	1,330	1,400	1,433	7.7	Other family consumption.....	454	484	495	9.0
Transportation.....	382	400	412	7.9	Total family consumption.....	5,335	5,664	5,803	8.8
Clothing and personal care.....	357	387	396	10.9					
Medical care.....	296	323	337	13.9					

¹ The budget estimates for spring 1969 reflect a slower rise than the 9.6-percent increase in the CPI because a majority of the retired couples live in mortgage-free homes. Therefore, their

budgets were not affected by the sharp rise in mortgage interest rates. Data for spring 1969 will be revised later to reflect the spring 1969 repricing of goods and services that make up the budgets.

COMPUTERIZATION OF COURT
DOCKETS

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, on December 9, I had the pleasure of speaking to a meeting of the Pentagon and Capitol Hill chapters of the Federal Bar Association on the subject of backlogs in our courts.

In stressing methods of coping with this problem other than merely increasing the number of judgeships, I mentioned the value of computerization of court dockets.

I am pleased to say that the city of Baltimore, under a grant from the Federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, is developing a model system of this type. The project will, it is hoped, encompass even more than docketing in an attempt to simplify and expedite the administrative side of the judicial process.

A computerized docket in the Common Pleas Court of Philadelphia has served as a guide for the Baltimore undertaking. As a member of the Committee on the Judiciary, I have been deeply troubled by backlog problems in Maryland and across the Nation. I applaud the Baltimore and Philadelphia efforts. I ask unanimous consent that an article about the Philadelphia plan contained in the December 1969, issue of *Judicature*, published by the American Judicature Society, be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

COMPUTER STREAMLINES CASELOAD AT PHILADELPHIA COMMON PLEAS COURT

(By Edward J. Blake and Larry Polansky)

A complex, innovative transition to computer-assisted court operations has been completed at the Common Pleas Court of Philadelphia. This has provided a range of immediate improvements even as work continues toward development of a comprehensive system that will encompass all aspects of the administration of justice.

Installed in June and fully operational by September of 1968, the new computer system has already helped achieve a significant decrease in criminal cases outstanding—particularly serious cases—and has helped reduce a heavy backlog of civil cases, and, for the first time, supplied timely statistics to court administration to facilitate operational decisions.

Equally important, from the point of view of court management, has been the demonstrated ability to respond quickly and positively to a changing workload that doubled data processing activities almost overnight.

This new workload resulted from a Constitutional Court consolidation of Common Pleas and County Courts and the creation of a new Municipal Court of record as of January 1, 1969. The reorganization and the installation of a computer system both represented a response to the extremely heavy burdens placed on the court system by such developments of the recent past as rising crime rates and automobile litigation, and higher court decisions resulting in increases

in pretrial evidence hearings and post-trial motions.

While court facilities had to be expanded, this move alone was not considered sufficient to meet the overall problem, since the total effect of such changes would be impeded without proper control and record keeping support.

Under the direction of President Judge Vincent A. Carroll and Court Administrator Edward J. Blake, Esq., studies began in January 1967 toward the development of an advanced computer system which would go beyond routine accounting and clerical tasks to assist in court management. In November of 1967 Larry P. Polansky was appointed deputy court administrator for data processing, specifically to design and implement the new system.

The IBM System/360 Model 30 was selected, with auxiliary equipment including three 2311 magnetic disk units, a magnetic tape unit, and a high-speed printer. A basic philosophy in designing the system was to anticipate future needs. Thus, a data base was created to readily accommodate on-line (directly linked to the computer) terminal devices when such devices are put into operation at various local and remote offices. This system extension is scheduled for implementation by December 31, 1969.

BACKLOG ANALYZED

By September 1968, the computer was producing a range of information which permitted the first systematic analysis of the court's caseload. In the civil area it was possible to document the exact composition of the backlog.

Further, it became possible to document a prime cause of case backlog—attorneys individually involved in a large number of cases, and therefore frequently engaged or otherwise unavailable. This condition had been suspected, but until documented, it was all but impossible to work out a solution or even to provide proof of the problem.

During 1968, the computer was used to establish two separate systems for the Common Pleas Court—civil and criminal. Pennsylvania's new judiciary article, effective January 1, 1969, merged the Common Pleas, County, and Orphans Court into a 56-judge Common Pleas Court. The prior magistrate system was replaced by the Municipal Court, which will eventually be staffed wholly by law-trained judges. Not included is the Traffic Court, which is a separate operation. In December 1968, it was decided to extend computer operations to the new Municipal Court, which began activities on January 1, 1969. A unique opportunity was afforded by the creation of a new court and the availability of a computer system. Therefore, the new court of record was fully automated. This meant that the computer workload was more than doubled overnight. There were no funds for new personnel or equipment. Nevertheless, the computer began functioning as a "clerk" for the new court on the effective date.

There are now, in effect, four separate computer systems—serving civil and criminal cases for the Common Pleas Court, and civil and criminal cases for the Municipal Court. The systems for both courts are basically similar. Thus when a case is appealed from the Municipal Court to the Common Pleas Court the system can follow the progress internally.

The data base—or automated master file—for the civil systems includes the following information:

Present status of each case, type of trial requested, court term and number, the date a certificate of readiness was filed by either party's attorney; type of case, any insurance company involved, whether a minor is involved, complete names of attorneys, com-

plete disposition data, continuance information including number of times continued, complete trial data, and miscellaneous information such as plaintiff demands and defendant offers.

HOW THE CIVIL SYSTEM WORKS

As certificates of readiness are filed by either party, copies are sent to the data processing department where cards are punched and fed into the computer. The magnetic data base is automatically updated, and a daily trial listing of available cases—which does not carry definite date and courtroom assignments—is produced. The list is sent to the Philadelphia legal newspaper by 3 p.m. of the same day. It is published and distributed to law offices early the following morning.

Attorneys for the top 20 cases on the list must appear in a call room at 10:00 that morning. They declare themselves ready to go to trial, or ask for a postponement. The computer program lists the top 150 cases by priority, which means—in effect—the oldest cases in which the attorney is not otherwise engaged are always listed first. Postponements are not normally granted, since the case has had about five days to work its way into the top 20.

Of the 20 cases called each day, about 15 are found ready for trial, and of these, approximately 12 are assigned to a courtroom. A trial worksheet produced on the computer follows the case into the courtroom, and is used by the judge to indicate its disposition. The worksheet carries the names of the principals, attorneys, whether a minor is involved, and the number of trial days estimated.

Information on cases which actually go to trial flows back to the data processing department on a daily basis to update the data base. Similarly, cases which are held over are repeated in the trial listing for the following day.

If the attorney is engaged, his name is entered in the engaged pool listing. This is also produced daily and shows, for each attorney on the list, the number of cases he has in the engaged pool, those for which he is solely responsible, those for which he has joint responsibility, and those for which he is not responsible for postponement though he is the attorney of record.

As settlement notices, the results of trial calls, and trial results are received, they are also punched into cards and put through the computer, and a daily case results report is produced. This indicates settlement, continuances, cases originally scheduled for a non-jury trial, which were transferred for jury trial, cases stricken by the judge, and cases actually under way, with the name of the judge indicated.

A final daily routine captures and prints information on attorney changes, and objections to published listings. The daily published list of cases certified as ready for trial provides attorneys with an opportunity to correct any errors well before the case reaches the top 20. This fact alone has significantly increased the number of cases ready for trial on the date indicated.

In addition, the monthly report to each attorney on the status of every case in which he is involved has been an invaluable tool for the bar and the court.

Settlement conference schedules are also produced on the computer. The system's program of instruction does an excellent job of producing week-long conflict-free schedules for ten judges hearing ten or more cases each day. Here, too, a computer-produced worksheet accompanies the case into the conference room.

The engaged attorney's report has been a major tool in attacking the heavy backlog of cases. It is used by court administration officers, the Board of Judges, and the Bar As-

sociation as a basic document and also as a tool for exploring operational improvements.

Reports are also furnished, about six to ten times yearly, to every attorney whose name appears in the system. These reports have been well received, since they notify the attorney of the relative position of all his cases and provide the opportunity to make necessary corrections well in advance of the trial.

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court permits judges a maximum of 60 days for cases held under advisement; a special monthly report lists these automatically and, in fact, shows when and before which judge the case went to trial.

Special monthly reports list all cases by court term and number, each attorney's cases, dispositions month and year to date, and cases awaiting adjudication 60 days or over.

THE CRIMINAL SYSTEM

Equivalent information is developed for the criminal divisions of both courts. The data base for criminal activities includes: master docket records reflecting the grand jury's bill of indictment, offense description, names of attorneys and assistant district attorneys, police medical data (such as sobriety tests), disposition, length of sentence, records on each courtroom for control purposes, bonding company information, and alias records. In each category, information is complete. Trial listing data include the number of times the defendant was listed for trial, first date and last date tried. Trial information covers the type of trial, number of days, the name of the judge, date of sentencing, institution to which remanded, amount of fine or restitution, and any court costs.

Since the system can identify any other bills which might be related to a defendant, multiple cases can be tried at the same time. Periodically, police photo file data are reviewed for relevance to cases pending.

Bills of indictment are punched into cards and passed through the system to create the automated criminal files and, as a by-product, to produce grand jury new bill lists, documentation for the quarter sessions clerk, district attorney dockets showing the name, case number, charges, etc., to record all subsequent actions on the docket book, and alphabetical index cards for the quarter sessions clerk. Also produced is information for the police department relating to previous arrests.

Arraignment schedules are produced weekly, identifying defendants incarcerated or awaiting trial and defendants admitted to bail in serious offense cases.

At the present time, no attempt is made to eliminate attorney conflicts, because the time of a criminal case may range from one half hour to more than one month. The system schedules for conference every open case, providing even workloads, and automatically produces defendant subpoenas and attorney notices.

At conferences held for scheduling purposes, an attempt is made to set a trial date satisfactory for all concerned, and blank date subpoenas are provided on which dates and courtroom numbers are entered. The criminal case listings published daily are not on a "top 20" basis. Major cases are scheduled into a "pool" room for courtroom assignment and date, and others are scheduled to a "room certain." The result of this activity shows up in a daily report of conference results. Cases continued are automatically rescheduled for trial by the computer or for further conference if they constitute a major case. Every significant action in a criminal case from arrest to sentencing is recorded in the computer and is available for quick review by court administration.

ATTORNEY REPORTS

There are approximately 6,000 attorneys practicing in the Philadelphia area, and each

of them has been assigned a computer number, defendant name, next action date and type, conflict indicator, and other data for each case. In addition, an end run summary provides the number of cases in the system for each attorney and indicates whether any conflict exists in his case load. A clear picture of current workload is provided via the detail list to the attorney and via the summary list to court administration.

Produced daily are reports on bail activity, the following day's trial lists (which often run to 50 copies or more, and are printed on a high-speed printer), the following week's trial lists, and a report of trial results by courtroom. Continuance cases generally are automatically reassigned new trial dates by the system according to judge and room availability. Reassignment lists are produced weekly, along with voluntary defender notices, attorney letters, and subpoenas.

Every day, a room availability list is printed showing all available open dates in the future. Weekly reports list all cases in court term and number sequence, and by defendant in alphabetical sequence. In addition, weekly room control reports indicate other volume and content of the entire scheduled future workload. Monthly and annual reports produced for various state agencies list and summarize by categories deferred indictments—which are primarily fugitive cases with bench warrants issued—deferred sentence cases, and dispositions for the period.

Civil arbitration activities are another new part of the Common Pleas Court, and are also handled automatically. The system provides random, equitable selection of arbitration panels, assignment of cases, preparation of vouchers for panelist payments, and recording of all activity, dispositions and mailings for required notices.

It should be noted that the computer system also incorporates statistics on court-fixed asset inventories and personnel.

With this wealth of information, never before available in current and comprehensive form, it has been possible to analyze case loads outstanding and take action to reduce them. We can now measure a reduction of one to two years in the civil case backlog, with every reason to hope for continued improvement.

It is also possible to project future needs for judges and courtrooms on a realistic basis. It had become evident that building more facilities alone is not a realistic single course of action. Existing facilities must be properly controlled, insuring that they are being used to best advantage, before funds are expended for more building and personnel.

Of major importance is the vastly improved level of communications which has been established for all court-related parties. Communications have long posed a problem in court operations. While the computer system cannot get lawyers into a courtroom, it does provide far better information to attorneys and indicates to the president judge, court administrator, the bar association, and other bodies those areas in which attention is needed in order for the court calendar to be cleared.

FUTURE POTENTIAL

Equally important is the fact that the court is in an excellent position to absorb continuing changes. Task forces now at work analyzing court operations for future improvements are planning for the use of simulation programs to assist in court management decisions.

These plans are part of a vast potential for additional computer applications. The basic system is on hand for expansion into on-line terminal operations, awaiting only the availability of funds. By October 1969 the IBM Model 30 was up-graded to a larger-capacity Model 40, with TV-like visual ter-

minals. Judgment searching, case status, courts and in the central operations center. By January 1970 we will place similar units in the criminal and civil listings offices; the arraignment courtroom; and the offices of the president judge, court administrator, administrative judges, and calendar judges.

This will permit fast retrieval of information at the point where it is needed, and eventually will lead to on-line updating of the central data base from the remote terminals. Judgement searching, case status, courtroom availability, and other management oriented information will be instantly available.

Additional applications soon to be added, or in the planning stage, and which are not necessarily dependent on terminal operations for implementation, include:

Juvenile Court operations; probation office activities—officer workloads, follow-up on parolees and probationers, restitution accounting and inquiry into probationer status; jury selection; computer-assisted appointment of masters in divorce suits, and of defense counsel in criminal cases; "automated" dockets and indexes for clerk offices in both criminal and civil divisions; domestic relations support order payments; automated title searching.

With the continued active support and involvement of the president judge and administrative judges—who must provide the vision and support essential to success—the Common Pleas Court of Philadelphia will evolve a modern judicial data system geared to help solve the huge range of problems currently faced by the typical urban court.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 7491— TAXATION OF NATIONAL BANKS

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 10, 1969

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, last week the two Houses adopted the conference report on H.R. 7491, to clarify the liability of national banks for certain taxes. In adopting the report on the Senate side, some statements were made to the effect that during the conference, the language contained in the conference report was amended by the addition of two words, and allegedly these two words were "apparently inadvertently omitted from the report." Mr. Speaker, without getting into the details, the words allegedly left out of the report were "the same." The discussion on acceptance of the conference report in the other body went on to say that the Senate conferees agreed—or at least some of them agreed—with this position.

Mr. Speaker, I was most disturbed over this matter for a number of reasons because I, for one, was firm in my recollection that Senator SPARKMAN had stated that Senator BENNETT had requested the insertion of these words—"the same"—in the permanent amendment of section 5219, but after some discussion of this proposal, the proposal was not adopted.

Wishing to be completely sure of my recollection of this matter, I directed the House Banking and Currency staff to search their memory to determine whether or not I was correct in my position.

As a result of my inquiry, I received the following letter signed by Mr. Grasty Crews, assistant counsel in the Office of the Legislative Counsel of the House of Representatives who provided staff assistance to the conference.

In this letter, it should be noted that the staff director of the committee was checked with, the head of the minority staff, a counsel for the committee, and the senior assistant counsel in the Office of Legislative Counsel of the Senate.

All of these staff people agreed that the conference committee had not adopted the change as indicated in the statement contained in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 38633 of December 12, 1969, at which point the Senate takes up the conference report on H.R. 7491.

In order to leave no doubt, the Treasury Department was contacted on this matter to determine whether or not the Department made any request for such a change in the legislation. The Deputy General Counsel of the Treasury indicated that if any such requests were made by the Department, he should have known about it and no such request, to his knowledge, had been made.

To conclude, Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that the conference report and legislative language contained therein is in any way in error. The statement of the managers on the conference report and the report itself is, in my opinion, and I believe that of the House conferees, a complete and accurate reflection of the legislative policy agreed upon at the conference.

Mr. Speaker, included along with my remarks is a letter on the subject signed by Mr. Grasty Crews II, assistant counsel in the House Office of the Legislative Counsel:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U.S.
OFFICE OF THE LEGISLATIVE
COUNCIL,
Washington, D.C., December 15, 1969.

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN,
Chairman, Committee on Banking and Currency, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: You have asked for a review of the preparation of and action on House Report No. 91-728 (conference report to accompany H.R. 7491, relating to State Taxation of National Banks), insofar as relevant to the statement of Senate Proxmire, as set forth at page 38633 of the Congressional Record for December 12, 1969, that certain words "were apparently inadvertently omitted from the report," and that Senator Bennett feels that the addition of those words would have clarified the congressional intent.

It is my recollection that after Chairman Sparkman presented to the conferees a draft conference report, he stated that Senator Bennett had requested the insertion of the words "the same" in the permanent amendment of section 5219 so that the section would read as follows:

"For the purposes of any tax law enacted under authority of the United States or any State, a national bank shall be treated the same as a bank organized and existing under the laws of the State or other jurisdiction within which its principal office is located."

There was some discussion of this proposal and there was certainly no objection to the purpose for which it was offered, which was to make it clear, as Senator Proxmire put it

in his remarks, that "Congress is expressing no intent about the Federal instrumentality issue concerning national banks." Although the discussion seemed to me to be somewhat inconclusive, I had the impression that the proposal was not adopted. I did not interrupt the conference for a clarification of the matter, because it seemed to me that, for reasons set forth later in this letter, no substantive legal issue was involved.

I did feel, however, that there was enough doubt in my own mind about the actual formal action of the conference that I should clarify the matter while recollections were fresh. Before leaving the room, I therefore expressly raised the question with Mr. John M. Reynolds, the Senior Assistant Counsel in the Office of the Legislative Counsel of the Senate; with Mr. Benet D. Gellman, Counsel to the House Banking and Currency Committee; and with Dr. Paul Nelson, Clerk and Staff Director of the House Committee, all of whom were present throughout the deliberations of the committee of conference. Had there been any disagreement among us, I would have pursued the matter further, but we all had the same impression, which was that the committee had not adopted the proposed change in language. Mr. Reynolds was also of the opinion that no substantive legal issue was involved. On this basis, the report was prepared and filed in the House that same afternoon, Tuesday, December 9, 1969. It was, of course, published in the RECORD for that date.

The House agreed to the conference report on Wednesday afternoon. The first inkling I had of any disagreement over whether the report fairly reflected the action of the committee came on Thursday morning, when one of the members of the House Banking and Currency staff advised me that a member of the Senate Banking Committee staff had said, first, that the committee had adopted the proposal to insert "the same" and, second, that this change was being urged by the Department of the Treasury.

As to the first point, I first consulted Mr. Orman S. Fink, the minority professional staff member of the House Banking and Currency Committee. He was present at the conference and he stated that it was his impression that the committee had not adopted the change. I also telephoned Mr. John M. Reynolds and he confirmed what he had told me at the conclusion of the conference.

In order to leave no doubt as to the position of the Treasury, I telephoned the Deputy General Counsel, Mr. Roy T. Englert, whom I have known since the days when he was Chief Counsel in the Bureau of the Comptroller of the Currency, and for whose character and legal acumen I have the highest regard. As you know, responsibility for legislative affairs of this type rests with the Office of the General Counsel. Mr. Englert assured me that the Department had not, to his knowledge, made any request for such a change in the legislation. He stated further that Mr. Eggers (the General Counsel) was out of town and that he (Mr. Englert) should have known about it if any such request were made by the Department of the Treasury.

Mr. Englert and I then proceeded to discuss the possible legal effect of the proposed change. It was my view that it would probably make no difference in the meaning, but that if a court were compelled to make a distinction, it might construe the addition of the words "the same" to raise an implication of equality or identity for all purposes. A comparison of the definitions of "as" and "same" given in *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* seems to support this view. In other words, the addition of the words "the same" might have had a legal effect precisely opposed to that which was

intended by the conferees. It was my impression that Mr. Englert concurred in this view; in any event, he left no doubt whatever that to the best of his knowledge the Department of the Treasury had not asked and was not asking that this change be made.

Following my conversation with Mr. Englert, I reviewed the entire matter with Dr. Nelson. To summarize, two eminently well qualified and completely independent attorneys had concurred in my original view that the proposed change would, at best, have failed to express with any greater clarity the intent of the Congress. Each member of the House committee staff had independently agreed with the impression of Senate legislative counsel and myself that the committee had taken no action on the proposed change. Under these circumstances, it was the judgment of Dr. Nelson and myself that we ought not to advise you to set in motion the legislative machinery to attempt to effect a change in the enrolled Act.

I deeply regret the development of any misunderstanding in regard to the action taken by a committee of conference. I find it easy to understand how anyone at this conference might have reached a conclusion different from my own in regard to the adoption of Senator Bennett's proposal. Had I been entirely sure about the matter at the time, I would not have felt it necessary to consult with others present as widely and promptly as I did. But regardless of whose recollection or judgment may be most nearly correct about the action of the committee on that proposal, it is my considered opinion that the text of the conference report, as a matter of law, is a faithful reflection of the legislative policy agreed upon at the conference.

Sincerely yours,
GRASTY CREWS II,
Assistant Counsel.

THE AGE OF REVOLUTION

HON. PAUL J. FANNIN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

MR. FANNIN. Mr. President, in these days of campus unrest, protest, demonstrations, draft-card burning, and the rest, it is well for us to reflect occasionally on the fact that the vast majority of America's young people are hard-working, energetic, devoted to high principles and lofty goals, and willing to make important personal sacrifices to attain these goals.

Illustrative of this is the rapid growth in recent years of the guaranteed student loan programs. Ambitious students all across the land have shown themselves willing to shoulder a portion of their own education costs as they move to equip themselves for their role as tomorrow's leaders.

In this connection, a particularly impressive ceremony was held on December 4 at the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in Washington. Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Robert H. Finch paid special tribute in this ceremony to United Student Aid Funds, Inc., the Nation's leading private, nonprofit, tax-exempt student loan guarantee organization. The immediate occasion for this ceremony was the

borrowing by a student of the 250 millionth dollar which United Student Aid Funds, Inc., has endorsed—or cosigned for students, if you will—in its 9 years of operation.

Present at the ceremony with Secretary Finch were Under Secretary of the Treasury Charles E. Walker; Allen D. Marshall, president of United Student Aid Funds, Inc.; Miss Jacqueline Curran, the student at Husson College, Bangor, Maine, whose loan this fall put USA Funds' loan volume across the \$250 million mark; Mr. Fred Newman, president of the Eastern Trust and Banking Co. of Bangor, the bank which made the loan to Miss Curran; and James Hackett, the loan officer at the Eastern Trust and Banking Co. of Bangor, who personally handled the transaction.

To make low-cost, long-term loans available to deserving students is a truly worthwhile undertaking. Lending institutions, as well as guarantors and the students themselves, are to be commended for the growth of this whole venture. For some thoughtful commentary on this growth and on its future direction, I would cite my colleagues to the remarks made by Mr. Allen D. Marshall, the president of United Student Aid Funds, Inc., before the Sixth National Conference of the Association of Student Governments November 27, 1969, at Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the comments of Mr. Marshall be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the comments were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SIXTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ASSOCIATION OF STUDENT GOVERNMENTS

(By A. D. Marshall)

I suspect that on many campuses today Emerson is frequently quoted. He said:

"If there is any period one would desire to be born in—is it not the age of revolution; when the old and the new stand side by side, and admit of being compared; when the energies of all men are searched by fear and hope; when the historic glories of the old can be compensated by the rich possibilities of the new era? This time, like all times, is a very good one, if we but know what to do with it."

Immediately one thinks this applies to changing forms of university governance and to novel teaching experiments, but it applies equally to the financing of higher education for some of the 8 million students now in post-secondary educational institutions. Only one phase, student aid, and the changes made in it in less than a decade, illustrates what I mean for the area with which I am most familiar.

Just about ten years ago a small group of men in Indianapolis decided some means were needed to aid the needy and deserving student in obtaining the necessary money to complete his college education. They commissioned Arthur D. Little & Company to study the problem. Arthur D. Little & Company soon reported back that such a plan was already in operation in Massachusetts and, with some modifications, it could be used nationwide.

Thus was born United Student Aid Funds, Inc. which guaranteed its first bank loan in February 1961.

The principles of this organization were simple. A college would deposit one thousand

dollars, usually from funds that it had been lending directly to students, United Student Aid Funds would agree to guarantee \$12,500 worth of bank loans to students at that institution. It would agree with the banks to keep an 8% reserve in cash and marketable securities as a guarantee fund.

A student needing aid would consult with the financial aid officer at his college who would review his budget, all the forms of aid available and, if necessary, recommend him to his home town bank for a loan that would be guaranteed.

The loan was not intended to cover all the student's expenses; it provided only the marginal money that was still needed after other sources—family support, his own savings and earnings, scholarships, and grants—had been exhausted. United Student Aid Funds did not and does not feel that it is to the advantage of a student to take on an unnecessary burden of debt. We do feel, however, that a young man or woman is more likely to appreciate his or her education, and perhaps even work harder for it, if he has a stake of his own in it.

The loan was at 6% simple interest which accrued but did not need to be paid during his college course. After graduation he would pay both principle and interest in monthly installments. While a new idea for financing an education, this system had long been used in installment buying. The student paid the loan while he was enjoying its benefits, just as the automobile purchaser does not start his monthly payments until the car is delivered.

The whole procedure involved some sacrifices for everyone; the college lost the interest on its deposit; the banks made a loan at much less than the prevailing interest on installment loans; and the student paid interest over a period of years on money spent for his education.

Notwithstanding these sacrifices, the advantages were so obvious that within a few years nearly 1,000 educational institutions and 10,000 lending institutions were participating, and over 150,000 students had been aided. It might be said the experiment was successful and the sacrifices required had kept the program to its original purpose—aid for the needy and deserving.

The passage of the Higher Education Act of 1965 and subsequent Federal legislation introduced a new element. These acts and the regulations under them practically eliminated the sacrifices. Colleges no longer needed to put up deposits for reserves. The interest rate to banks was raised to 9%. For the great majority of students the interest was paid during their college courses and during subsequent military or other forms of service.

Not only was the element of sacrifice removed, but there was introduced a real incentive to borrow. Guarantee agencies were forbidden to take into consideration the needs of the student and his family. As a matter of fact, the program was advertised as a loan plan for the middle income family. What has been the result?

After I had finished my testimony before a Congressional Committee a year or two ago the very perceptive Chairman stated:

"I would like to say that the way you have outlined the need versus the want, and the need versus the manipulated demand—I must say to you that with a subsidy on the interest in school and after graduation, that if there is not a needs test, I think any kid that does not apply for such a guaranteed loan is not smart enough to be in college.

"They ought to change their admission standards. I heartily support some kind of need requirement. I think otherwise Congress is going to be rightly charged with creating a situation where we could have a

major boondoggle, and the taxpayers would be financing home loans and everything else for fairly well-to-do people."

Of course, what one might have expected has happened. Today loans guaranteed under the program by all agencies, Federal, state and private, total about \$2,260,000,000 (two-and-a-quarter billions), and loans are being made at twice the rate they were just a short time ago.

In August 1967, in testifying before a Congressional Committee, I used the estimated enrollment figures given by the Office of Education and said that, if only one-third of the students borrowed \$1,000 a year for four years, at the end of 7 or 8 years there would be outstanding 23 billions of dollars in student loans, a quarter of the total consumer credit then outstanding. The annual cost to the taxpayer would be over one billion dollars.

Today we are already well on the way to the situation I described. Thus the change from an opportunity to borrow at some sacrifice to an inducement to borrow is bringing about the increase that was foreseen.

This raises some interesting questions for my generation and for your generation. You may have others.

To what extent should young men and women be encouraged to burden themselves with debt?

Is there real justification for the payment of millions of dollars annually in interest subsidies to families that could borrow in other ways, when there are so many other urgent needs for the taxpayers' money?

My generation will cease to be taxpayers in not too many years. Will your generation willingly assume the tax burden of financing this program, perhaps at the same time you are paying off your own loan?

Would it not be better to make grants to the really needy to cover most of their expenses and provide loans for only their marginal requirements?

These questions do not even cover such basic issues as the effect of billions of dollars in student loans on increasing the inflationary forces still at large.

These are some of the questions with which we are faced. The effect of programs apparently for your immediate benefit may not be to your advantage long-range.

However, don't ever consider money spent for your education wasted. Years ago Benjamin Franklin in "Poor Richard's Almanac" said: "If a man pour his purse into his head no one can take it from him."

DR. CHESTER D. BRADLEY

HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, December 14, 1969, was a day of significance in my district. It marked the 20th anniversary of the birth of an idea which led to the establishment of the Fort Monroe Casemate Museum. One of the participants 20 years ago, the late Col. Paul Goode, then the post commander at Fort Monroe, has gone on to his reward. The other, Dr. Chester D. Bradley, received the Army's Outstanding Civilian Service Award in ceremonies on the anniversary date last Sunday. The award was presented by Col. Henry L. Gordner, the present commander at Fort Monroe, and was signed by Gen. James K. Woolnough, commanding general, U.S. Continental

Army Command, whose headquarters is located on the historic post. The citation reads:

Dr. Bradley distinguished himself by truly meritorious service in the establishment and development of the Fort Monroe Casemate Museum during the period 12 December 1949 to 26 November 1969. Dr. Bradley has made the history of Fort Monroe his personal avocation for over twenty-five years. Often traveling abroad at his personal expense, he devoted much time to researching, writing and preparing historical displays depicting the history of Fort Monroe. Dr. Bradley's continuous efforts and selfless devotion indicate his true interest in his country and its people, and reflect great credit upon himself, the United States Army, and this Nation.

As is frequently the case, it is impossible for any such citation to tell the entire story. A far greater representation of Dr. Bradley's role in the conception and development of the museum is presented in the nomination for the Outstanding Civilian Service Award as it was forwarded to the commanding general by Colonel Gordner.

The material follows:

NOMINATION FOR OUTSTANDING CIVILIAN SERVICE AWARD

1. Dr. Chester D. Bradley, M.D., is nominated for the Outstanding Civilian Service Award for his truly meritorious service in the establishment of the Fort Monroe Casemate Museum.

2. Dr. Bradley was instrumental in the founding of the Museum which was officially established in 1951; however, his untiring and enthusiastic efforts date from 1949. The Fort Monroe Casemate Museum is recognized as an Installation Museum under appropriate Army regulations. It was founded officially in 1951 by the Post Commander and Dr. Bradley, a resident of the Peninsula who had developed an intense historical interest in Fort Monroe and the important role it has played in the Nation's history.

3. Dr. Bradley has made the history of Fort Monroe his personal avocation for over 25 years. He has devoted much time to researching, writing, and preparing historical displays depicting the history of Fort Monroe. Often traveling abroad at his personal expense, he secured new material by visiting many foreign museums, gaining ideas to improve the quality and character of the Museum exhibits and establishing both national and international interest. He has interviewed the descendants of countless people who have had significant experiences at Fort Monroe. Dr. Bradley located the personal papers of General Simon Bernard, the French General on Napoleon's staff who designed Fort Monroe, and brought the papers to the United States on loan for microfilming. He has compiled and assembled all of the historical material and collections which are now on display at the Museum. Because of his expert knowledge concerning this material, he was able to analyze, catalog, and assemble it into meaningful and educational exhibits.

4. Additionally, Dr. Bradley has written several monographs concerning Fort Monroe. His works include:

- (a) "Robert E. Lee At Fort Monroe."
- (b) "Black Hawk at Fort Monroe."
- (c) "Edgar Allen Poe at Fort Monroe."
- (d) "General Simon Bernard—Aide to Napoleon, Designer of Fort Monroe."
- (e) "Is It a Fort or a Fortress?"
- (f) "Fort Monroe in the Civil War."
- (g) "A Short History of the Civil War."
- (h) "U. S. Grant Comes to Fort Monroe."
- (i) "Old Point Comfort: America's Greatest Bastion."
- (j) "The Fanny: First Aircraft Carrier (1861)."
- (k) "The Monitor and the Merrimack."

(l) "On to Richmond: General McClellan's Peninsula Campaign."

(m) "Abraham Lincoln at the Hampton Roads Peace Conference, 1865."

Dr. Bradley has also contributed numerous articles concerning Fort Monroe to various historical professional journals. These include "Abraham Lincoln's Campaign Against the Merrimack" which appeared in the Illinois States Journal of History; "Dr. Craven and the Captivity of Jefferson Davis at Fort Monroe" which appeared in the Virginia Medical Monthly, and "Jefferson Davis in Prison" which appeared in an issue of Manuscripts, the quarterly publication of the Manuscript Society. Dr. Bradley is recognized across the country as the expert with respect to Fort Monroe and the Virginia Peninsula during the Civil War period. He is a member of the American Historical Association.

5. In 1968 Dr. Bradley retired from medical practice and became the full-salaried curator at the Casemate Museum, having the responsibility for all modification of buildings, researching and planning, and advising the Commanding Officer, Fort Monroe, of his findings and recommendations. Under Dr. Bradley's personal guidance and direction, the Museum has grown rapidly but soundly as historical collections of relevance and merit have been located, assembled, cataloged, and displayed. Last year more than 70,000 people visited the Museum. At present, the Museum consists of six casemates, including the Monitor and Merrimack Casemate, where the epic battle between the two ironclads is recounted, complete with scale models of the two craft involved, histories of their construction and development, and items of interest concerning their commanders and crew; the Jefferson Davis Casemate where the story of the capture and confinement of the President of the Confederate States of America is told in the very cell where he was held prisoner; and the Old Fort Monroe Casemate where the history of the Fort and its more historically important activities and personages is told in a series of historical collections, photographs, drawings, and other items. The Jefferson Davis Casemate and Museum was restored to the appearance of originality in 1968. This project was undertaken and accomplished primarily because of Dr. Bradley's enthusiasm and dedication to the project.

6. Without Dr. Bradley's untiring, unselfish, and mostly uncompensated personal efforts in this endeavor, it is reasonable to state that the Fort Monroe Casemate Museum would never have attained the significance and reputation it enjoys. Dr. Bradley's dedication to his position and his accomplishments as both official and unofficial Museum Curator are worthy of the highest praise. Dr. Bradley's continuous efforts and valuable contributions to the Casemate Museum and Fort Monroe indicate his true extreme interest in this country and its people and reflect great credit upon himself, the United States Army, and this Nation.

7. Investigation discloses the absence of any information requiring action under appropriate security regulations.

8. Based on the foregoing, recommend approval of the Outstanding Civilian Service Award for Dr. Chester D. Bradley, M.D.

HENRY L. GORDNER,
Colonel, Infantry Commanding.

Dr. Chester D. Bradley is a truly remarkable man. His interest in the history of Fort Monroe was sparked by his appreciation of the care provided by an Army physician, Dr. John J. Craven, who was charged with the medical care of Jefferson Davis when the former President of the Confederacy was imprisoned at Fort Monroe in 1865. Dr. Bradley carefully researched the life and

career of Dr. Craven and frequently told the story before local organizations. It was such a talk which brought him to the attention of Colonel Goode.

At the time his interest in the history of Fort Monroe began, Dr. Bradley was a practicing obstetrician and gynecologist. There is no way for a man in such a profession to predict the demands on his time, and Dr. Bradley eventually tired of having the arrival of newborn babes interfere with what had started as a hobby. He retired from his active practice to take a staff position at a State hospital in order to have more time to devote to that hobby. He later joined the staff of the Veterans' Administration Hospital at Hampton. All of this kept him physically close to the museum and enabled him to spend practically every waking moment away from hospital duty hard at work on his research or at the museum.

No community could ask for a more dedicated citizen and no segment of our Nation's history could expect a more hard-working advocate.

The presentation of the award caught Dr. Bradley completely by surprise. His response, however, was typical. Colonel Gordner pinned the metal to his jacket and then presented him with a framed copy of the citation suggesting that he might like to hang it at home. Dr. Bradley smiled and said:

I will hang it here in the museum.

He then went on to remark that it was not necessary to give him an award; after all, he had only been doing "what I enjoy doing."

LETTER OPPOSING THE MORATORIUM FROM A FATHER WHO LOST A SON IN VIETNAM

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. THURMOND, Mr. President, it was a real inspiration to me to read a letter from a father who lost a son in Vietnam. His response to the moratorium demonstrators and war protesters represents the true patriotism, loyalty, courage, and determination of the American people.

Pfc. Gregory M. Thompson, of Las Vegas, Nev., was killed in Vietnam on May 17, 1967. He was awarded the Silver Star posthumously for heroism in ground combat.

His father Malcolm Thompson, was so outraged over the moratorium, that he wrote a letter to the Las Vegas Review Journal. It is a masterpiece of devotion and dedication to our country. He condemned the protesters for reading the names of our servicemen who lost their lives for our Nation in Vietnam. The State newspaper of Columbia, S.C., reprinted this magnificent letter by a sad father who spoke out against the agitators.

I am so strongly impressed with Mr. Thompson's letter that I shall quote a significant paragraph:

When they read the name of Gregory Mal-

colm Thompson, let them realize that they are proving before the world the truth of the oft-repeated Communist claim that many Americans have become soft, decadent and yielding to any determined force which opposes them.

I commend this letter to all those who are advocating surrender and peace at any price. As I have said many times, the American people will not accept defeat and humiliation. They will not agree to discard the sacrifice of American blood for a hollow diplomatic agreement. However, Mr. Thompson gives deep meaning and substance to this view that few statements could match.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the letter be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

WHEN THEY READ HIS NAME: A SAD FATHER SPEAKS OUT

(NOTE.—The letter, giving an entirely different view of the present moratorium craze, was written by the father of Pfc. Gregory M. Thompson, an 18-year-old Las Vegas (Nev.) high school graduate who was killed May 17, 1967, in Vietnam. It is reprinted from the Las Vegas Review Journal.)

When the peace demonstrators read my son's name, let them know how he felt about the Vietnam war, and how the parents who shaped him feel about it.

It is we, the parents, who said goodbye to him when he went away to fight—not the peace agitators.

It is we, the parents, who wrote long, anxious letters to him during his three months almost continuous combat—not the agitators.

It is the ones who saw his body returned in a flag-draped coffin who first should be heard—not the protesters.

These transparent propagandists were not there to see my son buried, nor do they accompany me on my trips to lay flowers on his grave.

My son was killed while fighting for his country.

America cannot be permitted to perpetually persuade its citizens to instill in their sons a sense of patriotism, loyalty and a determination to defend the oppressed, and then, after the sons have died suddenly change her mind and yield to those who killed them.

Most of the peace demonstrations and namereading ceremonies across this nation are an obvious propaganda device designed to influence the President of the United States into surrendering South Vietnam to an enemy which admittedly and openly seeks to conquer it by any and all means.

When they read my son's name to advocate peace at any price—the price being defeat—let them remember that he whose name they read did not surrender.

When these pretentious mourners read my son's name, let them realize that their grief would be better served if applied to the Viet Cong whose flag they wave even as they burn the one which graced my son's casket. Let them apply their bogus sorrow to those aggressors felled by my son as he won his posthumous Silver Star for heroism in ground combat.

And when they read the name of my son, let them know that he advocated an increase in the bombing of the ammunition depots in North Vietnam—not a cessation so that his enemy would receive unlimited war supplies with which to kill him.

When they read the name of Gregory Malcom Thompson, let them realize that they are proving before the world the truth of the oft-repeated Communist claim that

many Americans have become soft, decadent and yielding to any determined force which opposes them.

And when these weak, gullible ones read his name in their avowed pursuit of peace, let them remember that a peace purchased at the price of surrender is but a brief Munich-type peace lasting only until the aggressor's appetite demands more victims.

Finally, when these hypocrites read the list of the dead who defended South Vietnam, let them know that they have reached the ultimate low in the world-record of human infamy, in that they willfully and cunningly utter a dead man's name to achieve the defeat of the cause for which he died.

MALCOLM THOMPSON.

YOUTH ADVISERS

HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, some-one once said, "Youth will have its day," and I would like to report that this prophecy presently is coming true in the State of Pennsylvania, especially in the congressional district I represent where youth participation in community affairs is on a fast-rising curve.

Today's problems are manifold, diverse, and complex. The elders of the communities welcome this new ally. Youth has boundless energy, and its vision is sharp, attributes which can combine to exert a new effective force on today's problems. And as youth becomes fundamentally acquainted with the problems of today, it will become eminently equipped to cope with greater problems tomorrow.

An article commenting on youth advisers recently appeared in the December 13, 1969, issue of the Harrisburg Patriot. Because this article provides a perspective on the enterprise of youth in Pennsylvania's community affairs, I submit it to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to call attention to one of the contributions that youth is making to our society today:

YOUTH ADVISERS—THEY HAVE A PLACE IN GOVERNMENT

Youth participation in community government is growing in Pennsylvania—particularly in Central Pennsylvania.

From the capital city Gov. Raymond Shafer has appointed six youth advisers to serve with various state bodies. Mayor-elect Harold Swenson of Harrisburg says he is appointing a Youth Advisory Board. And in York the county Parks and Recreation Board has become the first in the state to name a Youth Liaison Board. On learning of this action, Gov. Shafer wrote the York board that "your concept is wonderful."

The eight members of this board are juniors or seniors in the county high schools. They represent the 4-H clubs, the United Fund, the White House Conference on Youth and Children, and Junior Achievement. At their first meeting they recommended eliminating the "liaison" from the name, adding "Just make it a Youth Board."

The youngsters have plenty of energy and vision. Already they have joined forces with a group of Spring Grove High School girls in a campaign to beautify York County. They know that wildlife and trees are being destroyed and that air and water are being pol-

luted by careless and apathetic persons of all ages—and they don't like it.

That our young people show impatience in serving as advisers or on "liaison" committees is understandable. They are impatient for action, if not for power. And they fear that the adults in government will not let the "under 25" generation advise them.

We believe their fears are groundless. We think that those "oldsters" who are now legally and properly ensconced in office are eager to know what the younger generation thinks and wants. Serving with their elders, forgetting the title or ranks which may of necessity be bestowed upon them now, will be the quickest way of obtaining the qualifications which will entitle them—sooner than they think, perhaps—to move up front where the action is.

YAHYA KHAN MEANS BUSINESS

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to submit for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an important interpretive editorial from the Christian Science Monitor. It is entitled "Yahya Khan Means Business." The article follows:

YAHYA KHAN MEANS BUSINESS

Pakistan is something of a miracle. In population it is the fifth largest country in the world. Yet before it was carved out of British India in 1947 it had no identity as a unified political entity of any kind. Gandhi's and Nehru's India inherited the central machinery of government in the subcontinent. The Pakistanis had to build up an administration from scratch.

Quite apart from the difficulties presented by such a challenge under normal circumstances, Pakistan had to deal with the added complication of knitting together politically two territories physically a thousand miles apart and differing in nearly everything but their common religion of Islam.

The country's first decade of life saw its civilian politicians, with arduous labor and no little intrigue, striving to give it a constitutional framework of government and a viable economy. They partly succeeded—at least in the sense that after ten years Pakistan had enough independent vigor and identity to belie those pessimists who thought it was too artificial a creation to last. But corruption and personal ambitions clogged the machinery and hampered growth. The result was the intervention of the military (by coup) in 1958 and the installation of authoritarian government under Field-Marshal Ayub Khan.

The following ten years were very much Ayub's decade. While he succeeded in enhancing Pakistan's international identity abroad, he failed—for all his paternal and honorable efforts at home—to meet the main grievances of his fellow countrymen. The politically articulate felt more and more stifled. And the Bengalis of East Pakistan felt more and more a colonial outpost of West Pakistan. The result was the upheaval of last June which forced Marshal Ayub Khan from the scene and left General Yahya Khan, commander-in-chief of the Army, in charge.

Many thought that the latter would give Pakistan more of the same authoritarian military government and domination of the rest by Punjabis and Pathans from the West. But to his credit General Yahya Khan has now announced a crisp timetable for elec-

tions throughout the country on a one-man, one-vote basis and the drafting of a new Constitution which should give the Bengalis of East Pakistan virtual autonomy and a voice in national affairs at last commensurate with their numbers. In doing this, General Yahya Khan is honorably living up to his promises. Simultaneously he has put the civilian politicians on notice that they had better live up to their professions. And indeed, they had better.

CBW TREATY

HON. JOHN DELLENBACK

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Speaker, the President has resubmitted for the consideration of the Senate the Geneva Protocol of 1925 which prohibits the first use of chemical and biological weapons. The 16 of us who, on November 3, presented to the House a study entitled "CBW and National Security" are heartened by the President's action.

The concern about CBW is not confined to the Congress, but has also been expressed by respected civic organizations. In October, the League of Women Voters of the United States began to prepare an article on CBW for its newsletter, *The National Voter*. This publication, released December 15, with a circulation of over 160,000, advocates ratification of the Geneva Protocol. I would like to bring the perspectives set forth by the League of Women Voters to the attention of my colleagues.

The article follows:

CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS—PRESSURE INTENSIFIES TO BAN THEIR USE OR MANUFACTURE, AND TO ABOLISH ALL STOCKPILES

There is a chance that 1970 will be the year the US joins some 65 other countries that have ratified the 1925 Geneva Protocol, which prohibits the first use in war of chemical and biological weapons. Ironically, although the US proposed and signed the Protocol—and in 1966 co-sponsored a UN resolution calling for the strict observance of its principles and objectives—the Senate has never ratified it. The US is the only nuclear power—and except for Japan, the only major industrial nation—that has not.

Concern about CBW has grown in the US during the past two years as the extent of CBW research and development has become known. Because the C and B arsenal includes mass-destruction weapons of a particularly insidious nature, other countries throughout the world are deeply disturbed by present C and B practices. The issue is expected by some to dominate the disarmament talks in Geneva this year, and it has high priority in administration and congressional circles. Hearings in the House Subcommittee on National Security Policy began on Nov. 18.

SCIENTIFIC REPORTS SEEM UNREAL

There is an air of unreality about CBW—"an eerie, creepy feeling," as Sen. Gale McGee said during Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings in April. To understand the distinctions between the two classes of weapons and the nature of CBW risks, it is necessary to overcome reactions of horror evoked by scientific reports.

By definition, chemical warfare uses toxic chemical agents—gas, liquid, or solid—to affect humans, animals, or plants. Chemical agents include nerve gases which are lethal, quick-acting, and hard to detect and may be dispensed in spray or liquid forms—a tiny drop of one type on the skin will cause death. This was the agent that killed 6000 sheep in Utah in 1968. There are also blister gases, such as the mustard gas of World War I, which generally incapacitate rather than kill; temporarily incapacitating agents, which interfere with normal mental processes; and so-called riot-control agents. These include ordinary tear gas, "super tear gas" (causes nausea as well as irritation to eyes, nose, lungs and throat), and even stronger riot-control agents—all of which may be lethal under certain conditions. Chemical agents are considered to be tactical weapons, especially for nuclear powers, because of their instantaneous effect on victims.

Biological weapons differ in several ways from chemical weapons. They employ living organisms and their toxic products to kill, damage, or incapacitate through disease. B weapons weigh less than C weapons and may be delivered over a wider area. While much specific information about B weapons is classified, the general principles of how they operate are known. Effective means of controlling and treating large-scale disease spread by them is not known. B weapons are considered to be strategic weapons because of the delay between application and effect—that is, because there is an incubation period before disease appears.

C and B weapons are unpredictable, unreliable and difficult to control. This is particularly true of biological aerosol-type weapons because their effectiveness—and the ability to control them—is affected by poorly understood factors of resistance to infection as well as uncertainties of meteorological and atmospheric conditions. The fact that some bacteriological agents can be carried by travelers, migratory birds or animals over great distances adds to the uncertainties about their use.

CBW CAN'T DESTROY A FACTORY

Unlike other agents of mass-destruction, C and B weapons attack only living matter; their ultimate targets are people. They cannot be used to destroy a factory or a missile, but they can conceivably affect the balance of nature in an irreparable way. Their chief human victims are likely to be civilians, who would not be provided with protective devices given to military forces.

For these and other reasons the value of C and B weapons as a deterrent—one of the arguments advanced in their favor—has been questioned. Since they would leave a nuclear retaliatory capability intact, they would be highly inappropriate, if not useless, as a major strategic threat among nuclear powers, for whom they would be an added expense and hazard. For non-nuclear nations, however, they have some appeal as strategic weapons despite the fact that C and B proliferation would inevitably reduce general security for all.

One argument that has been advanced by some who favor the use of C and B weapons is that they will make war more humane. This is a matter that has been debated by technical experts. Dr. Matthew Meselson, Harvard professor of biology and consultant to the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, refuted this claim in his testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last April. He contended instead that they risk making war more savage.

In the first place, he said, it is naive to think that only non-lethal agents would be used. Moreover, he asserted, non-lethal chemical weapons would be used to enhance the lethal capabilities of other weapons—a charge that has been made concerning the

use of tear gas in the Vietnam war as well as in World War I. Above all, he is convinced that the use of non-lethal weapons would set the stage for—and probably trigger—the use in war of more deadly chemical and biological weapons, and therefore urged that all such agents be banned.

EXPERTS REPORT TO UN

A similar conclusion was reached by the international group of experts which—with US participation—prepared a report for UN Secretary-General U Thant in accordance with a General Assembly resolution of 1968. The UN report, issued in July 1969, called for "the earliest effective elimination of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons." Accordingly, when he issued the report the Secretary-General urged, 1) a renewal of the appeal to all states to accede to the 1925 Geneva Protocol; 2) an affirmation that all chemical and biological agents be prohibited; and 3) agreement by all countries to halt the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical and biological agents for purposes of war, and to eliminate them from the arsenal of weapons.

US policy on chemical and biological weapons was somewhat ambiguous in the 1950's and 1960's, and the use of chemical agents in Vietnam has increased the inconsistencies. In June, 1969, President Nixon appointed a special study group to undertake the most comprehensive review that has ever been made of this country's CBW policies. The urgency of the need for review was highlighted by congressional and other public inquiries following several accidents and alarms related to C and B research, development and training.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S STATEMENT

On the basis of the study group's recommendations, the President said on November 25.

"As to our chemical warfare program, the United States: Reaffirms its oft-repeated renunciation of the first use of lethal chemical weapons; extends this renunciation to the first use of incapacitating chemicals . . .

"The US shall [also] renounce the use of lethal biological agents and weapons, and all other methods of biological warfare. The US will confine its biological research to defensive measures such as immunization and safety measures. The DOD [Department of Defense] has been asked to make recommendations as to the disposal of existing stocks of bacteriological weapons."

A massive effort to inform the public and promote discussion on CBW matters is required after the years of secrecy that have shrouded the subject. The reported change by Secretary of Defense Laird from a position defending the value of both C and B deterrents to one which favors eliminating the production of biological agents will carry weight. It may also open the way to orderly debate of comprehensive CBW controls.

It is important that the US be able to present its new CBW position when the question comes up for discussion again in the UN. The debate will be shaped by earlier treaties, resolutions and working papers dating back to the Hague Gas Declaration of 1899 and including, of course, the 1925 Protocol and the Secretary-General's 1969 report.

Several new proposals have recently been offered. They are working papers only, representing negotiating positions which will probably be modified in the treaty-making process. Among the more recent international proposals is a British draft treaty aimed at "reinforcing" the 1925 Geneva Protocol by prohibiting biological methods of warfare and the production for hostile use of biological agents.

There is a Swedish proposal to declare that CBW is contrary to international law, and

Canada has recommended further study of the subject as well as commendation for previous UN stands. The USSR has proposed a ban on development, production, and stockpiling of C and B weapons, but—like the British—the Soviets leave unsolved the problem of inspection. The British draft treaty has raised other objections based on the fear that by separating the B-war and C-war issues it may strengthen the potential use of C-weapons. The Canadian resolution does little substantially to advance CBW control and the Swedish proposal introduces legal complexities about the force of customary law.

INTERNATIONAL CONTROL IS THE GOAL

Ratification of the Geneva Protocol is felt by legal and scientific experts to be the minimum and necessary first steps for the US in moving toward international control of CBW. Then it can join other nations in considering the merits and weaknesses of other proposals, and in studying whatever technical and legal problems must be overcome.

William Foster, former director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, has urged US ratification as "the next logical step for us to take," and calls as well for full US support of the British proposal. This, he says, "would enable us to divest ourselves of a useless and pernicious liability." These are essential steps, in his view, to limiting the deadlines of the arsenals of the world.

AMENDMENTS TO THE FOOD STAMP ACT OF 1964

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, for several months, the Congress has been working on a food stamp program that will adequately meet the nutrition needs of our Nation's low-income households.

On September 24, the Senate approved a proposal based on amendments offered by, among others, Senator GEORGE MCGOVERN. This program offers free stamps for families with less than \$60 monthly income and increased the fiscal 1970 authorization from its present \$340 million to \$1.25 billion.

Another change incorporated in Senator MCGOVERN's amendment is one that extends this food stamp program to the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

I am herewith offering into the RECORD a memorandum sent to me by Hon. Rafael Hernandez Colon, President of the Senate, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. This memorandum effectively justifies extension of the food stamp program to our fellow citizens in Puerto Rico.

Since the House Agriculture Committee is presently considering various proposals for continuing the food stamp program, I commend this memorandum and urge that the House insure availability of this needed program to Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

The memorandum follows:

MEMORANDUM

SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO,

December 1, 1969.

From: Rafael Hernández Colon, President of the Senate, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

To: Representative FRANK THOMPSON, JR.
Subject: S. 2547 (Amendments to the Food Stamp Act of 1964).

I strongly support the provision of S 2547, as approved by the United States Senate, which extends to Puerto Rico the Federal Food Stamp Program. This is a measure that will do justice to the majority of the United States citizens in Puerto Rico who are now facing nutritional deprivation.

Puerto Rico has made in the last two decades considerable progress in the development of a modern, high-productivity economy, capable of providing, by our people's own effort, a satisfactory level of living to all Puerto Ricans. We are, however, a long way from our goal. Per capita personal income is still less than 60 per cent of the state with the lowest per capita personal income. Poverty—and its concomitant, limited educational levels—is at the roots of Puerto Rico's malnutrition problem.

This problem is made worse, in comparison with the continental United States, by food price differentials. Puerto Rico buys from the United States over 75 per cent of the foodstuff here consumed. High maritime freight rates and other factors contribute to make food prices—as well as those for many other goods and services—generally higher than the prices prevailing in the mainland, for the same items.

Economic growth, if permitted to continue at the rapid rate of recent years, will eventually enable us to solve our economic woes by our own efforts. But the solution of our food problem cannot wait. We must provide now for the more than one third of our population which is ill nourished. The Federal Direct Food Distribution Program, at present in operation here, is indeed a help. But, it is severely limited both in the proportion of the needy who are eligible and in the variety and quality of the items distributed. Extension to Puerto Rico of the Food Stamp Program will enable us to considerably reduce hunger and malnutrition now.

Appealing to its sense of justice and its concern for the people's welfare, I urge the United States House of Representatives to extend to low income Puerto Ricans the benefits of the Food Stamp Program, made available by the existing legislation to their fellow citizens throughout the United States, by approving S 2547.

A CHRISTMAS CAROL IN HARLEM

HON. LLOYD MEEDS

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Speaker, these are the festive, year-ending days when the snow swirls, the tinsel glimmers, the small lights sparkle, and young thoughts are swept up in the raptures of Christmas.

But for Walter Vandermeer, of Harlem, Christmas would be like any other time. Ugly. Joyless. Cold without warmth.

Walter was 12 years old on December 1. Two weeks later he died from an overdose of heroin.

There are other Walters in Harlem, in New York, and in dozens of American cities. They are being torn apart by a system so ravaging, so cruel as to defy understanding by those of us in the white, affluent world of Christmas cakes, heaped-up presents, and overfed Santa Clauses.

We in the House can massage our consciences with memories of having passed a drug abuse education bill, an antipoverty bill, a housing bill, an education bill. But it is not enough to drive out the demons of discomfort. It will not bring back Walter Vandermeer or make Christmas any brighter for the suffering people of this country.

No; we are all rushing headlong toward disintegration by indifference. Christmas is a time to look outward, to think about the human condition. Unless it is to continue just as a momentary impulse, we in the Congress must pass the programs and appropriate the funds that are commensurate with the awesome and brutal conditions that snuffed out the life of Walter Vandermeer.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD at this point an article in today's issue of the New York Times:

BOY 12, DIES OF HEROIN DOSE IN HARLEM BATHROOM—CITY DOCTOR CALLS HIM THE YOUNGEST VICTIM—ONE OF BIG FAMILY WAS PUSHER

(By Barbara Campbell)

Walter Vandermeer, 12 years old, died Sunday morning in a locked bathroom in Harlem of an overdose of heroin. He was the youngest person to die from a heroin overdose, according to city medical officials, and had been taking heroin for perhaps two years.

Dr. Michael Baden, associate city medical examiner, said yesterday that the number of children and teen-agers dying from heroin overdoses had increased as much as 300 per cent in the last year.

Neighborhood children, according to Dr. Baden, knew Walter as a successful seller of drugs who sold heroin to support his growing habit.

The boy, who was 12 years old Dec. 1, was found Sunday afternoon in the second-floor common bathroom at 310 West 117th Street, around the corner from his home.

EQUIPMENT AT HIS SIDE

He had entered the bathroom about midnight Saturday night and locked himself in to take drugs, Dr. Baden said. Two glassine envelopes that had contained heroin; a syringe, a needle and a bottle cap, used to cook heroin, were found at his side by the police.

Mrs. Elinor Williams, a resident of the building, found his body at 4 P.M. Sunday after she had forced the lock on the bathroom door. The boy was wearing a Snoopy sweatshirt with the inscription on the back: "Watch out for me, I want to bite somebody to release my tension."

Walter's mother, Mrs. Lilly Price, interviewed in the crowded four-room apartment of a friend at 371 West 116th Street, said she had not known that Walter was taking drugs.

Mrs. Price, a welfare recipient who receives \$412 a month, had moved to her temporary home with several of her 10 children, including Walter, a month ago after she was evicted from her six-room apartment for nonpayment of rent.

She said she had last seen Walter at 10 P.M. Saturday night when he left the apart-

ment and promised to bring back a Sunday newspaper.

Mrs. Price, 45, did not report Walter missing when he failed to return home Saturday night. She assumed he was staying with one of his friends.

Mrs. Price said that she had seen no sign that Walter was a heroin addict. Dr. Baden reported that the boy's body bore no marks from unclean needles but that it was still possible that he had been addicted to heroin for some time.

Dr. Baden said that Walter had been arrested for possession of drugs.

Mrs. Price, who said that Walter's father was deported to British Guiana shortly after the boy was born in 1957, also said that she could not say for sure whether Walter had been attending school for the last two years.

But the boy's godmother, Mrs. Barbara Banks, who lives at 305 West 117th Street, said that Walter had not attended school in a "couple of years." He had been expelled from Public School 76 when he was nine years old, she said.

"His mother took him to court quite some time ago," she said. "He had been having trouble. She was supposed to take him to a psychiatric clinic, but she never followed through."

"The boy was starved for attention and affection. It just got to the place where he just roamed the streets."

JUST LIKE A LITTLE HUSTLER

What Walter found in the streets, Mrs. Banks said, were friends who introduced him to heroin. "The crowd he was with—men on the avenue let him hang on the streets . . . just like a little hustler," said Mrs. Banks.

About 50 children between the ages of 14 and 16 died this year from overdoses of heroin, Dr. Baden said. Last year there were no deaths of children under 15.

The doctor said that the number of young children and teenagers becoming addicted to heroin would continue to rise.

"It's a reflection of increased use of heroin in the adolescent age group," he said. "One very important factor is the peer-group pressure. Lots of kids start using heroin because friends are using it. Using heroin is beginning to spread among the young like smoking marijuana."

About 800 heroin addicts of all ages died this year from overdoses, according to Dr. Baden. More than 200 of them were 19 and younger. The number of such deaths among teenagers has risen threefold from last year, when 72 of 700 heroin deaths were among individuals 19 and younger.

"SESAME STREET" AND THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN EDUCATION

HON. JOHN BRADEMÁS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. BRADEMÁS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call my colleagues' attention to an article by Carl Rowan which appeared in the December 15 edition of the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*.

Mr. Rowan discusses the potential of "Sesame Street," the new television program for preschool children produced under the auspices of the Children's Television Workshop. In Mr. Rowan's words:

"Sesame Street" is one of the most important programs since TV was invented . . .

because if these youngsters can be taught effectively through 'the tube' we may be able to break the vicious circle that lets poverty and ignorance perpetuate themselves generation after generation in certain families.

Mr. Speaker, the subcommittee which I chaired was recently privileged to see a segment of "Sesame Street" during our hearings on the Comprehensive Pre-school Education and Child Day Care Act of 1969. Like Mr. Rowan, we were impressed with the possibilities for this imaginative program to make real inroads into the problem of providing intellectual stimulation to very young children in this country. I would like to commend the program to my colleagues and to parents throughout the Nation.

At this point I insert Mr. Rowan's article in the RECORD:

CAN TV BRIDGE LEARNING GAP?

(By Carl T. Rowan)

WASHINGTON.—The other evening I got to thinking about how education is the greatest of all liberating forces, and I suddenly realized that, before me, no direct member of my family had had a day of college training.

Neither mother nor father nor grandparents nor any ancestor going back through all their generations on these shores had even finished high school.

Yet, like millions of other American youngsters, my two sons assume they are going to college the way they assume they will eat and breathe over the next five years. And nothing occupies their thoughts or consumes their energies these days more than the question of how to get admitted to which college.

What got me to thinking about this transition from a time when higher training is beyond thought in a family to a time when higher education is valued, assumed, and pursued?

Television, believe it or not. A television program that isn't likely to boggle Mr. Nielsen's ratings or become THE topic of conversation at anybody's cocktail party.

I was thinking about "Sesame Street," a new experiment in educational television aimed at pre-schoolers. This program may tell us whether some 12 million three-, four-, and five-year-olds can be effectively taught by television.

That makes "Sesame Street" one of the most important programs, since TV was invented, because if these youngsters can be taught effectively through "the tube" we may be able to break the vicious circle that lets poverty and ignorance perpetuate themselves generation after generation in certain families.

No one knows exactly why one child is highly motivated educationally and another is not. No one can say with certainty what factors of environment, heredity, affluence, opportunity, or whatever combine to make learning a matter of highest value in a family or a community.

But the experts are now pretty sure that, in the learning process, the early years are critical.

According to University of Chicago psychologist Benjamin Bloom, who assessed a thousand studies of child development, half of all growth in human intelligence takes place from birth to age four and another 30 per cent occurs between ages four and eight.

Nowhere does this have greater meaning than among disadvantaged children. Maya Pines, author of "Revolution in Learning," reports that "by the age of five or six slum children trail so far behind middle-class children that from an educational point of view they are already remedial cases."

Despite this, few three- and four-year-olds in the United States receive any schooling, and only half the nation's school districts have kindergarten programs.

There have been only rare attempts to reach pre-schoolers on a mass basis, the most notable being the highly-touted Project Head Start. But it affects only a small fraction of the potential audience—and at a large cost.

This is where "Sesame Street" comes in. Financed by the United States Office of Education, the Carnegie Corporation, and Ford Foundation, it is an attempt to reach the kiddie crowd on a limited budget (\$8 million to research and produce the first 26-week season).

The one-hour, five-times-a-week shows are a thoroughly planned, researched, and evaluated blend of education and entertainment. Puppets, story reading, animated cartoons, fast-action films, repetition and groovy music are among techniques used to teach youngsters and hold their interest at the same time.

The program is designed to appeal to all youngsters, but its special aim, according to Executive Director Mrs. John Ganz Cooney, is "to narrow the academic achievement gap between disadvantaged and middle-class children."

To this end, efforts are being made to tie "Sesame Street" into other programs for the poor such as day-care centers and Project Head Start.

The success or failure of "Sesame Street" will do a lot to determine how eager Congress becomes to put large sums into efforts to find new ways to help children bridge the educational gap.

H.R. 8170

HON. PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. McCLOSKEY. Mr. Speaker, the National Federation of Independent Business has the largest membership of any business organization in the United States, numbering over 272,000 small businessmen.

In a period where inflation and high interest rates are combining to put immense pressure on business in general and the small businessman in particular, the federation monitors pending legislation and sends questionnaires to its members on proposals which are deemed particularly pertinent to small business.

One such bill before the House is H.R. 8170, proposing that social security recipients be entitled to retain full benefits while earning up to \$4,800 per year.

The federation's membership voted, by a margin of nearly 4 to 1, to support H.R. 8170 for the reasons set forth in the following statement dated December 15, 1969:

There's not much security in a Social Security system which penalizes the elderly who try to supplement their pensions to combat inflation. This opinion emerges from a poll of the nation's independent business owners on a proposal to lift the ceiling on elderly persons' earnings.

Under the so-called Social Security "retirement test", a beneficiary can earn only \$140 a month (\$1,680 a year) in wages before seeing his or her Social Security benefits reduced. Many recipients are not able

to live on current benefits, averaging \$100 a month, but are prevented from productive, even part-time, work by the penalty provision.

Many of the oldsters protest that they are entitled to full benefits because they paid into the fund for years, and persons with rental, dividend and other non-wage income are not penalized by reduced benefits.

President Nixon has proposed to raise the earnings test to \$1,800 and reduce the amount forfeited when earnings exceed \$2,800.

But the nation's independent business owners want Congress to go considerably farther. Legislation by Rep. Paul (Pete) McCloskey, Jr., of California, to permit earnings of \$4,800 a year won endorsement from 76 percent of the businessmen polled by the National Federation of Independent Business.

Only 20 percent oppose the measure and 4 percent withhold their opinion.

Because of complaints, the "retirement test" was raised from \$1,500 to \$1,680 by the last Congress, but in view of rising cost of living and the problems faced by persons with fixed incomes, most businessmen believe a major change is necessary and overdue.

The Social Security Administration has long opposed such liberalization because of the added "cost"—money which is now withheld—amounting to several billion a year. But the Administration recently predicted a huge, growing surplus in Social Security old age, survivors and disability reserves by 1973, making possible the President's recommendation for higher benefits without an increase in taxes.

Most businessmen apparently see little equity in the present earnings limitation, when the well-to-do can collect full benefits even if their investment income runs well into the thousands.

Many small businessmen who would like to hire senior citizens for part-time or temporary work find Social Security recipients unable to justify working when their benefits will be cut back. Earning just \$60 a week will reduce an old age benefit by \$840 a year under the formula (\$1 forfeit for each \$2 earned over \$1,680 and a dollar-for-dollar reduction for earnings over \$2,880.)

Since the government has estimated that an elderly couple with limited needs, living outside metropolitan areas, needs more than \$3,400 a year for a modest standard of living, and since the average Social Security benefit is considerably less than this, the case for liberalizing the earnings limitation is strong.

STANDARDIZE THE MAIL

HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, as I said last week and, in fact, for several weeks past, whether the Post Office continues to operate as a Government bureau or becomes a Government corporation, no organization will handle the varied and staggering volume of mail in years to come without standardization, sophisticated mechanization, and extra charges on nonstandard, nonmachinable pieces.

For years I have been urging the Post Office to accelerate its program for research and engineering that would lead to standardization. Yet no such program standards have ever been forthcoming. And now, to my dismay, I learn that a legislative program outlining standardization will not ever be presented to

Congress prior to the first session of the 92d Congress—and that is in 1971. More and more it is a case of the Post Office doing "too little, too late."

For a while, following the passage of my bill to create a sixth Assistant Postmaster General in charge of research and engineering, I was encouraged that appropriations for this purpose were more than tripled and that the engineering people were moved from the lowest rungs of the postal hierarchy to a par with the other Assistant Postmaster Generals. I was encouraged by the numerous reports on progress under the first Assistant Postmaster for research and engineering, Dr. Leo Packer. Since Dr. Packer's departure, this research program seems to have again been deemphasized and relegated to the dark corners of the Department, while the top brass of the Post Office conducts interviews and travels about, at the expense of taxpayer, vocalizing on the many-faceted merits of the Postal Corporation.

Again, I iterate, Mr. Speaker, that the most imperative need in the Post Office today is that of standardization of the mail—and a penalty in postage for pieces that are mailed that do not conform to standard sizes.

DAILY SURVEILLANCE SHEET, 1987, FROM A NATIONAL DATA BANK

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, many quite serious critiques of the suggested National Data Bank have come to my attention since my Special Subcommittee on Invasion of Privacy brought the concept to public attention in 1966. Fortunately, I think, it is also the subject of several humorous treatments.

For example, Bob and Ray, the widely renowned and justly famed satirists, described how a National Data Bank could be used to "get" almost anybody. Their fine article has been reprinted as an appendix to Dr. Jerry Rosenberg's recently published and extremely complete description of the controversy surrounding the Bank, "The Death of Privacy."

Another example in this genre is contained in the trade publication, Computers and Automation, of October 1969. Mr. Dennie Van Tassel is the head programmer at San Jose State College in California. He has recently projected what the daily surveillance sheet from a national data bank might look like in 1987. Let me point out that this is satire: Mr. Van Tassel is viewing the future with alarm, not pointing with pride to his own past.

Mr. Speaker, the war against potentially disastrous uses of the computer continues to be waged on many fronts. I am delighted to insert at this point in the RECORD, Mr. Van Tassel's provocative fantasy. I hope that when 1987 rolls around, this will not be considered as an accurate prediction; but one must be compelled to wonder. After all, 1987 is just 3 short years after 1984:

[From Computers and Automation,
October 1969]

DAILY SURVEILLANCE SHEET, 1987, FROM A NATIONWIDE DATA BANK

The "Daily Surveillance Sheet" below is offered as some food for thought to anyone concerned with the establishment of the proposed "National Data Bank". Hopefully, it will help illustrate that *everyone* should be concerned.

National data bank daily surveillance sheet, confidential, July 11, 1987

Subject. Dennie van Tassel, San Jose State College, male, age 38, married, programmer.

Purchases:

Wall Street Journal.....	.10
Breakfast	1.65
Gasoline	3.00
Phone (328-1826) .....	.10
Phone (308-7928) .....	.10
Phone (421-1931) .....	.10
Bank (cash withdrawal)	120.00
Lunch	2.00
Cocktail	1.00
Lingerie	21.85
Phone (369-2436) .....	.35
Bourbon	8.27
Newspaper .....	.10

COMPUTER ANALYSIS

Owns stock (90 per cent probability).
Heavy starch breakfast. Probably overweight.

Bought 3.00 dollars gasoline. Owns VW. So far this week he has bought 12.00 dollars worth of gas. Obviously doing something else besides just driving the 9 miles to work.

Bought gasoline at 7.57. Safe to assume he was late to work.

Phone No. 328-1826 belongs to Shady Lane—Shady was arrested for bookmaking in 1972.

Phone No. 308-7928. Expensive men's barber—Specializes in bald men or hair styling.

Phone No. 421-1931. Reservations for Las Vegas (without wife). Third trip this year to Las Vegas (without wife). Will scan file to see if anyone else has gone to Las Vegas at the same time and compare to his phone call numbers.

Withdrew 120.00 dollars cash. Very unusual since all legal purchases can be made using the National Social Security Credit Card. Cash usually only used for illegal purchases. It was previously recommended that all cash be outlawed as soon as it becomes politically possible.

Drinks during his lunch.

Bought very expensive lingerie. Not his wife's size.

Phone No. 369-2436. Miss Sweet Locks.

Purchased expensive bottle of bourbon. He has purchased 5 bottles of bourbon in the last 30 days. Either heavy drinker or much entertaining.

OVERALL ANALYSIS

Left work at 4.00, since he purchased the bourbon 1 mile from his job at 4.10. (opposite direction from his house.)

Bought newspaper at 6.30 near his house. Unaccountable 2½ hours. Made 3 purchases today from young blondes. (Statistical 1 chance in 78.) Therefore probably has weakness for young blondes.

PERSONAL ANNOUNCEMENT

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, previous commitments in my district unavoidably

prevented my voting on rollcall 323. Had I been present to vote on H.R. 15095, the Social Security Amendments of 1969, I would have voted "yea."

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION
454

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join in support of House Concurrent Resolution 454, calling for the humane treatment and release of American prisoners of war held by the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front. I have also cosponsored other resolutions for this purpose.

Together with other Members I join in calling upon the North Vietnamese Communist dictatorship to specifically comply with the Geneva Convention provisions pertaining to POW's. They clearly have failed to comply with the provisions providing for identification of prisoners, free exchange of mail between prisoners and their families, proper and impartial inspection of prisoner of war camps, and release of seriously ill or injured persons.

The conduct of the North Vietnam Communists in their treatment of American POW's has properly been described as barbaric and uncivilized.

I commend Secretary of Defense Laird for the efforts he has instigated to bring the spotlight of world attention to bear upon this issue, hopefully to provide proper treatment of POW's.

I have kept in constant contact with the Defense Department relative to servicemen from my district and neighboring Illinois areas who are listed as missing in action or known to be POW's.

It is imperative that we continue our efforts through all possible channels, including world public opinion, so that our POW's in North Vietnam receive the treatment to which they are entitled under international law. I regret that the United Nations has failed to act on behalf of our POW's. It must be observed that the world body remains paralyzed as a result of opposition by Communist governments to any undertaking that does not fit into the Communist scheme of things.

Mr. Speaker, the parents, wives, and children of our POW's must also be considered. The inhumane policies of the North Vietnam Communists must not be allowed to continue. We do have the leverage in world diplomatic circles to bring sufficient pressure to bear upon the dictators of North Vietnam to abide by the Geneva convention in the treatment of American prisoners of war.

President Nixon has dramatically used his office in cooperation with wives of our prisoners of war in the effort to bring effective world pressure to bear upon the Communists so that they would abide by

the Geneva Convention. It is most appropriate that the House of Representatives add its voice to this humanitarian plea.

PRESERVATION OF OUR
ENVIRONMENT

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, as we enter a new decade one of the most crucial tasks this Nation, along with the rest of the world, will have to take up is the preservation of our environment. The growing recognition of the enormity of this problem by scientists around the world has, unfortunately, not been matched by equal concern on the part of those in positions of political and economic leadership. All the other problems besetting us pale into insignificance when we carefully consider the implications of the dire warnings of the world scientific community. Fundamentally, what is at stake is the continuation of human life on this earth and the preservation of man as a species.

The continued plunder of our natural resources, the increased fouling of the very air we breathe, and the pollution of our water supplies is inexorably leading us to our doom unless these processes of self-destruction are reversed. I commend to the attention of my colleagues the following article by Anthony Lewis which appeared in the New York Times of December 15. In his article, Mr. Lewis describes just a few of the "specialized examples of how we are destroying ourselves." These demonstrate only a few of the dangers to the continued existence of man on this planet. They also highlight the irony of man reaching for the stars at the same time that he is preparing his own grave back on earth. The article follows:

NOT WITH A BANG BUT A GASP

(By Anthony Lewis)

BRUSSELS.—A man who is characteristically uninformed on matters scientific was making conversation at dinner the other night with a leading European biologist. He asked how seriously he should take the new public concern about the environment. Smiling, the biologist replied: "I suppose we have between 35 and 100 years before the end of life on earth."

The ordinary citizen is probably unaware of the extent to which such apocalyptic views are coming to be held in the scientific community. An impressive indication of the feelings has just been given in the British Broadcasting Corporation's Reith Lectures by Dr. Frank Fraser Darling of the Conservation Foundation, Washington, D.C.

He took part recently, Dr. Darling said, in a discussion of conservation by experts in such fields as medicine, anthropology and architecture. They talked for a day and a half, but quite early on they "came round to a sense of impending tragedy."

"Basically it was caused by the population problem," Dr. Darling said: "None of us could see that the world would escape the horrors of famine on a large scale. But it seemed that the very large catastrophe to

which we were heading would not happen as a result of any one cause, but as a culmination of several factors—famine, war, pestilence, pollution."

PROPHECIES OF DOOM

The doomsday prophets give various specialized examples of how we are destroying ourselves.

Barry Commoner, professor of botany at Washington University, St. Louis, has a grim theory on the effect of man's increasing use of nitrate fertilizers to increase agricultural productivity. Adding artificial nitrates, he points out, tends to reduce the natural production of nitrogen compounds in soil. The more fertilizer used over the years, therefore, the more is needed.

But artificial nitrates, and phosphates, run off into rivers and dramatically encourage the growth of algae. These in turn use up the oxygen in the water, making it unfit for fish and other animals. Professor Commoner's conclusion is that within fifty years the United States will face a horrible choice: It will either have to cut down on the use of artificial fertilizers, drastically reducing agricultural output, or use so much fertilizer as to cause uncontrollable water pollution.

Paul Ehrlich, professor of biology at Stanford University, has made a number of frighteningly convincing prophecies. One is that competition for food and raw materials is going to become savage among the nations as populations grow. He says that American industrial plans alone envision use of nearly all the non-Communist world's mineral reserves by the year 2000.

Then there is the atmosphere. People and engines are using up oxygen at an alarming rate: one trans-Atlantic jet burns 35 tons. We are voraciously cutting down the forests that convert carbon dioxide to oxygen, and DDT may be having an impact on the ocean's micro-organisms that similarly produce oxygen. One day, suddenly, the world's billions of creatures may literally be struggling for a last breath.

THE HEATING PROBLEM

The increasing carbon dioxide in the air gradually warms the oceans and could, it is feared, eventually melt the polar ice caps at a rate fast enough to flood the coasts of our continents. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, counselor to President Nixon, warned here this week that the atmosphere's carbon dioxide content would grow 25 per cent by the year 2000.

Professor Ehrlich believes the heating problem is so grave that by the 21st century we shall have to prohibit the use of any fuel for transportation. If men are still here, that is.

When one understands that this is not the talk of cranks, the reaction is semireligious: wonder at the tiny concerns of race and nation that still divide us. It all raises the ancient question: Will man ever have the political skill to match his emotional and intellectual power?

There are beginning political efforts to face the ecological consequences. Mr. Moynihan was here for one, NATO's new Committee on Challenges of Modern Society. It is pathetic groping so far, but there is some hope in the signs that young people everywhere are deeply concerned.

The thought of doom is difficult for anyone to take in, intellectually. It is so large that the individual tends to feel helpless. But individual concern for the preservation of life, starting at the humblest local level in resistance to some new assault on our surroundings, may be the only means to a larger political response.

Like Dr. Darling in his discussion group, we have on our consciences the knowledge that we are "among the fortunate, living in a still beautiful world."

AN OPTIMISTIC LOOK AT PACIFICATION IN VIETNAM

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, those of us who support the President's policy in Vietnam realize that its ultimate success hinges on the ability of the Vietnamese to assume the major burden of the conflict. In this regard, there have been a number of encouraging signs in recent weeks. I was privileged to receive an especially optimistic report from Mr. Richard Hretz, a resident of my congressional district and a Deputy provincial senior adviser with the U.S. Agency for International Development, who has just returned from Vietnam. I call my colleagues attention to the following article which appeared in the Royal Oak, Mich., Daily Tribune, based on an interview by Mr. Hretz:

NIXON "PACIFICATION" WORKING, SAYS VISITING VIET ADVISER

(By Evelyn Dysarz)

In the South Vietnamese twilight, a U.S. official watched distant flames engulf hillside hamlets.

The fires, set by Viet Cong to terrorize the mountain folk of northern Phouc Long province, also illuminated the problems facing former-Detroiter Richard Hretz. His job was to develop the economic, social and political fabric of South Vietnam despite the war.

"In my last five or six months we had almost got the problem licked," he said. "The people were coming to us for advice rather than us going to them."

"The 'pacification' program has been going very well since Nixon took over. There's been a change of emphasis from the (American) ambassador on down.

"The new name of the game is to advise the Vietnamese, but let them decide and do it. Before we would decide and build whatever was needed."

Hretz told of his two-year stay in Vietnam when he brought his wife and six children to visit her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Charles W. Lynch of Royal Oak.

Hretz is a deputy provincial senior adviser with the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) in Vietnam. While there, his wife and children, then ranging in age from three months to nine years, live in Bangkok, Thailand.

"The normal things we would do in peacetime, such as building schools and establishing a sound political base and economic growth, we have to do under war conditions," said the 40-year-old Hretz.

"We were also responsible for training of villagers for defense of their village."

American military, Vietnamese and American civilians made up the AID program in Vietnam, he said.

TEACH TO HELP SELF

Under the "pacification" program, the officials also advised the Vietnamese how to provide public works services for themselves.

AID gave each village the equivalent of \$8,000 after all village officials were elected and the village's defense, called Regional Forces, formed, he said. Use of the money, which could buy fertilizer for a growing season or finance water wells, was left up to the villagers.

"It took up to three months to convince some elected chiefs they could use the money

freely," he said. "Some didn't want to spend the money because of their tremendous fear of failure, of losing face."

Two Vietnam provinces where he was stationed, both in the northern part of the country, provide studies in contrast.

FLAT FARMLAND

While in the province of Long Khang during the last part of his two-year stint, "enemy activity dropped off drastically," he said. "We were able to provide 100 per cent protection to the population" of that flat farmland area, he said.

The province, populated by Catholics who fled from North Vietnam in 1954, was 95 per cent self-sufficient, he said. Giant strides in schools, roads and the planting of a high-yield hybrid rice were made in the strongly anti-Communist province, he said.

Viet Cong activity fell off for two reasons, said Hretz. One was the introduction of the 4,000 soldiers in the 199th Light Infantry Brigade. The other comes from the attitude of Viet Cong who believe they are "winning the war on the streets of the U.S. although losing it in Vietnam. They believe they will get their goal anyway," he said.

MOUNTAIN AREA

Before coming to Long Khang, Hretz was stationed in 1968 in Phouc Long province, the mountainous home of the Montagnard tribes. There he watched the fires burn peasant villages.

South Vietnamese control of the northern province consisted of four city enclaves which were surrounded by mountains, lush "four-tier" thick jungles and Viet Cong. Helicopters connected the friendly dots on the provincial map.

In Phouc Long, said Hretz, the "struggle was to stay alive and protect the people." Ninety per cent of the population huddled into the four cities, he said, and depended on welfare for food and clothing.

BARELY SCRATCHED

"If ever there is peace, Vietnam would be a wonderful place for economic development. We've barely scratched the surface now."

With peace, Hretz sees the U.S. combat soldier leaving and the military adviser staying. "The people really must deal with the Viet Cong themselves. It's a local problem. The Viet Cong would have to fit into the political fabric or be controlled legally."

If given a free choice, Hretz thinks the South Vietnamese will form some type of democracy. They believe in the basic self-determination, he said. There would be no self-determination if the National Liberation Front ran the country, he said, but rather a "Stalinist" type of political orthodoxy.

BUDDHIST ORIENTED

"The people have a Buddhist-oriented mind which is very hard to understand," said Hretz. "They are very practical. They will accept the best they can achieve now. What they can take today, they will, and wait for tomorrow for the rest. But they never give up their ideals."

Hretz said, therefore, the Viet Cong would probably allow themselves to live under a democratic government and bide their time.

CAN ANYONE RUN A CITY?

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, while dismay mounts over the deterioration of the Nation's inner cities, the mayors who must handle the problems generated by

this deterioration have had to bear a massive amount of criticism. In many cases, the criticism is leveled at these administrators with little consideration given to a rather looming question: "Can anyone run a city?"

Mr. Gus Tyler, a most gifted and perceptive writer, a close friend of mine for many years, took a most interesting and informative approach to this question not too long ago. Mr. Tyler, assistant president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and author of "The Political Imperative: The Corporate Character of Unions," presented an article which I feel is extremely insightful.

Since I feel that each one of us here, and virtually every American citizen has a stake in the future of our cities, I would like to extend my remarks to include Gus Tyler's article from the Saturday Review in the RECORD:

CAN ANYONE RUN A CITY?

(By Gus Tyler)

Can anyone run a city? For scores of candidates who have run for municipal office across the nation this week, the reply obviously is a rhetorical yes. But if we are to judge by the experiences of many mayors whose terms have brought nothing but failure and despair, the answer must be no. "Our association has had a tremendous casualty list in the past year," noted Terry D. Schruck, mayor of Portland, Oregon, and president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors. "When we went home from Chicago in 1968, we had designated thirty-nine mayors to sit in places of leadership. . . . Today, nearly half of them are either out of office or going out . . . most of them by their own decision not to run again." Since that statement, two of the best mayors in the country—Jerome P. Cavanagh of Detroit and Richard C. Lee of New Haven—have chosen not to run again.

Why do mayors want out? Because, says Mayor Joseph M. Barr of Pittsburgh, "the problems are almost insurmountable. Any mayor who's not frustrated is not thinking." Thomas G. Currihan, former mayor of Denver, having chucked it all in mid-term, says he hopes "to heaven the cities are not ungovernable, [but] there are some frightening aspects that would lead one to at least think along these lines." The scholarly Mayor Arthur Naftalin of Minneapolis adds his testimony: "Increasingly, the central city is unable to meet its problems. The fragmentation of authority is such that there isn't much a city can decide anymore: it can't deal effectively with education or housing."

Above all, the city cannot handle race. Cavanagh, Naftalin, and Lee—dedicated liberal doers all—were riot victims. Mayor A. W. Sorensen of Omaha had to confess that after he'd "gone through three-and-a-half years in this racial business," he'd had it.

Although frictions over race relations often ignite urban explosives, the cities of America—and the world—are proving ungovernable even where they are ethnically homogeneous. Tokyo is in hara-kiri, though racially pure. U Thant, in a statement to the U.N.'s Economic and Social Council, presented the urban problem as world-wide: "In many countries the housing situation . . . verges on disaster. . . . Throughout the developing world, the city is falling badly."

What is the universal malady of cities? The disease is density. Where cities foresaw density and planned accordingly, the situation is bad but tolerable. Where exploding populations hit unready urban areas, they are in disaster. Where ethnic and political conflict add further disorder, the disease appears terminal.

Some naturalists, in the age of urban crisis, have begun to study density as a disease. Crowded rats grow bigger adrenals, pouring out their juices in fear and fury. Crammed cats go through a "Fascist" transformation, with a "despot" at the top, "pariahs" at the bottom, and a general malaise in the community, where the cats, according to P. Leyhausen, "seldom relax, they never look at ease, and there is continuous hissing, growling, and even fighting."

How dense are the cities? The seven out of every ten Americans who live in cities occupy only 1 per cent of the total land area of the country. In the central city the situation is tighter, and in the inner core it is tightest. If we all lived as crushed as the blacks in Harlem, the total population of America could be squeezed into three of the five boroughs of New York City.

This density is, in part, a product of total population explosion. At some point the whole Earth will be as crowded as Harlem—or worse—unless we control births. But, right now, our deformity is due less to overall population than to the lopsided way in which we grow. In the 1950s, half of all the counties in the U.S. actually lost population; in the 1960s, four states lost population. Where did these people go? Into cities and metropolitan areas. By the year 2000, we will have an additional 100 million Americans, almost all of whom will end up in the metropolitan areas.

The flow of the population from soil to city has been underway for more than a century, turning what was once a rural nation into an urban one by the early 1900s. Likewise, the flow from city to suburb has been underway for almost half a century. "We shall solve the city problem by leaving the city," advised Henry Ford in a high-minded blurb for his flivver. But, in the past decade, the flow has become a flood. Modern know-how dispossessed millions of farmers, setting in motion a mass migration of ten million Americans from rural, often backward, heavily black and Southern counties to the cities. They carried with them all the upset of the uprooted, with its inherent ethnic and economic conflict. American cities, like Roman civilization, were hit by tidal waves of modern Vandals. Under the impact of this new rural-push/urban-pull, distressed city dwellers started to move—then to run—out. Hence, the newest demographic dynamic; urban-push and suburban-pull. In the 1940s, half the metropolitan increase was in the suburbs; in the 1950s, it was two-thirds; in the 1960s, the central cities stopped growing while the suburbs boomed.

Not only people left the central city; but jobs, too, thereby creating a whole new set of economic and logistic problems. Industrial plants (the traditional economic ladder for new ethnic populations) began to flee the city in search of space for factories with modern horizontal layouts. Between 1945 and 1965, 63 per cent of all new industrial building took place outside the core. At present, 75 to 80 per cent of new jobs in trade and industry are situated on the metropolitan fringe. In the New York metropolitan area from 1951 to 1965, 127,753 new jobs were located in the city while more than three times that number (387,873) were located in the suburbs. In the Philadelphia metropolis, the city lost 49,461 jobs, while the suburbs gained 215,296. For the blue-collar worker who could afford to move to the suburbs or who could commute (usually by car) there were jobs. For those who were stuck in the city, the alternatives were work in small competitive plants hungry for cheap labor and no work at all.

Ironically, the worthwhile jobs that did locate in the cities were precisely those most unsuited for people of the inner core, namely, white collar clerical, administrative, and executive positions. These jobs lo-

cate in high-rise office buildings with their vertical complexes of cubicles, drawing to them the more affluent employees who live in the outskirts and suburbs.

This dislocation of employment, calling for daily commuter migrations, has helped turn the automobile from a solution into a problem as central cities have become stricken with auto-immobility; in midtown New York, the vehicular pace has been reduced from 11.5 mph in 1907 to 6 mph in 1963. To break the traffic jam, cities have built highways, garages, and parking lots that eat up valuable (once taxable) space in their busy downtowns: 55 per cent of the land in central Los Angeles, 50 per cent in Atlanta, 40 per cent in Boston, 30 per cent in Denver. All these "improvements," however, encourage more cars to come and go, leaving the central city poorer, not better.

Autos produce auto-intoxication: poisoning of the air. While the car is not the only offender (industry causes about 18 per cent of pollution; electric generators, 12 per cent; space heaters 6 per cent; refuse disposal, 2.5 per cent), it is the main menace spewing forth 60 per cent of all the atmospheric filth. In 1966, a temperature inversion in New York City—fatefully coinciding with a national conference on air pollution—brought on eighty deaths. In 1952, in London, 4,000 people died during a similar atmospheric phenomenon.

The auto also helped to kill mass transit, the rational solution to the commuter problem. The auto drained railroads of passengers; to make up the loss, the railroads boosted fares; as fares went up, more passengers turned to autos; faced with bankruptcy, lines fell behind in upkeep, driving passengers to anger and more autos. Between 1950 and 1963, a dozen lines quit the passenger business; of the 500 inter-city trains still in operation, fifty have applied to the ICC for discontinuance. Meanwhile, many treat their passengers as if they were freight.

Regional planners saw this coming two generations ago and proposed networks of mass transportation. But the auto put together its own lobby to decide otherwise: auto manufacturers, oil companies, road builders, and politicians who depend heavily on the construction industry for campaign contributions.

The auto is even falling in its traditional weekend role as the means to get away. On a hot August weekend this year, Jones Beach had to close down for a full hour, because 60,000 cars tried to get into parking lots with a capacity of 24,000. The cars moved on to the Robert Moses State Park and so jammed the 6,000-car lot there as to force a two-hour shutdown.

Overcrowding of the recreation spots is due not only to more people with more cars but to the pollution of waters by the dumping of garbage—another by-product of metropolitan density.

Viewed in the overall, our larger metropolises with their urban and suburban areas are repeating the gloomy evolution of our larger cities. When Greater New York was composed of Manhattan (then New York) and the four surrounding boroughs, the idea was to establish a balanced city: a crowded center surrounded by villages and farms. In the end, all New York became cityfied. Likewise, the entire metropolitan area is becoming urbanized with the suburbanite increasingly caught up in the city tangle.

The flow from city to suburb does not, surprisingly, relieve crowding within the central city, even in those cases where the city population is no longer growing. The same number of people—especially in the poor areas—have fewer places to live. In recent years, some 12,000 buildings that once housed about 60,000 families in New York City have been abandoned, with tenants being dispossessed by derelicts and rats; 3,000 more buildings are expected to be abandoned this year.

The story of these buildings, in a city such as New York, reads like a Kafkaesque comedy. For the city to tear down even one of these menaces involves two to four years of red tape; to get possession of the land takes another two to four years. Meanwhile, the wrecks are inhabited by human wrecks preparing their meals over Sterno cans that regularly set fire to the buildings. By law, the fire department is then charged with the responsibility of risking men's lives to put out the fire, which they usually can do. However, when the flames get out of hand, other worthy buildings are gutted, leaving whole blocks of charred skeletons—victims of the quiet riot.

Other dwellings are being torn down by private builders to make way for high-rise luxury apartments and commercial structures. Public action has destroyed more housing than has been built in all federally aided programs. As a result, the crowded are more crowded than ever. Rehabilitation instead of renewal doesn't work. New York City tried it only to discover that rehabilitation costs \$38 a square foot—a little more than new luxury housing.

The result of all this housing decay and destruction (plus FHA money to encourage more affluent whites to move to the suburbs) has been, says the National Commission on Urban Problems, "to intensify racial and economic stratification of America's urban areas."

While ghetto cores turn into ghost towns, the ghetto fringes, flare out. The crime that oozes through the sores of the diseased slum chases away old neighbors, a few of whom can make it to the suburbs; the rest seek refuge in the "urban villages" of the low-income whites. Cities become denser and tenser than they were. In the process, these populous centers of civilization become—like Europe during the Dark Ages—the bloody soil on which armed towns wage their inevitable wars over a street, a building, a hole in the wall. Amid this troubled terrain, the free-lance criminal adds to the anarchy.

All these problems (plus welfare, schooling, and militant unions of municipal employees) hit the mayors at a time when, according to the National Commission on Urban Problems, "there is a crisis of urban government finance . . . rooted in conditions that will not disappear but threaten to grow and spread rapidly." The "roots" of the "crisis"? The mayor starts with a historic heavy debt burden. His power to tax and borrow is often tethered by a rural-minded state legislature. He has lost many of the city's wealthy payers to the suburbs. His levies on property (small homes) and sales are prodding Mr. Middle to a tax revolt. The bigger (richer) the city is, the worse off it is. As population increases, per capita cost of running a city goes up—not down: density makes for frictions that demand expensive social lubricants. Municipalities of 100,000 to 299,000 spend \$14.60 per person on police; those of 300,000 to 490,000 spend \$18.33; and those of 500,000 to one million spend \$21.88. New York City spends \$39.83. On hospitalization, the first two categories spend \$5 to \$8 per person; those over 500,000 spend \$12.54; New York spends \$55.19.

Expanding the economy of a city does not solve the problem; it makes it worse. Several scholarly studies have come up with this piece of empiric pessimism: If the gross income of a city goes up 100 per cent, revenue rises only 90 per cent, and expenditures rise 110 per cent. Consequently, when a city's economy grows, the city's budget is in a worse fix than before. This diseconomy of bigness and richness applies even when cities merely limit themselves to prior levels of services. But cities, unable to cling to this inadequate past, have had to step up services to meet the rising expectations of city dwellers.

The easy out for a mayor is to demand

that the federal coffers take over cost or hand over money. But is that the real answer? The federal income tax as presently levied falls most heavily on an already embittered middle class—our alienated majority. Unable to push this group any harder and unwilling to "soak the rich," an administration, such as President Nixon's, comes up with revenue-sharing toothpicks with which to shore up mountains. Nixon has proposed half a billion for next year and \$5-billion by 1975, while urban experts see a need for \$20- to \$50-billion each year for the next decade. A Senate committee headed by Senator Abe Ribicoff calls for a cool trillion.

But even if a trillion were forthcoming, it might be unable to do the job. To build, a city must rebuild: bulldoze buildings, re-direct highways, clear for mass transportation, remake streets—a tough task. But even tougher, a city must bulldoze people who are rigidified in resistant economic and political enclaves. The total undertaking could be more difficult than resurrecting a Phoenix that was already nothing but a heap of ashes.

What powers does a mayor bring to these complex problems? Very few. Many cities have a weak mayor setup, making him little more than a figurehead. If he has power, he lacks money. If he has power and money, he must find real—not symbolic—solutions to problems in the context of a density that turns "successes" into failures. If a mayor can, miraculously, come up with comprehensive plans, they will have to include a region far greater than the central city where he reigns.

A mayor must try to do all this in an era of political retrialism, when communities are demanding more, not less, say over the governance of their little neighborhoods. In this hour, when regional government is needed to cope with the many problems of the metropolitan area as a unity, the popular mood is to break up and return power to those warring factions—racial, economic, religious, geographic—that have in numerous cases turned a city into a no man's land.

Is there then no hope? There is—if we put less within present cities and start planning a national push-pull to decongest urban America. Our answer is not in new mayors but in new cities; not in urban renewal but in urban "newal," to use planner Charles Abrams' felicitous word.

We cannot juggle the 70 per cent of the American people around on 1 per cent of the land area to solve the urban mess. We are compelled to think in terms of new towns and new cities planned for placement and structure by public action with public funds. "All of the urbanologists agree," reported *Time* amidst the 1967 riot months, "that one of the most important ways of saving cities is simply to have more cities." The National Committee on Urban Growth Policy proposed this summer that the federal government embark on a program to create 110 new cities (100 having a population of 100,000, and ten even larger) over the next three decades. At an earlier time, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations proposed a national policy on urban growth, to use our vast untouched stock of land to "increase, rather than diminish Americans' choices of places and environments," to counteract our present "diseconomics of scale involved in continuing urban concentration, the locational mismatch of jobs and people, the connection between urban and rural poverty problems, and urban sprawl."

New towns would set up a new dynamic. In the central cities, decongestion could lead to real urban renewal, starting with the clearing of the ghost blocks where nobody lives and ending with open spaces or even some of those dreamy "cities within a city."

The new settlements could be proving grounds for all those exciting ideas of city planners whose proposals have been frustrated by present structures—physical and political. "Obsolete practices such as standard zoning, parking on the street, school busing, on-street loading, and highway clutter could all be planned out of a new city," notes William E. Finley in the Urban Growth report. These new towns (cities) could bring jobs, medicine, education, and culture to the ghost towns in rural America, located in the counties that have lost population—and income—in the past decades. Finally, a half-century project for new urban areas would pick up the slack in employment when America, hopefully, runs out of wars to fight.

The cost would be great, but no greater than haphazard private developments that will pop up Topsy-like to accommodate the added 100 million people who will crowd America by the year 2000. Right now we grow expensively by horizontal or vertical accretion. We sprawl onto costly ground, bought up by speculators and builders looking for a fast buck. Under a national plan, the federal government could buy up a store of ground in removed places at low cost or use present government lands. Where private developers reach out for vertical space, they erect towers whose building costs go up geometrically with every additional story. On the other hand, as city planners have been pointing out for a couple of decades, "It has been proved over and over again by such builders as Levitt, Burns, and Bohannon" that efficient mass production of low-risers "can and do produce better and cheaper houses." Cliff dwellings cost more than split-levels.

The idea of new towns is not untested. "There is little precedent in this country, but ample precedent abroad," notes the Committee on Urban Growth. "Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries—all have taken a direct hand in land and population development in the face of urbanization, and all can point to examples of orderly growth that contrast sharply with the American metropolitan ooze." To the extent that the U.S. has created new communities it has done so as by-products: Norris, Tennessee, was built for TVA to house men working on a dam; Los Alamos, Oak Ridge, and Hanford were built for the Atomic Energy Commission "to isolate its highly secret operations."

What then is the obstacle to this new-cities idea? It runs contrary to the traditional wisdom that a) where cities are located, they should be located, and b) that the future ought to be left to private enterprise. Both thoughts are a hangover from a hang-up with *laissez faire*, a Panglossian notion that what is, is best.

The fact is, however, that past reasons for locating cities no longer hold—at least, not to the same extent. Once cities grew up at rural crossroads; later at the meeting of waters; still later at railroad junctions; then near sources of raw material. But today, as city planner Edgardo Contini testified before a Congressional committee, these reasons are obsolete. "Recent technological and transportation trends—synthesis rather than extraction of materials, atomic rather than hydroelectric or thermoelectric power, air rather than rail transportation—all tend to expand the opportunities for location of urban settlements." Despite this, the old cities, by sheer weight of existence, become a magnetic force drawing deadly densities.

Furthermore, concluded Mr. Contini and a host of others, "the scale of the new cities program is too overwhelming for private initiative alone to sustain, and its purposes and implications are too relevant to the country's future to be relinquished to the profit motive alone." The report of the Urban Growth Committee stresses the limited impact of new towns put up by private developers such as

Columbia, Maryland and Reston, Virginia. "They are, and will be, in the first place, few in number, serving only a tiny fraction of total population growth. A new town is a 'patient' investment, requiring large outlays long before returns begin; it is thus a non-competitive investment in a tight money market. Land in town-size amounts is hard to find and assemble without public powers of eminent domain. Privately developed new towns, moreover, by definition must serve the market, which tends to fill them with housing for middle- to upper-income families rather than the poor."

The choice before America is really not between new cities and old. Population pressure will force outward expansion. But by present drift, this will be unplanned accretion—plotted for quick profit rather than public need. What is needed is national concern for the commonwealth in the location and design of new cities: a kind of inner space program.

VETERANS DAY IN WOODBRIDGE,
N.J.

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, the Veterans Day ceremony on November 11, 1969, honoring the 300th anniversary of Woodbridge Township in New Jersey will long be remembered. Woodbridge has a population of 110,000, and the Veterans Alliance under Comdr. John Keitel really outdid themselves.

The festivities were covered by the National Broadcasting System and received much attention in the press throughout the metropolitan area. My good friend, the Honorable Joseph Nemyo, president of the municipal council, was master of ceremonies, and of course, the Honorable Dr. Ralph P. Barone, mayor of Woodbridge, was on hand for the ceremony which included a history of the new memorial park by Mr. Herbert Blitch, liaison officer with the Veterans Alliance. The dedication of the park was then conducted by Mr. Frank Murphy, director of parks and recreation for Woodbridge, who was assisted by Mayor Barone and Capt. Jack H. Jacobs. This park will certainly add to the beauty of this city with its recreation area and the beautiful water fountain. This fountain, surrounded by a circle of flags, is indeed a fitting tribute to our veterans.

The program was further enhanced by the music of the Woodbridge Senior High School Band under the able leadership of Casimir Urbanski. Any town would have been proud to have these young people represent them.

One high spot of the ceremonies was the honors paid to Capt. Jack H. Jacobs, who received the Congressional Medal of Honor at the White House in a ceremony on October 9. I was thrilled to take part in the presentations to Captain Jacobs by reading the citation issued by President Nixon praising Jacobs for his "conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action at the risk of his life." The grateful residents and organizations of Woodbridge further honored this young man

by presenting him with a new 1970 automobile and a check for \$1,200 to close out his student loan. The captain had graduated from Rutgers—the State University in 1966.

Rabbi Harold Richtman and members of his Congregation Beth Sholom of Iselin, N.J., shared in the honors to Captain Jacobs by dedicating a religious school in his honor.

This was indeed a fitting Veterans Day celebration for the 300th birthday of Woodbridge Township. It will be an occasion long remembered by the proud citizens of this community.

WELCOME TREND

HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. Speaker, last week the House actually approved the OEO program. I wish to draw attention to Senator GEORGE MURPHY's amendment to the war on poverty bill which I think is appropo to bring government closer to the people. I submit, for the RECORD, an editorial from the Los Angeles Herald Examiner of December 15, which I think very well describes the situation surrounding the Murphy amendment. The editorial is as follows:

WELCOME TREND

Sen. George Murphy's amendment to the War on Poverty bill is giving liberals the jitters. Because legal aid provisions of the anti-poverty program have strayed far from the Act's original intent of giving legal assistance to the poor and indigent, Murphy successfully added an amendment which would give governors the power to veto, in whole or in part, legal service projects within their states.

Now the House of Representatives is considering expanding the Murphy amendment to permit governors to veto other aspects of the War on Poverty programs in their states.

Murphy objects to the use of federal tax dollars to file costly and complex lawsuits to advance ideologies which the taxpayers of California must pay to defend.

Among these is a lawsuit arising from the Venice Beach "live-in" last spring. Tax dollars are financing that suit against the Los Angeles Police Department, and tax dollars, in turn, must be used to finance the defense.

Another local example of this "double squeeze" on taxpayers is a lawsuit filed to block redevelopment of the canals in Venice. Taxpayers will foot the huge legal costs on both sides of the case.

In case after case, the poor and indigent are used merely as impersonal instruments to try to effect so-called law reform.

There are other instances of the misuse of funds. For example, the legal aid filed for an injunction to force a school to close so that its students could participate in a Vietnam War moratorium march. Certainly this has nothing to do with the poor and indigent.

Some feel that if the Murphy amendment is extended, the War on Poverty program will die. It is an expected bureaucratic cry.

But the governor of a state is closer to the situation than a bureaucrat dispensing tax dollars from Washington. If a governor feels federal funds are being wasted, he will

be doing his nation a service by vetoing such largess for his state.

If the poverty program fails because the money isn't helping eliminate poverty, the program is to blame, not the governor who vetoes it.

Murphy's amendment is a welcome trend to bring government closer to the people.

DECISION ON THIRD AIRPORT FOR CHICAGO SOON

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, a major decision soon must be made involving a third airport to serve the Chicago Metropolitan area and the site has been the subject of tremendous speculation. Mayor Richard J. Daley is reported to favor construction of an airport in Lake Michigan.

Personally, I believe the third Chicago area airport should be located in present wide-open space located southwest of Cook County in Will County, Ill. However, it is not my intention to emphasize my opinion but rather to insert into the RECORD an editorial carried over WIND Radio—Chicago—on Wednesday, December 10, which effectively points out the pitfalls of the proposed Lake Michigan site:

THE THIRD AIRPORT

(By Philip E. Nolan)

There is increased speculation that the decision has already been made as to where Chicago's third airport will be located. Word is the powers that be want it on Lake Michigan. WIND thinks this is precisely the wrong place.

The idea, apparently, is to construct the airport 8½ miles out in the Lake off 55th Street. It requires little imagination to see this creates more problems than solutions. To name a few: interference with traffic patterns at O'Hare and Midway and the shutdown of Meigs Field. Fog and general weather conditions and the fact that such a location would create the grand champion traffic problem of all time on the South Outer Drive.

A major jumbo jet airport 8½ miles from the Lakefront will bring noise, pollution and disruption to this irreplaceable, natural resource. The Lake is already threatened with extinction by pollution. It doesn't need any additional threats.

Airports are a fact of modern life. Chicago's third airport belongs on land located as far from population centers as possible with swift public transportation available. Before the Lake Plan can be approved, it must be okehed by Chicago City Planners, the airlines and the Federal Aviation Agency. More important perhaps, it requires federal money, because landing fees won't provide enough revenue. That's your answer.

If you oppose building the airport on the Lake, write to Mayor Daley, Senator Percy and Governor Ogilvie. They have the power to block this plan. Convenience, necessity, or economics mean absolutely nothing when compared to our environment. Once that is gone, no amount of money in the world will bring it back.

WIND opposes the construction of an airport on the Lake.

JAMES A. FARLEY

HON. JAMES J. DELANEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable James A. Farley, chairman of the board of the Coca-Cola Export Corp., and former Postmaster General of the United States, has contributed significantly over the years to the dynamic development of this Nation. An astute and intimate Presidential adviser, and a preeminent political tactician, his role in history is secure.

I think my colleagues might find of interest some footnotes to history contributed by "Genial Jim" Farley, which were outlined in three recent articles concerning him. Under leave to extend my remarks, the articles by Bill Rives, of the Denton, Tex., Record-Chronicle; another from the Spring Valley, N.Y., News-Leader-Independent; and a third by Celestine Sibley, of the Atlanta Journal and Constitution, follow:

[From the Denton (Tex.) Record-Chronicle, Oct. 1, 1969]

JAMES A. FARLEY

(By Bill Rives)

It was difficult to believe the man was 81 years old—James A. Farley—standing there with an almost military bearing, clear-eyed, alert, responsive, showing a keen sense of humor and an irresistible charm.

Jim Farley is generally considered to be the most successful political manager in history. He was the floor general when the Democratic National Convention nominated Franklin D. Roosevelt the first time.

And he was national Democratic chairman in two campaigns.

Farley finally broke with Roosevelt after FDR decided to run for a third term and also decided to purge party members who opposed his views.

At a dinner Monday night in Hubbard Hall, Farley told a number of anecdotes and revealed interesting personal items. He said "I could talk all night," and the enthralled dinner guests would have been happy if he had done so.

Farley was a business man-politician. He still is, but not, of course, to the degree he once was. He was in Denton to visit his granddaughter, Carole Montgomery, a freshman student at Texas Woman's University.

Farley recalled that in 1939, when the Nazis were on their rise to power in Germany, he was talking in Warsaw to the Polish foreign minister, Josef Beck.

Farley said he asked the minister "If I may be so indiscreet, I'd like to ask you a question. What do you think of Hitler?"

The minister said "The question is not indiscreet, but the answer would be."

Recalling the days when he was postmaster general, Farley said he once poured a can of Carnation milk on the cornerstone of a post office at Oconomowoc, Wis., where there is a Carnation plant.

In his rambling remarks and answers to questions, Farley recounted the names of the universities from which he had received honorary degrees. It sounded like a travelogue of the United States, and the number added up to an astounding 25.

This wasn't bad for a fellow who got his high school diploma only a few months ago.

Farley said he was valedictorian in his class of 1905 in Stony Point, New York.

There were only three in the class, Miss

Norma Bower, Miss Edna Goetchlus and myself.

In those days it was necessary to have at least eight counts in Mathematics and eight counts in English, first and second year. The person who checked my second year in English examination marked my paper down from seventy-eight which was over the passing grade to seventy-three which prevented me from receiving my Regents' diploma that year.

Some months ago Farley saw Education Commissioner James V. Allen, Jr., who was then Commissioner of Education of the State of New York, "I told him I had a bone to pick with him, and related my story."

Several months later Farley received a call from Commissioner Allen advising him that the present Board of Regents had decided to give him a diploma, and they made a personal visit to his business office and presented it to him. "Today" he said "the diploma is in the library of the James A. Farley Junior High School, named for me in my home town of Stony Point."

Farley said he thinks the New York Times is the greatest newspaper in the world, "although I do seriously disagree with much of their editorial policy."

One time in Memphis, when he was urging the people of Tennessee to appeal to the members of their legislature to vote for the repeal of the 18th Amendment his walk took him past the downtown post office. He stopped and decided to look around inside. It was evening but there were a couple of windows open.

Farley went up to one of the windows and said "I'm Jim Farley. I'd like to look around the post office."

The postal clerk turned and muttered to a fellow worker: "Some damfool named Jim Farley wants to look around the post office."

His associates told him he would lose his job because of his reference to him, but Farley laughed out loud about it and assured the man his job was safe.

[From the Spring Valley (N.Y.) News/Leader/Independent, Oct. 29, 1969]

FARLEY SEES FIGHT FOR POSTAL REFORM

Spry and active for his 81 years, former Postmaster General James A. Farley returned to Rockland County for the second time in two weeks to present a self-portrait to the Rockland Historical Society.

The painting was hung in a place of honor in the old colonial home on Kings Highway which serves as the Society's headquarters and museum.

Although Farley came solely to present the painting, an alert News/Leader/Independent reporter persuaded FDR's post office head to comment on the proposals now before Congress to convert the postal system to corporate ownership. Farley didn't think much of the idea.

"If the Congress gives the Post Office more money for new buildings and new equipment that they need, I feel the post office system can be improved from within the government."

Many post office buildings in Rockland County were constructed with P.W.A. funds and bear Farley's name on their plaques.

MONEY A PROBLEM

According to Farley, money is a problem for the post office today, while during the Depression funds were available. "I was able to get a sufficient amount of money appropriated to the post office system," Farley said, "since then the appropriations have dropped." He blames the drying up of funds on defense requirements which of necessity soaks up as much money as possible from Congress.

"The Army Engineers have the strongest lobby in Washington," Farley says, and a vast amount of money is appropriated

through their efforts." The Congress is under a lot of pressure from defense—this tends to leave out appropriations for the Post Office.

Farley predicts quite a struggle ahead for the proponents of HR 11750, the radical reform bill which places the post office in the hands of a board of directors, operating with the mandate to make all classes of service pay their own way. "I think its going to be quite a struggle," he said.

Farley glanced for a moment at the portrait of a much younger, dapper fellow in a double-breasted suit staring at him from the canvas.

"I don't recognize that man at all," he said.

[From the Atlanta Journal and Constitution, Nov. 16, 1969]

BIG JIM FARLEY: HE REVEALS NEW DETAILS OF THE ROOSEVELT RIFT

(By Celestine Sibley)

Big Jim Farley received his high school diploma a few months ago.

He was thrilled because he's been feeling wistful about not having it since 1905 when he was valedictorian in a class of three at Stony Point, N.Y., High School. It also eased explanations to his three children and 10 grandchildren.

So he framed the diploma and showed it around, having his picture taken with it several times. But in the end Mr. Farley didn't hang it either in his apartment in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel or in the Madison Avenue office where he holds forth as chairman of the board of The Coca-Cola Export Corporation.

There wasn't room, what with an 81-year accumulation of other things—pictures of presidents and governors and the like—and 25 honorary degrees from the nation's leading colleges and universities.

"They named the new Stony Point junior high school for me—the James A. Farley Junior High School," Mr. Farley related. "So I gave them my diploma."

The belated acquisition of that diploma is one of many small, warm details of living that keep the big—6 feet 2 inches—Irishman, who has been known as America's "Mr. Democrat" for 50 years, happy and optimistic through another Republican administration. (He's also sustained by the conviction that the Republicans are in for a short run to be succeeded in due season by either Hubert Humphrey or Edmund Muskie.)

He salts his conversation with anecdotes and he chuckled with pleasure as he related the diploma anecdote recently.

"I was sitting next to James E. Allen Jr. at some honorary degree-giving a year ago last March," he recalled. "He was head of the Board of Regents of New York at that time. Now he's President Nixon's U.S. commissioner of education. I told him I had a bone to pick with him."

The "bone" was that back in 1905 when young Jim Farley was preparing to deliver his valedictory address for the senior class, "two girls and myself," at Stony Point High, the board of regents reduced his grade in English by several points, rendering him ineligible for a diploma. He made the speech and felt "graduated" but he has never been able to explain the lack of a diploma to his education-minded young.

He related this to Mr. Allen mostly in fun but to his surprise and delight a few months ago the diploma arrived.

Without a doubt the new U.S. commissioner of education was as delighted with the press which the deferred diploma got as was the recipient, for "Genial Jim" Farley is a man who has a natural deftness, an ease with other human beings that win him friends wherever he goes. I know because a few weeks ago I mentioned Mr. Farley's days

as postmaster general almost in passing in a column about a couple of lost packages.

Right away he wrote me a brief but graceful little thank-you note, to be followed with other notes as friends sent him more clippings and Rep. James J. Delaney of New York had the column read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. In substance, Mr. Farley seemed pleased because the column "brought back memories of those never-to-be-forgotten years that I served as postmaster general." He promised to call me on the next of his thrice-a-year visits to Atlanta—and he did the day he arrived in town to attend the Coca-Cola bottlers convention.

"Then it's true, that legend about you, that you never forget a name?" I asked Mr. Farley.

He smiled. "I don't know about 'never,'" he said. "I'm interested in remembering names of people, I suppose. And I feel that I have been blessed with a pretty good memory."

Did he remember the names of the hundreds of soft drink bottlers he saw at the convention?

"I didn't know them all," he countered. "Many times the bottler would be a new man but I usually knew his hometown and somebody there he would know."

One of the famous stories about Big Jim's memory is told of the first Franklin D. Roosevelt campaign when he made a whistle stop tour of the West, talking from the rear platform of a train. Mr. Farley was his campaign manager and at the end of one of Mr. Roosevelt's speeches somebody in the crowd, according to the story, yelled, "Hello, Jim!" and Big Jim yelled back, "Hello, Frank!" making a friend for life of a local citizen who had been bragging that he "knew" Jim Farley.

I asked Mr. Farley about the story.

"It's true," he said. "I had been getting letters from a fellow who worked as a railway mail clerk between Salt Lake City and San Francisco. The Literary Digest was conducting a poll on the presidential election and this clerk would read the postcards and tell me what they said."

Mr. Farley paused and shook his head. "He shouldn't have done it," he said. "But he did."

On that Western campaign swing with the future President, Mr. Farley hadn't thought much about his railway clerk pal until he saw a mail train pull up on another track and stop. When he heard that "Hello, Jim!" he couldn't see where the voice came from, he knew he wouldn't know the face if he saw it, so he "took a wild chance and said, 'Hello, Frank!'" hoping it was the mail clerk.

"Mr. Roosevelt asked me who it was," Mr. Farley remembered. "I told him what I've told you. He said, 'If you guessed right you'll be hearing from that fellow.' And I did."

Frank wrote a delighted thank-you. He had been bragging to his friends that he knew Jim Farley and the "Hello, Frank" had proved it. But the next communication wasn't so happy. The Roosevelt landslide, contrary to the Literary Digest's poll findings, resulted in the folding of that magazine and subsequently in the appointment of Big Jim Farley as postmaster general. The day Mr. Farley entered his new office he found a letter on the desk beginning, "Dear Jim, you've got to help me."

His railway clerk informant had been found out—a reader of and reporter on postcards. Disciplinary action was ordered but since his actions involved the brand-new postmaster general his superiors thought Mr. Farley should be consulted.

"It was very decent of them," said Mr. Farley wryly.

Being new in office he sought all the advice he could get from experienced hands and however they worked the problem out, "Frank" was relieved and sure his friend "Jim" had saved his hide. He continued to stay in touch, even after both he and Big Jim

had departed the postal service. He even asked Mr. Farley to help him get a post-retirement job, which he did, continuing to receive his "Dear Jim" letters until Frank's death.

It was the kind of loyalty people attribute to Mr. Farley and I asked him about that quality.

"If you haven't the virtue of loyalty you haven't anything," he said emphatically. "You owe loyalty first to your church, whatever it is, then to your family, your business and your party. Loyalty and truth are the most valuable attributes you can possess and you're not entitled to any credit for them."

Even after his famous third-term split with President Roosevelt, Mr. Farley remained loyal in what he considered the important sense. He opposed Roosevelt to the point of allowing his own name to be placed in nomination at the convention and when Roosevelt was nominated he resigned his post as postmaster general and national chairman of the Democratic Party. But he supported the party's nominee.

Asked if the split ruined their long-standing personal friendship, Mr. Farley let his eyes rest reflectively on the wall opposite the window in his suite at the Regency and sighed heavily.

"Yes," he said sadly. "It did. We were never close again."

After a moment's silence he resumed, "You know Mr. Roosevelt was really a superstitious man. At the end of both his previous campaigns Roosevelt and I had ridden to Madison Square Garden with him for his final speech. We hadn't been in touch on the 1940 campaign but as it was closing the President called me and asked me if I would go to the Garden with him on that last night. I said, 'You know I will.'"

Mr. Farley met the President's train and together they rode to Madison Square Garden and mounted the platform side by side. The audience went wild.

Although he has written a book and magazine articles about the now-famous rift with President Roosevelt, Mr. Farley said he had never before told of the time when the President summoned him back from Chicago to tell him he was going to run for the third term.

"When we were alone I called him 'Boss' and I said to him then, 'Boss, you knew this before. You could have told me before I went to Chicago.' He called me Shamus, which is Irish for James. He said, 'Shamus, I told you when I could.'"

Mr. Farley said people later said he wanted to be president himself but that was not true. He had believed Mr. Roosevelt would support Tennessee Cordell Hull.

"Shamus" Farley was "born a Democrat," the son of a Grassy Point, N.Y., Irish Democrat who was killed by a horse when James was 9 years old. All the poor people in town, laborers in the brickyards along the Hudson River, Irish and Italian, were Democrats. Ten per cent of the population, the professional people and more affluent farmers, were Republicans.

"I believed that what I have seen proven throughout the years—that the Democratic Party was the party most concerned with the great mass of people," Mr. Farley said. "There isn't much doubt that the Democrats are responsible for more beneficial legislation for all the elements in our country, laborers of all kinds, farmers, poor people who are seeking a better education."

Shortly after his father died Mr. Farley's mother scraped together \$1,500 and bought a grocery store with a saloon attached as a means of earning money to rear her six children. James worked in the saloon.

"I tapped many a keg of beer," he said, "cleaned many a bottle with buckshot."

But he never drank—or smoked.

"When I was confirmed at the age of 12 (in the Roman Catholic Church) I took a

pledge that I wouldn't drink or smoke until I was 21," he said. "By the time I was 21 I was taking an interest in politics, working in my election district, and my mother persuaded me that drinking or smoking should be passed up then. It sounds corny but I did promise my mother."

Mr. Farley is still strongly bound by family ties and family considerations. His wife, the former Elizabeth Finnegan, to whom he was married in 1920, died in 1955 and he has not remarried but continues to live in their Waldorf-Astoria apartment. His son and two daughters and their 10 children are close to him, calling him every Sunday night ("Collect!") to visit. When he travels abroad, as he does nearly every year, he likes to have at least one of his college-age grandchildren with him.

He doesn't feel particularly slowed down by the fact that he was 81 years old last May 30.

For exercise he walks "unless I'm in a hurry" and works, going to his Madison Avenue office every morning at 9 o'clock and working until 5 or 5:30 p.m. every weekday and dropping by for a while on Saturday morning.

And he remains generally cheerful and optimistic about the state of the world. The country will probably never face another depression like that he and President Roosevelt fought shoulder-to-shoulder, he thinks.

"We have ways of taking charge of depressions and recessions now—agencies and tools that we didn't know anything about before."

The war in Vietnam "overshadows everything," he thinks, and that and inflation may be the things that give "Mr. Nixon his moment of truth" in 1972.

A VOTE TO EASE THE TRANSIT PROBLEM

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, I give my wholehearted support to H.R. 14646, a bill designed to improve commuter passenger service between New York City and New Haven, Conn.

While much more remains to be done, I believe H.R. 14646 is a step in the right direction. In my own district, transit facilities are badly lacking for residents of the north Bronx and for those living in large apartment complexes known as Parkchester and Co-Op City.

Enactment of this bill paves the way for the formation of a Connecticut-New York interstate compact that would provide railroad passenger service on the lines of the former New Haven Railroad, now Penn Central, between New York City and New Haven, Conn. It also would provide possibilities for future transportation facilities to alleviate the pressing problem of inadequate rapid transit between cities as well as between boroughs within New York City. The compact would combine the Metropolitan Transportation Authority of New York and the Connecticut Transportation Authority as an intergovernmental agency.

The compact agencies would be authorized to acquire ownership of the railroad's assets or the right to use those assets as may be necessary for the continuation and improvement of passenger service. Further, the compact agencies would be authorized to apply for Fed-

eral, State, or local financial aid to supplement funds available to them for the operation of passenger service.

I regard H.R. 14646 as a worthy piece of legislation because it expresses an awareness of the commuter problem and proposes remedies for residents living in some sections of both New York City and Connecticut. It is my hope that we continue to tackle this problem in the future so that we relieve the burden for as many commuters as possible.

BANKING INSTITUTION EVALUATES PUBLIC PROGRAM

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, one of our major problems as legislators is securing unbiased evaluations of existing programs. While the Government spends vast sums for this purpose, too often we find that these departmental appraisals do not give us the entire picture.

I was, therefore, very pleased to see that one of America's greatest financial institutions, the First National City Bank of New York, through its public affairs committee, had directed its regional economics section to review public education in New York City. The entire cost of this survey and its publication was defrayed by the bank.

Mr. Thomas R. Wilcox, vice chairman of the First National City Bank, is very knowledgeable about governmental affairs. Through his chairmanship of the bank's public affairs committee he has directed its noted economists in evaluating our existing systems. Last year, this outstanding civic leader, had prepared a very valuable review of the antipoverty program.

These two reports were under the guidance of First National Bank's Vice President Jac Friedgut, a noted economist. Mr. Friedgut is a masters graduate of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public Affairs at Princeton. The study on public education was prepared principally by Economist Rosalind Landes.

While this review is one referring to New York City, I believe that many of its findings would be of value to most other metropolitan areas.

I noted the following quotation from the report that should be quite thought provoking to all of us concerned with educational needs:

Expenditures for each school include the amount of City and State money allocated to the school (exclusive of funds for capital improvements) and money from Federal aid, primarily funds under Title I and other provisions of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Per capita costs in the 150 schools with enrollments 90 per cent or more black and Puerto Rican averaged \$839 in 1967-68, ranging from a low of \$529 per pupil to a high of \$1,560.

Regardless of the variations in socioeconomic characteristics of the students in these 150 schools, there is no statistical correlation between the aggregate amounts of money spent per pupil and the improvement in reading scores from one year to the next. In other words, in these 150 schools, preliminary

evidence does not appear to indicate that an expenditure of one amount is any more effective in changing a pupil's level of achievement than an expenditure of another.

The lack of correlation in black/Puerto Rican schools between changes in achievement and the absolute level of quantitative factors such as higher-salaried experienced teachers or school equipment (as indicated by per capita cost figures) raises the question of whether or not continued indiscriminate funding of these items will in and of itself necessarily increase educational output proportionately.

An interesting case in point is the More Effective Schools (MES). These schools offer a particularly intensive combination of resources to prevent and compensate for academic failure. Like Special Service schools, additional teachers and equipment are supplied, although to a much greater extent. The 21 schools in the MES program (to be increased to 31 by the new United Federation of Teachers contract) provide a host of supportive and innovative services to the children. For example, class size is reduced to a maximum of 15 in kindergarten and the first grade, 20 in the second grade, and 22 in grades three through six. Extra teachers are made available as well as guidance and medical services. The objectives of MES are to enhance.

The First National City Bank report stressed the importance of high quality school principals and states that those principals with outstanding records should be given discretionary incentive funds for their schools.

I am hopeful that other financial institutions and industries might follow this very fine example of civic responsibility. With their great economists and financial experts, they can be of valuable service to the youth of this Nation.

The American Banker in a recent article by William Zimmerman points this out.

The article follows:

[From the American Banker, Nov. 25, 1969]
BUSINESS HAS THE BIGGEST STAKE IN IMPROVING QUALITY OF PUBLIC EDUCATION, FNCEB SAYS

(By William Zimmerman)

NEW YORK.—Business must undergo a radical change in its role in the educational system because it has the most to lose or gain by the quality of the schools, First National City Bank stated Monday.

In a 40-page study on public education in New York City—prepared as part of the bank's continuing exploration of urban problems—FNCEB calls for a two-pronged approach by business in regard to schools: to assist in the application of business methods to school problems and to establish a "link between the high schools and the world of work."

"Such an involvement, at a minimum, might consist of career guidance, placement assistance, and some measure of work-study programs," according to the study.

The bank observes that up to this point the major orientation of business in the high schools has been to assist in vocational education programs which emphasize preparing students for blue-collar jobs.

However, the problem posed by the changing structure of the economy of New York—and increasingly, those of other cities in the nation—is that blue-collar jobs increasingly are becoming obsolete.

"It would seem to make sense to reorient our concept of vocational education more towards white-collar training rather than some of the conventional manual skills," the study noted.

At a press briefing Monday, Jac Friedgut, vice president in charge of the bank's regional economics section, noted that "we'd like to see the emphasis, as far as vocational training is concerned, shift from shop courses, such as woodworking or metal working" to courses in which students learned to work the "best" and newest business machine equipment.

The study calls for different industry groups, such as banks, estate, insurance and accountants, to devise specific educational programs "where appropriate, jointly with the public school authorities for high school vocational training. This would involve joint planning on curriculum, training of teachers by business and mutual exposure. The specific programs would have to be on a scale relevant to the anticipated employment needs of the various industries.

As an example Mr. Friedgut suggested that a group, such as the brokerage industry, that needs more people might formulate a program with the New York City Board of Education or local governing school boards to satisfy their manpower needs.

Industry people who can explain brokerage transactions could go to the schools to tell the student what being a broker is all about, and help give direction to those students who might be inclined to go into the industry, rather than on to college.

"The essence of the whole idea is to establish a link between what the youngster is doing with himself in the high school and what type of job opportunity he has once he completes his education," the report said.

In commenting on the need for business methods to be applied to school problems, the study pointed out that one task would be to devise the most efficient allocation of classroom time and space so as to minimize school overcrowding. Another work area would be to help schools institute better budgeting procedures.

Mr. Friedgut reported that in the city, a group of 24 chief executives of major businesses are working with the Economic Development Council of New York City on a task force to involve businesses in school problems. Pilot projects are under way at two high schools, he noted, in which "we and others make people available to develop programs" in employment counseling and curriculum planning for vocational-type courses.

In addition, one school needs additional space, and the group is providing it with information on how to assemble real estate property on an advantageous basis, Mr. Friedgut said.

He observed that it is the bank's experience from working with hardcore unemployed individuals that it must provide the basic arithmetic and language skills that should have been developed in the class rooms. Asked if businesses should consider forming schools of their own, Mr. Friedgut noted the possibility exists that industry could be competitors of schools.

He pointed to an idea being explored by the Office of Economic Opportunity in which a "model demonstration grant" would be given in the form of coupons to the parents of children. The coupons could be redeemed at those places where the parents believed they could get the best education for their children. Under such a program, business, in effect, could compete with the schools for the Federal funds, the banker said.

The study, prepared principally by Mrs. Rosalind Landes, research associate within the regional economics section, is expected to be sent to 10,000 to 12,000 corporations, city council members, central and local boards of education, educators and city, state and Federal government people.

Other studies on urban problems prepared by the section include Metropolitan New York, An Economic Survey, and Poverty and Economic Development in New York City. Others

are in preparation on housing, health and hospitals and transportation, Mrs. Landes said.

I commend the First National City Bank for this most valuable report. I feel certain that it will be of interest to my colleagues.

OF COLLEGE FOOTBALL AND SPORTSMANSHIP

HON. GRAHAM PURCELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, as all of us know, one of the greatest college football games in history was played on December 6 in Fayetteville, Ark. This tense battle between Texas and Arkansas was surely one of the most exciting contests on record—a most fitting conclusion for college football's 100th year.

In an article in the Dallas Times Herald of December 10, Felix McKnight offers some insights into the game which I want to share with my colleagues. As he observes, this hard fought, yet cleanly played game speaks well for the teams, the coaches, and the fans.

As humble winners and gracious losers, the Longhorns and Razorbacks represent what all Americans look for in great competitors.

The article follows:

TWAS A GOOD DAY—FOR A CHANGE

It was a magnificent day; just like all fall Saturdays used to be. It was clean, decent air America was breathing—for a change.

Suddenly there was no turmoil, no crime, no demonstration, no demands, no Vietnam protests and smears, no tawdry outcries to foul the good air.

It stayed that way for three hours—from the foothills and ridges of Fayetteville, Ark., where it all originated, to millions of homes.

No phony outsiders with their two-bit protests and sit-ins could crash this party. Nor could they invade 50 million television screens. If they had, they would have been hooted out of the place.

Not once did the television cameras turn away from the Texas-Arkansas football epic to focus on a bunch of stringy misfits encamped on a nearby hill to protest whatever they were protesting.

College football washed all the grime off the national face for those precious hours . . . and it just might have been one of the best things to happen to us in years.

Decent youngsters, about the most intelligent generation we have spawned, hollered to hoarseness over a game—not just against something. Out on the field were the two best college football teams in the land—and not a single unsportsmanlike conduct penalty was called in one of the tensest hours of grid history.

And smack in the midst of the youngsters in the stands sat the President of the United States. No special box seat; just there with the fans and as cranked up as they were.

Billy Graham started the good day with a prayer. Just the right words for a nation to ponder.

And at game's end two superb leaders of young men—Darrell Royal and Frank Broyles—stood in solitude in their dressing rooms and led prayers with their squads. Totally unaware of national television that recorded the moving moment, both prayed for God's guidance.

Coach Broyles, his most magnificent hour snatched away in the closing moments, stood like a steel rod in the silence of the Arkansas dressing room, closed his eyes and thanked God for the likes of the young men on his team. It was very normal for Frank Broyles; he is a national leader of The Fellowship of Christian Athletes.

Next door, just as Coach Royal's Longhorns concluded, in unison. The Lord's Prayer, President Nixon was swept into the middle of the nation's No. 1 team and finally was heard over the chaos.

He was just another fan, proudly telling them like a good grandstand quarterback that between halves, on network television, he had predicted that both teams would score in the second half and that Arkansas had better beware of Texas' throttled offense.

The President, who had been catching flak from Penn State supporters for days after announcing he would give the Texas-Arkansas winner a presidential plaque denoting national collegiate football supremacy, made good on his word. And he reaffirmed his belief that Texas truly is the national champion. He moved into the somber silence of the Arkansas dressing room, clasped coach Broyles' hand and addressed "you magnificent men"—reminding that he had been in their position.

"I've lost some close ones . . . and it isn't easy . . ."

The stunned Razorbacks respectfully sought a presidential handshake and thanked him for taking the time to come down and watch their game.

He departed by helicopter in the cold rain and the crowds started melting into the foothills. It was a homey, decent day for Americans. And all over a game; something we had almost forgotten.

Off the field Darrell Royal and Frank Broyles are extremely close personal friends. Their families are close because they believe in the same things. All good.

Both are fine golfers and off season tear into each other on the golf course for a minimum 45 holes per day, when time permits. Competitors, these two great coaches, in the grandest sense. And leaders of men. The good day came to a close in a perfect frame.

Coach Frank Broyles, father of six, walked out of a bleak stadium holding the hands of twin daughters, aged 11.

And, you know . . . his head was high. So was most of America's on the clear day it had been seeking, for a change.

A PRAYER: "FOR MY CONGRESSMAN"

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, a close personal friend of mine and pastor of The First Presbyterian Church at Woodbury Heights, N.J., the Reverend James E. Powl, has graciously brought to my attention a personal prayer which I commend to all my colleagues. At this late hour of the first session of the 91st Congress and, in fact, throughout the course of our congressional duties the year round, it is a prayer of inspiration to which we should pay more than lip service. Likewise, it is a prayer to which each of our constituents might subscribe in their daily devotions as a constant reminder that we as men are not infallible:

FOR MY CONGRESSMAN

(By Walter L. Cook)

I pray, O God, of righteousness, for my much-abused and little-praised congressman. There have been times when I joined a chorus of critics in harsh judgment of him. Deliver me from hypocrisy of demanding a higher integrity of him, my representative, than I demand of myself.

Now I ask that Thou will keep him true to the convictions he expressed before his election. Grant that the nobility of his words may be matched by the quality of his acts. Bestow upon him keen insight, sound judgment, and the willingness to act according to the mandate of a healthy and enlightened conscience. Endue him with such courage and firmness of purpose that he will be able to stand for his principles in the face of the strongest opposition. In Christ's Name. Amen.

THE STATES' RIGHT TO OBSTRUCT

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, under the rubric of the "New Federalism," the administration talks about "returning Government to the people." The States would, ideally, become leaders in meeting and solving our domestic ills.

As I have made clear by my opposition to the administration's substitute for the extension of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and by my opposition to the Ayres substitute economic opportunity act bill, which would have turned control of the Federal antipoverty program over to the States, I regard the concept of New Federalism as an abdication of Federal responsibility, not an initiation of remedy. Instead of remedying our domestic ills, some States seek to perpetuate them. And no State has been able to come close to solving them.

I commend to my colleagues a perceptive article by John A. Hamilton, a member of the editorial board of the New York Times, which appeared in the December 15, 1969, edition of the New York Times:

THE STATES' RIGHT TO OBSTRUCT

(By John A. Hamilton)

Governor Claude Kirk of Florida, a big, hulking man, rose slowly from his seat at the Collier County schoolhouse hearing on hunger. Face flushed, eyes narrowing, he stabbed the air with the pointer he had used in presenting charts and graphic material to the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs and insisted that the States continue to play an important role in the administration of any Federal food program.

The committee's hearing had followed its tour of nearby migrant labor camps. Out on the flat, sandy land where the sun burned down on tiny, windowless shacks, migrant farm workers had told committee members that they sometimes did not have enough to eat.

Florida was one of seven states refusing to participate in the Federal food stamp program which enables the poor to purchase at discount prices stamps redeemable for groceries at stores. A state's refusal bars all localities from participation. Collier County was one of several hundred across the coun-

try also refusing to participate in the surplus commodity program under which surplus agricultural products are distributed free to needy families.

Thus, the poor of Collier County, migrants who helped feed the nation, were denied the benefits of food programs otherwise available to them.

Senator Javits of New York, a member of the committee, had visited the labor camps and seen the privation. At the hearing, he sharply questioned state and local officials.

"We want to give the state every opportunity," he replied to Governor Kirk, "but not to allow the thing not to be done."

PROGRAM OF ABDICATION

This exchange took place several months ago, but it is relevant to several pieces of legislation being considered by Congress now and to the general thrust of the Nixon Administration's domestic program. It is a program of abdication under a banner of "New Federalism." To surrender power, funds and programs to the states may not revitalize the states but only weaken Federal commitments.

Consider *hunger*. The select committee's food stamp bill would have brought meaningful aid to the needy and required the Department of Agriculture to provide food programs in those states and localities without them. The Administration opposed this bill. It apparently does not want a Federal agency to override the obstruction of a state or locality. Last week, in response to Administration objections after the bill had passed the Senate, a House panel rejected it.

Voting rights. Rather than seek a simple extension of the present voting rights law, which has proved extremely effective in preventing discrimination against Negroes in the South, the Administration succeeded in getting the House to adopt a substitute last week. In diluting Federal power over registration and voting, it permits the states to erect new subterfuges and barriers. Civil rights leaders term the House vote a "cataclysmic defeat."

Antipoverty efforts. Although the Administration sought an extension of the O.E.O. legislation, opponents of antipoverty efforts introduced a crippling amendment giving states control over funds and programs vital to urban areas. Republican House Minority Leader Gerald Ford favored the amendment and President Nixon urged O.E.O. Director Donald Rumsfeld to work out an "accommodation" with him.

The amendment was finally defeated and Federal leverage in an expanded antipoverty effort was preserved, but only because of the persistence of Democratic liberals, supported initially by a mere handful of Republican defectors.

It may be natural for a Republican President to favor the states over the cities when most of the cities remain dominated by Democrats and most of the states (32 of the 50) are in the hands of Republican Governors. Too, there was a time when states served as engines of change and innovation and as centers of life.

"OBSTACLES TO PROGRESS"

But now, unfortunately, states often serve as drag anchors on activity, as "obstacles to progress" in the view of Cleveland's Mayor Carl Stokes. Sometimes they refuse to participate in Federal programs essential to the urban welfare, or then deny cities needed powers of self-government, or shortchange them fiscally.

President Nixon, it should be said, holds a different view.

"For a long time," he recently told the National Governors Conference, "the phrase 'states' rights' was often used as an escape from responsibility—as a way of avoiding a problem, rather than of meeting a problem. But that time has passed."

Has it, though?

HUNGER IN AMERICA

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month Washington was the scene of a conference dedicated to the problem of hunger in the United States. Those who came to the conference represented a wide variety of backgrounds, views and considerations. Nevertheless, the issue at hand—the appalling hunger midst plenty which still exists—was considered from many angles.

During this conference, in one of the many panel discussions which went on, two doctors, Dr. Anthony Conte and Dr. Arnold Schaeffer presented a proposal which I feel offers a most innovative approach to how the Nation's affluent persons can truly help in the crusade against hunger. I, therefore, would like to extend my remarks to include this proposal in the RECORD:

FOOD BANK U.S.A.

The White House Conference on Food, Nutrition and Health has attempted to create an ambitious program to stamp out hunger in America. Yet, it also has raised a question which deserves considerable consideration "Are we unintentionally creating a class of 'forgotten Americans.'"

The paradox of 60 million Americans eating too much while 20 million Americans are without enough to eat has awakened the conscience of all Americans. They want to respond. They want to participate. They want to share.

We have seen the positive accomplishments of American public's participation in national goals. The CARE program, The March of Dimes, Aid to Biafra are only a few examples of how citizen participation has brought help to those in most unfortunate circumstances. But what about hunger in America? How can those more fortunate help in this problem.

The answer may well lie with the establishment of a Food Bank USA, a program designed to help the millions who day in and day out know nothing but hunger.

Who would participate?

The housewife who wants to lose a few pounds to get into a new dress can give meaning to that weight loss by mailing to Food Bank U.S.A. a dollar for every lb. of weight taken off.

The smoker who quits smoking can contribute the cost of cigarettes he would have smoked in a day, week, month or year.

The laborer as well as the businessman can equally participate. So can the children who see pictures of a starving child and want to help that child with their pennies, nickles and dimes.

In effect, Food Bank USA would be a vehicle that would permit each American to participate, respond, and remedy this paradox of acute hunger midst plenty.

Food Bank USA with national headquarters would become the trustee of funds solicited through these appeals and other sources such as annual Thanksgiving appeal.

In turn, the collected funds would be used to purchase food stamps for the poor with delivery earmarked by the government for families who fall outside minimum eligibility requirements. It would also give the government funds to supplement the Federal program of free and reduced meals for needy children. It would, in short, be used for programs in food, hunger and nutrition with the following two goals in mind:

- (1) increase in funding of these programs.
- (2) ultimately, supplying sufficient funds

so that the Federal role in this food for the poor would no longer be necessary.

There are, admittedly, groups which are currently aiding the poor in their battle against hunger. For the most part however this is being done on a sectional basis.

The task is too immense and the need too urgent for leaving it on a sectional level. A national approach is necessary. Consequently, Food Bank USA could prove to be a vital instrument in unifying the fight against hunger.

Composed of citizens, some of national prominence, it would be run on a volunteer basis. Each American would be eligible for participating, and I would hope that Mrs. Richard Nixon, who has expressed considerable interest in volunteer projects would agree to serve on the Board of Directors of this program.

STOP CUTTHROAT IMPORTS
THREATENING AMERICAN SHOE
INDUSTRY

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I am greatly concerned about a recent report issued by the well-known, highly respected, able executive vice president of the New England Footwear Association, Mr. Maxwell Field, touching on decreased employment and increased unemployment in the New England shoe industry, stemming largely from sharp increases in foreign imports.

Mr. Field points out that the 6 months total of these imports coming into the United States were equal to 37 percent of the U.S. shoe production, an almost unbelievable statistic.

In the first half of 1969, foreign footwear—nonrubber—increased sharply to a total of 108 million pairs, up 12 percent in pairs, and 29 percent in dollar value.

During the same period U.S. shoe production declined 12 percent—an ominous sign.

While I have been greatly concerned for a long period of time over the impact of rising foreign, shoe imports upon the American shoe economy, these latest figures revealed by Mr. Field's study are startling, and constitute both an augury and a warning, not only to the industry, but to the owners and workers who are engaged in it, and depend upon it for their livelihood.

Unfortunately, the employment of shoe workers declined in this period by 9 percent in New England from 79,000 to 72,100.

It is a curious, but not surprising, fact that actual declines in employment were much greater in those States and cities where there is a heavy concentration of women's shoe manufacturers, thus tracing the growth and effect of growing women's shoe imports.

In Massachusetts alone, unemployment compensation claims increased 42 percent, and the figures in Maine and New Hampshire show similar decline in the employment of shoe workers.

Moreover, in some communities largely dependent on shoe factory earnings, the loss has been reflected in retail sales, and the decrease in the number of shoes

made has caused a loss to Maine and New England transportation firms for the year 1968 of over \$3.9 million.

Some Maine shoebox manufacturers have dropped their workload in recent months by 40 to 50 percent.

Shoe factories have shut down, unemployment claims have increased, so that in March of 1969, 35 percent of all claims for unemployment in the State of New Hampshire were attributed to the shoe industry. In April of this year 59 percent were attributed to this industry and in May 58 percent, this, in spite of the fact that this season of the year usually has peak employment in this industry.

In a word, while all other industries, without exception, show comparable figures moving in the opposite, upward direction, and increasing substantially, the shoe industry shows a sharp drop in average weekly wages from 1968 to 1969, and a sharp drop in hours worked for the same period.

Even the textile industry, another pathetic victim of cheap foreign imports, has shown a slight gain in average weekly earnings in this period.

It is time, I think, that concern should turn to alarm with respect to the dangerous, harmful, injurious effects of foreign shoe imports upon our New England shoe economy and as well upon the national shoe economy. It is incredible that a nation like ours, acknowledged leader in so many fields, should purposely pass and tolerate a law that wreaks such terrible damage upon our economy and our workers.

Some have attempted to rationalize this situation in explanation, or in favor, of rising shoe imports, but any such rationalization must include the stern warning that all is not well in the shoe industry, due to the steadily increasing, cutthroat competition from abroad being allowed to enter this Nation and compete with our great shoe industry, upon which so many people depend to maintain themselves and their families.

Various cure-alls have been suggested for this condition, and various half-way solutions and ineffective panaceas have been suggested or promised to check imports and save the shoe industry.

Some say that the industry is operating at the highest prosperity level ever and, relatively, this may be part true.

But the fact is also true that this industry and its workers are being hammered and hammered mercilessly by the flood of cheap goods coming from several large shoe manufacturing countries overseas—not only leather, but rubber and fabricated shoes—coming into the United States in such quantities as to threaten the shoe industry with chaos and destruction unless these imports are cut or substantially reduced in the near future.

The time for talk, conferences, promises, cha cha, and inadequate stopgap panaceas is long past.

The need now is for some vigorous, well-considered, fair, effective action, not designed to damage or abolish trade with other nations, but to bring realism, commonsense and real two-way foreign trade to reality, so that it cannot be said that foreign trade is a one-way street, wherein this Nation permits some

nations to load up our markets with cheaply produced shoes that no factory in this country could possibly compete with on the one hand, and on the other, furnishing grants, loans, marketing advice, and low-tariff barriers that permit these cheap goods to come into this country in large volumes, undermining prosperous, American industries and the high standards of skillful American workers, the best in the world.

Nor has it been my view that expedients solely involving voluntary agreements for rigging up quotas, inadequate tariffs and the like could be materially effective for stopping the flood of cheap shoes, or other cheap imports.

The basic, organic law, in this case, the Trade Act of 1961, must be drastically amended, so that these stultifying, insidious, destructive imports are barred, and so that fair, reasonable measures are adopted that will save the American shoe industry, and other industries similarly beset, and insure a simple, easy functioning rule of law that will keep down injurious imports in the shoe industry and other industries.

Mr. Speaker, this is the time to move, to take up this battle for justice and equity and decent treatment for the shoe business, the shoe industry, and the shoe workers and the American public, being trapped and mulcted by inferior, cheaply made foreign shoes.

If further delays occur in tackling and settling this problem, the overall shoe industry cannot help but suffer discouraging and shocking, deteriorative effects.

I hope that the shoe factory owners, distributors and the shoe workers will inaugurate and press these efforts themselves, and see to it that proper legislation is prepared and introduced that will accomplish the results required to serve the shoe industry, as well as other industries suffering from unfair, foreign competition undermining and weakening the American economy.

I am strongly pledged to assist in all efforts that are made along these lines, and hope that the shoe industry, as well as its many friends in Congress, will get on the ball, and start moving with real determination to amend existing law, so that great industry and its workers will not be swamped by a projecting deluge of cheap products flooding our markets, weakening and liquidating our industries and putting millions of people out of work.

It is time to act.

STANDARD CONDUCT RULES FOR OFFICIALS

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Park Forest, Ill., Reporter, an independent communities in south Cook and ent weekly serving Park Forest and ad-Will Counties, Ill., has acquired a reputation for energetic and independent editorial policy.

Clearly in keeping with this reputation is the following editorial carried in

the Wednesday, December 10, edition discussing the standards for public officials:

STANDARD CONDUCT RULES FOR OFFICIALS

It is interesting to note, in the aftermath of Clement F. Haynsworth's rejected nomination to the United States Supreme Court, that only six members of the 17-member Senate Judiciary Committee, which reported out the nomination, have made financial statements as extensive as those they demanded of Haynsworth.

The situation is an example of the double standard which occurs when lawmakers fail to apply to themselves the same criteria by which they judged Haynsworth.

Financial disclosure rules which were adopted last year by both Houses of Congress disclosed some bits of interesting information—such as the fact that 61 House members own stock in firms with major defense contracts.

But the new rules require much less than full financial disclosure. In fact, members of the Senate need make public only political contributions and fees for writings or public appearances. The full financial statements are kept under lock and key—with more elaborate security precautions than the government's top secret documents.

Two members of the Senate Judiciary Committee which fought the Haynsworth appointment have made only partial disclosure of their own financial dealings. They are Sen. Birch Bayh (D.-Ind.) and Senator Robert P. Griffin (R.-Mich.). Two others who opposed the appointment have made no disclosure at all and Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D.-Mass.).

Sen. Charles Percy, who was one of 17 Republican senators who voted against Haynsworth, is pushing legislation which would require full financial disclosure by legislators, candidates and their principal aides. He also has asked President Nixon to name an ethics commission to examine the whole matter of ethical questions.

We feel that both the new legislation and the idea for the commission are worthy of public support.

Those who seek public office owe it to the public to make a serious effort to establish standard rules of behavior.

NIX SUPPORTS COMPARABLE LEAVE POLICY FOR FEDERAL SEAFARING PERSONNEL

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill which will update Public Law 89-747, which sets the leave policy for Federal seafaring personnel at a rate not to exceed 2 days for each 30-day calendar period on extended voyages. Today, that is not enough leave time.

Today, seamen in private industry receive 90 days' leave. The Federal service must be at least competitive with private industry and I believe this is a necessary measure.

Very often we neglect in national policy what is the basis of all good government—stable and happy families. When men are away from home for long periods of time their families need them for extended periods of time at home.

I want to thank Mr. Fish and Mr. Simkins of the AFL-CIO Maritime Committee for bringing this matter to my at-

tention. I believe that they represent a fine organization under the leadership of Joseph Curran, Thomas Gleason, and Hoyt S. Haddock.

THE DRAFT LOTTERY SYSTEM

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, Public Law 91-124 authorized a system of random selection for the draft. Young men eligible for military service under this new system will be inducted beginning in January.

To assist my constituents in fully understanding this new system and in making their personal plans, I am inserting herewith, for inclusion in the RECORD, a fact sheet and some pertinent questions and answers on the lottery system:

FACT SHEET ON NEW SELECTIVE SERVICE INDUCTION PROCEDURES

BACKGROUND

President Nixon, under the authority vested in him by the Selective Service Act of 1967, as amended by Public Law 91-124 of November 26, 1969, has issued a proclamation and an executive order which directs the implementation of important changes in draft policy and procedures.

The purpose of this fact sheet is to identify these major changes in draft procedures and briefly discuss their implementation.

MAJOR CHANGES IN DRAFT POLICY AND PROCEDURES

1. The "First Priority Selection Group" during 1970

President Nixon has directed that during Calendar Year 1970 the "first priority selection group" from which inductees will be selected will consist of all registrants who were born on or after January 1, 1944, and on or before December 31, 1950, and who are classified I-A or I-A-O.

Stated another way, during Calendar Year 1970, the "first priority selection group" available for selection for induction will consist of those registrants who had attained their 19th birth date prior to January 1, 1970, and those registrants over age 19 who will not attain their 26th birth date prior to January 1, 1970, provided they are classified I-A or I-A-O.

It is important to note, however, that if a registrant in this age group (19 through 25) attains his 26th birth date during Calendar Year 1970 before his number has been reached by his local draft board for induction, he will be transferred out of this "first priority selection group" into a lower priority group of registrants not normally available for induction. Liability for induction of such registrants over age 26 will then, for practical purposes, be eliminated except in those instances in which the registrant has been deferred by reason of graduate student training in one of the health specialties and therefore subject to possible induction until age 35 under the so-called Doctor Draft.

On the other hand, any such registrant whose random sequence number has been reached and who would have been ordered to report for induction except for delays due to a personal appearance, appeal, preinduction examination, reclassification, or otherwise, shall, if and when found acceptable, and when such delay is concluded, be ordered to report for induction next after de-

linquents and volunteers, even if the year in which he otherwise would have been ordered to report has ended, and even if (in cases of extended liability) he has attained his 26th birth date.

2. The "First Priority Selection Group" during calendar year 1971 and later years

The "first priority selection group" during Calendar Year 1971 and each subsequent year thereafter, will consist of:

(a) Registrants who prior to January 1 of each such calendar year have attained the age of 19 but not of 20 years and are in Class I-A or I-A-O; and

(b) Those registrants who prior to January 1 of each such calendar year have attained the age of 19 but not of 26 years, and who had not previously been fully exposed to vulnerability for actual induction in the "first priority selection group" (by reason of a student deferment or otherwise).

"Full" exposure is considered to have occurred if the registrant was in the "first priority selection group" on December 31 of the calendar year and his random sequence number had not been reached by that date.

Thus, during Calendar Year 1971 and in subsequent years, the "first priority selection group" will consist of registrants in their 19th year of age and those other registrants age 20 through 25, not previously fully exposed to induction by reason of deferment or otherwise.

3. Order of call for inductees

Under previous draft selection procedures, registrants within the age group 19 to 26 who were classified I-A or I-A-O and otherwise available for induction were ordered for induction on the basis of the "oldest first system." Thus, the birth rate of registrants in the "pool" established their sequential order of call.

President Nixon has now changed this procedure by instituting a random system of selection (authorized by Public Law 91-124 of November 26, 1969). The random selection procedure, as implemented by the Selective Service System, will determine the order in which registrants in any available "pool" will be ordered first for induction.

The system now adopted by the Director of Selective Service results in a scrambling of dates of birth of each registrant and the substitution of a randomly-arrived-at sequential number for each registrant.

A national lottery was held at Selective Service Headquarters in Washington, D.C. on Monday, December 1, 1969, which established the sequence of numbers which will be observed by each local board in ordering registrants for induction from its available manpower pool.

The order of induction for registrants (ages 19 through 25) in the "first priority selection group" during 1970 has been established as follows:

RANDOM SELECTION SEQUENCE 1970

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1.....	305	086	108	032	330	249	093	111	225	359	019	129
2.....	159	144	029	271	298	228	350	045	161	125	034	328
3.....	251	297	267	083	040	301	115	261	049	244	348	157
4.....	215	210	275	081	276	020	279	145	232	202	266	185
5.....	101	214	293	269	364	028	188	054	082	024	310	056
6.....	224	347	139	253	155	110	327	114	006	087	076	010
7.....	306	091	122	147	035	085	050	168	008	234	051	012
8.....	199	181	213	312	321	366	013	048	184	283	097	105
9.....	194	338	317	219	197	335	227	106	263	342	080	043
10.....	325	216	323	218	065	206	284	021	071	220	282	041
11.....	329	150	136	014	037	134	248	324	158	237	046	039
12.....	221	068	300	346	133	272	015	142	242	072	066	314
13.....	318	152	259	124	295	069	042	307	175	138	126	163
14.....	238	004	354	231	178	356	331	198	001	294	127	026
15.....	017	089	169	273	130	180	322	102	113	171	131	320
16.....	121	212	166	148	055	274	120	044	207	254	107	096
17.....	235	189	033	260	112	073	098	154	255	288	143	304
18.....	140	292	332	090	278	341	190	141	246	005	146	128
19.....	058	025	200	336	075	104	227	311	177	241	203	240
20.....	280	302	239	345	183	360	187	344	063	192	185	135
21.....	186	363	334	062	250	060	027	291	204	243	156	070
22.....	337	290	265	316	326	247	153	339	160	117	009	053
23.....	118	057	256	252	319	109	172	116	119	201	182	162
24.....	059	236	258	002	031	358	023	036	195	196	230	095
25.....	052	179	343	351	361	137	067	286	149	176	132	084
26.....	092	365	170	340	357	022	303	245	018	007	309	173
27.....	355	205	268	074	296	064	289	352	233	264	047	078
28.....	077	299	223	262	308	222	088	167	257	094	281	123
29.....	349	285	362	191	226	353	270	061	151	229	099	016
30.....	164	.....	217	208	103	209	287	333	315	038	174	003
31.....	211	.....	030	.....	313	.....	193	011	.....	079	.....	100

Since it is probable that in many instances local boards will have more than one registrant with the same "number" for induction by reason of their having the same birth date, their sequence of induction will be determined by the first letter of their names (last name and, if necessary, first name), which have also been arrived at in a random sequence established by a supplemental drawing which also was conducted at Selective Service Headquarters on December 1, 1969. The sequence of this alphabetical drawing for Calendar Year 1970 is as follows:

1.....	J	14.....	C
2.....	G	15.....	F
3.....	D	16.....	I
4.....	X	17.....	K
5.....	N	18.....	H
6.....	O	19.....	S
7.....	Z	20.....	L
8.....	T	21.....	M
9.....	W	22.....	A
10.....	P	23.....	R
11.....	Q	24.....	E
12.....	Y	25.....	B
13.....	U	26.....	V

The relative sequence established for all registrants, ages 19 through 25, as reflected in the number assigned to their birth date, will remain with the registrant permanently. Thus, despite the fact that a new "lottery" will be held each year for young men attaining age 19 on or after January 1, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, et cetera, these subsequent annual lotteries will not have any effect on registrants previously lotteried.

Stated another way, once a registrant receives a lottery number to establish his sequence for possible induction, he retains that number permanently, regardless of the calendar year during which he is actually exposed to induction.

4. Transfer of a registrant from the "First Priority Selection Group" to a lower priority selection group

A question may be raised as to the period of time which a registrant must spend in the "first priority selection group" in order to discharge his prime liability for induction. Generally speaking, registrants will remain in the "first priority selection group" during the entire calendar year of exposure, i.e.,

from January 1 to December 31. However, because of a possible deferred status, a registrant may only spend a relatively short period of time before the end of the calendar year in this "first priority selection group" as a registrant classified I-A or I-A-O and available for induction; therefore, the regulations issued by the President indicate that only those registrants who are in the "first priority selection group" on December 31 of the year of their exposure and whose random sequence number had not been reached by that date, shall be assigned to a priority group which is immediately below the "first priority selection group".

Stated another way, a deferred registrant (one not classified I-A or I-A-O) will remain liable for transfer back to the "first priority selection group" during any given calendar year until such time as he has had the maximum possible exposure to induction by virtue of having been in the "first priority selection group" on the last day of the calendar year and providing that his particular sequence number had not been reached by that date.

SUMMARY

The changes in draft policy announced by President Nixon and implemented by the Director of Selective Service make no changes in the manner in which young men are required to register for the draft at age 18; nor do they change existing law or regulations concerning the manner in which these registrants are subsequently classified by their local draft boards.

The changes merely involve the manner in which registrants are selected and the time frame of their vulnerability.

During Calendar Year 1970 the ages of registrants who have maximum vulnerability for induction will range from 19 through 25. Thus during Calendar Year 1970, the only marked difference between the existing system heretofore observed by Selective Service, and the new system which will be placed into effect on January 1, 1970, relates to the manner in which these young men who are classified I-A or I-A-O and are available for induction are to be selected for induction. The existing system simply required that the "oldest first" in the pool be ordered for induction, the oldest first being determined on the basis of the registrant's birth date.

The new system selects registrants for induction on the basis of the sequential number assigned to the individual registrants in lieu of his birth date. As previously explained, the sequential number assigned to each registrant is one arrived at by "random selection". This number will establish the individual registrant's relative order of call.

Calendar Year 1970 is therefore a transitional period during which the Selective Service System hopes to move into the final phase of its announced policy to reduce the period of uncertainty facing young men as regards the draft from the present 19 to 26 year period down to the 19-20 year period.

The period of transition, i.e., Calendar Year 1970, is necessary so as to ensure that registrants above age 20 and below age 26 who have been given a deferred status will be given some exposure to the draft.

Beginning with Calendar Year 1971, the new system will become fully effective. At that time, the "first priority selection group" will then consist primarily of registrants ages 19 to 20 and those older registrants under age 26 who had not previously been "fully" exposed to the draft.

RANDOM SELECTION QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Question. Explain the drawing under the recently amended Selective Service Act.

Answer. On December 1, there was a drawing in Washington of 366 closed capsules in each of which was a slip of paper on which was written a month and day of the year, for example, May 2, June 1, etc. The order in which these capsules were drawn determines

the relative position in the national random sequence of registrants born on all the dates of the year including February 29. As September 14 was drawn first, all men born on September 14 are No. 1 in the national random sequence. As June 8 was drawn last, all men with that birthday are No. 366 in the national random sequence.

Question. How will the sequence be used by local boards?

Answer. Each local board will assign numbers to its registrants who are in I-A or who become I-A in accord with the national sequence. Some local boards may not have at any one time men with birthdays on every day. In such a case the local board would go to the next number. For instance, it might call numbers 1 through 5, then 7 and 8 because it had no men whose birthdays were on the day drawn sixth in the drawing.

Question. Why is there a drawing of the alphabet?

Answer. This drawing randomized the alphabet so that in case a local board had two or more men with the same birthday and was required to order one but not all of them for a call, it has a way to determine which comes first, second, etc., by applying the random alphabet to the names. In the drawing of December 1, 1969, the letter "J" was drawn first. So men whose names begin with "J" would be called first by the local board among men with the same number from the birthday drawing.

Question. Does everybody get a number out of the first lottery?

Answer. No—the first drawing will determine the random sequence number only for those men who prior to January 1, 1970, had attained age 19, and not 26.

Besides that, the number in which his birthday is drawn will not mean anything until he is classified I-A or I-A-O. Some men in the group who eventually will get a number out of the first drawing may not become I-A until next year or later. In that case, his number will determine his order in the national sequence in use that year. For example, if his birthday is drawn No. 80, and he is now deferred for college, but loses his college deferment in June 1971, he will be No. 80 in the national random sequence in use that year.

Question. How do new 19-year-olds get a number?

Answer. Before the end of 1970, a drawing of the 365 days of the year will be held. This drawing will determine the national random sequence to be used in 1971. The only registrants who would look to that drawing to determine where they stand in the national random sequence are those who turned 19 during 1970.

Question. How do you use more than one drawing?

Answer. The date of November 9, was drawn No. 80 in the first lottery. This may be the number of a man who was in college during 1970, but graduated and lost his deferment in June 1971.

The date of September 11 may be drawn No. 80 in the next lottery. A man born on September 11 who was available in 1971 would be No. 80 in the random order. So would the first man whose birthday of November 9 was drawn No. 80 a year earlier. If both men were in the same local board they would be called on the same call or if one, but not both were required, the random alphabet would determine which one went first.

Question. Doesn't the registrant who is in college most of the year have an advantage over the one who can't go to college and is in I-A throughout the year?

Answer. No. The key in both cases is whether his random sequence number is reached in his local board. If the random sequence number has been reached in the

case of a registrant who becomes I-A late in the year, he will be inducted as soon as appeals, examinations and so forth, are concluded, even though the year has ended. There is no way he can gain an advantage by delaying his actual induction through time required for personal appearance, appeals, examination and other processing if his random sequence number has been reached.

Question. What about the registrant who loses a deferment or exemption just before age 26?

Answer. This is like the case in the previous question. If his number has been or is reached, and he loses his deferment just before his 26th birthday, he will, if his deferment extended his liability to age 35 as most do, be inducted at the end of all the processing steps—if he remains in Class I-A or I-A-O and is qualified, even though he has turned 26 during this period of delay.

Question. How does this system help a registrant know with more certainty his chances of serving?

Answer. First of all, his period of greatest vulnerability is one year, rather than seven.

Second, the order in which his birthday is drawn will tell him where he stands in the national random selection sequence. If his birthday is drawn early he knows that when he is classified I-A and found acceptable, he is almost certain to be called. He can plan his career to accommodate that possibility.

If his birthday is drawn near the end, he has relative certainty he may not be called short of unusual circumstances.

He can plan accordingly.
For the registrant whose birthday is drawn in the middle range it is not so clear, but in any event the system will give much greater certainty than is possible under the former system.

Question. Will registrants now postponed be in the random selection?

Answer. No. The postponed registrant has already been ordered for induction under the old system and will be inducted when the postponement ends.

Question. Can a man whose birthday is drawn early in the drawing still join the Reserve?

Answer. Yes. Just as now, he can join a Reserve Unit any time before the induction order is issued.

Question. What about volunteering for active duty?

Answer. The policy is to authorize enlistment for active duty at any time up to the day of induction.

Question. What is the situation of a registrant who is in I-A for the first part of the year, but enters college in September and requests and gets a student deferment?

Answer. If his random sequence number has not been reached, he goes out of the group to return when no longer deferred to the current group. If his random sequence number has been reached, but he has not been issued an order to report for induction, the local board may defer him for college and he would then reenter the selection group in the year he again lost his deferment.

Question. Does the lottery affect existing deferment and exemption policies?

Answer. Existing deferment and exemption policies are not affected by virtue of the lottery system.

Question. How does the lottery affect the liability of those subject to call as physicians and dentists?

Answer. Physicians and dentists are called on special calls, normally after age 26, and have extended liability to age 35 because of previous deferment as a student. Their call to service under this special call would therefore not be different from what is under present policies.

GUARANTEED STUDENT LOAN PROGRAM

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I am greatly concerned about the current status of student loans. Thousands and thousands of students have been facing most difficult problems this year trying to get loans to start, continue, or finish their education.

In all too many instances, these applicants have been disappointed, either because the banks state that they do not have money to make these loans, or it is against current policy, or they are not in the business of handling student loans because under current interest rates they are unprofitable.

The pending bill tends in a measure to correct that situation. In a sense, it constitutes a subsidy to the banks for making such loans, but the situation is emergent, and must be taken care of as best Congress can take care of it on a temporary basis at this time.

However, it is very clear that more effective, sweeping, permanent legislation is required before many worthy, aspiring students in this country can be accommodated and helped. It is clear to me that the banks do not want to handle this kind of business without government subsidy, and that the Government itself must take some affirmative action, either by changing the criteria of loans under the National Defense Education Act, or permitting HEW to make these loans at low interest rates. This situation is urgent. Further delay or equivocation would be gross disregard of the interests of our young students and this must never be said of this House.

The fact is that all these aspiring students whose parents are not able to assist in financing their college educations, in full, must be provided for.

It is really totally unwarranted, as well as uncalled for, and in many respects very dangerous that in our great, powerful, rich country, where fine, outstanding boys and girls are turned away from the doors of our colleges merely because they cannot get ordinary loans to finance their higher education.

This is something that the Congress must definitely provide for, not by meager, paltry, temporary palliatives, but if necessary, by direct, adequate, well-financed legislation that will insure that no worthy boy or girl in this country will be deprived of an education, because they or their family cannot borrow the money to put them through college.

Many of these young folks that I know personally are working their way through college. But with rapidly increasing costs of living and expenses, they are not able to make the grade without substantial, outside help in the form of loans, and this is where the great Congress of the United States comes in—we must meet

this critical contingency in American educational life, so that our aspiring young people can be helped, sustained, supported, and encouraged by having available to them the means of inaugurating or continuing their higher education.

After all, these young people will be the leaders of the future upon whom this great, growing Nation must depend to lead and to steer it through the crucial times ahead, when it will be faced with great problems that will determine whether freedom can be preserved, or whether the United States, like other great nations of past history will fall prey to the ravages and injustices of absolute systems of government replacing our democratic patterns, which will convert our people, students included, into vassals of the radical, police state.

Whatever the future holds for this great Nation, and I confidently believe it holds much, this Congress must do its part now to make sure that the Government will not nonchalantly turn its back upon the young people of this country in the hour of their great need, when they are seeking, working, and struggling to fit themselves educationally, and in every other way, to cope with the problems of the future, and to furnish the vigorous, astute, enlightened, and courageous leadership that will be required to maintain and preserve our democratic system, and the liberties of the individual, which we in this country prize so greatly and have always protected and retained, if necessary, with our blood and our lives.

I propose to take strong, unequivocal action to provide adequate loans at reasonable, low-interest rates to worthy students that qualify for them. Congress must no longer permit current, educational loan inadequacies to exist in this prosperous, free Nation. I urge Congress to act forthwith to help our fine, deserving, young students. No generation was ever brighter, more promising, or more deserving, and we must see to it that they receive all the help they need and deserve.

DR. EARL LEROY WOOD HONORED
BY THE PRESIDENT

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Earl Wood, one of Newark's most public-spirited citizens, a man who has spent a lifetime serving his patients and the community at large, has received a well-deserved certificate of appreciation from President Nixon for his outstanding service on the Newark Selective Service Appeal Board No. 1. This award was recently presented to Dr. Wood by Col. Joseph T. Avella, State selective service director.

A recent Newark Evening News article follows:

Colonel Avella presented a certificate of appreciation to Dr. Wood in commemoration of his years of service, signed by President

Nixon, Selective Service head Gen. Louis B. Hershey and Gov. Hughes. Others who praised Dr. Wood's contributions included Samuel J. Kaufman, chairman of the panel, who presented him a plaque.

Dr. Wood, who is 75, was active as a surgeon-specialist in Newark 30 years before retiring in 1957. A native of Chester, Pa., he was reared in Newark and served in the medical corps of both World Wars and maintained a private practice here until his retirement.

A former member of many professional medical societies, Dr. Wood was an officer of the Essex County Medical Society, a member of the American Academy of Otolaryngology, the American College of Surgeons, the American Medical Association and the Academy of Medicine of Northern New Jersey.

Dr. Wood also served as a member of the Society of Surgeons of New Jersey, the Order of Founders and Patriots of America, the Society of Colonial Wars, the University of Pennsylvania Club of New York and the Essex County Country Club. He has one son, Dr. Francis A. Wood of Newark and lives with his wife, the former Flora H. Assmann, at 225 Ballantine Parkway in Newark.

FEDERAL REVENUE SHARING

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the Nixon administration visualizes Federal revenue sharing as the catalyst by which the States are to become the initiators of bold new programs and the solvers of old problems. I have very serious doubts about the ability of the States to do now, or in the future, what they have been unable to do in the past. The problems of urban decay, limited employment, and educational opportunity, and inadequate housing, income, and nutrition are multiplying. They are becoming less manageable, not more amenable to 50 fragmented efforts by 50 State administrations.

As an article in the New Republic of October 4 by Prof. Louis Fisher, of Queens College, notes, intrinsic to the administration's concept is abnegation of Federal responsibility by distribution of Federal funds without reservation of Federal controls. Since anticity bias characterizes many State legislatures, whether rural or suburban controlled, the urban ghettos would continue to decay; the urban schools would continue to fester; the urban poor would continue to suffer.

I commend Professor Fisher's article, which follows, to my colleagues. I also endorse his conclusions: the Federal Government should "assume the entire cost of welfare, increase aid to education, and bring grant in aid programs up to authorized levels."

The article follows:

A CAUTIONARY WORD: FEDERAL REVENUE SHARING

(By Louis Fisher)

When congressmen ask their constituents, "Do you think the federal government should return a portion of its revenues to the states to enable them to solve more of their own problems?" 70 to 80 percent say yes. This response rests on a misconception: that revenue sharing will provide a painless source

of funds. When the question is worded more honestly, the results are a little different. "Should federal income taxes be increased over federal needs to provide for tax sharing with states?" one legislator asked. 93 percent answered no.

It is a curious notion that the federal government should begin sharing some of its revenue with the states. Where do we suppose the money goes now—to the District of Columbia? Guam, perhaps? of course the government shares its revenue with the states. Grants-in-aid tripled during the Eisenhower years, and tripled again under the Kennedy-Johnson Administrations. Every congressional district benefits from some kind of military installation or defense contract, or public works project. It is facile to argue that "cities need financial relief; revenue sharing provides financial relief; therefore, cities need revenue sharing." The merits of revenue sharing have to be compared with other forms of financial relief: expanded grant-in-aid programs, federal assumption of welfare costs, or direct federal subsidies for municipal bonds.

What distinguishes revenue sharing is not tax relief or "sharing," which is so much flim-flam, but the distribution of federal funds without federal controls. Here are the thorns: local autonomy versus national goals, decentralization versus federal responsibility. In his proposal to share federal dollars with state and local governments (beginning with a modest \$500 million in fiscal 1971 but holding out the promise of \$5 billion a year by fiscal 1976), Mr. Nixon has opted for local autonomy and decentralization; no strings attached. Funds would be allocated on the basis of population with an adjustment for local tax effort.

Previous advocates of revenue sharing will not be entirely happy with this plan. Walter Heller has urged controls to make sure, for example, that states abide by the anti-discrimination provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act; he would also prohibit use of revenue-sharing funds for highways, already financed by a separate trust fund. Rep. Henry Reuss (D, Wis.) would make revenue sharing conditional approval of modernization plans for state governments. Other legislators have suggested limiting revenue-sharing funds to health education and welfare or giving special supplements to poorer states.

On the third of last month, the National Governors Conference proposed two more qualifications: taking account of the difficulty Western states have in increasing their tax effort, because of the large amount of nontaxable federal property in their states; and, using some of the revenue-sharing funds expected by local governments for regional projects. Thus even if a majority of congressmen favored revenue sharing, they might remain sharply divided over a concrete proposal.

It is argued that states invigorated by revenue sharing can function once again as "little laboratories" of social and economic innovation notwithstanding their irresponsibility in matters of personal liberties, reapportionment, procedural safeguards and racial discrimination. I find it hard to imagine a renaissance of responsibility in state legislatures, though I know the President believes his plan will help "to restore strength and vigor to local and state governments; to shift the balance of political power from Washington and back to the country and the people." This "back to the people" nostrum is one means of sidestepping federal responsibilities, asking the states to do what they can not or will not. How can New York unspool its transportation system, on the ground and in the air, without federally-supported mass transit along the Eastern seaboard? What can one state, say Ohio, do about the fouling and slow death of Lake Erie?

If revenue sharing survives these con-

ceptual infirmities, it must then tangle with Wilbur Mills, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, who objects to the federal government collecting money and not supervising how it is spent. For those who want a share in federal revenue, he offers matching responsibility for sharing the federal debt, a bargain the states find unappealing.

Cities have been particularly apprehensive about revenue sharing. It is said that state insensitivity to urban problems is being overcome as a result of reapportionment decisions, but the anti-city bias of state legislatures isn't dead yet. And if seniority and committee chairmanships go on being pocketed by state legislatures from rural areas, it may never be. Moreover, reapportionment is likely to shift power not to central cities but to suburbs. John Lindsay's criticism of his state's budget as "anti-urban" suggests it is premature to say that state government, even in progressive New York, is sympathetic to big-city problems.

To allay the fears of mayors, it is pointed out that states now set aside the bulk of their revenue for education, health, and welfare, and that this would continue under revenue sharing, to the cities' benefit. Mr. Nixon says, "one can reasonably expect that education, which consistently takes over two-fifths of all state and local general revenues, will be the major beneficiary" of revenue-sharing funds. What I want to know is not whether states support education, but how they support it. In rejecting, this past January, a proposal to shift from specific support of compensatory education to general block grants for education, the National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children concluded that "any changes that would further shift the responsibility to the states for distributing education funds would—in many states and possibly in all—diminish the impact of this necessary investment in the education of disadvantaged children." State distribution of funds, it said, "rarely, if ever, favors those sections of the state with the greatest concentration and number of educationally deprived children—the central cities."

Since we can't trust the states to distribute funds on the basis of need, it has been suggested that a certain portion of revenue-sharing funds be given directly to local governments. Mayors feel more comfortable with this "pass through" approach, but it still would not guarantee that federal funds will go where they should. Take Wisconsin. The pass-through formula is generous here (half of state revenue earmarked for municipalities). Nevertheless, Senator William Proxmire points out that it's the prosperous cities that make out best: "They get the share of the income tax they pay, and cities like Milwaukee that earnestly, desperately need it do not get it." What we need is not funds distributed on the basis of population and tax effort, but a formula that recognizes the cities' special financial problem, a problem due partly to a concentration of the aged and poor who require expensive services, and to the large number of nonresidents who rely on urban services.

The executive director of the US Conference of Mayors, John Gunther, has expressed dismay over the lack of city representation throughout the Nixon Administration. His suspicions were reinforced by the handling of federal funds for law enforcement assistance. Planning grants were released by the Justice Department to the states, with the understanding that priority would be given to major urban and metropolitan areas with high crime rates. But a study by the National League of Cities revealed that funds were being used to create "third levels of bureaucracy as a matter of state administrative convenience." Philadelphia, which accounted for almost 25 percent of the serious crimes in the state, got less than 10 percent of Pennsylvania's planning grants. Other

mayors have complained that states are distributing funds to rural, urban and suburban areas on a per capita basis, regardless of crime rates.

Naturally then, large cities should find it more to their advantage to press Congress for an expansion of direct federal grants. Federal aid to New York City climbed from \$578 million in 1967 to \$768 million last year, and passed the \$1 billion mark in fiscal 1969. This is the kind of revenue sharing that helps. Federal grants to all metropolitan areas rose from \$5.6 billion in 1964 to \$16.7 billion scheduled for fiscal 1970, an increase from 55 to 57 percent of total federal grants. In his April budget review, Mr. Nixon noted that federal aid to state and local governments will increase by \$3.5 billion in fiscal 1970, of which the urban share is \$2.8 billion, a hefty 80 percent.

One of the earlier rationales for revenue sharing was the idea of "fiscal drag." It was predicted that federal receipts would eventually outpace federal spending and produce an annual "fiscal dividend" of some \$6 to \$7 billion. If left unspent and used to retire the national debt, economic growth would be retarded. The remedy: distribute the dividends among the states.

The dividend never appeared because of Vietnam. Then hopes were revived last December by Charles Schultze, former budget director under President Johnson. Schultze predicted a federal dividend of \$8 billion by fiscal 1971 and almost \$40 billion by fiscal 1974! Tax reduction will consume some of this dividend and if inflationary pressures dictate a budget surplus for the next few years, say \$5 billion a year, this must be deducted from any anticipated dividend. And if inflation subsides, the Administration is apparently committed to a budget surplus as a means of directing investment into mortgage funds, helping relieve the depressed housing market.

Other assumptions by Schultze—a ceasefire in Vietnam early in 1969 (withdrawal completed within twelve months) and a stretch-out and deferral of new weapons systems—are shaky. Vietnam drags on while Schultze has since emphasized that his projections for military spending were on the conservative side. If the Nixon Administration proceeds with the Safeguard ABM system (\$11 billion and up), the AMSA manned bomber (\$12 billion up), a volunteer army (\$4 to \$17 billion), and if testing and deployment of MIRVs sparks a new arms race, the prospect for a fiscal dividend disappears again. The peace dividend need not be, in Patrick Moynihan's language, as "evanescent" as the morning haze over Southern California, provided Congress can keep a lid on military spending. In that case, funds will be available for home consumption.

Certainly there is no reason to worry about "fiscal drag." Shortly before leaving office, President Johnson received a special cabinet report on post-Vietnam investment possibilities. Full funding of existing domestic programs would cost \$6 billion more a year than we're spending. Expansion of existing programs and new programs would run another \$40 billion, while "more ambitious, new proposals" (such as negative income tax and guaranteed jobs) push spending even higher.

Studies of the past eight months suggest that these projections may be on the low side. The Budget Bureau recently estimated that an adequate diet for the poor would require an additional \$2.9 billion a year. Senator Charles Goodell and others have proposed that the federal government assume the entire cost of welfare, adding \$10 to \$15 billion to federal spending. The 1970 budget for compensatory education was almost \$2 billion below authorized levels and \$3 and \$4 billion less than recommended by private studies. Mr. Nixon's "commitment to the first five years of life" requires more gen-

erous funding for hunger, welfare and education than he has recommended thus far.

Rep. Edward Koch (D, N.Y.) has attracted over a hundred co-sponsors for his mass transit bill, calling a \$10 billion expenditure over the next four years. That's minimum. Federal contributions to the expanded rapid transit system in Washington, D.C. alone will run about \$1.3 billion; costs of the high-speed trains between Boston and Washington are far higher. Mass transit in New York City and Chicago over the next decade may cost in excess of \$4 billion. At the present rate of production Secretary Romney predicts that over the next decade we will fall more than 10 million units short of our 1968 commitment for 26 million housing units. Municipal hospitals are threatening to close because of too lean budgets and the backlog of present needs in hospital modernization stands at more than \$10.7 billion. Mr. Nixon acknowledged July 10 that unless federal action is taken within the next two to three years, "we will have a breakdown in our medical care system which could have consequences affecting millions of people throughout this country."

Estimates of what it will take to cleanse the nation's waters over the next five years go as high as \$29 billion. The cost of containing air pollution is put at another \$16 billion. A recent federal study on thermal pollution estimates at \$1.8 billion the effort needed in this area over the next five years.

Instead of dabbling with revenue sharing, Congress should assist state and local governments in a more forthright manner: assume the entire cost of welfare, increase aid to education, and bring grant in aid programs up to authorized levels. This would take the strain off state and city budgets, releasing more funds for problems of a local nature. It is time to commit the funds needed for our undernourished public sector and ignore the siren call of revenue sharing.

WORKING MODELS FOR URBAN REDEVELOPMENT

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, the problem of revitalizing our decaying urban centers troubles all of us. Daily, we struggle to find effective ways to halt urban blight and initiate urban progress. The problem is so complex that many people have despaired of finding any workable solutions.

In light of these complex problems, I believe that my colleagues would be interested in the remarks of Mr. Ronald Grzywinski, vice chairman of the board of the Hyde Park Bank & Trust Co. Mr. Grzywinski recently addressed the Urban Coalition in Chicago on how to redevelop our cities. His address reveals a depth of understanding about this most perplexing problem.

Mr. Grzywinski explains how the bank which he represents has enabled minority businessmen to found and to develop business enterprises. Though it is a relatively small institution, Hyde Park Bank & Trust has been a leader in backing up its rhetoric with action. Based on his work with the bank and other urban activities, Mr. Grzywinski sets forth some viable models for combining capital, talent, and community in the crucial effort of redeveloping urban America.

Mr. Grzywinski's timely remarks follow:

I have been asked to speak on the activities of the Urban Development Division at the Hyde Park Bank. I will do so briefly, and then turn to the broader and deeper problems of total urban economic development with which I am concerned at the Adlai Stevenson Institute.

The Hyde Park Bank is a small to medium size institution. At year-end it had total assets of \$60.8 million and employed approximately 125 persons. By comparison, the Chase Manhattan Bank, second largest in the nation, had total year-end resources of \$19.3 billion; approximately 315 times as large. The bank is located in the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community, approximately six miles south of downtown Chicago and the home of the University of Chicago. The community of 50,000 population is liberally oriented, racially integrated, affluent, but economically segregated. Majority ownership of the bank is through a holding company whose stock is concentrated in the hands of community residents and bank management. Illinois law prohibits branch banking.

The Urban Development Division was established in the spring of 1968, with an operating budget of \$20,000 to carry it through year-end. Its primary purpose was to extend credit to black entrepreneurs for business establishment or expansion. At the time no Chicago area bank was internally organized specifically to finance and counsel minority businessmen. The Urban Development Division initially was staffed by two non-bankers hired from outside the bank. Milton Davis, formerly employed by the University of Chicago, and for three years president of the Chicago Chapter of CORE, was named director. He is now a vice president of the bank.

Our objectives in establishing the division were three:

First, to make credit available at competitive interest rates through conventional banking channels to credit-worthy black businessmen.

Second, to demonstrate to the banking community that, with appropriate diligence, counseling, and selectivity, loans to black businessmen are not categorically an unmanageable or extraordinary risk.

Third, to finance our urban development activities without sacrificing bank earnings.

To accomplish this third objective the Urban Development Division solicits deposits from major corporations, churches, government units, and philanthropic organizations which would not normally do business at a small, outlying bank. We pay the same rate of interest on their time deposits and provide the same level of service for their demand account as any other bank, but apply a major portion of our earnings on their deposit against the extraordinary expenses incurred in counseling, processing, and servicing a portfolio of loans to inexperienced, small businessmen.

To date, the Urban Development Division has made loans in excess of \$1.4 million to approximately 55 businesses. At month end 2 loans were delinquent with no loss anticipated; one loan of \$1,500 has been charged off, but recovery has begun and should be completed within four months. The division is supported by deposits totaling \$4.6 million (8.5% of the bank total), from 54 different entities. Nineteen of the corporations are listed on the New York Stock Exchange. The full time staff has grown to five, including a fellow assigned by the Robert Kennedy Memorial. The earnings allocation on supporting deposits not only recovered the bank's initial \$20,000 investment, but has completely offset the division's increased operating expenses. Activities have broadened to include the financing of community owned, profit oriented businesses and low income housing projects. The community objective is to use

the profits from these businesses to finance such community projects as day care and medical care centers, manpower training facilities, supplemental police protection, sidewalk lighting, and other community needs.

Our experience has taught us several lessons:

First: The availability and use of competent counseling is as important as credit in the success of an inexperienced entrepreneur.

Second: The bank staff must have deep rapport with its clientele; a genuine feeling and understanding for the problem of black deprivation; a commitment to work together; a willingness to spend the required time looking at each credit application as it is presented, knowing in advance that many will not be bankable, but that many must be reviewed to find the viable few. Having found a promising proposition, it must be worked through to completion by exploring all the alternative financing methods. This attitude reflects a philosophical commitment to the concept of change, within and through the existing system.

Third: Fundamental credit principles must be adhered to, but with an understanding of the distinction between principle and practice. As an example, the borrower must not be allowed to become sloppy or careless in meeting loan repayment due dates, but if his business is experiencing sound and accelerated growth, or if his credit needs were legitimately underestimated, we must find ways to increase his credit supply. Also, if the credit report reveals a past history of judgments on an otherwise qualified prospective borrower, the application is not automatically denied. These judgments are investigated with the understanding that unscrupulous and exploitive merchants have often used the judgment device to force uninformed people to continue patronizing their outlets for shoddy, overpriced merchandise. We also believe that the equity to start a business sometimes may not be financially measurable; instead it might include the borrower's work experience and other personal achievements.

Fourth: Senior management must be totally committed to success. Because urban development programs are innovative, experience is lacking and failures are magnified.

Fifth: When cooperation with government agencies is required, the business leader must understand the constraints and tradition under which a public servant labors. Innovative and creative interpretations of federal regulations have not been the historical route to rich rewards. Under Bob Dwyer, and earlier, Tom Gause, the Chicago office of the Small Business Administration has moved from timid, sincere reservation to quick, cooperative responsiveness.

Sixth: Because it has senior management commitment, independent funding through supporting deposits, and the ability to clearly measure successes and failures, the staff of the Urban Development Division feels in has a mandate to plow ahead, to innovate, and to thoughtfully explore the ways in which the bank's resources can be brought to bear on the problem of inner city development.

I will turn now to some general ideas about urban economic development. The majority of this audience already knows that economic injustice and suffering are the rule rather than the exception for millions of black Americans who are unable or unwilling to move out of the nation's ghettos. It is not necessary to recount here how much deprivation manifests itself in housing, in employment, in education, in personal welfare, and safety. It is well known, at least in scope, if not in depth and intensity, to even the most casual reader of the popular press.

During the past several years, the federal government has spent vast sums attempting to remedy one or another facet of the problem, but without the urgent priority of na-

tional commitment. Foundations, commissions, some universities and other organizations have prepared volumes of detailed and heavily foot-noted analyses of the problem; some few have recommended specific action and some fewer yet have themselves acted. More recently business has begun to involve itself. However, it is my observation that all these activities, all these programs taken separately, have produced little or no visible effect. They have been a tonic, a band aid on a cancer, an attempt to treat each speckled, smallpoxed, symptom rather than the body ravaged with disease.

Urban redevelopment is a complex task requiring sophisticated planning, specialization, financing, and organization. It requires a system approach to problem solving. It requires the building of new teams of planners, financiers, executive implementers, political relations experts, and entrepreneurs. It requires the belief that there is no one best way to solve a problem, but rather many good ways. It requires bold new ideas, bold action, and bold men.

Urban redevelopment requires three basic elements: capital to seed the regenerative process; talent to intelligently do the seeding; and community control to point out the fertile ground, protect the seedlings, and harvest the fruits to be shared.

If we look around the nation today we can find many successful urban development programs. In Boston, Eastern Gas and Fuel Associates took the leading private role in a massive housing rehabilitation program. Using incentives currently available in FHA housing legislation, the company was able to combine low equity investment, depreciation, and the market potential of new gas customers to earn a profit which was large enough to assign key executives to the task. In Chicago, the Kate Mearmont Foundation in partnership with the Woodlawn Organization just held its grand opening for a new low-rise, 500 unit housing project. Their community owned shopping center is under construction and, along with several community owned businesses, will contain a food supermarket owned jointly with a major food retailer.

In several cities, such major corporations as Xerox, IBM, Kodak, Aerojet General and others have assisted in establishing new ghetto based manufacturing facilities. The Rev. Leon Sullivan, starting in Philadelphia, has now established over ninety Opportunities Industrialization Centers which draw on existing Dept. of Labor grants, channeled through business corporations, to train people, helping them "to grow self confident through mastering new work skills." In California, Arcata Investment Company has started a minority group Small Business Investment Company to generate equity investments and credit in the urban ghettos. On November 6th, eighteen sponsors, including such giants as Prudential Insurance and Phillips Petroleum announced their intentions to operate similar SBICs. Commercial banks around the country are now beginning to extend urban development credit.

The purpose of the preceding recitation has been only to show that scattered models are not lacking for successful and often profitable urban development in such key areas as housing, education, job creation, equity investment, and wealth building. But as I stated earlier, all these activities are disjointed. They usually attack only a single facet, of a great need, within a single ghetto community. Truly, band aids on a cancer! The need today is to draw on the experience of these models and combine these separate and diverse efforts into a concerted, systems-oriented attack on the problem.

How do we proceed? I suggest the following:

First: The neighborhood or community is the most logical unit for development. It is manageable; the people are usually organized into a community association possess-

ing common complaints and goals for health, education, welfare, and safety. A community base of development is consistent with the current notion that place should serve residents' needs and not those of outside interests. This concept is a response to the lack of participation, the frustrated sense of powerlessness among minorities. Deteriorated housing exists within specific communities; medical, recreational, and day care needs exist within specific communities; the unemployed and underemployed are real people, not just statistics, and they live in specific communities. Urban communities have an identity, a sense of being. They are no different from the thousands of self-governing, often smaller, suburban communities we all know, except that the citizens are usually black and usually poor.

Second: The federal government has neither the talent nor the experience to effectively manage and implement an innovative, major systems project. During the past two decades, such programs for research, development, and construction have been contracted out to private industry and institutions which have developed internal systems capabilities. The ghetto economy has an inordinate need for credit, capital infusion, and wealth creation. As Ted Cross has pointed out: "The great talent of the government to achieve political and social change—and indeed its vast economic power as the largest bank in the world, must not be confused with its meager ability for the job of building production and marketing skills—and blending these skills with credit and risk capital for the creation of wealth." Moreover, when government is not leading, is not remedying a clearly understood and acknowledged social problem of staggering proportions, those of us who are deeply concerned, who are morally committed to the righteousness of social economic justice, and who perceive the ultimate wrath of failure, must not throw up our hands and say there is nothing we can do until the government enacts a viable program. The stakes are too high.

Third: More than any other institution, big business, mature industry as Galbraith says, not only possesses the resources and ability to do the job, but should also have the highest motivation. Financial bigness is one measure of potential capability. As an example of how big business is financially qualified to muster the necessary talents and resources, it is worth noting that several of the nation's largest corporations each have annual gross revenues which far exceed those of any single state. The revenue of General Motors is approximately eight times that of New York State and slightly less than 1/5 of the federal government. On the other hand, it is also worth noting that, while all business involvement in ghetto development has been infinitesimal in relation to need, Cross pointed out that the most creative urban projects have originated with entrepreneurial organizations, often dominated by a creative businessman skilled in taking risks and in entering seemingly unpredictable market situations. These are companies that are highly innovative and successful, constantly seeking new opportunities.

Business should be fully involved in developing the ghetto, not only because it represents earnings and manpower creation opportunities, but because the public expects business to become involved. There is a growing public reaction against big business based on the feeling that business is exploitive and not developmental, that it is eminently powerful but undemocratic. If big business does not respond to the desires and aspirations of the public which provides its revenues, if it fails to employ its vast resources in leading the way to social economic justice, it first will be cut off from a supply of talent, the non-self-generating factor of production, and ultimately will be subject to growing pressure for increased legislative

control. If business and other institutions do not become more responsive and attuned to the just demands of society, we soon will see the formation of new, white-collar unions. These unions will not seek increased personal remuneration; instead, they will try to apply internal corporate and institutional pressure to achieve broad-based social objectives. They will demand personal sabbaticals at full pay, in order to apply the talents of industrial experience to solving the problems of poverty. They will systematically withhold educated talent from socially unresponsive institutions. And they will publicize data ranking the developmental attitudes of industrial and educational institutions competing for the same talent.

However, if farsighted business management does intend to involve itself, if the visionaries intend to commit their institutions, they must learn that business must first *earn the right* to participate in this great challenge of the 20th century. The record for selfless business development has been so dismal that big business is not trusted by the young people or by the urban community leaders; it is thought to be hypocritical, insincere, and inconsiderate of the public interest.

What can the Urban Coalition do? To answer that, let us look at the strengths and assets of the Coalition:

First: The Urban Coalition is founded on the principle of coalition. It is held in high but perhaps fading esteem by both established institutions and the leaders of the poor. As Mr. Gardner remarked at a White House dinner this past June, "The Coalition is a unique organization, bringing together diverse elements of American life."

Second: Because of its stature, the Urban Coalition should be capable of raising far more money to rebuild America than its present annual budget of \$4.4 million. However, to do so, the Coalition will need a concrete plan with specifically identified goals and objectives.

Third: Because of studies such as that presented here today by Bill Kaye, and because of its field experience in various cities, the Coalition should be a comprehensive repository of acquired skills and knowledge on urban problems around the country.

In view of these assets, I suggest that the Urban Coalition redirect its major thrust along the following lines:

1. That it select six to twelve urban ghetto communities from around the country which are reasonably well organized, possess a clear understanding of their community needs, and are willing to participate in a massive community development project.

2. That the Coalition then invite several major business and educational institutions to submit bid proposals for each of the target communities. The proposals would recognize the right of community control, and would spell out in specific detail the goals, plan of action, scope of work, method of organization, financing, talent resources, and ownership sharing concepts which the institution would use in a systematic redevelopment of the community, recognizing not only the corporate need for profit, but the community's need to possess a self-generating source of profits and talent to finance and operate a variety of necessary or supplementary local social services, such as medical and day care, recreation, education, etc.

3. The Coalition would then award a development contract of sufficient size to allow that institution with the best proposal in each community to assemble staff and begin operation. In effect, the Coalition award would provide all or a portion of the risk capital required to begin the regenerative process. Thereafter, with private financing and government grants for existing programs, this type of comprehensive, systems oriented rebuilding process should be self-generating. Ideally, the Coalition's initial

investment would be returned over the long term from housing and business profits.

Obviously there is no guarantee that this approach will work, but there is evidence to show that it works in other applications. We cannot wait; the time for waiting has passed. We cannot go slow; we have been doing that for too long. Whole generations of Americans have been born poor and have died poor as the United States moved slowly. The Urban Coalition still has the opportunity to mold the common faith that our urban problems can be solved, but it must move. The proposal just presented allows for innovative approaches to urban problem solving. It would release the creative talents of American industry and education on our most wretched national problem.

This past spring my wife and I visited the beautiful and ancient city of Bath in southwestern England. As we were touring The Royal Crescent, a residential area of great beauty and architectural unity, we came upon this graffiti which I think is worthy of our continuing reflection: "The city is dying—look to your heads."

BUFFALO LABOR MOVEMENT'S ROLE IN CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, my home city of Buffalo, N.Y., is one of four cities where the AFL-CIO is sponsoring demonstration arts projects aimed at seeking increased participation and involvement in the arts by labor union members and their families.

Buffalo was selected as a test city in cooperation with the National Endowment for the Arts. A labor-arts organizational structure has been created and significant experimental projects are underway to pursue this basic objective. The salary of the Buffalo coordinator has been provided by the New York State Council of the Arts.

One of the early encouraging signs in Buffalo was the role of the Buffalo AFL-CIO Council in helping to save the Buffalo Philharmonic Orchestra. Faced with overwhelming obligations, there was a proposal—later aborted—to merge the Buffalo orchestra with the Rochester Philharmonic Orchestra.

The council added its full backing to public support for the orchestra and later set up a fund to help solve the orchestra's fiscal plight.

Just a few days ago, for the first time in the orchestra's history, a labor official was named to the orchestra's board of directors. He is George L. Wessel, president of the Buffalo AFL-CIO Council.

Commenting upon the labor-arts project and its relationship to the orchestra, Mr. Wessel said:

The labor movement today has more leisure time. The idea of the project is to acquaint our membership with cultural organizations like the Buffalo Philharmonic.

Although the pilot project has yet to do anything specific with the orchestra, there is a special "Salute to Labor" pops concert planned in January or February. The concert will be free for the union membership, and is intended to stimulate interest in live orchestral music.

POTENTIAL AUDIENCE

It is up to us—the Buffalo Council of the AFL-CIO—to educate our own people,"

Wessel said. "I think there is a potential audience in the labor force, but we have to acquaint them with the orchestra. We have to get them out of their homes and away from their TV sets.

In further elaboration of what is being done in Buffalo in connection with the Labor-Arts project, I include with my remarks two stories from local newspapers:

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Courier-Express, Nov. 3, 1968]

PROJECT TO ENRICH UNIONISTS IS TESTED

(By Joseph P. Ritz)

Don't be too surprised if your barber starts talking about the impressionist versus the realistic school of painting the next time you get a haircut. It's all part of an effort by the AFL-CIO to upgrade the cultural lives of its members.

Buffalo is one of the four test cities chosen a year ago for a two-year Demonstration Arts Project to determine whether the unions can succeed in enriching the lives of its members.

If it succeeds, presumably, programs similar to the ones in the demonstration cities will be tried nationally.

Although it was announced last year, the program was not kicked off locally until last June and a paid union official to head the program was not picked until September.

HEAD START IN BUFFALO

Harlowe Dean, national co-ordinating consultant for the program, told The Courier-Express last week. "The program is further along in Buffalo than in the other cities," principally, he explained, because it is the first city to hire a full-time coordinator. (The other cities involved in the demonstration are New York City, Minneapolis and Louisville.)

The co-ordinator, Robert J. Jarnot a high school teacher of business law until this fall, "is doing a darn good job," according to Dean.

The main thrust of the local program is to interest union members in attending the community's chief cultural offerings: such as plays at the Studio Arena Theater, concerts at Kleinhans Music Hall, performances at The Ballet Center of Buffalo.

Actually, chances are that your barber may not get down to talking about the nitty-gritty of the art world, but Jarnot has sent flyers to all union barbers in the area asking them to talk up a series of art lectures at the Albright-Knox Gallery being held this month and next, intended to introduce the public to the fundamentals of art.

PROFESSIONAL GROUPS LATER

Later, Jarnot hopes to have professional theatrical groups act in union halls and bring the Erie County and Buffalo Public Library's bookmobiles to labor meetings.

One of the things that the AFL-CIO hopes to achieve by its program is the creation of artistic works for the working man.

This brings up the question of whether a playwright or composer can write for the blue collar worker without lowering his artistic standards. That fact is, as anyone familiar with the arts is aware, great works of music and drama which have survived the test of time from Oedipus Rex to Hamlet were written for the common man of their era.

One suggestion as to why the AFL-CIO is spending so much effort and money to bring culture into the life of its members is that having gotten so much leisure time for its members in the form of shorter work weeks, holidays and vacations, it feels responsible for how they use it.

IMPROVING OPPORTUNITIES

In its official explanation of why it was creating the project, the AFL-CIO itself declared it was "concerned not only with bettering the working conditions of employees,

but with improving their opportunities to share in the benefits which their labor produces."

This interest in cultural affairs by labor is no doubt beneficial both to the community and to the union members. But it also reflects a loss of spirit and spontaneity and unity of purpose which labor had in its adverse early days.

For music and art and drama and dance should make a statement. There was a time when the labor had something to say and it said it and in consequence added to American culture.

Those were the days when Joe Hill, Pete Seeger and Woody Guthrie were writing and singing songs which echoed in union halls across America. When "This Land Is Your Land" and "Solidarity Forever" meant as much to the union movement as "We Shall Overcome" and "If I Had a Hammer" does to the civil rights movement.

It's been a long time since songs were sung in union halls or in picket lines. But when they were, they contributed something to the cultural life of the nation.

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News, June 14, 1969]

LABOR COMMENT—WILL PHILHARMONIC BE LABOR'S NEW LOVE LOST?

(By Ed Kelly)

For the area, AFL-CIO, which only recently began wading into the Niagara Frontier's pool of culture, it's now sink or swim.

To change the metaphor George Wessel, president of the central labor organization, put it this way the other day: "Only last September, organized labor in this community committed itself to the arts. Now the bomb's dropped."

The "bomb"—of major concern to all segments of the community, not just to labor—is the threat to the continued existence of the Buffalo Philharmonic Orchestra. The orchestra surely is one of the frontier's principal cultural assets, and certainly one which must be protected stoutly by labor if the latter's commitment to the arts counts for anything.

The commitment is real. Ten months ago the national AFL-CIO selected Buffalo as one of the four pilot cities (New York, Minneapolis and Louisville are the others) for establishment of a Demonstration Arts Project.

TWO-YEAR TEST

The DAP program is a two-year test aimed at interesting today's worker in activities which can give him a better understanding of the world in which he lives, and at assisting the cultural efforts of a community by broadening their bases of support.

The Buffalo project, directed by the Buffalo AFL-CIO Council, is co-ordinated by Bob Jarnot, a Teachers' Union member on leave from South Park High.

Under Jarnot, Wessel and others, links have been established between unions and such cultural resources as the Philharmonic Orchestra, the Studio Arena Theater, the Ballet Center of Buffalo, Melody Fair, the Albright-Knox Art Gallery and the Buffalo & Erie County Public Library.

Thousands of brochures promoting the orchestra and the Studio Arena have been circulated among unionists. Placards promoting future performances have been posted in plant locker rooms, union halls, and on shop bulletin boards.

FIRST CONCERTS CONVINCED

Many a union member has attended a play or concert for the first time in his life. And liked it so much, he's returned. Again and again.

The orchestra held an "open" rehearsal for workers and their families. And is planning another. All around the area, union workers' children are hearing special orchestra performances. And loving them. And telling their parents about them.

Now, as Wessel puts it, has come the "bomb"—the disclosure that, because of financial difficulty, merger of the Buffalo and Rochester Philharmonic Orchestras is under study.

For labor, and the community, this is the crunch.

Foremost among the protesters are the Buffalo orchestra's own musicians. A Players Committee to save the orchestra has sprang up, led by 35-year-old Rodney Pierce. As he carries his Save-the-Philharmonic message about town, he's become as talented a persuader as he is an oboist.

CONCERN FOR PHILHARMONIC

The Buffalo AFL-CIO Council has two reasons—both formidable—for doing all in its power to help save the orchestra.

The first is its commitment to the arts through the Demonstration Arts Project, which has focused a national eye on labor here. The second (perhaps even more compelling to some unionists than the first), is the traditional obligation most unionists feel to come to the aid of fellow unionists who are in a bind.

The musicians who make up the Buffalo Philharmonic Orchestra are 100 per cent union. They belong to the American Federation of Musicians (AFL-CIO), most of them through membership in the AFM's Buffalo Musicians Association, Local 92. The local is an affiliate of the Buffalo AFL-CIO Council.

With the future of the orchestra threatened, so is the future, and therefore livelihood, of the 87 union musicians who comprise it. This is a predicament which unionists everywhere can understand, sympathize with and want to do something about.

LABOR'S FIGHT, OPPORTUNITY

Rodney Pierce puts the crisis bluntly: "This is labor's fight," he tells union audiences, "and labor's opportunity.

"We aren't asking you to help just because we're members of a union, but also because you're members of this community, and the Philharmonic makes up a huge segment of our civic pride and civic identity."

The crisis already has established deep rapport—for the first time here—between the union musician and the rest of the labor movement. Each realizes the other belongs to it. Rodney Pierce's invitations to address union meetings are pyramiding.

The Buffalo AFL-CIO Council, embarking on a Save the Symphony (SOS) drive, hopes to move individual union members and individual unions to give emergency—and later regular—financial assistance to the orchestra. And, above all, to press the managements, with whom they bargain collectively, to do likewise, and in generous measure.

"We bargain with these companies," says Wessel. "We know the avenues of approach to them. It's up to us to impress on them that they as employers, just as we as employes, have an obligation to aid and enrich the community in which all of us work and live."

Ironically, one eventual aim of the AFL-CIO's Demonstration Arts Project is to enable a unionist to enjoy his leisure more fully. Right now, girding to help save the Philharmonic, leisure is something Wessel, Jarnot, Pierce et al. will find in short supply.

DESCRIPTION OF PROPOSED IMPORT-CEILING LEGISLATION

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, almost every day industries are closing in this country due to cutthroat competition from abroad. This makes proposed trade regulations of critical importance.

The proposed trade legislation is designed to provide domestic industry, agriculture, and labor with a remedy against the adverse effects of an undue rise in imports on industrial growth, employment, and profits. It is, in effect, an escape clause, revised to assure the actual availability of a remedy to industries that have suffered or stand to suffer serious injury from rising imports.

The legislation is therefore not open to any industry unless imports have made a serious market penetration.

The bill lays down two sets of criteria for determination of the question of serious injury or a threat thereof. One is for use when sufficient statistical evidence is available for the Tariff Commission to determine what share of the market—that is, of domestic consumption—is supplied by imports. The other is to be followed when the statistical evidence is not good enough to permit the calculation of the share of the domestic market being supplied by imports.

In the first of these two instances, which is to say, where the share of the market supplied by imports can be determined, a 10-percent penetration of the market will be interpreted as representing serious injury if absolute imports have doubled since 1960. A threat of serious injury, on the other hand, will be assumed if not less than a 7½-percent penetration has been made by imports.

The year from which to measure the trend of imports in terms of the share of the market—penetration—supplied by them is 1960, or the 10 most recent years, whichever is less.

In either approach, any industry, labor union, or trade association alleging serious injury would file a petition before the Tariff Commission, even as in the past under the escape clause or for adjustment assistance. The Tariff Commission would make a preliminary survey to determine whether available statistics make it possible to determine the share of domestic consumption supplied by imports—market penetration. Should this result affirmatively the Commission would proceed to determine the share of domestic consumption supplied by imports since 1960, as just stated.

If the available statistics were inadequate to make possible such a finding, the Commission would nevertheless proceed to make a finding with respect to injury, but under different guidelines. The bill under these circumstances calls for an examination of the probable adverse effects of rising imports on growth of the industry, expansion of the industry, level of profits, and the trend of employment.

Upon a finding of serious injury or a threat thereof the Commission would in this type of proceeding recommend an increase in duty to the President or an import limitation, that in its judgment would prevent or remedy the injury. The duty could not be placed at a level higher than 25 percent of the 1930 rate; and no quantitative limitation—import quota—could reduce imports below the average of the 2 most recent years.

If the President were opposed to put-

ting the Commission's recommendation into effect he would send his reasons to Congress, and if either House by a majority vote of those present and voting sustained him within 90 days, the Commission's recommendation would be set aside. Otherwise it would be put into effect.

IMPORT CEILINGS AND QUANTITATIVE LIMITATIONS

The most distinctive part of the legislation lies in those cases in which the share of the market supplied by imports can be determined. In those cases the Tariff Commission would determine the level of imports that could be admitted into the country without going so far as to impose administrative limitations on them, and this level would be the ceiling. Only if imports subsequently should break through such ceiling in their upward surge would an administrative limitation be imposed. This need not happen if the exporting countries took care to avoid it.

It is thought that in most instances in which injury from imports occurs or threatens, statistical evidence of the share of domestic consumption supplied by the imports is adequate. The Commission could then proceed on the basis of recommending ceilings to the President instead of recommending a tariff increase, if the facts developed in hearings and investigation demonstrated deep enough a market penetration by imports to justify an affirmative finding for a ceiling under the criteria laid down in the law.

The President would proclaim such ceilings upon a finding by the Tariff Commission of the share of domestic consumption supplied by imports of the product or article in question if this share were above the 10-percent penetration level, thus meeting the criteria of a serious injury—7½ percent in the case of a threat of serious injury.

The Commission would thereafter keep the President informed of the trend of imports in terms of the share of domestic consumption supplied by them, in all instances in which a ceiling had been proclaimed. Should imports fail to rise above the ceiling level no actual administrative quantitative limitation would be established. Only if imports should rise above the ceiling for a period of 6 consecutive months—that is, above 50 percent of the ceiling for a whole year—would the President impose the limitation.

By controlling their exports to this country, the foreign countries could avoid triggering the imposition of an administrative quantitative limitation—import quota. If after such a limitation were imposed imports for a whole calendar year should fall below the ceiling, the President would rescind the administrative quantitative limitation—import quota.

The ceiling for each article for which one had been established would be revised each year to adjust the quantity to any increase or decrease in domestic consumption, thus permitting imports to grow in proportion to the domestic consumption of the article. This proportion

might be 10 percent, 12 percent, 20 percent, or whatever had been found by the Tariff Commission to be the ceiling as prescribed in the law for the particular level in each case according to the extent of market penetration.

No quantitative limitation would remain in effect over 5 years if it were imposed upon a finding of serious injury, and not over 3 years if it were imposed upon a finding of a threat of serious injury. After a year subsequent to the ending of the quantitative limitation, the industry in question could petition the Tariff Commission for a new ceiling.

NEW CONCEPT

The concept of a ceiling on the share of the market that would be available to imports is relatively new. The further provision that imports would be allowed to expand as domestic consumption might expand introduces a flexibility into quantitative limitations on imports that is very rare and would go far to remove the usual objection to import quotas on the ground that they would place trade in a straitjacket. Indeed a further element of flexibility is introduced by allowing an interval of a year or more for reestablishment of a new ceiling, after 3 or 5 years.

The principal virtues of the proposal lie in the limited nature of the cutback in the level of imports if any; the avoidance of an actual administrative limitation on imports if the exporting countries do not trigger one; the exclusion of industries that have not experienced injury from increased imports arising subsequent to a tariff reduction or reductions under one or more trade agreements, and the flexibility already mentioned.

As an effective remedy for injury from trade agreements concessions with a minimum of objectionable features the proposed approach would be unique.

One thing is certain: If some action is not taken before long, increasing imports will work such serious damage to the American economy, already plagued by high interest rates, high pressures, high prices sparking high wage demands, and serious inflationary pressures, that the country could well face a real crisis, deflated, depressed conditions in industry and severe employment, and the loss of prosperity conditions in the country. Let us be mindful of that danger.

This kind of development could gravely affect the working people of our country, our industrial structure, our national revenues, or tax and fiscal position, and create for us grave, additional problems which, added to the ones we already have, could very adversely affect the standards of living, and the future well-being of every person in the country.

The pending remedial bills are moderate, reasonable, and provide administrative measures and safeguards that we could effectively use to protect our economy against injurious, foreign competition.

Certainly something must be done as speedily as possible to provide realistic, workable controls over imports that are threatening much of our economic structure.

POW'S AT CHRISTMASTIME—WHAT
ARE WE DOING FOR THEM?

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, 25 years ago this morning I was taken prisoner by the German Army in the initial assault of what history records as the Battle of the Bulge. This military operation, which cost 80,000 U.S. casualties was a complete surprise attack only because of Soviet betrayal of Allied forces in the West—see my remarks of September 29, 1969, at page 27565 of the daily CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

How well I remember those bleak and lonely days—some without food, and seldom with adequate shelter.

I remember Christmas of 1944 all too well—locked with other American soldiers in a cattle car being transported farther behind the German lines. The train itself was constantly subject to air attack by our own planes, and properly so.

That Christmas there was neither food nor water. The cold was so bitter that survival itself depended upon constant movement and inner strength.

Then, just a month later, I recall vividly my 21st birthday—in a prison compound, with its armed guards, its barbed wire, the dogs, and still the bitter cold. But by that time we had been contacted by the International Red Cross, our names had been recorded, and our next of kin had been notified of our whereabouts and welfare.

There are other Americans who will spend this Christmas of 1969 as prisoners—prisoners of war in a country which is so barbaric and uncivilized that it lacks the human decency to abide by the Geneva protocol to which it subscribed, and to allow the families of these men to know that they are alive, let alone the nature of their health.

As a former prisoner of war in Europe, I know all too well the desolate feeling of loneliness in imprisonment. However, those of us held prisoner in Europe never experienced total despair. We were confident that our countrymen at home supported us 100 percent; that we were not forgotten and that the leaders of our Government would never rest until we were freed and restored to our homeland. We knew that never in the history of the United States had Americans ever been deserted by their country.

We could hear the sounds of military action from our troops, the distant rumblings of artillery, the frequent bombing of the enemy in his base of operations, and we knew America had the will and the positive leadership to win. But most of all our morale was bolstered with the confidence that we would never be abandoned or deserted by our country. As prisoners of war in Europe, we were always heartened and reassured by the knowledge that freedom was only a matter of time.

Life in a prison camp in Germany was not pleasant—no man takes pleasure at

the loss of his freedom—but as prisoners of war held by a civilized Christian nation we were at least treated within the minimum standards—with isolated exceptions—prescribed by the Geneva Convention. Further, we were captives of a nation which had not made it their national policy to mistreat prisoners of war.

How much more dismal and grim the condition of our men held captive in North Vietnam, Korea, and China. They can detect no evidence of attack on their captors. They hear no falling bombs, no advancing artillery, no evidence of impending rescue. Their only contact with the outside world is through enemy propaganda. And in that propaganda they hear and see films of leaders of their own country, supporting the position of the enemy and referring to their activities as war crimes.

They are used as trading material by the enemy's "dear American friends" in this country. Now that old-line Communist apologist Cyrus Eaton has returned from Hanoi loud in his praise of the reasonable and peaceful attitude of the Hanoi government, and its real friendship toward the American people, it certainly can be expected that the Reds will use their trading position to permit their friends here in the United States to release another few names—probably of air and naval officers—who are being held in North Vietnam.

Unless we end the hostilities in Vietnam in such a manner that we can physically recover all of our men—and this means victory—we can expect that little pieces of news of their identity and welfare will leak out from time to time for years, when it serves the Communist purpose.

This week, I received a Christmas greeting from a former enemy—a German officer—who writes that he is spending his 25th Christmas as a captive in a prisoner of war camp in Europe. All but forgotten by the world, and sustained only by the hope that his former enemies may one day show him mercy and restore him to freedom, he is totally at the mercy of the victors.

His nation was vanquished in World War II, and his extended imprisonment brings home all too well what fate is in store for a nation's fighting men held captive when it fails to win their restoration. They remain forever at the mercy of the enemy.

It is because of this tragic lesson from past wars, and my own personal travail as a prisoner of war, that I have raised my voice again and again on behalf of the Americans now held in Vietnam by the ruthless Communists.

If we withdraw or surrender in Vietnam, neither these imprisoned fighting men nor their loved ones will have any hope. They are entitled to the same measure of devotion from their government and countrymen which they demonstrated in loyal performing their duties in combat.

I include a copy of the Christmas greeting referred to and several pertinent newspaper clippings relating to the Battle of the Bulge and the Soviet betrayal, as well as the current dilemma of our prisoners in Vietnam, in my remarks:

Mr. JOHN R. RARICK,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. RARICK: As the Christmas-season approaches, I make use of that occasion to wish you a merry Christmas and a happy new Year!

In the last time happened something what is of some importance in connection with my case. On November 12 my Austrian lawyer had a conference with the State Secretary of the Austrian Federal Chancellor (Prime-Minister) at Vienna. Result: the official intervention by the Austrian government to the Italian government in favour of my release will be made still before X-mas in relation to my 25th Christmas as prisoner of war.—The moment for such an official intervention is favourable at present, because the Austro-Italian friction over South-Tyrol borderland has been overcome: firstly through the exception of the "packet" (proposals by the Italian government to the South-Tyrol people) by the South-Tyrolian-peoples-party; and secondly by means of the recent meeting of the Austrian and Italian Foreign Ministers at Copenhagen (other meetings will follow), so that now has taken place a "détente" between Rome and Vienna.

I am further on hopeful that all the efforts of my Protection Power and of my lawyers will be successful one day. Therefore, I shall pass in high spirits another Christmas as prisoner of war in Italy.

With cordial regards,
Sincerely yours,

MAJ. WALTER REDER.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Dec. 16, 1969]

GERMAN SAYS STALIN WITHHELD BATTLE OF
BULGE SECRET DATA

NEW YORK.—A retired German officer says former Soviet Premier Stalin withheld secret information from the United States and Great Britain about Hitler's plan for Battle of the Bulge counterattack, Time magazine reports in its current edition.

The result, Time says, was to prevent the Western allies from reaching Berlin before the Russians.

Quoting Hasso von Manteuffel, leader of the 5th Panzer Division, one of the spearheads in the battle, Time said:

Had Hitler been persuaded to call off his attack, Europe might have followed a different course. According to General Manteuffel, Stalin knew all about Wacht am Rhein (Watch on the Rhine), the German code name for the counterattack through a security leak in German headquarters. He said nothing to his allies.

"Instead he waited until the German offensive was spent, then sent the Red Army dashing across Eastern Europe a month after the Ardennes battle began. Stalin apparently was aware that the last 200,000 members of the German army's strategic reserve were among the men committed to the Ardennes. Had those reserves been available for the Eastern Front, they might have stopped or delayed the Russians.

"U.S. soldiers, as a result, might have met the Russian troops at the Oder instead of on the Elbe, 125 miles farther west. The British would have reached the German rocket base at Peenemunde before the Russians captured its secrets. U.S. and British columns would have been first into Berlin. Moreover, the Russians would have lost the psychological advantage they have exploited throughout Eastern Europe by billing themselves as the true conquerors of the Third Reich."

The Battle of the Bulge, one of the war's costliest battles, took a toll of 8,000 American and 27,000 German soldiers. It began on the morning of Dec. 16, 1944, 25 years ago this week.

[From Time magazine, Dec. 19, 1969]

HITLER'S LAST GREAT GAMBLE

It began midsummer 1944 as a dream in the mind of Adolf Hitler. By late autumn, Wehrmacht planners had transformed the dream into battle orders. Hitler proposed to regain the offensive by deploying Germany's last reserves to smash through a lightly held sector of the Belgian front. His panzers would entrap as many as 30 U.S. and British divisions, capture the strategic supply port of Antwerp, and perhaps end the war in the West with a negotiated peace. Hitler thought of it as another Dunkirk and code-named it "Wacht am Rhein [Watch on the Rhine]." Allied archives would later refer to "the Battle of the Ardennes." To men who were there when the offensive began 25 years ago this week, it was "the breakthrough" or "the Battle of the Bulge"—and a time of sheer nightmare.

TWO-DAY RUSH

Today, historians describe the battle as Hitler's last great gamble, and German generals who survived the war as one of his great blunders. In interviews with several of those generals, Time's Bonn Bureau Chief Benjamin Cate learned how they sought to alter *der Führer's* plan, and how the postwar history of Europe might have changed had they succeeded.

One of the generals is Hasso von Manteuffel, who in 1944 led the Fifth Panzer Army, one of the two spearheads of the battle. Manteuffel, 72, now lives in quiet retirement near Munich. He told Cate how he and other officers under Field Marshal Gerd von Rundstedt, Commander in Chief West, protested that Hitler had set an impossible timetable by ordering a two-day rush to the Meuse, 50 miles distant. "Das ist unwiderruflich [This is irrevocable]," said General Alfred Jodl, Chief of Operations at supreme headquarters, slamming his fist on a conference table. Manteuffel, a dedicated bridge player, suggested that Hitler was trying for a *grosser Schlag*, a grand slam. Why not, he proposed to Jodl, settle instead for a more attainable *kleiner Schlag*, or little slam, by advancing only as far as Liège? Jodl was unmoved.

Hitler promised 300,000 troops for the attack and strong Luftwaffe support. Manteuffel recalls that during one seven-hour meeting, Hitler asked Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring how many planes he could provide. "Three thousand," Göring said instantly. "You know Göring," Hitler said to Manteuffel. "I think we shall have 2,000." The actual count was about 900.

Hitler had a strong reason for not accepting the opinions of his generals. As Siegfried Westphal, Rundstedt's chief of staff and now a steel executive, told Cate: "The generals had been wrong about both Czechoslovakia and Poland. None of us believed that such blitz campaigns were possible. Even in France, the German military predicted that the campaign would last much more than six weeks. Hitler was proved right, and ever afterward he followed his own judgment. Naturally, France was the last time he was right."

Had Hitler been persuaded to call off his attack, Europe might have followed a different course. According to Manteuffel, Stalin knew all about *Wacht am Rhein* through a security leak in German headquarters. He said nothing to his allies. Instead, he waited until the German offensive was spent, then sent the Red Army dashing across Eastern Europe a month after the Ardennes battle began. Stalin was apparently aware that the last 200,000 members of the German army's strategic reserve were among the men committed to the Ardennes. Had those reserves been available for the Eastern Front, they might have stopped or delayed the Russians. U.S. soldiers, as a result, might have met Russian troops at the Oder instead of on the Elbe, 125 miles farther west. The British would have reached the German rocket base at Peenemünde before the Russians captured

its secrets. U.S. and British columns would have been first into Berlin. Moreover, the Russians would have lost the psychological advantage they have exploited throughout Eastern Europe by billing themselves as the true conquerors of the Third Reich.

QUICK REACTION

Hitler, however, could not be swayed. On the morning of Dec. 16, 1944, German artillery shattered the darkness before dawn and shook the snow-covered pines with a massed barrage. Four U.S. divisions, stretched thin along an 88-mile front, were overwhelmed. U.S. intelligence was unaware that Rundstedt had tucked 26 divisions, 1,800 armored vehicles and 2,000 pieces of artillery in the snowy groves of the Schnee Eifel, waiting for "Null-Uhr [zero hour]."

Stunned at first, U.S. troops quickly recovered. By doggedly holding St.-Vith and encircled Bastogne, they prevented the Germans from widening their front. Within three days, Allied Commander Dwight Eisenhower had 500,000 men en route toward the breakthrough. On Jan. 9, Hitler himself conceded failure. He had lost 27,000 killed, 38,000 wounded and 16,000 prisoners. At least 600 tanks had been destroyed. The U.S. had lost 8,000 dead, 48,000 wounded and 21,000 prisoners. Within a month the bulge had disappeared. Within two, the Allies were across the Rhine and racing through Germany.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star, Dec. 7, 1969]

UNITED STATES IN DIFFICULT SPOT ON POW'S HELD BY REDS

(By Henry Bradsher)

The resolution calls for humane treatment of U.S. prisoners in North Vietnam and their release.

Hanoi says they are being treated humanely, but will not be released until all U.S. forces are out of Vietnam.

American officials—and former prisoners of the North Vietnamese—say the treatment is the barbaric opposite of humane. So they go on trying to do something to help the prisoners.

The resolution which the House Foreign Affairs Committee approved Thursday is one small part of that effort. It seeks to focus public opinion in the United States and abroad on the plight of the prisoners.

But North Vietnam has seemed insensitive to the opinion of those countries which have accepted and supported U.S. efforts to obtain better treatment for the prisoners. It has been supported in its attitude by several Communist countries, although the ineffective weight of world opinion is on the American side.

The fact facing the U.S. government is that there is nothing it can do about the prisoners. They are, officials feel, being held as hostages for a price that this country will not pay—an abrupt pullout from South Vietnam.

The North Vietnamese insistence on the withdrawal of all U.S. forces before the prisoners will be released is more categorical than Hanoi's position on other aspects of a peace settlement.

The Nixon administration talks of eventually being able to withdraw combat forces, but leaving some support troops in Vietnam. Nothing official has suggested that all U.S. forces will leave within the foreseeable future.

According to the latest available figures, there are up to 1,339 U.S. prisoners in North Vietnam or in Communist hands in South Vietnam or Laos.

The Pentagon lists 323 servicemen missing and 70 believed captured in South Vietnam, and 443 missing and 341 believed captured in North Vietnam. Most of the former were ground troops, the latter airmen.

In Laos, 160 Americans are missing and two are presumed captured. Although not publicly acknowledged to be fighting in Laos,

the United States has advisory forces there and makes aerial attacks.

ROGERS' EFFORTS

Most public attention has been on the airmen shot down during U.S. raids on North Vietnam from 1965 to 1968. But American statements on prisoner problems have usually applied to all the imprisoned servicemen.

Secretary of State William P. Rogers has several times sought to focus attention on the situation.

On June 5 he opened a news conference with a statement asking for humane treatment and the right for impartial observers to visit North Vietnamese prison camps. "I believe that any sign of good faith by the other side in this matter would provide encouragement for our negotiations in Paris," Rogers said.

Aides refused to explain just what Rogers meant by that, but there was no response and discouragement deepened in Paris.

Again in July, Rogers denounced Hanoi's "inhumane and inexcusable" attitude in a carefully calculated show of temper that got the desired attention from the American press but no improvement.

The administration then decided to have Lt. Robert Frishman, one of the few prisoners released by the Communists, tell his harrowing story.

American prisoners in North Vietnam, he said Sept. 2, are subject to "solitary confinement, forced statements, living in a cage for three years, being put in straps, not being allowed to sleep or eat, removal of fingernails, being hung from a ceiling having an infected arm which was almost lost, not receiving medical care, and being dragged along the ground with a broken leg."

By what officials insist was coincidence, there appeared to be a new wave of administration publicity for the prisoners' case last month. It began with a presidential proclamation of Nov. 9 as a Day of Concern.

Two deputy assistant secretaries, William H. Sullivan from the State Department and Dennis Doolin from Defense, testified before a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee which was considering the prisoner resolution.

"We are simply asking the Communists to live up to their own statements" that the prisoners have been treated "humanely" and "leniently," Sullivan said.

He noted that Hanoi has refused to abide by the 1949 Geneva convention on treatment of prisoners of war, denying it applies. "We have sought to avoid fruitless legal contention on this subject," Sullivan said, "because what is at stake here is the treatment and welfare and very survival of personnel who are helpless in the hands of the enemy."

U.N. APPEAL

The same week, the U.S. representative in the U.N. Political Committee appealed for proper treatment of the prisoners. It was the strongest presentation on the subject yet made to the United Nations, and some Communist nations plus Algeria and Cuba denied that it was a proper U.N. subject.

They also denied what the representative, Mrs. Rita E. Hauser, called a chilling record of prisoner treatment.

These statements brought several angry statements from Hanoi. It reiterated the "correct attitude and humanitarian policy" of North Vietnam and insisted the prisoners were war criminals, unentitled to Geneva Convention protection.

In fact, the official Hanoi newspaper Nhan Dan said, the prisoners come under "the principles laid down by the Nuremberg tribunal." It tried Nazi German war criminals after World War II.

Hanoi has not, however, repeated the threats it was making in the summer of 1966 to hold war crimes trials for the airmen who bombed North Vietnam.

The threats led to a storm of international

protests from the Pope and governments. Hanoi then "set aside" plans for trials but continued to emphasize a war crimes theme talking about the prisoners.

There was reason to believe that friends of Hanoi, possibly including U.S. leftists and the Soviet Union, advised that trials would not be helpful for the Communist cause.

Throughout U.S. efforts on behalf of prisoners, a main theme has been simply getting an accurate list of who is being held. A secretive regime in other ways, North Vietnam has refused to give this information directly.

Possible as a result of some consciousness of public pressures, Hanoi has made some names available indirectly. David Dellinger, an antiwar leader, came up recently with five previously unreported names of prisoners, and he has said he has an emissary en route to Hanoi for more names, possibly by Christmas.

The wives of missing servicemen who have appealed directly to North Vietnamese representatives in Paris for information, however, have received nothing so far but promises.

Some of them continue to sit anxiously by their mailboxes. But Hanoi has failed to show any more consideration for them than for the prisoners themselves.

CONVERSE COLLEGE GOVERNMENT INSTITUTE

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I invite attention to a statement by Dr. Fred Dixon, of Spartanburg, S.C., concerning the support and awareness of public education. Dr. Dixon, a fine and patriotic citizen of our State, has spent a lifetime working for good government. He is a retired U.S. Air Force colonel who has achieved many military recognitions, the former chairman and founder of the political science department of Converse College in Spartanburg, a civic leader, and a dedicated American.

Dr. Dixon is the director of the S & H Foundation Institute on State and Local Government and Constitutional Revision, which was made possible through the funds of this foundation. Converse College, one of the finest higher educational institutions in our State, has benefited greatly from these funds and the able direction of Dr. Dixon. Dr. Dixon is a concerned educator and his words will be of interest to everyone.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Dr. Dixon's statement be included in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

A FOUNDATION CONTRIBUTES TO THE FURTHERING OF HIGHER EDUCATION

In June of this year Converse College, a four-year liberal arts college for women, located in Spartanburg, South Carolina received a grant of \$2,000 from the S & H Foundation, sponsored by the Sperry and Hutchinson Company for the purpose of supporting an Institute on State and Local Government and Constitutional Revision.

This grant enabled the College to offer free of charge to teachers of the Social Sciences in Junior and Senior High Schools, students of Converse and of three other colleges in the city, faculty members of these institutions, and to the general public a series of

eight sessions presenting the fundamentals of good government at the state and local levels. No program of this kind had previously been presented in the community, nor in the State, as far as is known. Without the grant it would have been impossible to offer this program.

The Institute was supported by leading government officials and outstanding political figures from around the State. Several outstanding academic experts also participated to contribute the underlying theoretical concepts as to the nature of good government and the requirements and problems involved in achieving it.

Each session was attended by an average of thirty five or more teachers from Spartanburg and Greenville Counties plus an additional fifty to seventy five interested students and citizens. The opportunity to attend this Institute and to participate in the question and answer periods which were a part of the format has undoubtedly provided a big contribution to the understanding of good government. Through the participation of the teachers this influence will extend to an uncounted number of students in the public schools.

Condensed versions of each program have been recorded on video tape as a public service by WSPA-TV and will be broadcast in a series of eight weekly programs a little later in the year. It is anticipated, too, that these tapes will be made available free to the Educational TV service in the State. Through this medium the impact of the Institute should be felt throughout the public school system not only for the near future but also possibly in years to come.

The contribution of the S & H Foundation is an example of the beneficial results which a public-spirited foundation can make to a furthering of public education and awareness. In view of some adverse comments which are made from time to time regarding foundations it is believed that the commendable activities of the S & H Foundation should be noted and appreciated.

The Lectureship Program, of which the Institute was a part, is one phase of the S & H Foundation's regular Program of Aid to Education. Under this program, 329 grants to 277 schools have been made over the past nine years.

In regard to the Converse College Institute the Spartanburg Herald-Journal, a local paper, commented editorially, "Anyone who participates in these discussions will be well prepared to help determine the future nature of South Carolina government."

BRIDGING THE GENERATION GAP IN HELENA, MONT.

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, the term "generation gap" is one that we hear very frequently. All too often when our children disagree with us as parents and adults we attribute the cause of the misunderstanding to this "gap."

The existence of this gap has its virtues. It provides the stimulation for many of our youths to question constructively our actions and to seek recognition as individuals. As parents and adults, however, it is our responsibility to attempt to bridge this gap and explain to our children why we think as we do.

A distinguished jurist in Montana, Judge Lester Loble, is bridging this gap in the juvenile court in Helena. For years, Judge Loble has had an advisory com-

mittee of adults who meet privately with the juvenile and his parents and then informally advise the judge. Judge Loble has now added 12 "juveniles" from Carroll College, Helena High, and Broadwater County High School to this advisory committee.

The Helena, Mont., Independent Record of December 9 contained an article about Judge Loble's advisory committee of adults and juveniles. This innovation is said to be a first among the Nation's juvenile courts, and I think it merits the attention of the Senate.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

A FIRST FOR LOBLE: JUVENILES GO TO COURT— BUT TO ADVISE

(By Dave Earley)

Sometimes a juvenile court has to make the "lesser of two bad choices..."

That is the conclusion expressed by several area "juveniles" after recently finding themselves on the other side of the bench, right up there with the judge, pondering the solution of two current juvenile cases.

It took three weeks of questioning, soul-searching, and trial-and-error. And at the end a decision which may have been a foregone, though unhappy, conclusion: "But I don't know what else we could have done."

The "juveniles" are 12 Carroll College, Helena High and Broadwater County High School students recently added to Judge Lester H. Loble's nine-adult-member juvenile court committee.

STUDENT LEADERS

They are drawn from among student body leaders and it is probable that this was their first acquaintance with juvenile court. In any event, it was a new experience for the committee.

Seating juveniles on the local advisory panel is said to be a "first" among the nation's juvenile courts and it is no surprise that the step was taken by Judge Loble.

The veteran jurist authored Montana's Lobel Law, which took certain classes of juvenile proceedings out of their former masked, "Star Chamber" status, making them public, with both press and parents invited.

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT INTERESTED

And so it is fitting that this latest innovation should occur in the Loble court. And it is no surprise that Sen. Mike Mansfield, a Congressional committee and the Justice Department have expressed interest in the new idea, and have asked to be kept informed of developments.

Judge Loble has in the past drawn considerable fire from certain of his juvenile court judicial brethren about the country. Openly voiced arguments have centered greatly around minute disquisition over this or that statistic—whether or not open court for juveniles has reduced the so-called juvenile problem.

KEEPING THE PUBLIC INFORMED

The real crux of the question, however, has been and continues to be whether society is to be informed as to what is happening to its younger members. And it remains to be seen whether this latest "offense" to the time-honored isolation of our juvenile courts—introducing young members of society themselves to the decision making process—will raise further ire.

But Helena's ground-breaking Judge has acquired considerable protective scar tissue over the years, and at the conclusion of the recent session he seemed far more interested in the response and reaction of this new "juveniles" than in (possible) more shot and shell from liberal critics.

And a sampling of opinion among the new committee members reveals enthusiasm for the idea and something else: a suddenly deepened appreciation of just how difficult juvenile problems can be—for adults.

TWO AUTO THEFT CASES

Briefly the facts of the two connected cases considered during the recent session are as follows: two auto thefts, one engineered by three boys and the other by three girls, all ranging in age from 13- to 15-years-old.

After the first session one of the boys, a 15-year-old with an extensive background of trouble, was summarily sent to Pine Hills School in Miles City.

After testimony, and private questioning by the committee of a rancher-uncle from near Havre, the other two boys were released to his custody.

Two of the girls were released to supervision of the local probation office, to continue their schooling in Helena public schools, and the third was released to the custody of a grandmother in Harlem, to attend school there.

CHAIN OF EVENTS

During the next weekend the following events occurred: one of the girls, a 14-year-old, got drunk at home. When her mother returned at about 3 a.m. she found herself locked out, and pelted with bottles thrown out through the windows.

And a day later the two boys in Havre stole a car, picked up the girl in Harlem, drove to Helena and then Great Falls, consecutively stealing three more cars with attendant breakage, and subsequently found themselves back in county jail.

In Part II of the current session Judge Loble and his committee concurred in committing two boys and two girls to correctional institutions. Net result: five committed, one apparently yet doing well on probation.

About the first decision . . .

EVERYONE LOST

"They were right in recommending leniency. I agreed with them that we had to try. We all lost, including our young defendants," said the judge.

"That first time we had to give them the chance," says Jeannie Christie, 17, Broadwater County High. "It's so sad they had to get back into trouble . . . if we could only have put them, somehow, in a good home . . ."

"Yes, I felt we were choosing the lesser of two bad choices," says Janet Harrell, 17, Helena High, "Miles City, or right back to the environment which led them into this trouble to begin with . . ."

NEED HELP EARLIER

"But, then, I don't know whether a simple change of homes would help at this point . . . if we could only help them at an earlier age . . ."

"That's the trouble," sighs Jim Flanagan, adult member of the panel representing Catholic Charities, "we have to deal with them now."

"Really, you can't even say we had a choice," comments Lary Richtmeyer, 17, Broadwater County High. "As Janet said, somehow it reveals society's apathetic viewpoint . . . solving these problems by action in court . . . there should be something else, I don't know . . ."

Christie: "I think the court, this court brings it to the attention of the public . . ."

NEED SOMEONE TO IDOLIZE

Harrell: "I think, one thing, these youngsters need somebody to idolize, we all do—our parents, other adults . . . it's not just telling us what to do, lecturing, but setting an example, and because we idolize them we emulate them . . . these kids seem to have no one to copy but the ones who seem glamorous because they steal cars and do other things like that."

Richtmeyer: "Maybe they just don't know how to enjoy themselves. Our schools are

sometimes at fault, maybe. Some of us are always busy with school activities, I never seem to have any spare time before about 10 o'clock at night . . . but those in the background get bored . . . maybe they get into this kind of trouble just as a challenge, to do something . . ."

Harrell: "Gee, I wish I had time to even say 'There's nothing to do . . .'"

How do you feel about the juvenile committee, and being members of it?

SERVES DUAL PURPOSE

Richtmeyer: "I'm all for it and think it serves a dual purpose. The adults learn from hearing our viewpoints. And we gain . . . learn many things about adults, the reasons for the things they do . . ."

Christie: "Oh, definitely. But it's not only the experience for us . . . I think it gives those kids a different attitude about the court . . . they come in expecting a lecture: 'How bad I've been . . .'"

Harrell: "Remember that one girl? She said she hadn't realized she'd been wrong until she saw us . . . maybe they feel its only a matter of kids against adults, until . . ."

Christie: "Yes, until they see us there and realize that not all young people feel angry and, say, let off steam by stealing a car . . ."

Harrell: ". . . we can tell them, sometimes we feel that way too . . ."

Richtmeyer: ". . . we're young people, too, and we're interested."

"And having us on the committee has stirred up a lot of interest in the school. Both Jeannie and I have been asked several times to give talks."

Christie: "It's the same at Helena High, other kids stop us in the halls and ask us what it's like, what's going on . . ."

Harrell: "Maybe we'll learn something, those of us on the committee and our classmates, about juvenile problems . . ."

THE NEW MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE

HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, for the information of the membership of the House, and in order that it might receive wider publicity, I am herewith inserting in the RECORD a copy of a statement released by our able and distinguished colleague, RICHARD H. ICHORD, cataloging some recent activities of the New Mobilization Committee.

In this day of the New Left, it would seem that subversive organizations are more active than in any time since the creation of this young Republic emboldened by the sympathetic response in some areas and the judiciary. They are more and more determined, apparently, to destroy our form of government.

Mr. Speaker, I think the Congress and the country are fortunate in having, as the head of the House Committee on Internal Security, a man of the character and caliber of our colleague, Congressman DICK ICHORD. With no desire for the headlines, this sound and dedicated man conducts the affairs of this committee effectively and with dignity. He devotes many extra hours, as of necessity he must, to the task of trying to keep the country advised of the activities of these subversive organizations.

The following press release is indicative:

STATEMENT BY RICHARD H. ICHORD

WASHINGTON, D.C.—What was labeled as a weekend "teach-in" at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland, December 13-14, was, in fact, a secret conference of the steering committee of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam to plan a 1970 winter-spring offensive on the so-called power structure of the people and government of the United States.

This was disclosed today by Rep. Richard H. Ichord (D-Mo.) based on information obtained by investigators for the House Committee on Internal Security of which Ichord is Chairman.

The staff report noted that the New Mobe meeting was closed to the press and public.

New Mobe leaders, following Saturday workshops on a wide-ranging list of subjects they consider to be ripe for attack, devoted Sunday to concentrating on an agenda narrowing the field to three major areas for future activity.

The first was categorized by New Mobe as the issue of "repression" and it was suggested that January and February be dedicated to building a propaganda assault based on the New Left contention that all who oppose the U.S. Government's position on Vietnam are being "repressed." It was also recommended that New Mobe back up a Black Panther demand that the United Nations investigate the alleged genocide of Panther members by police and other law enforcement personnel.

Organization of self-styled "people's juries" to conduct mock trials designed to show New Left conspirators and demonstrators as innocent and the Federal Government as the guilty party are also under consideration, as well as New Mobe support for members of the U.S. armed forces who are accused, tried or punished for opposing the war in Vietnam and for civilians who aid deserters and draft dodgers.

A second campaign, tentatively contemplated for early spring, was discussed in detail and would deal with taxes used to finance America's defense expenditures and industry's profits from making the material of war.

According to the agenda, this might include the organization of strikes and picketing of food stores to protest inflationary prices caused by expenditures for our military operations in Vietnam; group demonstrations against paying Federal income taxes to finance anything but aid to poor people; urging G.I.'s to turn back their savings bonds, and a variety of demonstrations against industries manufacturing military equipment, including disruptions of stockholders' meetings of such corporations.

A third area considered would deal with persuading draftees to resist on grounds they could not participate in war crimes. This—it was strongly urged—could feature protest demonstrations at a number of military bases on Good Friday (March 27) and Memorial Day in collaboration with anti-war sympathizers among uniformed U.S. military personnel.

As far as Committee investigators could determine, plans were not considered for centrally located actions such as the "moratorium" in Washington November 15, 1969. Instead, it appears the New Mobe leadership is more interested in coordinating simultaneous efforts in some 250 U.S. cities on a broad front of agitation.

Prominent among the more than 100 New Mobe-New Left leaders attending the Cleveland conference were men like Sidney Peck, national co-chairman of New Mobe and the former Wisconsin State Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A.; Sidney Lens, former leader of the Revolutionary Workers League; Rennie Davis, one of the organizers of the violent demonstrations that occurred during the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago; Arthur Waskow of the

Leftist-oriented Institute for Policy Studies, and many others identified with elements of the New Left movement.

The groundwork for the December meeting was laid on November 22 at a meeting in downtown Washington when New Mobe's executive committee gathered to make an assessment of their "moratorium" campaign. Minutes of that meeting reveal that New Mobe received a number of inquiries from the news media for information about their future plans. However, the executive committee decided a "decision on any such plans would be made at the Steering Committee meeting in December."

Committee investigators reported that at the November meeting, David Dellinger—one of New Mobe's eight national co-chairmen and a man who has described himself publicly as a "non-Soviet" style Communist, offered a three-point proposal for the future of the organization.

This proposal not only called for a steering committee meeting December 13-14 but also advocated the establishment of task forces to "develop program ideas which could then be discussed in depth in workshops at the Steering Committee meeting."

This proposal was adopted—an indication of Dellinger's influence on New Mobe—and task forces were set up to deal with such subjects as "G.I.'s", "Tax Refusal", "Repression and Political Prisoners", "Conspiracy", "the Draft", and "Economic Boycott".

Virtually word for word, the Dellinger list comprised the agenda for the Saturday workshops at the Cleveland meeting in December.

Chairman Ichord said the Committee staff report indicated that while New Mobe will continue its campaign to force an immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam under such slogan banners as "Stop the War!", "Stop the War Machinery!", "Stop the Death Machine!", the broadened range of attack on the so-called "power structure" of the U.S. will, in Sidney Peck's stated view, cause the major political emphasis of the anti-war movement to be directed as exposing "the relationship between the racist, genocidal character of the war machine in Vietnam and the death-dealing aspects of that same machinery in the destruction of the environmental ecology at home."

Arthur Waskow, who admits a "gut preference for disorder," told the conferees in Cleveland that he believes New Mobe is the most important force on the Left now that Student for a Democratic Society, in his opinion, is collapsing. He said this would be particularly the case if college and high school students can be enlisted in New Mobe's activities.

Waskow declared that aside from anti-war actions, the New Mobe should "give a Left direction to the country" by devoting more attention to numerous domestic problems ranging from hunger to medical care, inadequate housing, air and water pollution, and

any conditions viewed as irritants to the middle class and working class in America.

He concluded: "The anti-war movement, as such, no longer needs the Mobilization (except perhaps to set dates and name focal points of action). The country, however, needs and wants an intelligent Left. That need is the one the Mobe should now fulfill."

Peck told the conferees that Arthur Waskow, Stewart Meacham of the American Friends Service Committee and he were asked to draft plans for a mass national action next spring. He declared that New Mobe wants "a general work stoppage (political general strike) in New York, Detroit, and either San Francisco or Los Angeles, with a sympathetic strike or moratorium demonstrations in every city in the country, including a special call to Federal employees in major Governmental offices in Washington, D.C."

The Committee staff reports the likelihood that a further national organizing conference of New Mobe to implement a detailed program of protests will be held in the near future.

SOCIAL SECURITY RISE

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, the 15-percent across-the-board increase in social security benefits as it has just passed the House is a much-needed step in the right direction. When one considers that the cost of living has risen 9.1 percent since the last social security rise in February of 1968, and that the benefits we are now voting will not take effect until next April, then the rightness of our vote becomes obvious.

As Chairman MILLS of the Ways and Means Committee has pointed out, this measure is only a beginning, not the end, of our consideration of the social security system. Mr. MILLS has promised to undertake an extensive review of all aspects of social security—disability insurance, hospital insurance, supplementary hospital benefits, and others—and report a comprehensive reform bill to the House next March.

Among the measures to which I hope the committee will give careful consideration is one which I, along with many of my colleagues, have long advocated. It calls for a standard cost-of-living increase in social security benefits, to be

applied automatically—as they generally are to civil service and military retirement benefits. Certainly, our senior citizens should not be forced to bear the brunt of inflation, by living on fixed income when wages and prices for the rest of our society are rising. Raising their social security benefits to meet the rising cost of living is not generosity—it is only fairness, and I hope that the Ways and Means Committee will recognize this in their deliberations next year.

For now, however, I applaud the step we have taken—remembering, as I say, that it is only the first of many that we must take to give our senior citizens what they deserve. Yesterday's vote, if accepted by the Senate, will do much to improve the lot of our retired citizens. The average benefit paid to a retired worker would rise from \$100 to \$116 a month. For a married couple, benefits would rise from \$170 to \$196 a month. Average widows benefits would rise from \$88 to \$100 monthly. A disabled worker's benefits would rise from \$113 to \$130 a month. And a widow with two children would find her social security check rising from \$254 to \$292 a month.

Some 25 million people would benefit from the increases provided in this bill.

It is, let me reiterate, a beginning to what I hope will be an extensive revamping our entire social security system. But this bill is a good beginning, and I am glad to support it.

COMMITTEE ON THE ENVIRONMENT

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, I thank my distinguished colleagues for the support they have given me in proposing a Committee on the Environment. It is now my hope that the Rules Committee will hold hearings on this proposal as soon as its schedule allows. Time is of the essence in this matter because if Congress begins the push for a better environment without the necessary committee framework and professional expertise, it may never assert its proper role in this area which becomes more important to all Americans with each passing day.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Thursday, December 18, 1969

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace among men of good will.—Luke 2: 14.

Our Heavenly Father, who hast come into this world of darkness to bring light, into this world of worry to bring peace, and into this world of fear to bring faith, may Thy blessing be upon us and upon each one of our homes this Advent season. Do Thou lead us as we seek earnestly to be worthy followers of Thy wholesome way.

Make our feet to walk along the road to Bethlehem where we may give due honor and praise to Thee whose love gave us Christmas Day. May we so make room for Thee in all our hearts that we may live at peace with one another and in good will with all Thy family.

In the spirit of Him whose birthday we celebrate we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed, with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 14794. An act making appropriations for the Department of Transportation and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the bill (H.R. 14794) entitled "An act