

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

PLIGHT OF THE FOOTWEAR  
INDUSTRY

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, may I bring to the attention of the Members of the U.S. Congress a speech made by Joseph M. Corcoran, president of Jones & Vining, Inc., of Brockton, Mass., on November 14 at the Statler Hilton Hotel in Boston.

Mr. Corcoran is an outstanding businessman in my congressional district, and is highly respected by those in the footwear industry. I thought because of the nature of his remarks the Members would be interested in what he had to say.

The speech follows:

REMARKS OF JOSEPH M. CORCORAN

I think that I ought to say at the outset that we are all not only in the same industry but, considering the stormy weather we're sailing through, we're all in the same boat.

But as suppliers to the shoe industry, perhaps our perspective is a little bit different, and so I'd like to look at the problem that we all face and see if our different perspective can't help us all to chart a new course.

The basic problem, of course, is imports. Everything else springs from it, it would seem. And even if imports are not the essential problem itself, at least they are the focal point from which stem a great many other problems which can be identified.

The industry is doing some remarkably fine work in attacking the problem. A great many committees and individuals are working very hard and very sincerely to apprise Washington of the seriousness of the import situation. I would like to say at this point that I stand one hundred per cent behind every effort being made to solve this problem.

But the wheels of government, as the textile people and others have discovered, are a long time turning. By the time the tariff situation is resolved, most of us may be long gone from the shoe industry.

In the meantime, we must do something about our immediate situation before it gets any worse. Like the bee, who couldn't wait for aerodynamics to figure out a way for him to fly, we have to get off the ground right now in order to save the domestic shoe industry.

In view of this, perhaps the different perspective I mentioned can offer yet another line of attack on the problem to supplement the industry's efforts in Washington.

Retailers aren't placing all of their orders overseas. It's just the initial orders that are going to the foreign manufacturers. For reorders they come to us.

After the initial styles and sizes are sold—or almost sold—to the public, and the retailer knows which ones have caught the buyer's fancy, do they rush through more orders for these items from Europe?

They do not. They show their belated confidence in us, and their dependence upon us, by telling us to go ahead and duplicate the most popular European shoes immediately.

They tell us to go ahead full speed, tool up fast, get the machines going and the people work. We then recruit additional help through frantic, costly advertisements and other promotional tools. When the people

come in, we have to train them fast, because the ones we trained last season have gone off to higher-paying, steadier jobs in other industries. To meet delivery dates, we have to pay plenty of overtime, of course.

We get the orders out. Then what happens? We have to shut down the machines and watch the help go off to other jobs while we wait for the next big rush. Today, with lower unemployment and higher pay outside the shoe industry, we've lost this season's workers and any opportunity to teach them our skills.

Another factor is the problem of cash. Now, we must have operating cash to exist. But the retailer can't pay us immediately because he's used up his cash paying on the line for European shoes. As a result, the domestic manufacturer waits anywhere from 90 to 120 days for his money.

We understand the retailer's problem. He's got a right to conduct his business to make a profit, too. But we also know that, in all American industry, there were 800 business failures last year, predominantly attributable to the fact that suppliers couldn't hold on until they collected on their accounts receivable.

Today, most people are paying around 12 per cent for their money, if you average it out. If a way could be found to force the foreign factories to pay interest on the money tied up in shoes manufactured for American distribution—instead of demanding and receiving cash—it could make a difference of 25 per cent or more in their charges to our retailers. This would go a long way towards offsetting our necessarily higher costs. Narrowing the mark-down would cause the retailers to take another look at the disadvantages of purchasing abroad, because they know we produce better products faster.

They know, but they forget. We haven't told them lately. We haven't gone over with them the basic advantages of long-term savings over short-term bargains.

Footwear News, in its October 16th issue says, and I quote:

"A Footwear News check of women's shoe manufacturers found most had noticeable delays in receiving orders. But retailers' reluctance to commit themselves for spring also is attributable to uncertainty about the economy, tight money and previous commitments on imports."

Note the phrase "previous commitments on imports." If the retailers had such previous commitments on domestic orders, they'd have no such reluctance—they know us, and they know we're both flexible and dependable and we shouldn't let them forget it. We should also remind them—and ourselves—that any kind of upheaval in Europe—economic, political or war-induced—would put this country in a terrible spot if we didn't have a healthy domestic shoe industry. We can't let it go down the drain, for the retailer's sake as well as our own.

Now, you may have the impression somewhere in the back of your minds that as a representative of the last makers I'm talking to you from the sidelines—viewing your troubles from the point of non-involvement.

This isn't the case at all, but you cannot be faulted for gaining such an impression in view of some of the advertisements for foreign shoes.

You've seen ads reading "Shoes from Italy made on American lasts." "Shoes from Spain made on American lasts." "Shoes from Japan" and so forth.

These statements are just not true. I know of no foreign shoes made on American lasts. They decide on the style, make the last model here, and send it to Europe where the

lasts are made in foreign factories. No domestic last manufacturer I know is producing lasts for Europe. And I know of none who are planning to.

Like you, we get into the act later, when you ask us for a rush re-order of an initial order which neither you nor we had anything to do with. We send you more of what we never sent you in the first place, just as you do with the retailer.

So we all get into the act after the retailer has found out what the public wants, based on what the foreign manufacturers gave him to sell. And we wait for our money just as you do. In fact, we wait for the same money you wait for, when you come right down to it, like the PT boats in World War II, our factories and our people are considered just as expendable as yours.

The people part is the most tragic part of any economic upheaval. Because the shoe field is a low-paying industry by American standards, we find it difficult to attract young people. What kind of long-term security can we offer them to offset the higher wages in other areas, if we're going to have to lay them off between orders?

We're certainly not going to attract these youngsters, or convince retailers and the consumer of the advantages of American-made shoes with the impression we're giving now. We are putting forth an image of an old and tired industry—a picture of old people, old factories and practically no marketing sense—in the greatest marketing nation in world history, by far.

This must make the importers happy—they don't have to do much to hasten our doom. We've made a do-it-ourselves project out of the situation.

Now, I'm not going to go any further about our problem without proposing a solution. It's basic, and it can be acted upon right away. It takes work, of course, but it's the kind of work we know how—or used to know how—to do better than anyone.

You may remember that the Last Makers Association wholeheartedly recommended the adoption of the Battelle Institute's report on sizings and gradings. We did this because we felt strongly that the substitutions of over-all standard grades would eliminate the specific size tariff problem and not sacrifice fit or fashion.

This alone would offer the retailer a major advantage. The Europeans leave him stranded with no inventory of the most popular sizes and styles, and foist on us the chore of producing them on the double.

We can forecast the styles and sizes which will be most in demand. We know what Europe is doing as soon as they know, if not before. And we can produce a variety of sizes so that the retailer will have the ones he needs most, the ones he won't be stuck with. The less called for sizes will still be available to him and he will be able to reorder the ones that are in demand from the supplier he ordered them from in the first place.

Here is our opportunity to restore our rightful place in the market. But we have to let the retailer know that we are wide awake, not old and stodgy. We've got to reflect confidence in ourselves and our tradition as the greatest marketing nation in the world. We're not kids on our first date—we're not asking for the order, we're insisting on it, because we know we can produce. We want the retailer to know it.

We should begin immediately to concentrate on better marketing programs—from the actual person-to-person hard sell through all the ancillary back-up of the most sophisticated promotional, display and advertising material.

We've got to convince the retailer that we can anticipate the shoe styles and sizes that will sell, just as well, if not better than the Europeans can. We know what Americans want in other fields—why not in footwear?

The Europeans, as I said, are producing from our basic last models. We can certainly make lasts and shoes from our own basic models. We can produce them faster, deliver them faster, handle re-orders immediately, and turn out a better, more durable all-around product.

That leaves the problem of costs. The Europeans can undersell us. Can this be solved? I believe so.

Starting with domestic manufacturers from the beginning is going to give the retailer advantages which will outweigh his apparent big mark-up on foreign shoes.

We should remind the retailer that, with us—as he's undoubtedly learning now—his shoes will be delivered, if we are the initial manufacturers, when he wants them. This goes for both his first orders and his re-orders. With the domestic manufacturer already tooled up, re-orders can be handled speedily, efficiently and with no worry about time-lag, during which the consumer can change his mind about styles, or simply become impatient and decide to wait until next year to buy any but the most basic shoes out of necessity.

And—through us, or because of us—the retailer's commitments, which later become previous commitments, are completely flexible, as opposed to rigid, non-cancelable orders placed overseas.

Still on the American vs. European cost differential, we must show the retailer that it is inefficient as well as expensive to go abroad on a one-shot deal. He finds out that style XYZ is a runaway popularity winner. Then, knowing that the Europeans will only accept cash for re-orders, to be delivered sometime or other, he must wait for the new shipments to cross the ocean. So he comes to us and has to wait anyway. This simply wouldn't be the case if he had ordered from us in the first place. When he pulls us in after the barn door is closed, he can't reasonably expect fast production.

I believe we can show the retailer why they should order from us in the first place. I suspect that we've been beefing about a problem whose practical aspects could well unravel the whole situation. Have you reminded a retailer lately that with us he doesn't have to tie up cash immediately, as he does abroad. That he doesn't have to limit his quantities in case a style or grade doesn't sell? That with us he doesn't have to gamble on a suddenly-popular shoe not being produced immediately to meet the demand?

You might call this hard-sell. But it's at least selling facts. Or you might call it "Hard-Reminding", telling the retailers facts they once knew, before the so-called mark-up advantages blotted out all other considerations.

We must radiate more confidence; confidence that we can produce and reproduce in a hurry, especially if we're in on the job from the beginning, which we should be. We must show the confidence that we have the talents to provide variety and style in shoes, just as we do in clothes and automobiles and food and thousands of other products.

And, every once in awhile, we must keep inserting the thought that they don't have to tie up their cash when they're dealing with us.

Nobody believes that the Europeans are better marketers than we are. But they have taken chapters from our marketing texts and used them to sell our retailers. And they've done it in a hurry—they're quick studies. As recently as 1960, when the only imports in any quantity were coming in from England, their "packaging" consisted of two shoes tied together with shoelaces—no attractive wrapping or point-of-sale back-up promotion.

Unless you believe that all our marketing know-how and marketing experts have left our shores for Europe, you have every reason to believe that we can still take advantage of American creative promotional expertise.

Basically, what I'm saying is that while we should keep pounding on the doors in Washington, we can't wait for the portals to open if we are to survive.

We must understand that our position against imports is soundly based in economics, and we must make the position clear to the retailer. We must organize our facts, and sell hard to show the retailer that his future—not just ours—resides in a sound domestic shoe industry, and not in blinding short-term gains.

The story is as old as Faust. You get a lot now, but you give away your soul for it tomorrow. And we'd better sell hard on this point, because if we don't sell it, we've lost the right to survive. We've got to be the vigorous industry we once were, or we've lost the right to ask for anything.

We reflect confidence when we breathe slowly, instead of gasping. And we'll all breathe easier when it dawns on us that we can get back to the business of building a strong shoe industry in America.

We can build such an industry if we do our job right. And an important part of this job will be done if you merely point out one major truth to your customers.

That truth is this: a strong basic shoe manufacturing industry is as vital to the retailer's existence as it is to ours.

*Because, if we go by the boards, the European manufacturer will have a stranglehold on the American retailer—what will mark-ups mean then?*

And, if the domestic shoe manufacturing industry passes into limbo, why can't the European manufacturer, in addition to raising prices as high as he likes, also start his own retailing chains in America?

The caption under a recent cartoon in *Leather and Shoes* reads:

"I always bought my shoes cheaper from Franklin Discount, and I'd be right there today if they hadn't gone out of business."

That's what I mean. Thank you.

#### FAILURE TO PASS EXTENSION OF VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965

**HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, last week the House, by a margin of only a few votes failed to support the extension of one of the most important and effective legislative endeavors in the long struggle for civil rights—the extension of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

When the act was first passed in 1965 we were convinced that it would take at least a decade to correct the injustice which had developed over the past century. Political expedience, however, required that the 1965 act have a lifetime of only 5 years.

I shall not go into the statistical evidence of the success of the 1965 act except to note that in the six States fully covered by the act, Negro voter registration rose in 3 years from 877,000 in 1965 to 1,617,000 in 1968. In the one State not fully covered, Negro voter registration rose by 60,000 in the same 3 years. It had been hoped that another million

Negro voters, who had until now been afraid to vote, could be registered.

The 1965 act was basic in that it not only recognized the constitutional right to vote but enforced the means to obtain and retain the right as well.

Some of us too often forget that the Constitution is meant to be followed in all cases and all circumstances. By so doing the American system will prosper.

The Constitution was not meant to be followed only when convenient or when following it does not cause us discomfort or hamper our ambition. By so doing the American system will fail those who keep the faith as well as those who misuse it. The consistent deprivation of rights of one particular group of citizens, whether they are black or white or poor or old is a cancerous weakness in any democracy. It will infect even the healthiest portion of the body politic.

I have now considerable concern about the radicalization of an increasing number of middle-class working Negroes who are just now coming into the "establishment." These people, believing that their own hard work and the support of their rights by the Government have put them within reach of success and true equality, may lose faith in the system and join the radical fringes if they become convinced that the Congress will not protect their guaranteed rights.

#### GALLUP, N. MEX., HONORS OUR SERVICEMEN

**HON. ED FOREMAN**

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. FOREMAN. Mr. Speaker, every community in this great Nation has servicemen who have served, or are serving, in Vietnam. We are very proud of our young American servicemen. This week in the city of Gallup, N. Mex., the community is recognizing the dedication of one of their servicemen. Sp4c. Santos Abeyta is an example of our outstanding New Mexico residents in the Armed Forces—young men we can be proud of because of their dedication to the American cause of peace and freedom.

Specialist Abeyta has just returned from Vietnam. He distinguished himself by exceptional service and was awarded the Bronze Star Medal for meritorious service, and the Army Commendation Medal with the Oak Leaf Cluster.

In awarding just one of these medals Army officials stated:

Private First Class Abeyta distinguished himself by exceptional heroism in connection with military operations against an armed hostile force in the Republic of Vietnam on 30 May 1969 while assigned to Company C, 4th Battalion, 12th Infantry, 199th Light Infantry Brigade. On that date, Private First Class Abeyta was participating in a reconnaissance in force operation when his unit came under intense hostile small arms fire. As his squad maneuvered to protective cover, Private First Class Abeyta exposed himself to the withering enemy fire long enough to draw their fire and determine their exact location. Having determined the enemy's po-

sition, he and his squad leader assaulted the concealed position and succeeded in neutralizing it. His alert and aggressive actions contributed immeasurably to the defeat of the enemy force with no casualties among his fellow soldiers. Private First Class Abeysa's valorous action and devotion to duty were in keeping with the highest traditions of the military service and reflect great credit upon himself, the 199th Light Infantry Brigade and the United States Army.

As the residents of Gallup and radio station KGAK honor Specialist Abeysa and his family, I know the Members of Congress will want to join me in expressing appreciation to our dedicated servicemen and wishing them and their loved ones a peaceful, happy holiday season.

#### WALK FOR DEVELOPMENT

### HON. JOHN N. ERLBORN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. ERLBORN. Mr. Speaker, there is a project called Walk for Development, which is sponsored by the American Freedom from Hunger Foundation, 1717 H Street NW., Washington, D.C. 20006. This project raises money to help poor people and, more important, gets young people involved in the problems of their less fortunate contemporaries.

In order to make his walk useful, each participant must first persuade one or more adult sponsors to contribute to the charities, which have been announced in advance. Sponsor contributions vary. Some pay 25 cents a mile, some a dollar. Some young people walk for one sponsor, some for a hundred, some for even more.

One of these Walks for Development was held last May in DuPage County, Ill.

The difficulties of organizing this walk were described in an article which appeared in a recent issue of Good Housekeeping magazine. Because of some legal technicalities, which were troublesome but altogether proper, the money was impounded by the attorney general of Illinois for a time.

It was released, however, in time so that more than \$77,000 could be turned over at Thanksgiving time to help people in Illinois, in Mississippi, in India, and in Biafra.

This is a time when many young people have been misled into violence, destruction and hate. In such a time, it is refreshing to hear of 5,000 youngsters and a few adults who would undertake a 30-mile walk. None has ever known real hunger or poverty, but their impulses are toward kindness, wholesomeness, and charity.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the following excerpts from the Good Housekeeping article in the RECORD:

#### THEY WALK TO FEED THE HUNGRY

(By Charles and Bonnie Remberg)

Just the day before, 3,000 young people had invaded tiny Zap, North Dakota. In a drunken orgy of window-smashing and fire-setting, they had roamed the streets and left the helpless village in shambles.

Now, more than 800 miles away, the early

Sunday-morning stillness found some 5,000 teen-agers massed on a high school football field in the tranquil Chicago suburb of Villa Park, Illinois.

Tense excitement crackled through the crowd as speakers shouted from a platform to deafening cheers. Suddenly, the mob broke from the field and surged into the street. Those in the lead were running. Filling the pavement curb-to-curb, the teens headed for a middle-class residential section, where many families were still asleep.

Gleefully, a handsome eighteen-year-old named Chuck Steinbach, the driving force behind the youthful throng, leaped to the platform for a better view. "My God!" he shouted. "There's no stopping them now." For, as far as he could see, a mighty human river rolled resolutely forward. . . .

Startled homeowners who stumbled, still in nightclothes, to their picture windows may have felt apprehensive at first. But before that day last May was over, adults in Villa Park and surrounding communities realized that these young people stood in sharp contrast to their peers at Zap and other sites of recent adolescent destructiveness. Instead of hell-raising, these teen-agers were on a "Walk for Development," peacefully giving their energy to help fight widespread and growing human hunger.

Such walks began in this country about a year ago, under the auspices of the American Freedom from Hunger Foundation in Washington, D.C., a private, nonprofit organization supported by leaders in business, labor, social welfare, agriculture and education. Since then, an estimated 150,000 largely middle-class young people, from 35 communities, ranging in size from Aurora, Iowa (population 600) to Los Angeles, have turned their "sole power" into dollars for the needy.

Each walker recruits "sponsors" to pay him, from a few cents to several dollars, for every mile he hikes over a charted 26- to 32-mile course. So the youngsters not only draw public attention to the problem of hunger but earn hard cash for a variety of imaginative self-help anti-poverty projects in the United States and abroad. Thus far, youthful walkers have raised almost \$1,000,000, with more walks scheduled for this fall.

The Villa Park, Illinois, walk was started by high school senior Chuck Steinbach. The son of a television repairman, Chuck is a soft-spoken young man with sideburns and a Bobby Kennedy mop of brown hair, a mind keen enough to put him on the dean's list, and a personal magnetism that made him student-council president at Villa Park's sprawling Willowbrook High School. Although he grew up amidst the flowering trees and comfortable homes of Chicago's western suburbs, he has what friends call "exceptional sensitivity" for the less fortunate. "When Chuck looks at a picture of a starving kid in Biafra," says Richard Cargill, the student council's faculty adviser, "I think he feels hunger."

During the summer of 1968, with Biafra much in headlines, Chuck grew increasingly aware of hunger as a mounting world crisis. He read expert predictions that within the next three decades, as the world's population doubles, millions will die of famine. Already seven persons every minute are dying worldwide from malnutrition and starvation, and one child in three now living will carry for life the irreversible effects of food deficiencies. Even in the United States, the most affluent nation on the globe, government researchers estimate that at least 10,000,000 impoverished men, women and children suffer from inadequate diets. "I could see that hunger is linked to a whole range of social problems—war, racism, political chaos, poverty," Chuck recalls. "But like most other people, I didn't see how I could help."

Then at a church youth conference, he

heard about the Foundation's walks. Curious, he drove to Madison, Wisconsin, and on November 16 joined in one with 5,500 other hiking youngsters.

"It was one of the most moving experiences of my life," he remembers. \* \* \*

By early last February, Chuck Steinbach had formed a "core committee" of thirteen enthusiastic students from eleven suburban high schools and colleges to organize a Walk for Development in Villa Park and adjacent communities.

On the surface, the group seemed almost hopelessly diverse. One was a boy who spent nearly all his spare time at the library; a few had been involved in such activities as voluntarily tutoring ghetto children; several were style- and popularity-conscious youngsters whose main interests were parties and school-sponsored events, and another was a boy who had compiled one of the worst disciplinary records at his high school.

All, however, were committed to a single philosophy. Explains Tom McDermott, a freshman at Elmhurst College: "We wanted to show other students that it's possible to help improve society without being disruptive and destructive. And we wanted to wake up the adult community to the problem of hunger and to communicate that kids can be responsible when given a chance to do something meaningful."

With May 11, Mother's Day, agreed upon as the walk date, the committee began attacking the problems of organization, coordination and troubleshooting, all the while scrambling to stay abreast of school obligations and part-time jobs.

From the Foundation, they obtained a long list of carefully researched foreign self-help projects needing assistance. They chose two to help: an institute in Lucknow, India, that teaches young farmers literacy and new agricultural methods, and a center in Biafra which is establishing a weaving industry for displaced persons. As part of their learning process, however, committee members themselves were to ferret out deserving domestic projects.

For more than two months, a subcommittee headed by Jan Wallinder, seventeen, followed leads supplied by social agencies, church groups and antipoverty organizations in the Chicago area. To their surprise, they discovered that hidden among the affluence of their own DuPage County (where, in Chuck's words, "Most of us equate hunger with not having a second dessert") was considerable hard-core poverty. Census statistics revealed that at least 4,300 families in the county fall below the poverty line, including some who live nineteen to a two-bedroom apartment or who exist on beans and bread in flooded basements and rat-run shacks.

Certain that publicity about such need so close to home would shock the uninformed, Jan and her group kept digging until they discovered a newly formed organization called Project HOPE. It had been started by concerned citizens in nearby Wheaton to buy and rehabilitate homes with volunteer funds and rent them cheaply to welfare mothers and their children. Then, through personal counseling from HOPE members, families could learn to utilize their own talents and resources to shake off the yoke of poverty.

As the second domestic beneficiary, the committee chose the Delta Ministry, an interfaith program aimed at making unemployed Mississippi fieldworkers economically self-sufficient.

As word of the walk spread, students from more than eighteen high schools and six colleges from throughout the western suburbs wanted to join in, so schools chairman Tom McDermott took on the massive job of organizing subcommittee members in each school to handle publicity and walker registration. Other committee members tracked down amateur radio operators and rescue squads to operate a communications net-

work on the day of the walk. Still others persuaded adults to man the thirteen checkpoints that would be set up every few miles along the route where sponsor cards could be stamped to show the mileage covered. In addition, there were hundreds of "Sole Power" lapel buttons to be made and sold to cover organizing costs; press releases to be written and news conferences conducted speaking engagements about world hunger to be lined up during a whirlwind visit by Wolf and a United Nations food expert; bank accounts to be opened; tax receipts to be distributed to contributing sponsors; toilet and food facilities for 5,000 to 10,000 walkers to be arranged.

Just laying out the 30-mile route mushroomed into a logistics nightmare. Chuck and route chairman Jill Feldmann, seventeen, spent hours driving suburban streets before settling on a course that began and ended at Willowbrook High School and twisted through five suburbs. They spent long nights poring over law books to be certain that their plans conformed with village ordinances because, as Chuck explains, "The idea was to work within the law and walk within the law." They appeared before village boards to explain their cause and persuade city officials to grant parade permits, and then they had to confer with police officials to coordinate manpower deployment and traffic control for the walk day.

Not everything went perfectly, however. "We were always fighting the fear people have of kids," Jill says. "It seems that when they think of students getting together these days, they usually think of riots." Also, the teens discovered, in some suburban areas many persons still oppose efforts to aid the poor and the sending of money overseas. Policies at some schools prohibited publicizing walk plans. Trustees on one village board delayed nearly a month before finally granting a walk permit; another town refused to okay the solicitation of sponsors. When the committee wrote to 150 area churches asking for help in making sandwiches for the walk and in spreading information about world hunger, only twenty responded. "Some kids who had never been involved in anything before were discouraged by all the doors that closed," says nineteen-year-old Cathy Johnston, who served as Chuck's coordinator. "But they learned to keep going until they found doors that opened."

By the time the walk was just ten days off, students were eagerly pursuing sponsors. Enthusiasm was high.

Then trouble surfaced that made earlier problems seem like minor annoyances.

Right-wing elements in the western suburbs suddenly began issuing a barrage of false accusations. The Foundation was a Communist front, the extremists charged, and teen-agers were trying to "undermine a fundamental American institution" by hiking on Mother's Day. Some of the proceeds would be pocketed by the kids instead of being given to the poor, some opponents asserted, and the Foundation would keep at least 65 percent of the money raised. One critic even saw evidence of a diabolical plot in the fact that the line of walkers would temporarily block off residential driveways. A "newsletter," filled with innuendo and insinuation, was widely distributed and a telephone campaign was launched to urge parents to withdraw permission for their children to walk and sponsors to cancel their pledges.

"After all their work, the kids were pretty shook at first," recalls Mrs. Linda Eller, a suburban youth leader. "But they realized they had a responsibility to fulfill, and in the face of this intense hostility they forged ahead."

On the Friday night before Mother's Day,

the committee held mass sandwich-making parties with bread, cheese and peanut butter donated by local businesses. Saturday they put up route markers and tied up scores of loose ends. That night, Chuck was so exhausted he couldn't sleep. "All that work," he kept thinking, "and tomorrow is it."

Mother's Day dawned to a cloudless sky, and by 6 A.M. young people were starting to gather on Willowbrook's grounds. White kids in hippie garb and blacks with Afro hairdos milled together with girls in bell-bottoms and sandals and boys with hiking boots and knapsacks. Kids whose parents had dropped them off in expensive cars stood talking to a boy who had walked in from Aurora, Illinois, 25 miles away. Whole families, including grandparents, stood hand in hand. Many teens had brought younger brothers and sisters. Ministers who were sponsored by their congregations, and teachers sponsored by their students, arrived to walk. One boy flashed sponsor cards bearing almost 250 names. High school track teams and college fraternities and sororities had challenged each other, and some carried hand-lettered signs reading, "30 miles on a dare, show the world how much you care." A young woman in a wheelchair and two retarded youths waited quietly for the walk to begin.

By eight o'clock, a crowd of more than 5,000 filled the school's athletic field. When core committee member Jay Lyons climbed onto a platform and shouted, "How many are going 30 today?" the responding cheer was ear-splitting.

Then a state legislator began calling out the names of schools represented. The mob was fired into action. The six track teams broke from their positions and ran into the street, with the walkers surging after them. The Walk for Development was under way.

After the initial two and one-half miles, the curb-to-curb tide of walkers reached the first checkpoint. As they swarmed around the tables where volunteers from women's clubs and civic organizations were stamping sponsor cards, the committee presented a daisy to each mother among the walkers.

By the third checkpoint, three and one-half miles away on the shore of a lake in suburban Glen Ellyn, the dropout rate was beginning to show. Relays of "toe trucks" were picking up those who could not continue, and the thinned line kept mostly on sidewalks now. Men in radio communications cars estimated that the walk stretched for more than six miles.

By the lake, many youngsters, already blistered, tied their shoes around their necks and went barefoot. A father led his two sons in leg relaxing exercises. One eager hiker, an eight-year-old girl, admitted, "This sure gets my feet sore. But," she grinned, "I'll keep going 'cause I'm worth 70 cents a mile."

It was nearly noon when the trickle of walkers arriving at the fourth checkpoint, nine miles along the route in Wheaton, swelled to a stream. Hundreds of sandwiches were served out of new garbage cans, taped with signs that said: "We're walking because some people still have to eat from these." The walkers, many limping with pain, slumped wearily to the ground to eat. A volunteer nurse applied bandages to blistered feet.

Slowly the sky darkened, and a cool rain began. Still the walkers pushed ahead.

On the way to checkpoint six, a middle-aged housewife opened her home as a rest-room stop. By early afternoon, 150 kids an hour were trooping into her two bathrooms. "It's a wonderful way to spend Mother's Day," she declared. "We can all learn something from these kids. They're showing the good that can come if every person just does what he can on every need he meets."

At checkpoint eight, ten miles from the finish line, a rock band was on hand to boost

morale. But, one hiker observed as he bandaged his numb and bleeding feet, "We're on automatic pilot now. The only thing that keeps us going is sheer will."

"Kids didn't even want to stop to rest," co-coordinator Cathy Johnston remembers, "because they knew their legs would tighten up and they wouldn't be able to walk." Along the way, grade-school children who wanted to help set up free water and fruit juice stands.

The track teams, running the full course, had arrived back at Willowbrook before one o'clock. At five, the rain over, walkers started limping in. Many had worn through their shoes and the soles of their socks.

After eight, as darkness fell and the temperature dropped, Chuck dispatched trucks to pick up those walkers still on the route. Not one would accept a ride.

The last walkers reached the edge of the school grounds at nine. Some students were carrying others whose legs had given out. One father was in the group with his seven-year-old son, and the eight-year-old girl with "sore feet," whose older sister had dropped out earlier, had walked the distance. One teen-age girl crossed the finish line and collapsed, sobbing, "I made it, I made it!"

That evening, the school had been rented to an adult theater group. As one of the playgoers arrived, he looked disdainfully around at the exhausted young people sprawled in his path. "Why don't you get these kids out of here?" he complained to officials. "People are coming here to see a drama."

It never struck him that his statement was the ultimate in irony.

In all, in this area where in Chuck's words, "people get in their cars to go across the street to the mailbox," 1,800 youngsters had crossed the finish line.

In the days that followed, the walkers hobbled back to their sponsors, displayed their stamped cards and collected more than \$60,000.

Even more important than the money, potentially, was the human concern the walk had awakened. Some adults, alerted for the first time to poverty in DuPage County, are working to establish branches of Project HOPE in their own communities. Teachers are beginning to integrate studies of world hunger and the effects of malnutrition into their courses. Teen-agers are looking for other ways they can help combat poverty, and Chuck Steinbach and his committee are drafting a list of projects in the Chicago area that need volunteer aid. "There is a lot that Americans can do," says Bill Korkontis, a student from Maryknoll Seminary. "We have a lot of wealth—not just money, but healthy people with energy who can think and work."

Other towns, too, have found walks to be the catalysts for a wide variety of community involvement. In Eugene, Oregon, the mayor was so impressed with the responsibility of young people that he established an active youth-advisory council to his office. In Minneapolis, school curricula have been changed to deal more realistically with poverty and other social issues. In Buffalo, adult leaders have laid plans for working with teen-agers on a full range of community projects. In Denver and other cities, some teens, because of their walk experiences, have decided to pursue careers that deal with social problems.

At the next-to-last checkpoint on the Villa Park walk, a long-haired girl sat bandaging her feet.

"Do you think we're going to make it?" her boy friend asked.

"Of course we're going to make it," she answered. "I've got a feeling we're going to make it for a long time to come. Maybe tomorrow is going to be better, after all."

**ALLEGED MASSACRE AT SONGMY,  
IN VIETNAM**

**HON. ALAN CRANSTON**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES  
Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, the Far Eastern Economic Review, a widely read political and economic weekly published in Hong Kong, editorialized on December 4 about the alleged massacre at Songmy, in Vietnam. The editors cogently commented on that tragic incident. I believe their remarks are worthy of the attention of all Senators. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

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

**A DIRTY WAR**

When American enquiries have unearthed all the available facts about the massacre at My Lai, the name might rank with Pearl Harbour, Lidice and Hola Camp as symbols of the depths to which anger, violence frustration can reduce man. The evidence so far suggests that a unit of combat soldiers were driven to breaking point in a war against an elusive enemy who has, by terror or persuasion, won the co-operation of a sizable proportion of the population the Americans are trying to defend. For the GI in Vietnam, every civilian is a potential guerrilla.

Most of the South Vietnamese people he meets are either the dregs of a de-moralised society (the pimps, the prostitutes, the blackmarketeers) or the badly-trained and poorly-led ARVN. For him, the war makes little sense; it has no obvious connection with America's national interest; it seems impossible to win on the battlefield, and it has done little to create a strong, free society in the South which could provide a viable alternative to communist domination. A war fought for lost ideals must sour the souls of the men conscripted to defend South Vietnam from external aggression, in which they find the foe so difficult to distinguish from the friend. Saigon claims that at My Lai the Americans defeated a "communist stronghold". It says much about the character of the war that defenceless old men, women and children could be so described.

If the massacre took place it was unforgivable, but it can be understood. The brutality of both sides is sickening. Hanoi's propaganda about My Lai and other alleged massacres comes ill from men whose hands are stained with the blood of the mass murders at Hue (the only difference between that and what purportedly happened at My Lai being that the NLF and the Vietcong were not indiscriminate, and were better able to distinguish between acceptable compatriots and "collaborators"). The most repulsive communist dictator, Walter Ulbricht, has of course joined in the worldwide cries of horror, and too many organs of opinion in those countries which are committed to the rule of law have joined in the chorus which has prejudged the issue.

Too many people have forgotten the real import of the horror of My Lai—that the US has not hesitated to open investigations or to bring criminal proceedings against those alleged to be responsible. It is unthinkable that a communist state would publicly accuse members of its armed forces of acts of barbarism, but American standards demand that justice be done, whatever the cost to the nation and to the morale of its soldiers. If a massacre did take place, the impending revelations can only increase doubts about the war in the minds of the American pub-

lic and will deepen that nation's continuous soul-searching. This, too, is a factor in the strength of America: the nation may be divided over the war, but its democratic structure can withstand division while ensuring that responsible men are held up to constant public scrutiny. Opinion may be swayed by revulsion over My Lai and thus have great impact on the future conduct of the war. But what the American people must ask themselves is whether a war which can reduce men on both sides to the level of animals can realistically be regarded as a crusade to defend those values for which American civilisation stands.

**PENNSYLVANIA SOLDIER GIVES  
VIEWS ON VIETNAM**

**HON. J. IRVING WHALLEY**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. WHALLEY. Mr. Speaker, I have received recently a letter from a Pennsylvania soldier, fighting in Vietnam, outlining his thoughts on various aspects of the Vietnam war. Sp6c. David C. Cavaness, serving with the 19th Engineer Combat Battalion at Bao Loc, Vietnam, stated his concern for the "future of Southeast Asia," and I think his letter deserves national recognition. The text, printed by one of our local newspapers, the Windber Era, is as follows:

**SOLDIER GIVES VIETNAM VIEWS**

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

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

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

Our military leaders must be allowed to use the full potential of our tremendous air and sea power and other weaponry as needed to put an end to this endless war. Who is the Administration afraid of? The subversive peace-niks? Red China? The Soviet Union? None of the Communist powers could do any more in Vietnam than they already

are doing. Atomic weaponry is not needed. For example, the enemy is mostly dependent on the port of Haiphong which can be easily blockaded or destroyed.

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

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

Sincerely yours,

Sp6c. DAVID C. CAVANESS,

Hq. Co., 19th Engr. Bn (Combat).

BAO LOC, VIETNAM.

**DEATH OF GORDON LOGAN, JR.,  
ANACORTES, WASH., IN VIETNAM**

**HON. HENRY M. JACKSON**

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES  
Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, recently in Anacortes, Wash., a fine young soldier from my home State was buried. He lost his life in Vietnam. Gordon Logan, Jr., only 20, was the new generation of a family that served this country in the Army in the Civil War, World War I, World War II, and now Vietnam.

The loss of this young man was a terrible blow to his family and to his community. His father, Gordon W. Logan, Sr., served in city government in Anacortes and is now in Aberdeen, Wash., employed by that municipality.

Mr. Logan recently wrote to me expressing his thanks for my comments which were read at the funeral of his son. He also sent along the recorded thoughts of his daughter, Margo, which was written just after learning of the death of her brother.

Her remarks about her brother and our country are worthy of the attention of all the readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the RECORD.

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

**TO THE PEOPLE**

November 12, 1969 is a day that will never be forgotten by me. My brother, Pfc. Gordon W. Logan Jr. was killed in Vietnam. It's a terrible, frightening time for me. I feel really alone knowing I can never talk to him or laugh with him again. He had so much going for him, now everything is wiped out and Gordy is laying somewhere in Vietnam waiting to come home to his friends and family one last time.

I can't help thinking about the War Moratorium last month. Maybe if they hadn't had it, my brother would still be alive. After the moratorium I got a letter from my brother, telling me how the Communists had started a new offensive. Up until then things had been fairly quiet with little Communist activity.

The North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong probably feel that the Americans don't really care if they kill their guys and that they aren't a proud people. Quite a few don't act like they are proud.

Maybe the people who want us to pull out all the troops immediately think after that we'll feel good and all the other nations of the world will smile at us and say once again America is a great country. Don't count on that for long. If we pull out right now and the Communists do take over and really mess up the rest of Southeast Asia, all those countries that patted us on our backs will turn around and condemn us for leaving.

My brother had ideals. Gordy was proud to be an American. Many people act like it's not right to be proud of this country because of its problems. And don't try to blame the government for all the wrongs in this country. If you want things in this country to be right, you have to do right yourselves. And that sometimes takes courage.

Gordy believed in freedom. Maybe that's why so many people are against the war. They might not truly believe in freedom. Ask yourselves how you would feel and act if a black family moved next door to you. After you have answered that truthfully then ask yourselves if you truly believe in freedom.

I don't want Gordy to have died in vain. I will always try in any little way I can to make this a better country. I am proud to be an American and I'm very proud of my brother. Gordy will always be a guide in my life and anything I try for in life will be for him.

MARGO LOGAN,  
His sister.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS

### HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, I want to give my wholehearted approval to the bill passed, earlier this week which provided a 15 percent across-the-board increase in social security payments. Since the last benefit increase the cost of living has risen by 9 percent, so this latest boost does little more than hold the line. It is important that we recognize that this increase, though it is substantial and badly needed, is merely a stopgap measure that cannot substitute for an overall change in policy regarding our Nation's responsibilities to its older citizens.

The 15-percent increase, which is the same amount I suggested in my bill H.R. 13914, is still not enough. The increase will leave millions of annuitants still in poverty, unable to provide for themselves the basic necessities of a dignified existence. It is important to note that this increase amounts in many cases to only \$9 per month, a little more than 30 cents a day. We would be deluding ourselves to think that 30 cents a day is going to go very far in alleviating the burdens of those living on fixed incomes.

Many of my constituents are retirees and they write me often to explain their difficulties in making ends meet. The situation has been unchanged for several years now, and as long as periodic increases in benefits do no more than take up the inflationary slack, it is difficult to hold out much hope that things will be improved.

I have offered legislation which would modify the retirement test by allowing annuitants to earn \$2,400 annually without suffering a loss in benefits. The present earnings ceiling of \$1,680 is no longer acceptable. It requires many retirees, even if they are able to work, to live on less than \$2,400 per year, well below the poverty level. There is much useful work that citizens over 65 can accomplish and it is surely not in the national interest, to say nothing of their personal interest, to discourage them from doing it.

We lose sight of the fact, I think, that the elderly citizens of our country are an invaluable national resource that must be protected so that we can all share the fruits of their accumulated experience and wisdom. In recent years the United States has been called "the country of the young," but at the same time life spans have increased so that we have more people than ever over the age of 65. With the current emphasis on youth we tend to ignore the special contributions to be made by our Nation's senior citizens. The older citizens in my district are a constant source of inspiration and amazement to me. Theirs has been a major and magnificent contribution to the greatness of America. We must not let them down.

#### VETERANS' DAY ADDRESS BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JAMES D. HITTLE

### HON. ROBERT W. PACKWOOD

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. PACKWOOD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an address delivered by Hon. James D. Hittle, Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Manpower and Reserve Affairs, at the Veterans' Day luncheon in Roseburg, Oreg., November 11, 1969.

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

REMARKS BY HON. JAMES D. HITTLE, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY (MANPOWER AND RESERVE AFFAIRS), AT THE VETERANS' DAY LUNCHEON, ROSEBURG, OREG., NOVEMBER 11, 1969

#### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

It is for me a real honor and pleasure to be with you at this gathering of veterans on this Veterans' Day.

I bring to you the good wishes of our Commander-in-Chief, President Richard M. Nixon, who personally knows of your celebration today, and greetings from the Secretary of Defense, the Honorable Melvin R. Laird, and the Secretary of the Navy, the Honorable John H. Chafee. As you know, in my position my principal responsibilities are matters pertaining to people. And I am glad to report to you that these three leaders are people who care about people.

One of the reasons I'm glad to be here is that I can join with you in honoring the veterans who have served our Nation since its birth and whose services have been indispensable to our Nation's growth, progress, and most certainly its survival.

One of the reasons our Nation has sur-

vived and our freedoms have flourished is that whenever our Nation or our way of life has been threatened by alien forces each generation of veterans, in its turn, has shouldered arms and marched toward the sound of enemy guns. One thing that we veterans know, as each generation of veterans before us well knew, is that our survival will be guaranteed by brave men who serve on the firing line, not by protesters in the placard picket-line.

But Veterans Day is not only for remembering past generations of veterans who have done their duty and marched on. It is also a day for honoring today's fighting men who are facing up to the obligations, responsibilities, and—yes, the high privilege—of citizenship that of wearing the uniform of the United States Armed Services.

They are the latest generation of American veterans. Having been repeatedly to Vietnam since the early days of the struggle, I can tell you that today's fighting man is fully measuring up to the example you set in terms of patriotism, professional skill, and unquestioned valor. And, let me say right at this point that anyone today who has serious misgivings about the character and the patriotism of American youth should go to Vietnam—and those misgivings will be dispelled.

Officers and NCO's who have commanded in World War II, Korea, and now in Vietnam, are high in their praise of today's young American fighting men. They say without exception that the young serviceman today is by far the best we've ever had in the Armed Forces.

Of course, the reference to the magnificent services being performed by young Americans serving in Vietnam brings us squarely face to face with probably the most important single issue facing our Nation.

It is the issue of supporting our Nation and our Commander-in-Chief—The President—in this difficult time.

It is the natural role of responsible and understanding American citizens to make it crystal clear, through a show of patriotic solidarity that the protesters, the dissenters, and the faint-hearted are not the majority of the American people.

During my last visit to Vietnam, I was repeatedly told by our fighting men, many serving their second tours of duty there, that they hoped that the President would be supported fully in his Vietnamization policy and the resulting properly timed measured withdrawal of U.S. forces. They said that if he gets this backing from the American people—as I am sure he will—their efforts in South Vietnam will come out successfully.

I know that I need not tell you veterans the danger of the proposals for a precipitant withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Vietnam.

The President of the United States clearly set forth the pitfalls of such a dangerous policy when he spoke in clear terms to the American people a few nights ago.

As the President so well pointed out, such a precipitant withdrawal would allow the Communists to repeat the massacres which followed their takeover in North Vietnam 15 years ago. At that time the Communists murdered more than 50,000 people and hundreds of thousands more died a slow death in the slave labor camps.

And, of course, our precipitant withdrawal would endanger well over a million Roman Catholic refugees who fled to South Vietnam when the Communists took over in the north. These are people who value freedom of religion and the desire to worship God in their own way above all worldly possessions. They left their farms, their homes, their personal possessions and fled south, often with little more than their Bible.

On one of my recent visits to Vietnam I had the opportunity to talk with one of these

Catholic refugees from the north. We sat in a quiet corner of a side street tea-room in Saigon. He has, today, a very modest job—but enough to provide food and some sort of roof for his family. Yet, he has, he said, freedom. I asked him what would happen if the Communists should take over South Vietnam. He thought for a moment and said, "The answer is simple. There would be nothing but torture and death for my family and myself."

Are those who are today advocating a precipitant pull-out willing to sacrifice a million people, such as this man and his family. Apparently, such sacrifice is acceptable to some of the protesters, demonstrators, and placard carriers.

Just because the bloodletting and torture would take place on the other side of the world doesn't make it acceptable to you veterans from the moral standpoint.

You know that freedom is indivisible, and that the destruction of freedom anywhere means the destruction of some freedom everywhere.

A precipitant withdrawal from South Vietnam would mean also, as the President so pointedly stated, that it would be the first defeat in our Nation's history and that would end worldwide confidence in American leadership.

As veterans, you and I know full well that no nation can survive and reach the fulfillment of its destiny by letting down its friends, breaking its word, and running scared before the oppressor.

If history teaches anything, it is that nations, like people, cannot with impunity break their pledge or shirk their responsibilities.

I am confident that we all shared a sense of reassurance and new confidence when the President told the Nation on November 3rd that he was not going to take the easy way out; he was not going to endanger the quest for peace by such a precipitant withdrawal. That he would not, in effect, preside over a retreat that would trigger a disaster of immense magnitude.

By leading us in a policy of standing firm by our word, by our pledge, to our allies and friends, and being faithful to ourselves, the President also is moving toward the goal that veterans, perhaps more than any other group, so devotedly hope for. That goal is a firm and honorable peace. Veterans know war. Therefore they treasure peace. But we know that peace at any price is the easiest thing to get. All we have to do to get that kind of peace is to surrender. We also know that peace at any price is not really peace. It's the silent peace of the concentration camp—the blood splattered wall—the mass graves. But achieving an honorable peace is not a unilateral endeavor. After listening to the President's point-by-point account of the actions he has initiated in his quest for peace, one can only come to the simple but inescapable conclusion that failure to achieve peace in Vietnam rests firmly with Hanoi and not with the United States and our allies.

In his search for the end to the conflict, the President has adopted the policy of Vietnamizing our efforts. This effort, as the President so well stated, is a key to "The search for peace."

I would like to talk to you for just a few minutes with respect to the matter of Vietnamization of the struggle in South Vietnam. It means to shift gradually the responsibilities of peace winning to the South Vietnamese.

Of course, the protesters, the demonstrators, and the fainthearted who criticize our stand in Vietnam against oppression say that the South Vietnamese won't carry their own load and that they won't fight. Well, let me say that this is nothing but sheer falsehood and vicious propaganda.

Let me give you a few facts about the lie that the South Vietnamese won't fight.

As you veterans well know, the number of battle-dead is a good indicator of the willingness of a people to fight. So let's take the matter of South Vietnam's military combat dead. Since 1961, about 96,000 South Vietnamese troops have been killed defending their country against Communist aggression. This by any count is a heavy toll in combat dead. Yet the real significance of war casualties is in relation to the proportion of total population.

If we project South Vietnam's 96,000 combat dead into our U.S. population, which is about 13 times that of Vietnam, we can better appreciate the impact of the war on the Vietnamese.

The South Vietnamese combat dead total is the equivalent of 1,200,000 combat dead for the United States.

This means, in turn, that on a percentage of population basis, the total of military war dead suffered so far by Vietnam is: More than 13 times our combat dead in World War I; over three times our combat dead in World War II; about 33 times our combat dead in the entire Korean War.

And what about the civilian population? They, too, have bled and died. Since 1961, 71,600 civilians have been killed or kidnapped as a result of deliberate Communist terror. In terms of percentage of the South Vietnamese people, and the ratio to the U.S. population, it is the same as if close to 900,000 Americans civilians were killed or kidnapped in a reign of terror. To bring it even closer to home, it is the same as if the entire metropolitan area of Seattle—every man, woman, and child—were killed or kidnapped.

Therefore, when judged on a relative basis with what our own nation suffered in our great struggles against oppression, South Vietnam measures up extremely well.

South Vietnam has, in terms of percentage of its population killed in combat, set a high example of opposition to communism, sacrifice, devotion to freedom and determination to keep it.

What South Vietnam has paid and is paying in blood to stay free deserves the commendation, not the condemnation, of freedom-loving people.

And still the South Vietnamese are fighting and dying to turn back Communist aggression. And what is more, they are fighting better all the time. I can report this to you based upon comparisons I have personally made in repeated trips to Vietnam over the last five years. In these visits, I have been to every major combat area from the DMZ to the Delta.

Just about a year ago, I began to sense that something new and dramatic and encouraging was happening in South Vietnam. Time and again, U.S. fighting men, both officers and NCOs, told me that the least understood development taking place then in South Vietnam was the tremendous improvement in the South Vietnamese forces. One battalion commander in the northwest highlands, who had been fighting alongside a South Vietnamese unit, told me indignantly that the improvement in the South Vietnamese Army was then the most important untold story of the war.

I was in South Vietnam again a little over a month ago. On that occasion, the improvement in the fighting ability of the South Vietnamese was increasingly evident. In the Delta, for instance, the U.S. Navy has turned over close to half of our river patrol craft to the South Vietnamese Navy. These are the boats that have been fighting the tough, close-quarter war in opening up the waterways that are the arteries of commerce and the pathways to security in the rich Delta area.

I can report to you that the South Vietnamese Navy has assumed this responsibility willingly. It is continuing the operation of the river patrol craft, and it is conducting operations skillfully.

You are all aware that the policy of shifting the burden to the South Vietnamese as they gain in strength has resulted in the President's programed withdrawal of over 60,000 U.S. fighting men.

But there are other hard, clear indicators which to me have been the measure of success of our efforts in South Vietnam. For instance, roads that 18 months to two years ago were virtually impassable due to enemy action are today opened for normal day-time traffic. Villages are being brought back to the mainstream of political and economic life. A big start, in terms of a war-torn nation, has been made in establishing a constitutional form of government. And this is no mean accomplishment for a nation fighting for its very survival against an enemy attacking from without and within.

Even the railroad running north along the coast from DaNang to Hue is now operating with amazing regularity. Two years ago, when I was in the northern part of South Vietnam the railroad was not, from the practical standpoint, even functioning.

Probably one of the best summations of this whole farsighted policy of Vietnamization was expressed to me by a battle experienced lieutenant colonel who is on his second tour of duty in Vietnam. He said, "All of the investment in lives, blood, money, and material that the United States has made in the last five years is just now beginning to pay the big dividends in South Vietnam's increasing combat ability."

And so at this critical juncture of history when we have started to move across the threshold of success in this long, bitter conflict, it should be abundantly clear that the precipitant withdrawal which to many loud protesters are urging is nothing but a blueprint for surrender.

As veterans well know, to pull out in the face of an aggressive and vicious enemy is an invitation to disaster. You and I know, too, that regardless of how a precipitant withdrawal is described in flimsy theory, it really means pulling down the Stars and Stripes, running up the white flag, and everybody running down to the beach to get aboard a ship for home. You and I know that is not the American way. And, as the President of the United States told us, it's not going to be his way.

I'd like to relate to you just a few of the remarks made to me by our fighting men in Vietnam.

Soon after the decision was made to openly enter the Vietnamese conflict, I visited Vietnam. The Marines had gone ashore from the Fleet at the strategic coastal location of Chu Lai. I arrived there while the Marine operations were still continuing against surrounding enemy units, and while the Seabees were still constructing the expeditionary aircraft runway. I wanted to know what our young men in Vietnam who were doing the fighting thought about the anti-war picketing and protesting back home. I asked one young Marine, about 20 years old, in embattled Chu Lai what he thought of those carrying placards "We won't fight in Vietnam."

He said: "I wish I had one of those smart protesters here. I'd like to take him with me on outpost duty tonight. There's a V.C. (Viet Cong) sniper who's been trying to get me for the last three nights. But I haven't been able to nail him yet." He paused and smiled. "I'd sure like to get him in my foxhole when that sniper starts working on us. I want to see how much that protester will wave his placard then."

His speech finished, he trudged through the sand back to his platoon. In a few hours he'd be back on outpost duty, trying to "nail" the Communist Viet Cong sniper before the sniper could get him.

Recently, while flying to a conference at Pearl Harbor, I noted a young corporal a few rows back from me in the plane. During the flight, I walked back and sat down and

told him that I had served in the Marine Corps and started chatting with him.

He was, he told me, on his way to Vietnam. I asked him, "Is this your first time out?" He said, "No, I'll be going in to my second extension." I said, "Why have you served one full year, extended for one six-month period, and now are extending for another six months?" He said, "Well, the first time I extended I did it because some of my close friends had been killed in action, and I wanted to get even. I got it, but I also, during that added six months, realized how necessary and important our job is that we are doing in Vietnam, and I wanted to keep on doing more of it."

But probably the best and most memorable explanation of duty I have ever heard came from a young Negro Army sentry on a lonely observation post overlooking Cam Ranh Bay. I stopped in the course of a visit to talk with him. I asked him if he had a family. He said "Yes, I'd just been married a few months before I came out here again." I asked, "What does your wife think of your coming to Vietnam a second time?" He said, "She agreed when I told her that I believed I should be back here. I volunteered for a second tour." I said to him, "Why did you volunteer in spite of the fact that you had been married only a few months?" He thought for a moment and said in very simple language, "I think that it's every American's duty to do what he can to help his country when it is in trouble."

But, if there's anybody who has earned the right to complain about fighting in Vietnam, it is the man who has been wounded in that fighting. He has paid for that right with the high price of his blood and, too often, his limbs.

I can report to you now on the basis of personal knowledge that if you want to hear gripings, complaints, and criticisms about our Nation standing against Communism in Vietnam, then don't go to the hospital wards and visit the wounded from the Vietnam Battlefield. Those who have borne the brunt of battle are not the ones who are beefing about it.

A few months ago in Pearl Harbor I visited the battle casualties who have been flown in for treatment in Tripler General Hospital. Among the wounded I talked with was a young corporal. One leg was in traction, an arm was in a cast, and he had machinegun holes in his stomach.

I stopped and chatted with him. I asked him how long he had been in Vietnam before he was hit. He said he had been there almost two years. I asked him why almost two years, as the required tour was one year. He replied that he had twice voluntarily extended his duty. I asked him "why did you do that?"

He replied, "I was assigned to train and fight with a local village militia platoon in the northern hill country." He continued, "I found out how much these people wanted to be able to defend their villages and their families against Communism. I knew what I was doing was important, and I wanted to keep on doing it." And then he added, "I believed that those village militia men would stand and die rather than let me be captured. I found out I was right. I would have been killed or captured if they hadn't stood by me. When we were hit by a big V.C. unit, two were killed in defending me when I was wounded."

A few months ago, I visited the Vietnam casualties at the Great Lakes Naval Hospital just outside Chicago. Above the bed of every Vietnam casualty was a United States flag. Each wounded fighting man, when he leaves the hospital can take the flag from over his bed with him. And, they do. And, when a new casualty comes in, he wants a flag over his bed without delay. This, again, is a reflection

of the genuine patriotism, devotion, and inherent goodness of those who know what it means to defend their flag and what it stands for.

I strongly suspect that the attitude of some of these men would not get a very high grade from some of the dreamy theorists who pose as moralists in protesting against our Vietnam policy. However, I for one stand in admiration and respect for the kind of spirit reflected in their statements. It reflects the kind of courage, toughness, and determination that helped carry our Nation from the Atlantic across the mountains, rivers, prairies, to the Pacific. It is the kind of spirit that made our Nation free and made it great. And we can be glad that this spirit still exists in our youth.

At a Naval hospital in the south, I was talking to a young Army corporal. He had been sent to a Naval hospital because it was near his home. I noted that he had lost a leg below his knee. I asked him about the action in which he was hit. He said he was on Hamburger Hill. That was just about the time the critics of our Vietnam policy were engaged in the Monday morning quarterbacking and saying that it was a battle that should not have been fought. I was curious about the corporal's reaction to such opinions. I said that since he had been on the Hill and lost a leg there, what was his reaction to those who were saying that he should not have been there in the first place. He thought for a few moments and said, "This war isn't going to be won by the protesters back in the U.S. It's going to be won by the guy with the rifle who takes the high ground."

And, I'd like to tell you about a young sergeant I spoke to recently. He had lost his left leg near the hip and his right arm had been shattered by a shell fragment. The arm was in a cast and he still faced a number of operations. He was a red-headed lad who looked like he had shaved only a couple of times in his life. I asked him what he thought about the protesters, the demonstrators, and the placard carriers. He said, "Well, I'm going to get out of here one of these days and if I happen to see any of those people stomping on the American flag or holding up the North Vietnam flag, somebody had better grab me quick, because I am going after their throats."

And finally, there was the Marine corporal who had lost both legs. In the course of my chat with him, I asked him what he was going to do when he was discharged to civilian life. He said he was going to college. I asked him what he was going to take. He said he was going to be a teacher. I said that is certainly a most commendable objective, but I was curious as to why he wanted to be a teacher. He looked at me and said, "Well, I think I've earned the right to tell the youngsters what this country is all about."

So, in conclusion, I thank you for the privilege of joining with you in honoring those who have fought and who are fighting in the defense of America and freedoms in which we believe. And, I am sure that you will join with me in admiration of today's American fighting men who are demonstrating that courage, devotion, professionalism, soldierly virtues, and patriotism are still in abundant supply. We can also be sure that America's destiny is not going to be decided by placard-carrying demonstrators in the streets who urge surrender, sacrifice of our friends, and disgrace for ourselves.

Rather, we join today in the reassuring realization that we face our destiny under the leadership of a President who has taken the Nation into his confidence and in so doing has placed his faith in the courage and common sense of the American people;—a President who has chosen the right way rather than the easy way.

MRS. GLADYS COFFEY HARPER, RECIPIENT OF 1969 DAISY LAMPKIN AWARD BY PITTSBURGH NAACP

## HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Gladys Coffey Harper, of Pittsburgh was this year's recipient of the Daisy E. Lampkin award for major contributions in the field of human rights. Mrs. Lampkin was the first field secretary for the NAACP and a member of the national executive board when she died.

Nothing I could say could possibly add to the fine tribute Mrs. Harper was paid by the Women's Auxiliary of the NAACP on the occasion of this award in Pittsburgh, November 8, except that, in the tradition of Mrs. Lampkin, she has that rare combination of intellect, ingenuity, drive, and devotion to the service of others, which uniquely qualifies her for this honor.

The tribute to Mrs. Harper is included herewith in the RECORD for the attention of my colleagues:

### GLADYS COFFEY HARPER

Gladys Coffey Harper, awardee of the 1969 Daisy E. Lampkin Award for major contributions in the field of human rights.

A native Pittsburgher, Mr. Harper, the second of eight children spent her early years in the Hill District. The daughter of a self-employed sign painter, she attended Miller Elementary School then Baxter Junior High as her family moved from the Hill District to Homewood.

She was graduated with honors at the age of sixteen from Westinghouse High School where she majored in academic studies. Gladys was a senior athletic leader at Westinghouse, the first black senior leader in the City of Pittsburgh.

Working after graduation as a sales clerk she managed to save enough money to open her own business by the age of 20. Called Budget Exchange, the store on Herron Avenue provided linens and clothing at discount prices to low-income families. When customers did not have enough money to pay for badly needed clothing she often let them have it free.

At night, Gladys attended Wharton's School of Beauty Culture. After she passed her State Boards and was licensed under the Department of Public Instruction, the Exchange was converted to Gladys's Beauty Salon. Underlying this venture was a childhood desire she always cherished—to be able to fix her own hair.

After visiting Kane Hospital and discovering the lack of adequate facilities and personnel to provide beauty care for black female patients, Mrs. Harper realized that blacks and the poor were being shortchanged by their government. At this point she became interested in politics. Determined to change this inequity Gladys discussed this situation with responsible public officials and the inequity was corrected. A black beautician was employed for the first time in Kane Hospital. Gladys realized that blacks suffered in many instances because they were not an integral part of the political system. A close friend of the late Councilman Paul F. Jones, she brought to his attention many similar complaints about governmental inadequacies.

Gladys Harper credits the late Councilman Jones and former County Commissioner Howard B. Stewart for her decision finally to give up private enterprise entirely and to build a career instead in public service.

She joined the Allegheny County Health Department to work in the Bureau of Biostatistics in 1958. After successfully completing training in the IBM School of Education, she was promoted to Supervisor. During this same period Gladys ran successfully for Democratic Committeewoman in the Hill District and served in that capacity for five years. In 1963 when her Health Department position came under Civil Service and she had to forego formal political activity she resigned as committeewoman. During her tenure, however, she managed to effect many civic improvements including street paving, the first Dempster-Dumpster installation for trash disposal in her district, salt distribution for icy sidewalks, door-to-door fire safety inspections of homes and summer recreation programs for the youngsters. The aged and handicapped also were helped through her efforts.

Despite her busy schedule, Gladys found time to be a group worker in the Anna B. Heldman Center where she organized the first neighborhood-based health clinic, coordinating her contacts and work in the Health Department with her efforts to build a better community. Working with block clubs on Lincoln and Roberts Street, she was instrumental in bringing hundreds of adults and children to the clinic for free chest x-rays, blood tests, immunizations and counseling provided by the Health Department.

In 1965 she was named Chief of the OEO Health Services Bureau in the Health Department where she trained a fulltime staff of neighborhood-based health and sanitation aides to help carry on her work in the community. When the federally funded OEO program was taken over by the County, she was named Chief of the Bureau of Health Referral Services.

Last Spring as Special Consultant For Community Affairs, Gladys consolidated her work with community groups and intensified efforts to identify community health needs. Paramount among these was the need to develop a program to prevent drug abuse among young people.

For almost two years she has visited public and parochial schools throughout the County, lecturing and presenting films on the problems of drug abuse. She also has lectured on prevention of drug abuse to civic organizations and church groups as well as at correctional institutions for teenage boys and girls.

Gladys was the recipient of a scholarship to Rutgers University where she completed a special course on alcoholism. At Columbia University Teacher's College, she attended a special training program on drugs. This spring she will get her BA Degree as a Sociology Major from the University of Pittsburgh and has arranged for independent studies toward her master's degree.

The wife of Attorney Thomas A. Harper, Gladys is a life member and a former Board member and Youth Council Advisor of the NAACP. Under her direction and leadership the Pittsburgh Youth Council was cited twice for State honors. In 1967 Mrs. Harper won the Isabelle Strickland Award for outstanding Youth Advisor in Pennsylvania. She also developed a tutorial and supportive services program for Freedom Unlimited, Inc., to help underachievers in public schools. When time permitted she served on the negotiating teams of UNPC and the NAACP for employment opportunities.

As a member of the Anna B. Heldman Society, Gladys helped in the repair and distribution of toys to needy youngsters. The group

now focuses attention on purchasing shoes for needy children.

Mr. Harper is a member of the Business and Professional Women's Club; one of the Commissioners and Treasurer of PACE (Persons Aiding Citizen Enterprise); Chairman of the Civic Action Committee of Wesley AME Zion Church; and a charter member of the League of Community Health Workers, Inc. She serves on the Urban League's Health Committee and the Narcotic Advisory Committee. She is a member of the American Society For Public Administration, The American Public Health Association and the Royal Society of Health, London, England.

Because of her success in the development of training programs utilizing indigenous neighborhood-based health workers, she served as Technical Assistant Specialist in the Health Division in the Office of Economic Opportunity under Theodore Berry, Director.

To her credit are also three publications.

#### LOCAL VFW ASKS SUPPORT OF PRESIDENT

### HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to call to the attention of my colleagues the article which appeared in the First District newspaper, the Dublin, Ga., Courier-Herald, October 13, and which is the same text that was broadcast on the local Dublin radio station, WMLT, three times daily on October 13, 14, and 15.

I certainly share these same views expressed by the 400 members of Veterans of Foreign Wars, Post No. 6544, of Laurens County, Ga., The article follows:

#### LOCAL V.F.W. ASKS SUPPORT OF PRESIDENT

Veterans of Foreign Wars Post 6544, of Laurens County, today urged that all citizens speak out in support of the President of the United States and the efforts of the United States government to stem the flow of Communism in South Vietnam.

Speaking on behalf of Post No. 6544, Commander Madden said: "The delegates attending the V.F.W. National Convention in August in Philadelphia, Pa., unanimously urged that our government continue to seek victory in Vietnam and that all of our citizens lend their full support to the men on the fighting front.

"Frankly, we are sick and tired of listening to a very vocal minority undermining the bargaining position of our President and in so doing endangering the lives of our men on the fighting front. It is my belief that the time has come when the much talked about silent majority should speak out. We must let the men on the battlefield know that they have the support of the people at home and we must let Hanoi know that the President has the support of the people in this country.

"It is my hope that the people of this area will speak out on this issue and that other patriotic, civic and fraternal groups will join with us in this crusade. I am firmly convinced," Commander Madden concluded, "that if we fail to speak out now, the vocal minority in this country will most certainly take over all that is meaningful in this land of ours. No one seeks peace more urgently than the Veterans of Foreign Wars, but we will not seek peace at any price which is what the vocal minority is calling for today."

TRIBUTE TO MR. HUGH T. BENNETT, SR.

### HON. ED JONES

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. JONES of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, recently, tribute was paid to one of Tennessee's leading citizens, Mr. Hugh T. Bennett, Sr., by one of the Eighth District's fine newspapers, the Milan Exchange, and the Humboldt-Courier-Chronicle. The article, entitled "Mr. Gibson County," was written as a special assignment by Mr. and Mrs. A. H. Williams of Humboldt, Tenn.

Squire Bennett, I am happy to say, has been a close personal friend of mine for many years, and I have often looked to him for guidance and counsel. Since Mr. Bennett has served as a noble inspiration to me and to countless other Tennesseans throughout his 88 years, I call attention to the article which I am inserting in today's RECORD.

"MR. GIBSON COUNTY"—ESQUIRE HUGH T. BENNETT, SR.

(By Mr. and Mrs. A. H. Williams)

Esquire Hugh T. Bennett is the next Man of Eminence the Milan Exchange is delighted to present in this series of stories relative to personages living within the boundaries or natives of Gibson County. Years ago he attained the "Title" which he still proudly, modestly bears—"Mr. Gibson County." He is a friend—a close personal one—to countless thousands of persons not only in his home and native county, where he has lived all his 88 and a half years within a radius of six miles from his present home near Fruitland, but throughout Tennessee and a wide portion of the Mid-South. He served nine six year consecutive terms as Magistrate in Gibson County from the Third Civil District—a tenure longer than any man in history. He, during the time, served one two-year term (1909-10) as Representative in the General Assembly of Tennessee; three two-year terms (1923-25-27) as State Senator from the county; was Clerk of the State Senate for the sessions of the two-year terms of 1915-17-19-21; served on the Gibson County Democratic Executive Committee from 1910 'til 1924; was for several two-year terms an Eighth District member of the State Democratic Executive committee; serving for two terms as West Tennessee Chairman of this important group.

Mr. Bennett was appointed Examiner for the Inheritance Tax Division of the Tennessee Department of Finance and Taxation in 1930 his territory being officially all of West Tennessee outside Shelby County (but we understand from reliable sources that he had special assignments in 90 of Tennessee's 95 counties), retaining this position until his retirement 20 years later in 1951.

Of the many records Esq. Bennett must have set during his long period (54 years) of unselfish service to his county as a member of the County Court there are two of which we are as positive as human investigation makes possible: he was the youngest member ever elected to the court (23 years of age when first chosen) and held this record for the first 12 years of his membership in the body; and when he declined to permit being qualified for his 10th consecutive term on the County Court the Magistrates unanimously elected him as Honorary Magistrate for Life, the only such honor ever received. Another unusual thing about Mr. Bennett's services

as Magistrate—at the time of his retirement he had served under every County Judge Gibson County had to that date, because prior to 1905 the County Court was presided over by a chairman. Mr. Bennett, therefore, succeeded his father, the late W. N. Bennett, who had served on the court for several years, becoming a member of the first Court under its first Judge.

While it may be a fact, and it is, that his homestead during 'squire Bennett's entire life has veered only a half dozen miles from its present spot in south-central Gibson County just a wee bit north west of Fruitland (an attractive snow-white frame dwelling, nestling among giant oaks and poplars whose century-old anniversaries have long since past) he has taken under his affectionate care the entire 600 square miles of "his domain"—living about the same distance from two of the larger towns (Humboldt and Trenton, five miles from each) and only some 10 or 12 miles from the other towns and communities of the county, growing steadily in beauty and size (and the "doings and sayings" of "Mr. Gibson County") throughout the State and other areas of the nation were responsible in no mean measure for the present surge of development of the County—they predicted the 1970 census of population for the area will be larger than 10 years ago, even though there has been throughout the country an exodus of people from rural areas to the larger cities).

But this "county-wide affection" of Mr. Bennett's took in the central and northern part of the country as well or as we may properly say "in more ways than one", really, because his lovely wife whom he says "has stood by me for 67 years" is the former Miss Ethel Yandell of Rutherford (and the light of love that beamed from Mrs. Bennett's eyes as she heard her bridegroom of 1902 speak, spoke more than words for the "many years" task of "standing by" her distinguished husband).

Then there was the time that Mr. Bennett campaigned with Bob (Robert Love) Taylor in this area. He accompanied him to Milan, after speaking in Humboldt, for a major speech in one of the famous Taylor appearances when seeking high office (among other things he was Governor of Tennessee 1887-1891 and again in 1897-99; U.S. Senator from Tennessee 1907-12. His opponent at times was his brother, Alfred A. Taylor as staunch a member of the G.O.P. as was Bob a Democrat. The "War of the Roses" between these two brothers, one choosing the white rose, the other the red, as a symbol of his platform, is one of the most heated sessions of politics in Tennessee history.) In the latter days of Bob Taylor's political life, when Mr. Bennett was associated with him, he became more kindly toward his brother as he was at the Milan gathering when he said "I've reached that time in life when I even have a kindly feeling toward the Republicans . . . did you know I have a brother who is suffering the same disease?"

Another picturesque and famous statesman and politician with whom Mr. Bennett had close personal association was the great Presidential aspirant, William Jennings Bryan. The Gibson County "Squire" says he will never forget the momentous trip he made with other Gibson Countians on the Bryan train through Gibson County to Union City and on through West Tennessee and Middle Tennessee to Nashville. . . .

For the last two or three years Esq. Bennett has been having trouble with his voice. It has weakened somewhat and seems to trouble him quite a bit. One doctor (a good friend) told him "Don't worry, you've talked enough already." And, to tell the truth, Mr. Bennett has had to do a lot of talking during his life to render the service to and accomplish the many things for his constituency—but "not

enough" as far as the elderly Squire was concerned.

Another doctor told him "all boys' voices change." Neither did this do him any particular good.

Therefore he decided to go to a specialist for a general checkup deciding to go to one of the "name doctors" in Memphis, who had not only an office but most of one floor of a large building at his disposal. After a few hours of thorough examination "from head to toe" according to Mr. Bennett, the doctor called him into his office, with his son who had driven him to the offices, and after they were all seated the doctor said, "Mr. Bennett we have examined you thoroughly (this was less than two years ago) and we are unable to find one single thing wrong with you." To which Mr. Bennett smiled in his usual gracious manner and said, "now that is mighty fine. . . . what do I owe you? and when the doctor replied, "fifty dollars" the radiation of the Bennett smile shaded just a bit. The son consoled him, a bit perhaps, when he said after they left the office, "why dad, I'd give \$100 for that kind of information." Mr. Bennett still "laughs out loud" about this trip—but he prefers, if either, the \$50 figure. . . .

"Statesman . . . one skilled in public affairs and art of government; a person of great ability and prominence in politics." So says one of these writers' "book-helpers" whose facts are taken more literally than too many people accept the undeniable facts of the Holy Bible. And to us the term truly (statesman) applies to our "Mr. Gibson County", Esquire Hugh T. Bennett. He served without flaw or blemish and without opposition at the polls with one exception when he overwhelmingly defeated his opponent.

The only time Mr. Bennett was opposed in an election was when a would-be magistrate linked his name (Mr. Bennett's) with the late Malcolm R. (Ham) Patterson in the earlier days of Mr. Bennett's career at a time when Mr. Patterson was in partial ill repute in the state, even among some of his Democratic associates. At that time Esq. Bennett was thought to be "sticking with Ham" and his one and only political opponent in nine races for the County Court thought this assumption-of-fact might swing the election away from the ever-undefeated Bennett. But how wrong he was. Esq. Bennett won hands down and never afterward had to electioneer for the position—except out of the sheer love of meeting his Gibson County friends and learning their problems. An interesting sidelight on this episode. When Gov. Patterson realized that for a time circumstances got so bad that it was expedient for him to take himself out of the political limelight for a time. Later he unexpectedly showed up at the Statehouse in Nashville and when he was discovered in the executive chambers of the Capital he was given an ovation. In response he arose and addressed the large crowd: "Ladies and gentlemen I'm still a Democrat—about the stillest Democrat in the state." But not so with Mr. Bennett. Throughout his long, active political life—and even after he retired, or tried to leave the public eye—he was anything else but a "still Democrat." Once in 1924 his name was on the ballot three times, without an opponent as was customary, for the offices of Senator, Magistrate and County Democratic Committeeman. He withdrew as candidate for Committeeman, saying, "Three times is too much for one man's name to appear on the same ballot."

Esquire Bennett's community service has not been restricted to politics. Since 1912 he has served as Elder in the Presbyterian Church, U. S. (Southern) in Fruitland, his hometown and hometown church which is 144 years old—one of the oldest religious organizations of the said-to-be oldest denomination in West Tennessee. He has served his church state-wide and nationally, attend-

ing the General Assembly of his church a number of times, the first being in Jacksonville, Fla. in 1926. On the occasion of the Centennial of the General Assembly (which is the church's highest court) Esq. Bennett was chosen to represent the Western District Presbytery of Tennessee and one of the lasting regrets of his life is that illness in his family prevented his making this particularly important session of the group. The three outstanding loves in this great citizen's life, after a lifetime of acquaintance and observation, are his wife and family, his church and his politics—Democratic, that is, as we have intimated.

To begin with, a man having traveled the very high and long road, as he has, of statesmanship, finance, politics, church administration and various other top-rated endeavors, is of necessity a naturally erudite person, "topped off with considerable 'book learning', as he was, and is. Mr. Bennett received his formal education, after his first years in public school, at the old Southern Normal University in Huntingdon, Tenn., one of the strongest institutions of learning in the Mid-South where the "three R's" meant what they implied. It was considered to be one of the South's finest schools of its day with students from practically every state in the Union. "One thing for certain" Mr. Bennett well remembers, "there were no 'demonstrations.'" We asked Mr. Bennett what his attitude might be on the current series of demonstrative marches, property damage and other confusions on the college campuses and elsewhere which are alarming the nation and he said with emphasis "Why it's awful-terrible" and he shuddered briefly and there was an added flush on his pleasant, handsome countenance. He also attended the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. . . .

Even though he "retired" in '51 from daily-grind activity (and he loved every minute of it) he was called on in 1956 to again serve on the State Democratic Committee. And he complied, serving as vice-president from West Tennessee on that body. . . .

Something else Mr. Bennett fondly remembers and enjoys recounting is the unusual story of his faithful mule "Old Joe" who lived to the ripe age of 32 years, serving not only for a long while as his owner's Modus Operandi of transportation and a "watch dog" about the home. "Old Joe", reminisces Mr. Bennett, "was purchased as being just an extra-good, young work mule, an essential on the farm of the early days . . . but quickly it was found that this beautiful animal was a trotter and a fast one at that, having almost, it was declared, a 2-40 gait, top-speed for a race horse . . . besides this he developed into a "watch dog" about the home and in his own manner advising the household when intruders were on the premises."

But Old Joe's main purpose in the beginning of Mr. Bennett's spectacular political career was to pull the candidate about the county in a spick and span shinning buggy. It was said of the shrewd Mr. Bennett that he used Old Joe instead of his sleek "buggy horse" in order to keep the voters ever mindful that he was a farmer. Old Joe was a help in other ways, too. In one of the county campaigns there was another candidate for a different office who was making the same circuits as was Mr. Bennett (Mr. Bennett, by the way, made the rounds, even though he had no personal opposition, to keep informed of his peoples' problems). This non-competitive politician happened to drive a frisky young mare to his speaking appointments, sometimes arriving there ahead of his friend, Mr. Bennett. Now it so happened, says his owner, that Old Joe "fell in love" with this mare and by his antics when he and Mr. Bennett approached a speaking engagement platform the driver could tell whether or not the other speaker had already arrived

and consequently gage his speech accordingly.

This faithful mule and friend was finally retired to the family pasture for a well-deserved good old-age of rest. But all too soon a younger animal kicked the old retiree, broke a leg, necessitating his being "put to sleep." There was much sadness at the Bennett place when the faithful, four-legged servant was wrapped in sheeting and buried at a revered spot on the farm.

Among the many honors that came his way, Esq. Bennett says he feels that probably the greatest was his being chosen as a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention in 1953 (the county just wouldn't agree to his full retirement). It was during that session that Tennessee's Constitution was amended for the first time since 1870. And who was the Secretary of that Convention? Why, of course, it was our own "retired", Esquire for Life, Bennett.

Money doesn't seem to have ever been a special bother to our lovable and liked "subject" of the past two weeks. Most of his life he has been, apparently "well-to-do" financially. In fact he learned the value of a dollar early in life as a boy on his father's farm where he worked in season "from dawn 'til dark", setting the pace for all the farmhands, white and black, who were at his side—and his dad saw to it that the "pace" wasn't a slow one (and he has kept that pace throughout life).

Young Bennett and his friends on weekends would hie to the Pea Ridge Community or to the old Gibson Wells resort for dancing until at least the latest hours of the evening. Mr. Bennett was a pronounced expert at the favorite dance of the day "The Weaverville Wheat."

The only thing "money-wise" thought of or discussed was a choice 1867 nickel he found as a boy, lost it by dropping it through a knot hole in the floor of his home, recovered it much later when his home was torn down and the ancient coin returned, and now kept as a valuable relic—how valuable he does not know because he has not investigated and it is not for sale at any price.

Squire Bennett recalls with his infectious smile . . . the celebration of his Golden Wedding Anniversary while his loyal and lovely wife of 67 years, the former Miss Ethel Yandell of Rutherford, beams adoring approval. This affair took place at the home of one of his sons, Willis Bennett, and Mrs. Bennett who with the other two sons and their wives, Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Taylor Bennett Jr. and Mr. and Mrs. W. F. (Billy) Bennett were hosts. . . .

Mr. Bennett was not what would be termed a "marrying magistrate", his records showing the uniting of only 110 couples during his long tenure as a member of the county court. "That's due principally" he says "because the state got a little strict on its rules and the 'run-away-couples' went to Mississippi. . . .

The late T. H. Alexander, noted newsman during the time Mr. Bennett was serving as State Senator from Gibson County, puts in a few words the general feeling of Mr. Bennett's state and county about him: "Senator Hugh T. Bennett of Fruitland is the very salt of the earth. I expect he is the most popular member of the Senate. Loyalty to his friends is one of his predominating traits but when it clashes with his sense of duty I suspect it would be a very painful situation to him but his course would be clear . . . Senator Bennett was one of the most useful and efficient members of the last Senate . . . he ought to be sent back to Nashville without the formality of opposition" (and he was). . . .

Our last glimpse of Mr. Bennett on the day of our fine visit with him and Mrs. Bennett was to see him, walking briskly about his beautiful lawn, holding the walker at about a 45 degree angle in the air and making "better time" in his late afternoon constitutional than these writers would ever attempt.

## BIPARTISAN INTERN PROGRAM

### HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, last summer the Democratic and Republican House leadership appointed a bipartisan intern committee to provide a program for the many young students who work each summer in Members' offices. As a part of the program inaugurated by the bipartisan intern committee an intern seminar program was developed by two members of the committee, Mr. Mark Talisman of the staff of Representative VANIK and Mr. Francis O'Gorman of the staff of Representative McDADE.

The seminar program scheduled 57 separate seminars. Over 60 speakers from every branch of government and private endeavor participated in presenting material on 25 different subjects chosen in advance by the students themselves. The chairmen of the seminar program committee have prepared a report on that program. Because of the great interest in it which has been expressed by a great number of students and by a number of colleges and universities, I include the report:

REPORT TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, THE HONORABLE JOHN W. MCCORMACK, ON THE SUMMER INTERN SEMINAR PROGRAM FOR 1969

#### INTRODUCTION

There were over 950 interns working in offices of Members and Committees of the United States House of Representatives during the summer of 1969. They were a most diverse group, representing every state in the union, almost every college and university and dozens of high schools. The interns ranged in age from 17 to 26 years old, and had varied and extensive interests.

For some ten weeks during this summer, 1969, Congressional summer interns observed first hand the operation of the Congress and the duties of each member. They were a most impressive group of young people, well educated, articulate, hard working, and curious. Idealism, not partisanship, was at the heart of their political philosophy. Most Members detected in their youthful employees a healthy spirit of inquiry, of the sort that all Americans proudly affirm as the first necessity for good representative government. These young people possessed strong critical faculties, in the best tradition of our democracy. Debate, discussion and dissent have rarely been more fruitful than this past summer in the Congress.

The Leadership of the House of Representatives—Hon. John McCormack, Speaker; Hon. Carl Albert, Majority Leader; Hon. Gerald R. Ford, Minority Leader—sponsored the Bi-Partisan Intern Program in order to organize activities for this group of young Americans working in the House.

These young people had come from all over the United States. They wanted to meet and talk with each other. They wanted to listen to and question the Legislators who were also their bosses. They wanted to be exposed to the political currents and the Nation's leaders that only the Capital can offer.

The members of the Intern Program decided that an appropriate forum for the discussion of ideas about government and about our government today might be a series of informal seminars.

#### DESCRIPTION OF SEMINAR PROGRAM

With no goals more specific than those previously stated, and with an abiding com-

mitment to the "bi-partisan" in the name, the "Seminar Committee" was constituted an integral part of the Bi-Partisan Intern Program.

Two members of the program—Mark Talisman, Administrative Assistant to Representative Vanik, and Frank O'Gorman, Administrative Assistant to Representative McDADE—agreed to serve as Co-Chairmen. Gerry Simons, a member of Mr. Vanik's staff, was appointed Staff Director, and assigned to run the seminars on a day-to-day basis.

The Seminar Committee was created in order to achieve several related purposes: (1) provide on a continuous basis for discussion of some vital issues related to the Ninety-First Congress; (2) enlarge the understanding of the legislative process; (3) present the views of experts on issues of national and international consequence; (4) encourage the exchange of ideas among Members of Congress, Congressional staff and the large delegation of young men and women serving as summer interns.

A serious effort was made to involve the interns in determining the shape of the seminar program. They chose, by ballot, twenty-five topics for seminars. They preferred to limit attendance in order to keep the size of the seminars small and to preserve the informal atmosphere.

The House interns expressed a clear desire to study "substantive" over "procedural" problems of the Congress. For example, "Urban Programs" and "ABM" were overwhelming choices, while a very small number evidenced interest in "Parliamentary Procedure" and "Legislative Drafting." Nevertheless, the final list did contain several titles related to the internal structure and function of the Congress, including "Tactics on Controversial Legislation," "Lobbying," "Investigations and Hearings," "Committee System," "Ethics," "Congressional Reform," and "Freshman Member." We are left merely to speculate about how this group's tastes may have changed during the course of the summer. The complete seminar title list will be inserted at the conclusions of these remarks.

The Committee, while continuing to solicit the opinions of the interns, proceeded to invite a substantial number of what were considered the most capable, responsible, and articulate spokesmen on the various issues. Every reasonable effort was made to obtain the opposing views represented in the Congress on all these problems. There were some rejections, but on the whole the response was most favorable.

It seemed natural to draw most heavily on the greatest intellectual and political resource in the Congress: the Members themselves. However, the guests also included a large number of staff and outsiders, most of whom either currently or formerly were connected with government service.

How well did the program measure up to the bi-partisan nature of the enterprise? Very well, it is agreed among members. With significantly few exceptions, the broadest possible range of opinions were aired. There were occasional panel discussions. The usual practice was to have several speakers in different sessions on the same topic. Perhaps the next factor which most assured a balanced presentation was the intellectual responsibility shown by the speaker himself toward the controversial nature of the discussion. The speaker frequently was careful to separate his political judgments from historical facts.

Discussion was on an "off-the-record" basis, a fact appreciated by more than a few of the principals. It is agreed that this situation helped make their remarks more candid, complete, and original.

Where possible, the interns received in advance readings suggested by the speaker. Reading material usually consisted of speeches, bills, or articles in the Congressional Record. A general reading list on the

Congress, compiled with professional assistance, was also made available.

The Seminar Committee endeavored to maintain a flexible posture—where it was unfortunate to lose a scheduled speaker, more often than not a qualified substitute was successfully engaged.

The objective was to conduct, where feasible, a series of small seminars on each topic—the length and scope of each series to be determined by the amount of interest sustained by the participating interns. As a result, there were, for example, several seminars on "Congress and the American University", "ABM" and the "Committee System", and only one on "View From the Court" and "Ethics."

There were fifty-seven seminars with a total of sixty-six speakers on twenty-five topics.

At first, each participating intern (650 out of 950 official interns signed up for the seminars) was asked to choose eight areas in which to specialize: he was guaranteed admission to all the seminars in the eight fields.

Each intern received a small card that served as notification of a seminar and as his ticket of admission. Certain problems—the work involved in printing the cards, limitation of attendance to allow each participant as close a view of the speaker and subject as possible, and the stated preference of some guests for a larger audience—caused a modification in the system. A general schedule was published every two weeks. The interns were requested to attend only those seminars for which they were registered, unless special permission was obtained. Certain programs, at the discretion of the Committee, were opened to all interns.

The results were very satisfactory. Attendance was sustained at a high rate throughout. When the program was operating fully, three or four seminars per day was a common occurrence.

The seminars were held in House committee rooms, subcommittee hearing rooms, on the Senate side, and occasionally in the Coolidge Auditorium of the Library of Congress. Many professional staff members in Congressional offices and committees were extremely cooperative in obtaining use of various rooms in which the seminars were held. This high level of support contributed significantly to this program's success. The Seminar Committee has already indicated its grateful appreciation to those who cooperated in this way, but also wishes to do so publicly.

Each seminar was planned for an hour in duration. Most speakers prepared opening remarks. There was always a lengthy question period. Many speakers encourage comments as well as inquiries, and, at times, it seems fair to say, the discussion reached the elevated level of real "dialogue."

At the recess in mid-August the interns were given a questionnaire to complete. It was designed to help the Committee review and improve the seminar program. A copy of the questionnaire is included in the Appendix. Some of the results are as follows from the 169 respondents:

1. What was the quality of the seminars? High 67.5%. Medium 37.5%. Low 0%.

2. How did you find the choice of speakers? Excellent 62.8%. Satisfactory 37.5%. Poor 2%.

3. Was there enough variety to the program? Yes 79.7%. No 20.3%.

4. On balance, do you feel that opposing views were adequately represented? Yes 60.4%. No 39.6%.

5. Did your Member and Administrative Assistant approve you attending these seminars? Yes 88.3%. No 11.7%. Sometimes 0%. Objected 0%.

The average intern attended many of the seminars, felt he learned a great deal from the program, would like to receive college credit in the future, and feels confident that

work performed in the seminars would not conflict at all with office duties.

The interns suggested the need for many administrative changes in the summer program which in the opinion of this committee could be easily implemented to improve measurably the operation of this program. Among those criticisms and suggestions presented by the interns were the need for better and speedier notification of meetings, more discussions and debate and less question and answer and formal presentation by speakers, better regulated scheduling of seminars to allow more seminars at the beginning than at the end of the program.

Some additional suggestions were as follows: that the seminars aim even deeper into the topics; that the seminars stress the political process, that is, the problems of writing and enacting legislation; that more speakers represent views outside the Congress (some preferred lobbyists, minorities, powerful groups); that Executive-Legislative interrelationships be explored at greater depth; that the interns themselves can make a greater contribution to the program, by doing suggested reading; that more time should be available, in conjunction with this kind of a program, to observe "Congress in action," particularly the committee process, floor action; that the best sessions were those with small numbers of participants; that informal get-togethers with Congressmen would be appreciated; that debates might elicit more meaningful discussion of issues and help listeners compare the merits of differing presentations; that college credit could and should be arranged for participation in the seminar program.

Some typical reactions to the seminars from the interns from every part of the country were as follows: "The seminars were generally excellent and usually well coordinated," Margaret Maxwell, Phoenix, Arizona; "Make sure Members know the merits and strong points of this program so they will be more inclined to vote for funding of the intern program," David Edinger, Whittier, California; "The intern program should definitely offer college credit for interns. The exposure it has given me taught me more than I can say," Patti Klamecki, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; "All in all a real good program. I sure wish I could have attended more," Frank Sullivan, South Bend, Indiana; "Many students, vitally interested in the machinery of government, will be unable to become interns if pay is not given. I urge you to seek a change in this situation," Robert Sacknovitz, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; "The best aspect of this program was the opportunity to make first hand value judgments about the personalities involved in National Affairs," Jesse M. Liebman, New York, New York; "The best seminars were ones concerning the political life of the speaker. Rehashing of current issues, while at first interesting, became boring as people repeated things," Christopher Kurs, Springfield, Virginia; "I feel that with stronger Congressional support, the program can develop into more dynamic proportions by presenting more speakers and activities," Jonathan T. Holt, Cheshire, Connecticut; "I am grateful to the Intern Committee for working so hard to keep us busy and contented with the seminars," Beverly Bradford, Birmingham, Alabama; "As an overall assessment, I thought the whole program was well organized, and the greatest, I don't know how anyone could cut it down, I consider myself lucky," Chery Guess, Casper, Wyoming; "I feel an attempt should be made to keep seminar size as small as feasible without restricting who may or may not come," Dave Mangham, Florence, Alabama.

It is the hope of the Committee, supported by the interns' views, that college credits can be granted for seminar work next summer, if this program is continued. Through an arrangement that, it has been assured, could be

worked out with a local university, interns who write a substantive paper on a topic chosen at the beginning of the summer would be eligible, upon favorable review of their work, to receive course credit.

Several universities from different parts of the country have already expressed an interest in participating in such a program. In such a program the intern might be able to use an office project as the basis for his paper.

Another suggestion being actively considered foresees an editorial board of House interns and university scholars which would publish a periodic journal on public policy affairs composed of the papers written by the summer interns.

There are numerous unexplored directions which the seminar concept might go based upon the great success enjoyed by the program this summer.

It is the sincere hope of the Seminar Committee that it be allowed to continue its program during the summer of 1970 based upon the outcome of this year's program.

It would be the hope of the Intern Seminar Committee that the Congress see fit to reinstate its financial support which it had previously given.

The high degree of participation in the seminar program by a great majority of the summer interns produced a fine atmosphere of learning, debate and discussion which should be maintained during the coming summer. It would indeed be unfortunate to reduce, impair, or neglect to cultivate the great educational opportunities which clearly are available in the Congress and can easily be exposed by the Intern Seminar Program.

It has been a sincere privilege for us to serve in this program. We are grateful to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Honorable John W. McCormack, to the Majority Leader, the Honorable Carl Albert and to the Minority Leader, the Honorable Gerald R. Ford for unstinting support of our endeavor. We hope we have, through this program, met their minimum expectations.

FRANK O'GORMAN,  
MARK E. TALISMAN,  
Co-Chairmen.  
GERRY SIMONS,  
Staff Director.

#### 1969 SEMINAR PROGRAM

July 1—Hon. Allard Lowenstein, Hon. W. E. Brock, Students and Politics.

July 10—Hon. Shirley Chisholm, Freshman Member/Urban Problems.

July 11—Hon. John Brademas, Hon. William A. Steiger, Congress and the American University.

July 15—Hon. Chet Holifield, Committee Chairman.

July 15—Hon. John Gardner, Urban Problems.

July 15—Hon. Richard Bolling, Congressional Reform.

July 17—Hon. J. Glenn Beall, Jr., Hon. Thomas Eagleton, Freshman Member.

July 17—Mr. Russell Hemmenway, The Committee for an Effective Congress.

July 17—Hon. Paul Douglas, Hon. Sam Gibbons, Hon. Charles Vanik, Politics of Tax Reform.

July 22—Mr. Argyll Campbell, Lobbying

July 24—Dr. Alton Frye, MIRV.

July 25—Dr. Jeremy Stone, ABM.

July 25—Hon. William Proxmire, Defense Spending and National Priorities.

July 28—Hon. George Mahon, Committee Chairman.

July 28—Hon. Clifford Case, MIRV.

July 29—Hon. Abraham Ribicoff, Urban Problems.

July 29—Mr. Samuel Halperin, Tactics on Controversial Legislation.

July 29—Hon. Paul Nitze, ABM.

July 30—Mr. Mark Talisman, Politics of Tax Reform.

July 31—Hon. Averell Harriman, East-West Relations.  
 July 31—Hon. Birch Bayh, Electoral College Reform.  
 August 1—Hon. Wilbur Cohen, Social Welfare Programs.  
 August 4—Hon. Karl Mundt, Vietnam.  
 August 4—Hon. Paul McCloskey, Hon. Thomas Rees, Congressional Reform.  
 August 4—Hon. William McCulloch, Electoral College Reform.  
 August 4—Hon. Peter Dominick, ABM.  
 August 5—Mr. Mark Talisman, Running a Political Campaign.  
 August 5—Hon. William S. Moorhead, MIRV.  
 August 5—Mr. Richard Kaufman, Investigations and Hearings.  
 August 6—Mr. John Sontag, East-West Relations.  
 August 7—Hon. Brock Adams, Congressional Reform.  
 August 7—Hon. Paul Findley, Agricultural Programs.  
 August 7—Mr. Peter Hart, Running a Political Campaign.  
 August 8—Mr. Boris Davydov, East-West Relations.  
 August 8—Mr. M. Rasgotra, View from the Embassy.  
 August 8—Mr. George Vincent, Jr., Running a Political Campaign.  
 August 11—Mr. John Swanner, Ethics.  
 August 11—Hon. Robert Packwood, Freshman Member.  
 August 11—Hon. Allard Lowenstein, Students and Politics.  
 August 12—Hon. Emory Swank, East-West Relations.  
 August 12—Mr. Andre Baeyens, View from the Embassy.  
 August 12—Mrs. Evelyn Dubrow, Mr. Clarence Mitchell, Lobbying/Tactics on Controversial Legislation.  
 August 13—Hon. James Allen, Congress and the American University.  
 August 13—Mr. David Broder, The Press on Capitol Hill.  
 August 13—Hon. Samuel Stratton, MIRV.  
 August 14—Mr. Nasir S. Batayneh, The Middle East.  
 August 14—Mr. Amitai Etzioni, Defense Spending and National Priorities.  
 August 14—Mr. Dean Costin, Tactics on Controversial Legislation.  
 August 15—Mr. Asher Naim, The Middle East.  
 August 15—Mr. Jack Anderson, The Press on Capitol Hill.  
 August 15—Mr. Robert Wagner—Urban Problems.  
 August 18—Mr. Patrick Kennedy, VISTA.  
 August 19—Hon. A. S. Mike Monroney, Congressional Reform.  
 August 19—Mr. Jaroslav Zantovsky, View from the Embassy.  
 August 19—Mr. Jack Schuster, Congress and the American University.  
 August 20—Mr. Joseph Califano, View from the White House.  
 August 21—Dr. Howard Penniman, Prof. D. B. Hardeman, Dr. Stephen Horn, Assessing the Role of Congress.  
 The following persons were invited to participate in the Seminar Program under the listed topics, but for various reasons were unable to appear:  
 Hon. Edith Green, Congress and the American University.  
 Hon. H. R. Gross, Congress and the American University.  
 Hon. Willard Wirtz, Urban Problems.  
 Hon. Charles Goodell, ABM.  
 Hon. Gale McGee, ABM.  
 Hon. Stuart Symington, ABM.  
 Hon. John Sherman Cooper, ABM.  
 Mr. Alexander Barkan, Running a Political Campaign.  
 Mr. David Mixner, Running a Political Campaign.

Hon. Henry Jackson, Defense Spending and National Priorities.  
 Hon. Robert McNamara, Defense Spending and National Priorities.  
 Hon. Charles Percy, Defense Spending and National Priorities.  
 Hon. Byron R. White, View from the Supreme Court.  
 Hon. Warren E. Burger, View from the Supreme Court.  
 Hon. Thurgood Marshall, View from the Supreme Court.  
 Hon. Potter Stewart, View from the Supreme Court.  
 Hon. J. W. Fulbright, Vietnam.  
 Hon. Albert Gore, Vietnam.  
 Hon. John Tower, Vietnam.  
 Hon. Frank Church, Vietnam.  
 Hon. Eugene McCarthy, Vietnam.  
 Mr. William Timmons, View from the White House.  
 Hon. William B. Spong, Social Welfare Programs.  
 Hon. Llewellyn Thompson, East-West Relations.  
 Hon. Dean Rusk, East-West Relations.  
 Mr. Ray Denison, Lobbying.  
 Mr. Paul Duke, The Press on Capitol Hill.  
 Mr. Joseph Kraft, The Press on Capitol Hill.  
 Mr. Neil MacNeil, The Press on Capitol Hill.  
 Mr. James Reston, The Press on Capitol Hill.  
 Mr. Richard Valeriani, The Press on Capitol Hill.  
 Mr. Ralph Nader, Investigations and Hearings.  
 Hon. John W. Byrnes, Politics of Tax Reform.  
 Mr. Walter Reuther, Politics of Tax Reform.  
 Mr. George Wilson, MIRV.  
 Hon. Joseph Clark, Ethics.  
 Hon. Louis Stokes, Freshman Member.  
 Hon. Harold Hughes, Vietnam.  
 Hon. William Saxbe, Freshman Member.  
 Hon. Emanuel Celler, Electoral College Reform.  
 Hon. Walter Hickel, Environmental Problems.  
 Hon. Russell Train, Environmental Problems.  
 Hon. Stewart Udall, Environmental Problems.  
 Hon. John Freeman, View from the Embassy.  
 Hon. Walter Washington, Urban Problems.

## BORN FREE

## HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. Kenneth McDaniel, 21, of Lowell, Ind., was killed in action in Vietnam on August 13. Although there are many Americans who question our role and commitment in Vietnam, Private McDaniel is an example of a dedicated young American, serving his country bravely, who knew why he was in Vietnam and was willing to stand up, yes, and to give his life for the principles on which his country was founded. I think my fellow colleagues will be interested in reading the words he wrote in a letter to his parents just a few days before his death:

## BORN FREE

The sky is dark and gray  
 As a young soldier gets down to pray.  
 O Dear God, hear my prayer this day

For I have a feeling that I will pass away  
 Before battle comes another day.  
 And if it is to be, O Lord, then hear what I  
 have to say.  
 Some people think I'm wrong for being here  
 Fighting proudly for country dear  
 But no matter what they say  
 Here I am and here I'll stay.  
 Many friends of mine have come and gone  
 And many more will come to fight on  
 For we are fighting to keep our country free  
 From Communism and in its place put  
 Liberty  
 Our forefathers before us fought this cause  
 And now we stand and pause—  
 And think quietly to ourselves should we be  
 here  
 Yes! for now we too stand proudly for  
 country dear.

ONE-FIFTH OF MEMBERS NOW  
BACK ENVIRONMENT COMMITTEE

## HON. DONALD G. BROTZMAN

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, today I am reintroducing my proposal to establish a standing Committee on the Environment in the House of Representatives. I am gratified by the support my proposal has received from other Members. With today's additions, 88 Members have joined me in cosponsoring the resolution to create the Committee on the Environment.

Support for this committee is broad-based. There are Republicans and Democrats supporting the resolution, and I think I can safely say that all philosophical shadings of our two great political parties are represented. In addition, support comes from all parts of the country. Forty States are represented as are all of the 21 standing committees of the House.

Mr. Speaker, I feel my proposal is particularly timely in view of the speculation that the quality of the environment and the need to protect the Nation's land, water, and other physical resources is to be a dominant theme in President Nixon's upcoming state of the Union message. The committee would have jurisdiction over most of the environmental crises which today beset the Nation and the world, including water pollution, air pollution, weather modification, waste disposal of all kinds, the use of pesticides and herbicides, and acoustic problems. At this point, I am inserting an article from the front page of the December 7, 1969, Washington Post in the RECORD:

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 7, 1969]  
 NIXON TO PRESS IMPROVEMENT IN QUALITY OF  
 1970 ENVIRONMENT

(By Carroll Kilpatrick)

The quality of the environment and the need to protect the nation's land, water and other physical resources is now expected to be a dominant Nixon administration theme next year.

The President began work several weeks ago on the State of the Union address—his first—which he will deliver to a joint meeting of Congress next month.

As the message began to take shape, the environment was the major domestic theme, officials said last week.

Mr. Nixon himself pulled aside the curtain a bit when he told the nation's governors and their wives that when he speaks to them next, in February, it would be on how to challenge young Americans "to move forward on the whole subject of the quality of life in America," including environment.

Earlier this year, Mr. Nixon established the Environmental Quality Council and has met a number of times with it.

In addition to attacking air and water pollution, the President said that the emphasis should be on "how we can move forward on all fronts so that life in this country in addition to being very rich and very strong can also have that extra dimension of idealism" that caught the imagination of the world at the time of the birth of the Republic.

A high official said that one example of what the President was talking about was a \$15-billion Interior Department plan to attack water pollution.

Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel has proposed a plan whereby the federal government would cooperate with the states and local communities in attacking this serious problem. It would be a 20-year, pay-as-you-go plan with the federal government guaranteeing the principal costs and the local governments guaranteeing the interest costs on the necessary bonds.

Hickel has estimated that it would cost \$10 billion to protect the rivers and lakes from the discharge of sanitary sewers and \$5 billion from the discharge of storm sewers. He said storm sewers can be almost as polluted as sanitary sewers.

Hickel has argued that a "national commitment" must be made, with the federal government providing guidance and the capital investment and local communities doing the work.

This fits the President's concept of the new federalism, Hickel believes. The pay-as-you-go feature amortizes the huge cost over a period of years, making it possible to launch the program without large initial expenditures.

Hickel also has recommended the establishment of a new Cabinet department, that would be known as the Department of Natural Resources and Environment, to take over much of Interior's work and other environment work scattered in other departments.

If the House of Representatives is going to meet the environmental challenges of the seventies, it is imperative that our committee machinery be revised as I have proposed. Despite the excellent work which has been done within our existing committee structure in some environmental areas, generally speaking, our approach has been fragmented and sporadic when a unified, hard-driving approach is sorely needed.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to announce that 26 Members today joined in sponsoring resolutions identical to House Resolution 375 which I introduced on April 28, 1969. They include Messrs. ADAIR, ARENDS, BEALL of Maryland, BRADEMANS, BUSH, BUTTON, DANIELS of New Jersey, DEVINE, ESCH, FRELINGHUYSEN, GOODLING, HASTINGS, KUYKENDALL, LUKEN, MCKNEALLY, MATHIAS, MATSUNAGA, MORSE, NELSEN, PELLY, POLLOCK, SANDMAN, SCOTT, SHRIVER, STOKES, THOMPSON of Wisconsin, and TIERNAN.

The 61 Members who previously joined me in sponsoring resolutions identical to House Resolution 375 include Messrs. ADDABBO, ANDERSON of Illinois, BIESTER, BLACKBURN, BROYHILL of North Carolina,

BUCHANAN, BURKE of Florida, BURTON of Utah.

MESSRS. CAHILL, CAMP, CARTER, DON CLAUSEN, CONTE, COUGHLIN, COWGER, DENT, DINGELL.

MESSRS. FISH, FOREMAN, GUBSER, HALPERN, HANSEN of Idaho, HECHLER of West Virginia, MRS. HECKLER of Massachusetts, MESSRS. HOGAN, HORTON, HUNT.

MESSRS. KLEPPE, KYROS, LLOYD, LUJAN, MCCLODY, McCLOSKEY, McDADE, MANN, MAYNE, MIKVA, MOLLOHAN.

MESSRS. PIKE, PODELL, QUIE, REID of New York, RIEGLE, ROONEY of Pennsylvania, SAYLOR, ROTH, SCHEUER, SCHNEEBELI, SEBELIUS, STANTON, STEIGER of Arizona.

MESSRS. TAFT, TALCOTT, TEAGUE of California, WHITEHURST, WILLIAMS, WOLD, WRIGHT, WYATT, and WYMAN.

#### A LESSON IN REALISM

### HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon made a major impact on the Nation in his recent televised press conference.

The Birmingham News of December 10, 1969, called it "a lesson in realism." Attached is the full text of the News editorial:

#### A LESSON IN REALISM

Throughout President Nixon's news conference Monday night, whether he was talking about Vietnam or feeding the hungry or tax policy, one got the feeling that here was a man who is tough-minded, disciplined and determined to reintroduce the word "responsibility"—fiscal responsibility, legal responsibility and social responsibility—into the American vocabulary.

On a steady diet of pie-in-the-sky, we have grown flabby; listening to wishing-will-make-it-so philosophers has made us reluctant to stand eyeball to eyeball with hard reality.

Mr. Nixon seemed to be saying to the nation:

Sure, you want peace in Vietnam. So do I. But there is no magic wand to wave, there is no cheap and easy peace. A real peace may require Americans to endure the agonies of war for yet a little longer.

Sure, you want to end poverty and to insure that no American's stomach need go empty. So do I. But such proposals as the one by the just-adjourned national conference on hunger—that the federal government guarantee a minimum income of \$5,500 a year, a program that would cost \$70 to \$80 billion annually—are patently unrealistic and do more to set back than to advance serious efforts to aid the poor.

Sure, you want your taxes cut. So do I. But the hard fact is that your government has obligations which must be met, and these must be balanced against revenue; and I, as President, have a responsibility to consider the impact of fiscal measures on a dangerously overheated economy—so that you, the consumer, won't have to bear the brunt of still another round of inflated prices.

All of this, it seems to us, shows a resoluteness of purpose of the sort the nation has needed in its chief executive. We hope

that Mr. Nixon will continue to be firm in his determination and candid in his messages to the American people.

Americans can do whatever is necessary for their own and their country's good, their history proves, if they understand what it is. One of the most useful services the President can perform is to inspire, by personal example, a renewed sense of responsibility in citizenship.

There are no panaceas, no easy, instant answers to the tough problems confronting us, and those who encourage belief to the contrary do no favor to anyone.

#### RED CROSS TO THE RESCUE

### HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, for many years, Charles L. Israel, of San Diego, has served the American Red Cross, both as a professional and as an unpaid volunteer. During World II, he was a field director in the military welfare division; and in the years since, he has continued his work with the organization, primarily in its disaster relief program.

Recently, he was called upon to serve in the Louisiana-Mississippi area, after the devastation caused by Hurricane Camille. Leaving his family and his real estate business behind in California, Mr. Israel spent a month in Mississippi, helping people dig out from the ruins of the storm and seeking ways to mend their broken lives.

At this point, I include with my remarks a letter from Mr. Israel to his wife, concerning his experiences in Mississippi. I urge my colleague to read it, for I feel it provides new insight into the vital work being done by the American Red Cross and its volunteers.

The letter follows:

Red Cross is doing a job and without the assistance given, the families here would be so emotionally upset it would take years to recover from the shock of the enormity of the situation.

The fortitude of the people, the victims of the hurricane, is something to behold. The winds, waves, knew no race, religion, or color; it struck all, the rich, the poor, the middleman.

All need help and the Red Cross is on the job giving immediate assistance to meet all emergency needs, and the case processors are on the job assisting families plan and helping families financially. When the family has done all it could for itself, Red Cross steps in to meet the needs and fills in the gap.

Certainly without this assistance a goodly section of the country would be years in recovering from the effects of this hurricane.

So it is only through the help of all the people in this land of ours assisting with funds channeled through the organization, with the know-how, the American Red Cross, that a community so hard hit can come back and start life anew.

To help our fellowman is a privilege and should be embossed upon the minds of our fellow countrymen. The "Oh Wells," they can do it all themselves, they should become obsolete.

For my part I am glad I came to help. It is good to see a smile come to the faces of the victims of the hurricane when help is given

and an encouraging word is spoken and they know their fellow Americans do care.

The story just has to be told and retold until all of the people know the worth of the American Red Cross and all the people of our land become part of the Red Cross program just by opening up their hearts and their purses or giving of themselves.

A disaster can strike anywhere in this land of ours and one never knows when he too, may need assistance. It would be comforting to know that a great humanitarian organization such as the American Red Cross has the backing of all the people and will be able to step in to do the job of alleviating suffering caused by catastrophic situations.

When disaster strikes it should be a privilege to help and not a duty. The American Red Cross is charged by our government to do the job and needs the help of all the people of this great nation of ours.

CHARLES L. ISRAEL.

### THE GATE CITY OF THE SOUTH

#### HON. FLETCHER THOMPSON

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, as Congressman from Georgia's Fifth District which includes most of Atlanta, I have a great pride in Atlanta, her progress, and her history.

Many Members of this body who have flown through Atlanta recently have been impressed with her airport facilities, and others who have visited the city recently have been amazed at the growth and revitalization of her business district. Still others know of Atlanta regretfully only through having read Margaret Mitchell's "Gone With the Wind" or seen the movie version.

Atlanta has a great history, dating back to 1836 when the first log cabin was built. One of my constituents, Mr. Hubert F. Lee, editor of Dixie Business magazine, recently sent me a copy of the Lone Scout magazine of February 10, 1917, which contained an article he wrote about Atlanta's history. So that other Members may become acquainted with our city's background, I insert in the RECORD the article from Lone Scout about Atlanta. The article follows:

#### THE GATE CITY OF THE SOUTH

(By Lone Scout Hubert F. Lee)

ATLANTA, GA.—The Gate City of the South was not always known as Atlanta. Because some Lone Scouts are interested in how my city got its name I am going to write the history of Atlanta.

In 1836 Mr. Hardy Ivy built the first log cabin on the site of what is now Atlanta. One year later the Western and Atlantic Railroad selected this place for its terminus and the place was called "Terminus."

The second house was built by John Thrasher in 1839, and the first business firm, Johnson & Thrasher, opened a little store. In 1842 the settlement had six dwellings, and a daughter was born to Mr. and Mrs. Carlisle. That same year the first train ran from Terminus to Marietta, and the first two-story house was erected, and the first real estate auction took place.

In 1843 Terminus was incorporated under the name of Marthasville, in honor of the pretty daughter of the Governor of Georgia. At this time Marthasville had a railroad office, a sawmill and two stores.

In 1847 the legislature changed the name to Atlanta. The town had 500 inhabitants. Three years later the population was 3,000, and was 6,000 four years later.

About this time there were sixty stores, a courthouse, and a theater. The annual trade was \$1,500,000.

One year later the city was lighted with gas, and the Atlanta Medical College was established.

The "boom" period began in 1859. The population was 11,500. In that year twenty brick stores were built, four hotels, four machine shops, two planing mills, four tanneries, one large rolling mill, one clothing factory and fifteen churches. The panic in 1857 did not hurt Atlanta. The first directory, in 1859, showed that the city had three fire departments, seven Masonic lodges, one Odd Fellows society, two temperance societies, seven newspapers, five hotels, fifteen manufacturing concerns.

Up to the Civil War period the mayors of the city were Moses Ferminalt, Benjamin Borar, W. Buell, J. Norcross, G. O. Gibbs, John Mims, W. M. Butte, A. Nelson, John Glenn, William Eyzard and Luther J. Glenn.

The above is true and I hope to see it in "Our Dear Old Lone Scout."

### YEAR OF APOLLO—1969—U.S. SPACE ACCOMPLISHMENTS

#### HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration has outlined the U.S. accomplishments in space in 1969. It is a pleasure to set out for the American people the fine progress which is the result of cooperation of everyone in our space program with our competent astronauts. Their news release of December 20, 1969, follows:

#### NEWS RELEASE No. 69-161

The year of the Apollo Moon landings—1969—the year of close-up studies of Mars and, closer to home, a year when communications satellites, space weather observation and scientific examination of the Earth's environment from orbit continued with increasing sophistication.

Following the Apollo 9 and 10 readiness missions, the first lunar landing mission was launched July 16 and man set foot on another celestial body for the first time four days later.

"That's one small step for a man, one giant leap for mankind" were the words of Apollo 11 Commander Neil A. Armstrong as he swung down from the Lunar Module to the dusty Sea of Tranquility at 10:56 p.m. EDT July 20.

Exactly four months later Apollo 12 Commander Charles "Pete" Conrad led a second two-man exploration team to the Moon, this time in the Ocean of Storms.

The era of manned exploration of other planets had begun—bringing to fruition the ten-year effort of the government-industry-university complex in which 400,000 Americans had brought about the first major milestone in unlocking the secrets of the universe.

Two unmanned spacecraft, Mariners 6 and 7, flew by Mars in July and August revealing it to be different than—rather than resembling—either the Moon or Earth.

Results of the flyby in which 200 photos of Mars were taken confirmed earlier data received from Mariner 4 in 1964 that there are numerous craters and the atmosphere is

roughly equivalent to that of Earth at about 100,000 feet altitude.

But the unprecedented clarity of the new pictures showed numerous craters including one about 300 miles in diameter as well as one vast stretch of over 1,200 miles with almost no craters. The only identifiable cloud was a very thin streak hanging 20 to 30 miles off the edge of the planet.

Ice cap temperatures were measured to be very similar to that of dry ice although one experimenter believes there may be water ice at the edge of the cap.

In the meteorological satellite area, Nimbus 3 was placed in polar orbit. Shortly after launch, it was apparent that not only the cloud cover photos being returned were of excellent quality, but a new step forward in meteorology had been taken. A weather bureau official called it a breakthrough as significant to meteorology as the launch of the first satellite.

He referred to the vertical temperature measurements, air pressure, vapor content and wind speeds taken at numerous locations around the world on a daily basis.

NASA also launched a regular meteorological operational satellite for ESSA, ESSA 9, in February, and four communications satellites were launched for Communications Satellite Corp. One of the four, Intelsat III F-5 failed to achieve orbit because of a launch vehicle malfunction.

Two more Orbiting Solar Observatories, OSO's 5 and 6, were launched by NASA during the year to continue the study of the Sun and another Interplanetary Monitoring Platform, IMP-G, and an Orbiting Geophysical Observatory, OGO-6, were launched to study the medium near Earth and out to more than 100,000 miles in space.

Other launches for outside organizations included an ionospheric sounding satellite, ISIS 1; ESRO I-B and German Research Satellite-A, both scientific satellites, and a communications satellite, Skynet-A, for the British Ministry of Defense.

Another important flight during the year was Biosatellite 3. This was the first mission involving a primate and though it was aborted far short of its scheduled flight of one month, results from the flight were important.

New knowledge about the structure and behavior of cancer cells was a surprise 1969 research dividend. Researchers at the NASA Langley Research Center, Hampton, Va., developed a microscope technique that permitted time-lapse photographs of cell division mechanisms in healthy and cancerous tissues.

In aeronautical research, the promising NASA super-critical wing concept moved from hand-crafted, wind tunnel refinements into preparation for full-scale flight tests. The concept, also originating at Langley, has stirred unusual interest because of its potential for enhancing both the cruise performance and the operational economics of subsonic jet airliners. Flight tests will be made with such a wing mounted on a modified jet fighter acquired by NASA from the U.S. Navy.

The goal was to get data on how space radiation might affect cellular growth. What they discovered and recorded was that cancer cells split, but remain connected by thin, stretchy linkages and that one cancer cell could cause connected cells to divide in sequence by sending a sort of chain reaction-stimulus through the linkages.

Double success twice rewarded NASA's efforts in tracking and data acquisition in 1969, with the successful lunar landing flights of Apollo 11 and 12, and the two Mariners flying close to Mars.

The Manned Space Network performed virtually without flaw in maintaining contact on two flights, with two Apollo spacecraft at once—the Lunar Module stationed on the Moon, the Command Module continuing in lunar orbit. The 85-foot antennas of the major stations at Goldstone, Calif.;

Canberra, Australia, and Madrid, Spain, used main and wing, or backup, antennas to carry out this long-range double-track task. In addition, with 210-foot antennas at Goldstone and Parkes, Australia, they provided live television direct from the Moon to an audience estimated, for Apollo 11, in the hundreds of millions of persons over many modern nations.

The Mars feat attracted the interest of astronomers because the cameras of Mariners 6 and 7 returned 200 high quality photos of the planet in a period of some 12 hours—a gross gain from the technology possible with Mariner 4, in 1965, when 22 Mars pictures were transmitted in 175 hours. Last July 31 and Aug. 5 Mariner 6 and 7

passed within 2,000 miles of Mars to scan two different faces of the planet, and transmitted photo and other data to Earth over a distance of 60 million miles.

NASA's international program broke new ground in 1969 with an agreement with India for use of a synchronous communications satellite to broadcast TV directly into 5,000 Indian villages for such program objectives as population control and agriculture improvement. The year also saw the successful launching of three scientific satellites in cooperative programs with Canada, Germany and the European Space Research Organization (ESRO).

More than 50 foreign countries continued to obtain daily meteorological data directly

from NASA and ESSA weather satellites by means of inexpensive automatic picture transmission (APT) ground receiving stations. The cloud-cover photographs received contributed widely to improved weather forecasting and storm advisories.

NASA continued to transfer to industry, small business and the scientific community the new technology coming out of space-related research and development activity. Most of this technology comes from NASA field centers where specialists review research and development projects for promising new ideas. NASA contractors, also, are required to report inventions, discoveries, innovations and improved techniques they develop in work for NASA.

MAJOR NASA LAUNCHES IN 1969

Date	Name	Launch vehicle	Launch site	Mission	Results	
					Vehicle	Mission
January 22	OSO 5	Delta	KSC	Solar observation	Success	Success
January 30	ISIS 1	do	WTR	Ionosphere sounding	do	Do.
February 5 <sup>1</sup>	Intelsat III F-3	do	KSC	Communications	do	Do.
February 24	Mariner 6	Atlas-Centaur	KSC	Mars fly-by	do	Do.
February 26 <sup>1</sup>	ESSA 9	Delta	KSC	Weather	do	Do.
March 3	Apollo 9	Saturn V	KSC	LM checkout	do	Do.
March 27	Mariner 7	Atlas-Centaur	KSC	Mars fly-by	do	Do.
April 14	Nimbus 3	Thor-Agena	WTR	Weather R. & D	do	Do.
March 18	Apollo 10	Saturn V	KSC	LM lunar orbit	do	Do.
March 21 <sup>1</sup>	Intelsat III F-4	Delta	KSC	Communications	do	Do.
June 5	OGO 6	Thor-Agena	WTR	Geophysical studies	do	Do.
June 21	Explorer 41	Delta	WTR	Interplanetary studies	do	Do.
June 28	Biosatellite 3	do	KSC	Biological studies	do	Unrated.
July 16	Apollo 11	Saturn V	KSC	First manned lunar landing	do	Success.
July 25 <sup>1</sup>	Intelsat III F-5	Delta	KSC	Communications	Failure	Failure.
August 9	OSO 6	do	KSC	Solar physics	Success	Success.
August 12	ATS 5	Atlas-Centaur	KSC	Communications and technology	do	Unrated.
August 27	Pioneer 5	Delta	KSC	Solar studies	Failure	Failure.
October 1 <sup>1</sup>	ESRO 1-B	Scout	WTR	Polar ionosphere	Success	Success.
November 7 <sup>1</sup>	GRS 1	do	WTR	Energetic particles	do	Do.
November 14	Apollo 12	Saturn V	KSC	Manned lunar exploration	do	Do.
November 21 <sup>1</sup>	Skynet	Delta	KSC	Communications	do	Do.

<sup>1</sup> Non-NASA mission.

GOOD GUYS

HON. LOWELL P. WEICKER, JR.

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. WEICKER. Mr. Speaker, in this era of raised voices and angry confrontation, I would like to call my colleagues' attention to a group of quiet men who mirror the true Christmas spirit.

About 4 years ago in Bridgeport, Conn., in my district, Mr. Joseph Mastronardi, Jr. and Mr. Jules J. Bues organized a reunion of classmates and friends whom they grew up with in the North End of Bridgeport. As Mr. Mastronardi notes, the men who attended the reunion were all "good guys," the type of guys you would be proud to call your friend.

From this reunion stemmed the North End Good Guys, a group of guys who quietly share their friendship with the sick, the underprivileged, the poor, and any family in their community in distress. There are now about 300 members in the North End Good Guys of Greater Bridgeport who help their neighbors and spread good will without publicity or fanfare.

This group of Good Guys is constantly active throughout the year, but during the holiday season they are particularly active. Last year they distributed more than 1,000 toys to youngsters and plan a similar project this year. There are many needy families who will have a Christmas dinner, thanks to the Good Guys.

CXV—2537—Part 30

When you know that there are men in this world like the North End Good Guys, who truly love their neighbor, the meaning of the phrase "Christmas Spirit" certainly has greater depth.

TRANSPORTATION AND THE ELDERLY

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, within recent months the U.S. Senate Special Committee on Aging and several of its subcommittees have taken testimony on the "Economics of Aging: Toward a Full Share in Abundance."

Our witnesses have given us much information about generally inadequate retirement income, and they have given us example after example of the drains upon that income: inflationary health care costs, rapidly rising real property taxes, and inflation in general.

There is another, less obvious drain: the extra living costs that arise when transportation is inadequate, too costly, or even nonexistent. At one recent hearing, for example, we heard about an elderly woman who was trying to earn a few dollars doing housework. But it costs \$1 for carfare each day she works. And so she walks 15 blocks each way to cut down the fare she must pay.

It seems to make little difference

whether the committee is taking testimony in rural or urban areas. At a recent hearing in Appalachia, one witness told about a 78-year-old woman, with a monthly income of \$85, who had to pay a neighbor \$5 once a month to take her into town so that she could purchase food stamps. There was no other way to get there, and her neighbor was almost as poor and old as she was.

Transportation has been mentioned so often at our economics hearings that I decided on December 6 to conduct an information session in Paterson, N.J., solely on that subject. Paterson was selected because it has an active Office on Aging, because transportation studies have been conducted there within recent years, and because it has a large population of elderly residents.

Much valuable information was gathered, and I ask unanimous consent that three statements given at that time be printed in the RECORD. These statements provide useful insights, as well as proposals for change.

Further grassroots testimony was provided by a panel of elderly residents of Passaic County. Mrs. Minnie Barrow of Totowa, Mrs. Florence Baum of Paterson, Mrs. Mary Donkersloot of Clifton, Mrs. Violetta Hill of Wayne; and Mrs. Odessa Owen of Paterson.

Their expert testimony was that of the older person who finds it increasingly difficult to go shopping, to visit friends in the hospital, to go to centers for recreational events, and to go to their own doctor or to a clinic.

One woman said that it costs her 70

cents and she must make a transfer to travel only about 2 miles in order to reach the city center on aging. Another said that it takes 2 hours and costs more than a dollar to visit friends in a hospital.

Shopping problems were described: It is too difficult to carry heavy bundles while attempting to board a bus—when a bus can be found. Many elderly persons, it was reported, stay at home most of the time simply because it is too expensive and too much trouble to use whatever public transportation may be available.

It is clear, from their testimony, that the Senate Committee on Aging should look deeper into the problems described in Paterson. We should, for example, learn more about the probable effects of reduced fares for the elderly during nonrush hours. Asked at the hearing whether such an arrangement would be acceptable and helpful to them, the panel of elderly residents emphatically said yes. The committee should also look further into the question of design barriers that make public transportation inaccessible or unattractive to the elderly and also to the handicapped. As the author of mass transit legislation now before the Congress, I might add that I will do all possible to assure that accessibility is built into transportation systems of the future.

Fortunately, there is reason to think that there is growing awareness of transportation problems encountered by the elderly.

Representatives of the U.S. Department of Transportation and the Administration on Aging were on hand at the Paterson meeting, and they described new research efforts which should shed light on relevant subjects. In addition, a representative of the New Jersey State Department of Transportation described the potential usefulness of a "Dial-a-Bus" proposal which would provide on-call service in urban areas.

The people of Paterson and others at the December 6 meeting, have my thanks for providing weighty evidence about the need for closer attention to the transportation problems of the elderly.

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

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SENATE HEARING ON "TRANSPORTATION ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMICS OF AGING," PATERSON, N.J., DECEMBER 6, 1969

(By Mort Schwartz, chairman, Passaic County Council on Aging)

The county office on aging was established in 1968 by the Freeholders of Passaic County as a result of their recognition of the growing problems of the aging.

May I emphasize the last few words of that opening statement—the growing problems of the aging. We have come to recognize in recent years that the normal problems associated with old age are being compounded day after day by the evolutionary course of our social and economic habits of living.

Concern for health as we grow old, although still the paramount consideration, is accompanied by fear of financial insecurity, and apprehension as to the difficulty of continuing active and mobile.

Senior citizens on fixed incomes are being strangled by an economy that each year ex-

periences a significant rise in the cost of living.

Senior citizens who, as their residential needs diminish, relocate to smaller or less elaborate housing, often find themselves isolated from friends and relatives in suburban or rural areas in which transportation is not readily available.

Appropriately, this hearing is entitled, "Transportation Aspects of the Economics of Aging." The subject of transportation cannot be isolated with respect to the senior citizen. The capability to be active and mobile after retirement is more often than not dependent on individual economic considerations.

The senior citizen scrutinizes expenditures in a different light than his younger neighbors. A bus trip to New York City costing a dollar is often equated with a meal. Unhappily, the dollar fare cuts into the amount of money allocated for food in many budgets.

Although they are worth repeating, the comments I have just made pertain to the aged in general, and the situations are well-known to all of us here. Let us then be specific with respect to conditions in our local area.

Passaic county, with a population approaching one-half million, has approximately 50,000 senior citizens distributed throughout its 16 municipalities. Almost 90% of the total population is concentrated in the lower half of the county, and three cities: Clifton, Passaic and Paterson account for almost 70%.

In size, the county has 194 square miles of land and eight square miles of water. More than two-thirds of this total area is still rural. Three municipalities in the upper half of the county: West Milford, Ringwood and Wanauque comprise 60% of the total square mileage.

The transportation situation within this configuration is briefly as follows:

The only existing major highways are routes 46, 3 and 21 which all barely skirt the very southern tip of the county, and Route 23 which moves from south to north along the county's western boundaries. Three additional limited access highways are now being built in bits and pieces with long delays. These are the new routes 80 and 287, and the existing route 208 in Bergen county which is being extended northward.

In the upper half of the county, only two roadways: county routes 511 and 513 provide arteries of any consequence, and both primarily allow north-south flow.

Two existing railroads—Erie Lackawanna and the New York Susquehanna & Western—are given over almost entirely to carrying freight, and the few commuter trains still available all terminate at the Hudson tubes in Jersey City.

Local intra-county bus services are considerable in the lower half of the county where population is dense. Local bus service is extremely limited in the upper half of the county, but a few lines do link Paterson with some of the northern municipalities.

Several major inter-state bus lines provide service to New York City from both the upper and lower halves of the county.

What does all this add up to? The conclusion that current transportation development in Passaic County leaves much to be desired with respect to the senior citizen.

Bus and train schedules, as well as road construction, are designed for the commuter or the inter-county traveler. Little or no improvement has been realized in public transportation on a local basis. Major attention for the future is focused on highways, rather than municipal and county roads or means of expanding public conveyances.

In addition to the present shortcomings, a projection of population trends indicates a requirement for much study and planning concerning local transportation needs, and

most important a change of emphasis is necessary.

More and more families are relocating to suburban and rural areas as current population booms continue. In Wayne, for example, where my family resides, the population has increased almost four-fold in the past 20 years. It is now anticipated that populations will increase 50% in such northern municipalities as West Milford and Ringwood during the next 10 years.

Senior citizen ratios throughout the county now range from 5 to 15% of local populations. It is probable that these ratios will remain fairly constant as families relocate.

From a recent study of national social security statistics, it was determined that the population of retired persons in New Jersey is growing faster than the national average; and that those 65 and over leaving the State are of higher than average income, while those of the incoming migration are in lower income brackets.

These statistics warn us that transportation problems will degenerate to the critical stage unless some positive, constructive steps are taken.

Before embarking on some concrete suggestions to improve transportation for the senior citizen, I would like to take a few minutes to outline some basic philosophy.

The word "retirement" is defined by Webster's Dictionary as "withdrawal" or "seclusion." My own definition includes this qualification: Retirement is withdrawal from full-scale daily labor for income. Retirement does not mean withdrawal or seclusion from society or social activity.

Key words for the senior citizen are those mentioned at the beginning of my remarks: activity and mobility. Both are essential to the maintenance of mental and physical well-being.

Consider these illuminating facts:

- (1) The average person at retirement is in good health.
- (2) The majority of senior citizens live alone, not with families.
- (3) The onset of senility is associated closely with immobility and isolation.

One aspect of the need for activity and mobility for the retired person is not personal but is his value to the community. Where transportation has been provided, he has proved his worth in volunteer service. Staten Island is an outstanding example. In an experimental project there, 450 senior citizen volunteers assisted day care centers, youth serving organizations and hospitals with countless hours of service.

Now, for some constructive ideas which perhaps are worth investigation. First of all, with respect to public conveyances, it is suggested that both buses and trains initiate special reduced rates for senior citizens before and after peak hours of commutation. Perhaps this objective could be realized by Federal or State subsidy. Presently, huge sums of money go into construction of highways which often are obsolete before completion by virtue of congestion. Funds might better be used for mass travel to move large numbers of people faster and more safely.

It is further suggested that some transfer method be implemented to allow senior citizens to move from one public conveyance to another without cumulative charges. In most cases, intra-county travel involves transfer from one bus line to another to reach outlying destinations. Again, Federal or State subsidy may be required.

On a local level, it is suggested that individual communities, particularly suburban and rural, utilize existing school buses for the purpose of short haul jitney service. Most school buses, whether privately-owned or operated by boards of education, see limited daily service. Before and after school openings and closings, these vehicles could be dispatched on scheduled runs to and from hospitals, shopping centers, housing develop-

ments, recreation areas, etc. In this case, local subsidy by municipal government may be necessary.

To avoid impending road traffic problems by alleviating already congested arteries, county and State officials should make every effort to expedite construction of Routes 287, 80 and 208.

In closing, may I expound a strategy of daily living that is difficult to follow, but extremely beneficial if exercised. The ability to act at the outset of a problem, rather than the alternative of reacting when the situation becomes critical. It is possible that we have already arrived at the critical stage concerning the plight of the senior citizen. If this is not so, let us all strive to act together to prevent future hardships.

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SENATE HEARING ON "TRANSPORTATION ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMICS OF AGING," DECEMBER 6, 1969, PATERSON, N.J.

(By Constance Midkiff, executive director, Paterson, N.J., Office on Aging)

It is with inordinate pleasure that I welcome this hearing to Paterson today. Since the Paterson Office on Aging opened in February 1967, transportation for older citizens has been one of our major concerns.

Paterson, with a population of approximately 150,000 has an estimated 18,000 citizens 65 years of age and older. Ten years ago a survey of aging—their numbers and needs—was made here in cooperation with Mrs. Eone Harger and the State Division on Aging.

At that time the 65 and over population was 14,000. Of these 46% were men, 54% women; 46% of those interviewed were single—most of them widowed. 14% lived alone. 8½% lived in cold water flats. 54% were dependent upon Social Security. About 6% were living on Old Age Assistance. 9% were still working. 8% depended upon their children for support. 28% had not seen a doctor within the year. 22% had been sick during the week in which they were interviewed. 6% were bedfast. 17% said they had no one to care for them in sickness. 20% had no opportunity to meet other people their own age.

In commenting on this survey, Mrs. Harger, who had worked closely with the Survey Committee, stated that many of the results were anticipated but what shocked the Committee was the intensity of the needs revealed. The statistics gave a picture of too many older people living alone, shut in and shut away from a full life—a profile of isolation which gave breath and blood to the statistics and pointed out directions that Paterson must explore in order to add a measure of security, comfort and companionship to the lives of its older residents. "What the people of Paterson plan to do about the conditions of the survey is up to them," Mrs. Harger concluded.

This challenge went virtually unmet for six years. During this period the 65 years and over population increased by about 4,000 and the percentage increase in all areas of need indicated by the survey was proportionate.

Five low income Senior Citizen housing projects were built during this period by the Housing Authority with a total of 590 units, but other than this very little was done.

Mayor Lawrence F. Kramer was made aware of Paterson's neglect of its older citizens and one of his campaign promises in 1966 was to do something about the problems of aging if elected Mayor. Creation of the Office on Aging was Mayor Kramer's first official act. Again through the cooperation of Mrs. Harger and the State Division on Aging, funds for the office were obtained under Title III of the Older Americans Act.

A Council on Aging widely representative of the community was organized in March of 1967. Goals set by the Council were com-

munity awareness and involvement of the total community in the problems of aging.

The Council has worked diligently and with some success in the areas of health, housing, nutrition, recreation, education and social activities. This is the end of the three year pilot project in Paterson and the City, with the Office on Aging and the Council, is evaluating the project and making permanent plans for meeting the growing needs of older citizens.

I have gone into this background to indicate that even though Paterson was made aware of the situation facing its older people by a scientific survey made by a group of concerned citizens, nothing was done to prepare for the growing needs of an expanding older population until Mayor Kramer involved himself in these problems and identified himself with Paterson's older people. My pleasure in this hearing today is that Senator Williams through investigation of various aspects of the economics of aging is involving himself and the country in the problems of aging. I think it is abundantly clear that the community and the so-called establishment must move together in order to prepare for the growing needs of this growing segment of the population. Transportation for the aging has been one of the major concerns of the Paterson Council on Aging from the beginning. We have been concerned not just with transportation to and from special events such as concerts, theatres, the State Fair, etc. The Council has extended its interest to consultation with transport companies and to the State legislature. Special effort has focused on:

1. Cost—which limits mobility for those on limited fixed income. This relates to employment for those who need a little extra work to supplement social security payments, participation in education, recreation and social events, visiting family, friends, clinics, physicians, hospitals, shopping, etc. We have proposed reduced fares during the non-rush hours which we believe would create greater movement and increase business as well as relieve some of the isolation existing among older people. Even with permissive legislation now in existence, we have been unsuccessful in our efforts to reduce cost.

2. Schedules—during week-days and Sundays long waits are necessary involving time and exposure especially dangerous to health in bad weather.

Many people are deprived of work and opportunity to worship in their own Churches because they have no way to get there.

3. Routings—involving two fares are an extra drain on the pocket book and limit older people to their own living areas or neighborhood.

4. Lack of safety in the loading and unloading zones is often reported. Many complain of the difficulty of getting on and off busses. The handicapped are virtually isolated because of this problem.

Paterson has much to offer in its shopping areas, parks, library, its agencies and institutions, but her older people who helped to build the city are now deprived of their use through forced immobility. It has been said that the United States is the only country in the world that consults its teen-agers on world affairs and tells its older people to go out and play.

Even if the older citizen accepted this admonition, he cannot afford the expense of getting to the playground.

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON AGING ON "TRANSPORTATION ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMICS OF AGING", DECEMBER 6, 1969, PATERSON, N.J.

(By Gene Weltfish, Ph.D., professor of anthropology, director of the project)

As part of a project titled "The Study of Transportation as a Factor in the Lives of Low Income Individuals and Families" (State

of New Jersey, Dept. of Community Affairs, Trenton: Grant, Title I, Higher Education Act of 1965, Public Law 89-329, Community Service and Continuing Education Programs, through the Office of Special Projects, Fairleigh Dickinson University):

Three statistical surveys were conducted in the city of Paterson and surrounding areas in the past year, two of them now being computer-processed, one covering 1600 households, the other about 1000 businesses in and around Paterson, obtained with a view to getting an insight into the transportation problem within the varying functional contexts. They were conducted by Professors Bishr and B'Racz, economists of Fairleigh Dickinson University who are here today to answer questions. People of all ages including the elderly appear in the study.

Our findings show that the transport system in the city of Paterson resembles that which prevails in a number of cities, developed prior to World War I; only some of these have been modernized:

(1) The bus lines originate in the outlying towns and come into the central city; they are owned by various private companies in those several towns.

(2) Their service orientation is transportation from town to city and back to the town of origin; they have very few stops in Paterson itself.

(3) Their franchises insure that no one of them takes the same route.

This means that any transfer from one line to the other involves paying another full fare and walking from one to the other, a process that is both costly and time-consuming.

For the elderly it certainly excludes any freedom of travel economically or physically. They are severely confined.

Suggested Remedy: Conditional on the development of a fully-coordinated transport system in Paterson, there is need for a *Senior Taxi System*, since reduced fares on the present bus system can hardly serve to take the people where they want to go. The elderly could be provided with a limited number of coupons for rides, possibly between certain hours. There is a Veteran's Taxi Service in Paterson that might be enlisted for this purpose. Possibly less sturdy machines than those in ordinary taxi service could be utilized.

As in most of this country, the majority of Senior Citizens of Paterson live throughout the community and this transportation is of great importance so that they can enjoy normal and complete lives; there are also 6 or 7 homes for the aged in Paterson which represents a concentration of people who could conveniently be served in these terms, supplemented by older but still usable school buses for group occasions.

I fully believe that with a modicum of mobility, the Senior Citizen will think of ingenious ways to help himself and others of the community to the lasting benefit of all of us. There is a lot of talent going to waste.

I want to thank you for the interest you have shown in this community and in this very vital issue and hope for a successful outcome.

## RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, late in September I sent questionnaires to my constituents to determine their views on the major issues pending before the Congress, 15,455 questionnaires were answered and returned to my office and have been tabulated by computer. The

questions and the percentages of responses follows:

THIRD CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Which one of the following do you believe should be the policy of the United States in Vietnam?

a. to reduce the level of fighting while the Paris peace negotiations are in progress—14.1.

b. to continue military operations at the present level regardless of developments in the Paris peace talk—7.1.

c. to immediately withdraw unilaterally all our troops from Vietnam—34.2.

d. to discontinue negotiations and step up military operations to attain a military victory—17.1.

e. to urge a coalition government in South Vietnam, based on U.N. supervision of national elections—27.5.

2. What policy should the United States adopt for assuring peace and stability in the Middle East?

a. A formal alliance with Israel that would assure our intervention in the event of an Arab attack—2.1.

b. Inclusion of Israel into NATO that would assure our intervention in the event of an Arab attack—4.8.

c. Press for a negotiated settlement through the United Nations—47.8.

d. Join with the Soviet Union to guarantee formally the terms of a peace settlement—10.1.

e. Closer ties to Arab nations notwithstanding objection of Israel—2.9.

f. Insistence on direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab nations—32.4.

3. Should the President obtain approval of Congress before United States troops are committed to fight in foreign countries? Yes, 86.9. No, 13.

4. Should our government build an antiballistic missile system? Yes, 47.1. No, 52.4.

5. Which of the following do you support?  
a. Retaining the Electoral College system as it is—3.7.

b. Elect the President and Vice President by direct popular vote of the people—79.6.

c. Revising the Electoral College voting to reflect proportional strength actually won by a candidate in each state—16.7.

6. Do you favor lowering the voting age of Americans to 18 years in Federal elections? Yes, 47.6. No, 52.4.

7. Which one of the following proposals concerning the draft law do you prefer?

a. The present system, which defers full-time college students—7.9.

b. A random-chance lottery system, with no student deferments for men at the age of 19 years only—25.4.

c. A professional, all volunteer military—35.9.

d. Universal conscription for national service, e.g. Peace Corps, Domestic Services, as well as the Armed Services—22.9.

e. Deferments for post graduate college students in critically import fields—8.

8. What position would you favor regarding cigarette advertising?

a. Ending all cigarette advertising—48.

b. Permitting the cigarette industry to continue all forms of advertising without restriction—12.2.

c. Stipulating that a tobacco health warning must accompany all forms of cigarette advertising promotion—39.8.

9. Do you favor President Nixon's 1970 budget cut of 18 per cent in traffic and highway safety funds? Yes, 33.3. No, 66.7.

10. Would you favor Federal legislation to guarantee comprehensive warranty protection on consumer products? Yes, 85.3. No, 14.7.

11. Do you favor retaining the surtax on incomes? Yes, 21.7. No, 78.3.

12. If inflation continues, should Congress enact wage and price controls? Yes, 74. No, 26.

13. In light of the recent moon landing, would you favor:

a. Continued funding of our space program at its present level of \$3.8 billion a year—28.

b. Reduce spending for space exploration and spend more for community development—65.9.

c. Increase allocations for space exploration—3.4.

d. Phase out the space program—2.7.

14. Do you favor:

a. increasing Federal aid to education—54.3.

b. reducing allocations of Federal aid to education—13.2.

c. maintaining Federal aid to education at its present level—32.5.

15. If you favor an increase in Federal aid to education, in which area should it be distributed?

a. elementary education—40.1.

b. secondary education—24.7.

c. college education—35.1.

16. Regarding foreign aid, would you prefer:

a. Reducing the foreign aid program—41.8.

b. Continue it at about the current level (1.7 billion—1969)—9.2.

c. Restrict foreign aid to non-military aid only—34.1.

d. Assisting only the developing nations—14.8.

17. Would you favor a program of Foreign investment guarantees in Latin America and other underdeveloped countries which would utilize the resources or recipient countries thus producing maximum benefits for minimum American dollars? Yes, 69.8. No, 30.2.

18. What should the Federal Government do about the increasing crime rate?

a. Increase anti-poverty community action expenditure—30.2.

b. Increase Federal assistance to local police, for higher salaries, improved training and better equipment—30.1.

c. Provide stiffer penalties for all crimes—31.4.

d. Establish a Federal police force—1.8.

e. Enact more stringent laws controlling firearms—6.5.

19. Do you feel that the Federal Government is doing enough to combat air and water pollution? Yes, 6.5. No, 93.5.

20. Would you favor the Federal Government enacting more stringent regulations with regard to air and water pollution? Yes, 94.5. No, 5.5.

21. Would you favor the Federal Government taking a more active role in assisting family planning? Yes, 61.6. No, 38.4.

22. If so, indicate your preference as to method:

a. Tax credits for smaller families—23.7.

b. Creation of family planning centers for the distribution of population-control information—56.1.

c. Nothing. Federal involvement would constitute an invasion of privacy—19.6.

INFORMATION ON THOSE RESPONDING

Sex: 68.7 percent male; 31.3 percent female.

Age group: 1.2 percent under 21; 27.8 percent, 21-35; 34.1 percent, 36-50; 25 percent, 51-64; 11.9 percent, 65 and over.

Education level: 3.98 percent, grades 1-8; 22.1 percent, high school; 36 percent, some college; 37.8 percent, college graduate.

Family income bracket: 12.62 percent, under \$5,000; 30.74 percent, \$5,000 to \$10,000; 34.20 percent, \$10,000 to \$15,000; 22.41 percent, over \$15,000.

Voting preference in last election: 51.39 percent, Democratic; 40.99 percent, Republican; 1.74 percent, independent; .59 percent, American Independent Party; 5.26 percent, Peace and Freedom Party.

Did you vote in the last election: 92.68 percent, yes; 7.31 percent, no.

STUDENT GROUP GATHERS TO HELP, NOT PROTEST

HON. RICHARDSON PREYER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. PREYER of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, we have had an example in my State recently of the most positive aspects of "youth power." At a time when the image of our young people often suffers because of the activities of a few individuals, it is particularly impressive to learn of projects such as this North Carolina student task force. I am particularly pleased with their approach to anticipating problems of student unrest in our high schools before they occur and I am proud that the leadership of this effort includes two students from the district I represent in Congress: Lyn Bundy of High Point, and DeWitt McCarley of Greensboro. The following press release and editorial tell about this most commendable program:

STUDENT GROUP GATHERS TO HELP, NOT PROTEST

RALEIGH.—High school students representing all sections of North Carolina gather in Raleigh November 24 to discuss student unrest with State Superintendent Craig Phillips and members of his staff. Their purpose, however, was not protest. They came to formulate plans to involve high school students in positive school activities that will help to eliminate unrest.

The students are members of the Task Force on Student Involvement, created last summer by State Superintendent Phillips. The group is composed of two representatives of each of the State's eight educational districts.

The Task Force serves as a liaison group with State education administrators and will meet monthly in Raleigh to discuss student problems, human relations, and involvement plans, said Miss Debbie Sweet, coordinator of youth activities for the State Department of Public Instruction. Members will also act as speakers to present student views to local groups, and each representative will be responsible for organizing a smaller task force in his district, according to Miss Sweet. Walker Reagan, a student at Enloe High School in Raleigh, is student director of the group.

We must tap the creativity of students themselves to solve the problems of our schools, said State Superintendent Phillips. To date the group has been highly successful, and I have great confidence that it will continue to produce significant results, he said.

Members of the Task Force attending the meeting were Jennie Baird of South Mills, Camden County High School; Eric Vernon of Greenville, J. H. Rose High School; Lannie Merrick and Jeff Plummer of Wilmington, New Hanover High School; John Speller of Louisburg, Scotland High School; DeWitt McCarley of Greensboro, Grimsley High School; Lyn Bundy of High Point, Andrews High School; Suzanne Allen of Locust, Concord High School; Bertram Hogue of Charlotte, North Mecklenburg High School; Wilson Cherry of Salisbury, Boyden High School; Barton Suddereth of Hickory, Claremont Central High School; Danney Fisher of Candler, Enka High School; Anne Martin of Asheville, Asheville High School; Valerie May and Walker Reagan of Raleigh, Enloe High School.

[From the Raleigh (N.C.) News and Observer, Nov. 27, 1969]

WORTH LISTENING TO

Whoever had the idea of setting up a youth task force on student involvement and high school problems in North Carolina—and apparently it was State School Supt. Craig Phillips—can take a bow and should get applause from all Tar Heels while doing so. This group held its first meeting on Monday in Raleigh. It was enough to show the state that it can learn a lot by listening to the young people in its public schools.

The session was a marked contrast to the image of youth so prevalent today in America. The 15 students assembled to discuss ways of heading off high school unrest spoke realistically, creatively and responsibly. They were critical, but constructive about it. They singled out various wrongs about student organizations, but are determined to seek ways to right them. They displayed, overall, an impressive insight into various problems.

Only one example of that insight was the comment of a panel member that student government councils and committees are the province mostly of a minority of top students and cannot be really effective at self-government until they are made to "include the ones who don't get along with the principal, too—not just the ones who are always up in the principal's office." It may be that these students have a better awareness than many in their parents' political parties about the importance of rank-and-file participation.

This task force has a bundle of projects in mind, including studies of student councils and election processes with an eye toward making student government more accurately represent student bodies. It also will ponder the feasibility of holding community meetings where students, parents and businessmen could get to know each other better. One wishes the student group well in all these efforts. Phillips commented Monday that his department puts "a great deal of faith" in what the task force can accomplish. If Monday's meeting is an accurate indication, the faith is very well placed.

AFDC IN CALIFORNIA—FACT AND FICTION

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, there is a profound need in my own home State of California for long-overdue changes in the aid for families with dependent children—AFDC—program. Perhaps out of deference to taxpayers already heavily burdened with tax obligations, California has not provided the AFDC program with badly needed increased benefits.

A recent study by the California Assembly Committee on Health and Welfare revealed that malnutrition among children in California is reaching alarming proportions. The committee also concluded from testimony before it that malnutrition among children from infancy to age 3 is a casual factor in mental retardation.

A constituent of mine, Mr. Donald H. Fibush, of Walnut Creek, Calif., was sufficiently moved by the above information that he prepared a fact sheet on AFDC in California.

I believe that it is in the interest of the Members of the Congress that I insert this fact sheet into the RECORD.

FACT SHEET CONCERNING AFDC

Today almost 800,000 children in California receive AFDC (Aid for Families with Dependent Children). This is over 11% of all children in the state. Of these, approximately half or 400,000 are in families which have no other income than AFDC.

The present amount of money provided for these 400,000 children is the amount which was determined to meet minimal needs in 1957. The only increase since then is \$3 per month which was provided by the Federal government. In the 13 year period since 1957 minimal need costs have increased more than 26%.

ERRONEOUS CONCEPTIONS CONCERNING AFDC

1. That most of the caseload involves parents who are unemployed and don't want to work.

Correct information: The number of AFDC families involving unemployed parents (AFDC-U) varies from 20,000 to 30,000 maximum (the fluctuation is due to seasonal employment). Thus, this represents a very small percentage of the children mentioned above. Also, less than half of those referred to the California State Employment Service for enrollment in the WIN program have been enrolled by CSES and less than a fifth have been placed in employment.

2. That parents would rather remain on AFDC than work.

Correct information: The maximum AFDC payment for 1 adult and 1 child is \$148 per month; 1 adult and 2 children, \$172; and 1 adult and 3 children, \$221. These amounts are supposed to provide food, clothing, shelter and all the necessities of life, even the \$1 per month which is allowed for a child to take public transportation to school. The result is that children go hungry and without proper clothing or safe, healthful housing. This increases school drop-outs and delinquency, as well as many health problems. In contrast, individual adults receive the following per month: Blind, \$200; Aged, \$194; Disabled, \$165.

3. That women are having many children out of wedlock in order to receive more AFDC money.

Correct information: The average number of children for AFDC families in California is almost exactly the same as that for all families in the state. The additional amount allowed for each successive child per month after the first is \$24, \$49, \$42, \$37, \$30, \$25, \$18, \$13, \$6.

4. The AFDC families are perpetrating frauds by misrepresenting their assets and income.

Correct information: Every survey that has been made has indicated that this constitutes a small number. No one knows how much fraud there is. In any event, we pride ourselves as Americans in helping others in need and we should not force hundreds of thousands of children in California to go hungry because of the acts of the adults who are the parents of some of them.

5. That most AFDC recipients are negro.

Correct information: Two out of three are white.

Hundreds of thousands of children are going hungry because of these misconceptions!

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION WHICH MIGHT BE HELPFUL IN DISCUSSING AFDC

What we are really trying to say in the attached material is that we should establish some real priorities in our demands upon the state treasury and that the top priority should be to see that children are not hungry and without proper clothing and decent, healthful shelter. This is more important than education, mental retardation, mental health, physical health, etc.—hungry kids have health problems, mental problems, learning problems, and social problems in all areas. This cannot wait for the Federal Government and the State government to try to change our entire welfare program even though everyone agrees that has to be done too!

ADDITIONAL FACTS NOT COVERED IN THE ATTACHED MATERIAL

The property taxes in the counties for all welfare (general assistance, adult, blind, aged & disabled, and AFDC) represent only about 5% of the total real property taxes. They represented 10.6% of the state general fund budget in 1968. AFDC represented 4.0% of the latter.

Approximately 30% of all the people in our penal institutions are former AFDC children.

Low cost public housing (subsidized) is exceedingly small in relation to the need and demand. For example, in Contra Costa County there are 2700 families on the waiting list and the waiting list is increasing at the rate of 150 per month.

The WIN job training and placement program which is comparatively new and is operated by the California State Employment Service by Federal mandate and to which all eligible AFDC recipients are referred by the Welfare Departments of the Counties is ridiculously underfinanced for the job it is intended to perform. The result is that a small percentage of those referred are in training and a much smaller percentage have been placed in jobs. For example, in Contra Costa County for the first year of the program which just ended 3,000 referrals have been made of which only 491 have been placed in training and of these only 131 have been employed.

The failure of the state since 1957 to increase the amount of AFDC payments in which they will participate with the counties (which yields 1½ Federal dollars for each state dollar) has resulted in counties having to provide many additional "special need" dollars with the attendant increase in property taxes in the counties. For example, in Contra Costa County this has more than doubled from approximately \$236,000 to approximately \$573,000 in the past two years. The \$236,000 would have yielded an additional \$1,180,000 state and federal money if the state had participated.

WHEN IS INFLATION NOT INFLATION

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, it is clear that the economic policies of the administration are of increasing concern, not only to Members of Congress, but to people throughout the country. In that regard, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to an article which appeared recently in the December 1, 1969, issue of Floor Covering Weekly. The article, by Mr. Larston D. Farrar, entitled "When Is Inflation Not Inflation?—When the Nixon Cabinet Interprets It to the Nation," follows:

WHEN IS INFLATION NOT INFLATION?—WHEN THE NIXON CABINET INTERPRETS IT TO THE NATION

(By Larston D. Farrar)

Obviously, we are entering a strange, new period in U.S. life, and particularly in the economic field, when the administration is acting on the belief, expressed in *Reflections Of A Bachelor*, that "the only time most people can save money by not spending it is when they haven't got any."

It also is a time when members of the Nixon cabinet are going around the country predicting a "gradual cessation" of "inflation" meaning higher prices because there are going to be more higher prices!

Incredible? Not a bit of it. Here are excerpts that Maurice H. Stans, Secretary of

Commerce, gave on Oct. 29, 1969, before the 1970 Business Outlook Conference of the Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce. If he is not saying that "inflation" is being stopped by higher prices, then you can call us a monkey's uncle and even put a rope around our neck, start grinding an organ and watch us jump for peanuts and coins that the people may throw on the sidewalk.

Mr. Stans started his speech by pointing out that the total increase in prices this year (1969) would be about 5%. Parenthetically, some economic authorities say 6%, but we will leave Mr. Stans' assertion alone.

Then he stated that the Nixon Administration's "program of fiscal and monetary restraint has forestalled the boom conditions that would have made an economic bust inevitable."

And then he declared:

"Our forecast suggests that the real rate of growth in the economy will continue at a slow pace into 1970, followed by a modest pickup in the growth rate in the last half of the year.

"For 1970 as a whole, Gross National Product is expected to reach about \$980 billion, a gain of 5%, most of which will be the result of price increases. This 1970 gain would be less than now expected for 1969, when GNP will probably advance by about 7.8% to \$933 billion, with slightly less than 3% in real output.

"Private forecasts of capital spending in 1970 indicate an advance in the range of 5 to 9%. Taking into account probable higher prices (another forecast of continued inflation, in different words!) . . . these estimates suggest little rise from 1969 in real terms."

There you have it clearly. There is a claim that the program of fiscal and monetary restraint has forestalled inflation, and, in the same breath, a forecast that inflation (higher prices) will continue all next year.

"With the moderation in overall economic growth, personal income is expected to grow more slowly," Mr. Stans continued. "In turn, this is likely to lead to a slowdown in consumer spending at retail stores . . . But expenditures for services should continue to increase in line with the recent trend (which, of course, has been toward higher and higher service fees for little or no comparable service, which is inflation in a different way)."

In short, even here, Mr. Stans both is predicting a slowdown in business and a rise in inflation (higher prices) in 1970, whereas the Government's "war," if there really is one, is supposed to be on price rises, and not an economic activity, as such.

As Mr. Stans knows, labor unions this year have been averaging about 6% in increased benefits through collective bargaining, threatening to strike, or actually striking. He thinks it is terribly crass of labor unions members to win as much in pay increases as they have been losing through inflation (higher prices), and so he suggested to the businessmen that they should take a harder line against labor unions in 1970.

"With the economy growing at a slower rate in early 1970, it is necessary that collective bargaining be conducted on a more realistic basis, and that wage increases not be as large as in 1969."

This is the Nixon Administration line to businessmen. If you want to hold your profit margins, don't revolt against the banker's 10% on money you must borrow, or against the higher machinery or supplier costs, but take a firm stand against your labor and, if necessary, undergo a strike, which may cost you more, not only in money and lost production, but also in worker goodwill and even customers (who will be shopping elsewhere while you are on a strike).

Such a "program" as this one—which apparently was built by the same men who made up the administration's war on crime, which has achieved nothing—in the eco-

nomie field can be termed with only one word: *chaotic*.

The labor unions have proved through long years that they are invincible when they get to the strike weapon. Well-organized unions, beyond doubt, can impose their will on employers, or shut the company down tightly, or make life so miserable for the company there can be no denying the laborer whatever he reasonably demands.

At a time when prices already are going higher—due to all the "normal" costs going up, from the wages of money to the rents paid to landlords—the White House apparently wants to see more and more millions of workers engaged in strikes. These workers not only will suffer, in terms of less income (while the strikes are in progress), so will the merchants in the strike-hit communities.

And, as has been proved even by the General Electric strike, while one company is being hit by labor difficulties, another takes advantage of it (Westinghouse) by announcing price increases on all its products that compete with GE appliances, radios, TV sets, etc., in the marketplace. The consumer will pay, and pay dearly, for the Nixon Administration policy, if it is pursued, and if it is followed by many big business units.

The Secretary of Commerce was correct in telling the businessmen—all except the bankers among them—that they face a bleak profit picture in 1970. The bankers, of course, are expecting more profits in 1970 than they made this year, for bank profits have risen every year since 1952, when the last President who had any inclination whatever to joust with them was in the White House.

Total interest income has gone up from \$11.7 billion a year in 1952 to close to \$60 billion this year, or a hike of more than five times in 17 years. If labor income had gone up comparably during the same period, the minimum wage would be \$5 an hour, instead of \$1.60 an hour.

In other words, if a TV repairman who charged you \$15 to tinker with your set in 1962 had raised his prices as fast as the bankers have raised the price of money, he would now blithely charge \$75 anywhere in the United States for a single visit to your home to repair the set, plus parts.

This reporter has lived a long time (54 years) and has read many fanciful speeches made by "responsible" men, but he honestly never dreamed he would see such a speech as this one by a Secretary of Commerce, both boasting about "cooling off" the economy and lessening inflation (price hikes) while blithely predicting just as much of a price increase for an upcoming year as the nation already is experiencing. This is having your cake, eating it, and then acting as if it is still on the table. This time next year, Mr. Stans, if he can get away with this, still will be fighting a mythical "war" against inflation, and if there are people who believe this one, then there likely will be many who will believe that he is still in there fighting a year from now.

#### FLOOD CONTROL—VITAL TO LOS ANGELES COUNTY

HON. CHARLES E. WIGGINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. WIGGINS. Mr. Speaker, few areas of this Nation are secure from the ravages of periodic flooding. Fortunately, most areas susceptible to flooding lie in broad rural river basins where the potential for loss of life is minimized.

The unique topography of the southern California basin, coupled with its

dense urban and suburban population, makes it especially vulnerable to "killer" floods. Few people are more familiar with the critical nature of this problem, or have been more intimately involved in its control, than the longtime supervisor for Los Angeles County, Frank G. Bonelli.

Since the control of flood waters in the southern California area is a cooperative effort between the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the local flood control district, the succinct account of this partnership effort, written by Supervisor Bonelli, which appeared in Los Angeles area papers, may be of interest to all Members.

Supervisor Bonelli's article follows:

FLOOD CONTROL—VITAL TO LOS ANGELES COUNTY

(By Frank G. Bonelli)

PART I

Floods—and the threat of floods—are nothing new to Los Angeles County. They go back to the days of the early Mission padres and probably well before that. Early settlers in the basin lived in constant fear of heavy winter rains and the resultant damage to their crops and homes as well as the threat to their lives. It wasn't unusual for citizens to get into row boats rather than hitching up their teams when visiting friends or family in other parts of the County in the early days.

Two primary factors are responsible for creating a situation which prompted one observer to describe the Los Angeles Basin as "one of the most flood prone areas for its size and density of population in the entire country." A shallow plain some 25 miles in depth from the ocean is encircled by the San Gabriel Mountains which rise rapidly to heights of ten thousand feet. From October to April, intense storms frequently arrive from the Pacific depositing heavy amounts of precipitation along the mountain range. Runoff attains a high velocity and poses a recurring threat to life and property.

These two factors—geography and uncertain weather patterns—have produced damaging floods which have been recorded since 1815 and, in a period of less than 100 years, have altered the courses of the Los Angeles and San Gabriel Rivers many times. Since 1862, over 20 storms have produced major floods in the County.

In the predominantly agricultural setting characteristic of the area until 1889, floods were frequent but did not cause appreciable property damage or casualties. However, between 1889 and 1914 there was a significant population migration into the Los Angeles Basin. Many of the new settlers were unaware of the latent flood potential and were unprepared for a flood in 1914 which caused property losses of over \$10 million, isolated thousands of citizens, and took many lives.

This disaster crystallized the need for a comprehensive, basin-wide flood control program and mobilized public opinion in its support. It was also apparent that any such undertaking should be closely correlated with the conservation of flood waters.

An act of the California State Legislature established the Los Angeles County Flood Control District on June 12, 1915. Its boundaries include all of the County except part of the Antelope Valley and the islands off the coast, comprising approximately 2,700 square miles.

This legislation vested direction of the District's programs in the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors who sit in an "ex-officio" capacity as the agency's governing board.

Initial efforts of District engineers involved collection and interpretation of data needed for preparation of an overall master plan. Early bond issues helped finance construction of major flood control and water con-

ervation reservoirs built by the District as well as a portion of the channel improvements.

A comprehensive plan for flood control and water conservation was officially adopted by the Board of Supervisors in 1931. It has been used by the District and U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in developing the Federal government's participation in the local program.

Engineers have used a variety of techniques in implementing the plan. Flood control reservoirs have the primary job of absorbing flood peaks, retaining debris carried by flood waters, and controlling the release of relatively silt-free waters through channels to their outlets. The District has constructed 14 dams in the major watersheds of the County as the front line in the flood fight.

The steep slopes of the San Gabriel Mountains frequently trigger the rapid movement of large amounts of gravel, boulders and other debris during intense storms. This problem is all too often compounded by late season watershed fires which lead to the age-old "fire-flood" sequence.

To meet this problem, the District has constructed over 60 debris basins near the mouths of some of the smaller canyons. Their function is to retain debris and allow waters to be released in downstream channels. Removal costs are considerable but far less than the damage which might result if the materials were allowed to flow uncontrolled downstream.

Reaching out below the District's dams are miles of channel which must transport water released from reservoirs and debris basins as well as runoff from lowland areas. Over 400 miles of channels have been constructed to harness flood waters and assure their orderly flow to the District's water spreading grounds or the ocean.

As the comprehensive plan has moved from the drawing board to the completion stage, greater protection is afforded the citizens of the County. It forms the backbone of a system designed to prevent "killer" floods from threatening the lives and properties of seven million County citizens.

#### PART II

The long battle to control flooding in Los Angeles County has enlisted all levels of government. Development of a comprehensive plan by the County Flood Control District back in 1931 was the catalyst that brought local, State and Federal agencies into the fray.

Congress, in 1936, enacted legislation authorizing Federal participation in various flood control projects throughout the nation, including Los Angeles County. Prosecution of the program was assigned to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the Flood Control District was designated as the responsible local agency to cooperate with the Federal government in carrying out this assignment locally.

District participation includes providing rights of way and bridge relocation or reconstruction costs as well as operating and maintaining the facilities upon completion. Under terms of the State Water Resources Act of 1945, the District is eligible for reimbursement of funds expended on the Federal flood control program.

The Corps of Engineers has constructed permanent channel improvements on the Los Angeles River, San Gabriel River, Ballona Creek, Pacolma Wash., Rio Hondo, Compton Creek, and on many of their tributaries. Besides constructing its own phase of the program, the Flood Control District operates and maintains the Federal channels upon completion.

In addition to channel work, the Corps has built five major flood regulating reservoirs which, by Congressional action, it also operates and maintains.

Significant contributions to flood control

in the County have also been made by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Joint erosion control projects consisting generally of temporary or permanent channel improvements have been developed by the Soil Conservation Service and the Flood Control District.

Close collaboration between the District and the U.S. Forest Service has fostered the development of watershed stabilization programs along the San Gabriel Mountains. These involve upstream check dams which are engineered by the District and built by the Forest Service. This program is particularly significant because of the rising cost of flood protection in the County.

Up to this point in our discussion of flood control in Los Angeles County, we have concentrated upon the development of a comprehensive system with the essential task of reducing the threat of catastrophic floods endangering lives and property. Since World War II, the explosive growth of Los Angeles County emphasized local drainage and street runoff problems characteristic of intense residential and commercial development.

Rapid urbanization accentuated the urgent need for correcting ponding at intersections and in low-lying areas during heavy storms.

It was obvious in the early 1950's that a program of storm drain construction to carry surface waters from local areas to improved channels was sorely needed but imposed too heavy a financial burden on individual municipalities. On the recommendation of this League of California Cities and the Flood Control District, the Board of Supervisors authorized presentation to the voters of a \$179 million storm drain bond issue at the November, 1952, general election.

The program called for design of the individual projects to be performed by the cities where they were to be located and by the County Engineer for unincorporated areas. Flood Control District engineers review plans, prepare specifications and administer contracts under competitive bid procedures. The District also operates and maintains the facilities upon completion.

Approval of the 1952 bond issue and subsequent programs of \$225 million in 1958 and \$275 million in 1964 have gone a long way in meeting the critical need for local drainage in burgeoning Los Angeles County. All of the problems have not yet been solved and additional programs will have to be undertaken in the future to assure the safety and health of all our citizens.

#### PART III

Fortunately for latter-day citizens of Los Angeles County, the men and women who worked to put together the legislation which created the Los Angeles County Flood Control District in 1915 were extremely farsighted. They recognized the area would continually be plagued by a water problem and the District Act directs the agency to conserve as well as control the flood waters falling in the basin.

In carrying out this responsibility, the District in the early 1930's began constructing a series of spreading grounds adjacent to streams and channels.

The mountain topography of Los Angeles County makes it possible to furnish only limited storage for water in surface reservoirs. However, porous deposits of sands and gravels permit the percolation of surface waters into large underground basins for later pumping and use.

Spreading grounds consist of a series of shallow, leveled areas composed of materials which allow percolation into subsurface basins.

The need to save as much water as possible is graphically illustrated by the fact that although we import water from the Colorado and Owens Rivers, the County still depends upon its underground resources for about 40% of its daily needs.

Seawater encroachment into fresh water underground basins adjacent to the coastline in Southern California has become critical in recent years. This occurs whenever the water table is drawn below sea level and a path exists between the sea and the groundwater reservoir. To meet this threat, the Flood Control District has developed three "barrier" projects to protect vulnerable regions.

A series of "recharge" wells are situated near the coast and are used to create a "mound" or barrier of fresh water to block further sea contamination. One project is located along the west coastline of the County from near International Airport to the Palos Verdes Hills, another is in the Alamitos-Seal Beach area in east Long Beach, and a third is situated in the Dominguez Gap region of Wilmington.

To further augment water for its reservoirs and spreading operations, the Flood Control District, in cooperation with a private consulting firm, has engaged in a cloud seeding program for several years. Although it is generally agreed that no way has yet been found to make it rain, this program is designed to coax additional moisture from certain types of storms as they pass over the area.

The extra precipitation falls in an area controlled by District reservoirs, adds to the runoff into those structures and is eventually transported downstream for spreading as a conservation device.

In summing up this series on the flood control program in Los Angeles County, I would be remiss if I didn't mention the storm operations activities of the District.

Certain staff members of the agency are given specific duties relating to the protection of life and property and when rain begins falling over the Los Angeles Basin, these personnel are on the job, both in the field and office, assuring that the complex flood control and water conservation system operates to its maximum efficiency. This operation continues on an around the clock basis throughout the storm and for a number of days thereafter.

Looking back over the years that the flood control program has been developing in Los Angeles County, it is obvious that we are the beneficiaries of a long line of devoted citizens and public servants who came to grips with the problem and charted a course for its solution.

Last January and February, the Los Angeles Basin was subjected to a series of intensive storms. Except for areas such as Glendora and Azusa which were hard hit because of massive watershed fires late last summer and communities still needing additional protection, region came through the prolonged inundation with relatively little damage. Experts at the Corps of Engineers estimated that existing flood control works prevented \$1.5 billion in property damages alone—and there is no way of telling how many lives were saved.

Which amply underscores the title of this series—flood control is vital to Los Angeles County.

### THE IMPACT OF CUBAN REFUGEES ON THE ECONOMY OF SOUTH FLORIDA

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, one of the outstanding representatives of the Cuban refugee community in my congressional district in Miami is my close personal friend, Dr. Bernardo Benes, vice presi-

dent of the Washington Federal Savings & Loan Association of Miami Beach. Dr. Benes is a distinguished graduate of the University of Havana where he obtained his education as an attorney and as an accountant, was a partner of one of the most distinguished Cuban jurists before becoming legal consultant to the Cuban Treasury Department. He is the author of two books including one on capital corporations which won him first prize in the competition sponsored by the Cuban Bar Association. He fled Castro's Communist terror in Cuba in late 1960 and began as a \$65-a-week employee of Washington Federal Savings & Loan. He has now advanced to the position of vice president in charge of all branch operations, savings operations, accounting, security, and all mortgage activity for Latin American customers. His success story in the United States has been featured in *Fortune* magazine as well as in other publications but he considers his U.S. citizenship, obtained August 20, 1969, one of his greatest achievements. Dr. Benes recently spoke to the Economic Society of South Florida on the impact of Cuban refugees on the economy of south Florida. I would like for my colleagues to have the benefit of Dr. Benes' remarks and I am inserting them in the RECORD at this point:

[Speech to be delivered before the Economic Society of South Florida, Inc. on "The Impact of the Cuban Refugees on the Economy of South Florida" in Miami, Florida, September 17, 1969]

BY: DR. BERNARDO BENES, VICE PRESIDENT—WASHINGTON FEDERAL SAVINGS AND LOAN ASSOCIATION OF MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA

I have been present at many talks such as this and I have noticed that one of the ways in which a guest speaker would start his talk is by making one or two jokes; however, with your leave, I am not going to follow this custom which seems to be proverbial in the United States, but I will begin with an idea which I consider very serious and which, unfortunately, is lost in the struggle of everyday life.

I wonder how many of those here present have thought of the similarities between Berlin, in the old continent, and South Florida, in this continent. The Wall of Berlin, an artificial barrier created by man, divides Berlin in two. On one side East Berlin, which has gone backwards, has declined under a communist regime. On the other side, West Berlin, which has set an example of what a group of men receiving foreign support were able to do for the economic, political and social recovery of a nation.

As you may all know, this caused late President John F. Kennedy to make, a few months before his assassination, one of the finest speeches the World has heard, when he invited those who thought that a totalitarian and materialistic regime could do more for its citizens than a group of men living under a democratic regime to come to Berlin.

The Straits of Florida, created by nature, separate our beloved Cuba from this progressive and beautiful area of Florida.

In Cuba, for the last decade, a dictatorial and materialistic regime has made its people suffer miseries and tragedies beyond human understanding. . . . On this side, 225,000 Cubans have reorganized their lives, both economically and socially, and today they can give you and the World an example of what most qualified independent sources have considered to have been a great con-

tribution to South Florida and to the country . . . achieved through liberty, love and dedication.

The same analogy exists when comparing the motivation of the Germans in East Berlin and the Cubans who live in Cuba, when the former, risking their lives, jump over the Wall of Berlin where many fall dead from the bullets of the guards, and the latter who, in the most unbelievable and rudimentary rafts, try to cross the Straits of Florida, only to die, in many instances, from the bullets of the communist patrols, or are drowned at sea; however, some of them, Germans and Cubans eventually reach their ultimate objective: to live in freedom. . . .

The words of President Kennedy may be repeated . . . with the proper geographical change.

It would be immodest on my part to try to impress you with numbers and statistics which may tire you this afternoon, but I do want to make it known clearly and emphatically that nothing of what we have been able to do in this area would have been achieved without the great sense of humanity, support and comprehension of the majority, not to say all, of the community of South Florida.

We are not too many; we are not too few. We are not all wealthy. Many of us are really poor. But few or many, rich or poor, all of us freely acknowledge the debt we owe to not just America but to the people of America. It is a debt we have begun to repay with our hearts, with our minds and with our labor.

In order to analyze the contribution made by Cuban refugees to the economy of Miami we have to explain that, unlike the majority of other groups of immigrants who have contributed to the formation of this great country, Cubans have come to the United States, and to this area, for political reasons, and, therefore, we have been political exiles. As years have gone by, Cubans have been assimilated by the community and have gradually changed their initial status of political exiles for that of immigrants.

Regardless of the fact that independent sources establish a number of between 2,500 and 6,000 Cuban businesses in Dade County, we consider that the major contribution which we have offered the U.S., and the Miami area specifically, has been the human resources which we have supplied. We find, for example, Cuban doctors practicing in Miami who may very well be compared, as far as their qualifications are concerned, with their American counterparts. To mention only one example, Dr. Manuel Viamonte, a Cuban doctor, less than 40 years of age, is the Chairman of the X-ray department of the University of Miami, Jackson Memorial Hospital and Mt. Sinai Hospital, and is considered one of the most prominent men in the field of radiology.

Another example is the student Rafael Peñalver, who was designated by the "Outstanding American Foundation" as the most outstanding youth in the U.S. How much these human resources have contributed to the economic development of South Florida I leave to your judgment.

I will now like to refer to some of the specific areas to which Cuban refugees have greatly contributed.

1) The opening in this area, especially in the Coral Gables area, of offices of national companies doing business in Latin America is directly due, in addition to the geographical factor, to the existence of bilingual technical and secretarial personnel, which these companies need and are presently hiring.

2) Latin American tourists today come to Miami in greater numbers since the language barrier, which would be a handicap in other cities, does not exist in Miami. It is this fact, and not only its geographical position, which makes the city of Miami the true "gateway" for Latin America.

3) I shall not go deeply into the facts governing the hotel business in Miami and Miami Beach, but I want to mention only that more than 50% of all personnel in hotels are of Cuban extraction.

4) The extraordinary growth experienced by the garment industry, which according to information published by the *New York Times*, now ranks as second or third in importance in the United States. The same growth applies to the boat manufacturing industry.

5) The import and export business, not only as regards Latin America, but also with the Far East and Europe, has made of this area a great electronic center as well as an important shoe distribution area.

6) In the building industry, the contribution of Cuban manual workers as well as contractors has been outstanding. We can assure you that foremen who arrived from Cuba only a few years ago are now small contractors and some of them may even show a net worth of more than a quarter million dollars.

7) I won't elaborate on the special sense of identity of Latin culture which our coming has given to the city of Miami, but I do invite you to visit a "mini-gallery of oil paintings which is located on 8th Street between 22 and 23 Avenues, occupying a space 46 inches wide, listen carefully: 46 inches wide by 19 feet deep, where Cuban artists sell their paintings to North Americans and Cubans alike. Any time you pass by this place you may see what I have just explained.

Another example of what our coming has given to this area is in the Restaurant business. In the Supper Club "Les Violines", where clients from cities as far away as London, Los Angeles and New York make their reservations well in advance, you may spend an evening as if you were in one of the major capital cities of the World. There are truly approximately 10 Restaurants with this cosmopolitan flavor in the area.

8) Going back to our 8th Street, I wish to tell you that the United Fund has on record a list of 386 retail businesses existing on this NEW avenue, and I say "new" comparing it to what it was at the beginning of this decade.

9) In the financial field, most local Banks, Insurance Companies and Stock Brokers are always on the lookout for Cuban personnel at managerial level. We have two Cubans who are Presidents of local banks.

We could go on and on mentioning examples such as these, but it is not my intention to tire you with them. Today the income of the Cuban population is over \$350 million a year, which is higher than the income of all residents of at least 10 Capital cities in Latin America.

I remember my very dear friend Marshall Wise, then Director of the Cuban Refugee Program, and an outstanding civic and community leader, when he said in October 1966: "The criers of doom of the community in 1962 said that the influx of Cubans to this area would:

"take away jobs from needy Americans, increase the crime rate, affect South Florida tourist industry, create slums and depress the real estate market, affect our school system and slow up the education of our own children".

History, and the records of different public and private entities prove that it was not true then and is not true now . . . and I add: if it was not true in 1962 and in 1966 when Marshall Wise said it, it is even less of a fact today in 1969.

What the future will be, only God knows. . . . In the meantime, we can only see the projections of the Dade County Planning Department on population increase in Dade

County. By the year 1980 the population of Miami will have increased by 450,000 from today's population, or 40,000 a year. If this is true, Dade County will be the first county in the history of this country, at least in the last century, where the majority of the population increase will be represented by foreigners: CUBANS.

The best proof of the impact of the Cubans on this community is the number of politicians who are actively seeking the support of the Cubans in this community. Five years ago we hardly knew the name of the politicians in this county. Today, some of them are so popular with us that sometimes we feel that we have known them all our lives, and we still believe that politicians have a 6th sense. They cannot be wrong.

There is no admission charge to enter into the United States. No one has ever had to buy his way in. And no one has ever really been asked to make any kind of repayment for being allowed to come in. And this has gone on for three and a half centuries since 1619.

But in those 350 years, everyone who has come—all of the refugees from all of the places—has made some significant contribution to forming the kind of country in which all of us are privileged to live today.

This is the real repayment—and it is the only one that means anything at all. If you will look around you at just this one community, I think that you will see your Cuban neighbors are making this kind of repayment—to Miami, to Florida and to America.

And I, as an individual, will continue to do everything within my power to work for the betterment of this community, America, and of all mankind.

#### INDIANA GIVES VOLUNTEERISM A BOOST

### HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, the failures of the Federal Government in trying to solve all the Nation's ills, large and small, have been often noted. But realistically, we must also realize that if big government is not the answer to everything, we must look for the solution elsewhere.

In my home State of Indiana, we have found a way. Many people have given mere lipservice to the late John F. Kennedy's words, "Ask not what your country can do for you, but ask what you can do for your country." In Indiana, we have believed in this principle long before they were spoken by Mr. Kennedy.

A column in last night's Washington Star written by Chicago Sun-Times Reporter Charles Bartlett provides two excellent examples that have been highly successful in Indianapolis, the examples of two responsible ladies, Mrs. Margaret Moore and Mrs. Mattie Coney. I would only add that the spirit of self-help prevails throughout the State, not merely in our State capital. This spirit is exemplified by our Governor, Edgar D. Whitcomb, whose creative approach to solving the State's problems without bankrupting the State's taxpayers has been an example we would do well to follow in Washington.

Mr. Speaker, I submit for inclusion at this point in the RECORD the column of Mr. Bartlett:

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

#### INDIANA GIVES VOLUNTEERISM A BOOST (By Charles Bartlett)

INDIANAPOLIS.—When President Nixon finally begins his campaign to inspire languid Americans to become volunteers, he can draw heavily on this city where the spirit of self-help is running strong.

In fact the pace of volunteerism among the Hoosiers is so lively that Nixon's efforts to date appear languid by comparison. While the Nixon campaign has been grounded in disagreements on how to stimulate private citizens to tackle public problems, various people here have taken on some tasks with impressive results.

Indiana's new governor, Edgar Whitcomb, is making the most of this Hoosier spirit to get done some of the things which need to be done without running up the budget. For example, he is asking 60 Indiana corporations to assign socially minded junior executives to work for a year at setting up day care centers in counties where they are needed.

Whitcomb, an innovative Republican who wants to keep his credentials as a fiscal conservative, is leaning so hard on volunteers that the success or failure of his administration is likely to depend on their response. His initial experience has been auspicious.

A group of private companies was persuaded last spring to find a large number of summer jobs for college students. Another businessman's committee has come up, at Whitcomb's request, with 632 recommendations for cutting the cost of state government.

The volunteer spirit is flowering at this conservative crossroads because the Hoosiers are increasingly disposed to believe they can more effectively do for themselves many things for which they have relied in the past upon bureaucrats. Their self-confidence stems in part from the recent achievements of two unusual women.

Mrs. Margaret Moore, a 59-year-old newspaperwoman with deepset eyes and a strong chin, has transformed feminine indignation against crime into a crusade that has enlisted an army of local women in a gamut of activities directed at the root causes. The ladies have executed some original initiatives so effectively that they have won the enthusiasm of police officials who were once wary of their intrusion.

Since 52 percent of the juveniles who commit crimes are school dropouts, the ladies seek out youngsters who leave school and try to persuade them to go back. They claim to have succeeded with 2,000. Since the courts are part of the problem, two ladies sit in every court every day. "It's amazing," says a police officer, "how much the atmosphere is changed by the presence of those little ladies with white gloves and beaded hats."

The ladies have invaded every area where they might have a constructive impact, even to the extent of staging receptions for each graduating class of police recruits. "Battling crime is women's work," says Mrs. Moore, "because we have the time. We have had no trouble getting the volunteers we need."

One offshoot of the crusade against crime is the success of a forceful Negro, Mrs. Mattie M. Coney, at forming over 1,000 block clubs to struggle against the deterioration of character and environment in poor neighborhoods. "If you learn to live where you are," says Mrs. Coney in her evangelizing way, "you'll know how to live when you move."

Mrs. Coney is frankly engaged in persuading poor blacks to shoulder their own prob-

lems and correct their own habits instead of putting the blame on the whites. She is organizing them to cooperate with the establishment for their own advancement, and she claims the mood is running with her.

The experiences of both ladies have obvious applications in other cities and they are both in heavy demand for speeches. In fact, Mrs. Moore described her work at a 1968 luncheon for "doers" that Mrs. Lyndon Johnson gave in the White House, but Eartha Kitt stole the headlines with an outcry against the war.

The test of Nixon's leadership in volunteerism will be his ability to transform achievements like these into national stimuli. The evidence here is that the people are ready to be rallied into joining constructive initiatives. The President can light the torch and show the way.

#### THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S PHILOSOPHY OF LAW ENFORCEMENT

### HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, the December issue of *Judicature*, the Journal of the American Judicature Society, contains an article based on the remarks of Attorney General John N. Mitchell to the American Bar Association's annual dinner meeting on August 13, 1969. The article is quite revealing about Mr. Mitchell's philosophy of law enforcement.

Mr. Mitchell claims to be simply following a middle-of-the-road policy; playing the "reasonable man" in adjusting the competing claims of law enforcement efficiency and civil liberties. He says:

The mark of the "reasonable man" is to balance the interests; to strike a bargain between the perfect and the possible; to adhere to a moral ideal where that adherence is compelling. But, in general, to negotiate a practical middle-of-the-road solution.

This philosophy raises the interesting question of what the compromise is between a moral course of action and one which is immoral—perhaps a course which is only a little immoral.

More specifically, Mr. Mitchell elaborates his philosophy of wiretapping and preventive detention. He talks first of wiretapping against organized crime—which of course avoids the problems raised by the sweeping wiretapping authorizations in the 1968 Omnibus Crime Act. That act authorizes wiretapping if it "may" lead to information on such notorious organized crime activity as "interstate transportation of stolen property." For State and local officers it goes even further and authorizes taps when they may provide information on such vicious organized criminal activity as crimes "dangerous to life, limb, or property" and punishable by 1 year in jail.

Mr. Mitchell indicates that he is merely following the precedent set by his predecessors in authorizing wiretapping without seeking judicial warrants in national security cases—perhaps not realizing that Supreme Court decisions in 1968 clearly established that wiretapping is now subject to the fourth amendment's

ban on unreasonable searches and seizures and its specific warrant requirement. As of my last reading, the fourth amendment contained no exception for national security cases.

Finally, the Attorney General indicates the considerations which underlie the administration's preventive detention proposal. Mr. Mitchell states that there are two goals which money bail is expected to achieve:

They are: first, to insure a man's appearance in court; and second, to insure that, being under the jurisdiction of the court, he will be law-abiding during the period of his release.

This version of the purposes of bail contrasts interestingly with the Supreme Court's interpretation of the eighth amendment in *Stack v. Boyle*, 342 U.S. 1 (1951), the leading case on the subject:

The right to release before trial is conditioned upon the accused's giving adequate assurance that he will stand trial and submit to sentence if found guilty. . . . Since the function of bail is limited, the fixing of bail for any individual defendant must be based upon standards relevant to the purpose of assuring the presence of the defendant.

Obviously Mitchell on the U.S. Constitution is totally self-supporting and is an unprecedented improvement of that revered document.

I believe the Attorney General's remarks need little more elaboration. They speak for themselves in delineating his philosophy of law enforcement.

The article referred to follows:

WIRETAPPING AND PRETRIAL DETENTION—BALANCING THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL WITH THE RIGHTS OF SOCIETY

(By John N. Mitchell)

(NOTE.—This article is based on an address by Attorney General Mitchell to the Annual Dinner Meeting of the American Bar Association on August 13, 1969, and includes only those portions of the address which pertain to judicial administration.)

I have now been in office almost seven months. And I think that, perhaps, I have a professional obligation to describe to the American legal community the philosophy that has prevailed and will continue to prevail during my tenure as the 67th attorney general.

As you know, the attorney general is the president's lawyer and takes presidential guidance as to the type of America—the type of "ordered liberty under law"—that this administration wants for our citizens.

Thus, permit me to remind you of some of the principles enunciated by President Nixon in his inaugural address: "The laws have caught up with our conscience. What remains is to give life to what is the law."

"For all of our people," the president added, "we will set as our goal the decent order that makes progress possible and our lives secure."

I believe that the great majority of Americans want "to give life to what is the law" by having their laws reflect "decent order" with "progress."

"The life of the law," as Mr. Justice Holmes said, "has not been logic; it has been experience. The felt necessities of the time, the prevalent moral and political theories, intuition of public policy, avowed or unconscious, even the prejudices which judges share with their fellow men, have a good deal to do with the syllogism in determining the rules by which men should be governed."

The great developments in the law over the last decade have properly attempted to serve, as Mr. Justice Holmes said, "the felt necessities of the time." In general, we have

attempted to equalize the public benefits available to all our citizens—the poor defendant with the rich defendant, the minority group student with the majority group student, the minority political party member with the majority political party member, the city dweller with the rural dweller, and the presumably innocent accused with the prosecutorial powers of the state.

As lawyers, we all should be proud of these developments.

But having laid these great foundations, it is, perhaps, only historically natural that, at this time, we take the opportunity to reflect upon and evaluate our recent progress.

It is undeniable that some of our new concepts have areas of error which ought to be corrected. Minor adjustments do not imply an abandonment of a principle but rather a dedication to making that principle work.

But—who is to make the decision as to which adjustments are necessary and how they will be implemented?

THE "REASONABLE" POLICY

As the attorney general, I have the burden of making many of these decisions and my guide is the ancient common law guide of the "reasonable man" whom our forefathers established as the enlightened compromiser in a pluralistic society.

The mark of the "reasonable man" is to balance the interests; to strike a bargain between the perfect and the possible; to adhere to a moral ideal where that adherence is compelling. But, in general, to negotiate a practical middle-of-the-road solution.

That is our over-all policy approach in the Justice Department.

It is, I grant you, not very glamorous to be a "reasonable man." But it is the reasonable men of this world who have studied new concepts, who have adopted those which were compatible with progress, who have funded them and make them work.

One of the most difficult problems today is that the misrepresentation, the posturing, and the extravagant rhetoric of the last few years have offered promises which cannot be delivered, and have set as immediate goals programs which will take a decade to complete.

For example, there are those who expect crime or racial discrimination to be eliminated tomorrow.

It has, for this reason, become fashionable to argue that many legal issues of the nation must be cast rigidly as a right of the individual or a right of society. I do not wish to argue semantics. But individuals make up society.

When a guilty man is acquitted, it is not a vague amorphous group called society which is damaged. It is you, individually, who are damaged, because that man may assault or mug you.

Conversely, when society convicts an innocent man, individual rights are again sacrificed—not only the individual right of the defendant but the individual right of each one of you who could some day be placed in the dock. And you have a right to condemn a society which fails to accept the task of insuring that, under our Constitution, the guilty are convicted and the innocent are acquitted.

It is a question of balance and moderation in order to solve problems and, perhaps just as importantly, to ward off more extreme solutions which may be demanded.

In this context, permit me to cite a few examples of some of the difficult decisions that have been made since January 20, and, in so doing, to explain to you how we attempted to balance the equities so that the best constitutional interests of as many individuals as possible would be served.

The first example I would like to cite is the current controversy over wiretapping—as it applies to organized crime and national

security intelligence gathering and prosecutions.

The basic constitutional and moral controversy stems from the conflict between the individual citizen's right to privacy in his home and his office versus the individual citizen's right to demand that his government properly investigate those persons whose criminal activities pose a substantial danger to the general welfare and thus to the personal security of each citizen.

PRIVACY AND WIRETAPPING

The Fourth Amendment to the Constitution establishes the right to privacy by protecting each citizen "against unreasonable searches and seizures."

Because the right to privacy has never been viewed as absolute, the right of government officials to conduct searches and seizures in appropriate circumstances has never been questioned.

Thus, the Fourth Amendment ban against unreasonable searches must be read in the light of the purposes for which our Constitution was adopted: "to promote the general welfare and to secure the blessings of liberty" to this nation.

It is undeniable that organized crime presents a substantial threat to our "general welfare."

Operating over a long period of time with relative immunity from the judicial process, the nationwide syndicate of organized gangsters corrupts our political institutions, intimidates the legitimate businessman, subverts the ideals of the trade union movement, flourishes on the victims of poverty, and, in a very real sense, undermines the foundation upon which our constitutional protections stand.

Most recognized law enforcement experts have repeatedly stated that wiretapping is our most useful tool in obtaining information about this organized criminal syndicate.

Because wiretapping is an invasion of privacy, a judgment must be made as to whether it is "reasonable" to wiretap in a particular case in order to obtain information that is necessary to combat organized crime.

Congress addressed itself to this issue in Title III of the Omnibus Crime bill of 1968. It authorized the Department of Justice to install electronic eavesdropping devices on organized racketeers by application to a court and upon a showing of probable cause.

We decided to use Title III to authorize wiretaps of organized gangsters because we believe that the statutory requirement of probable cause by warrant provides substantial assurance that the privacy of innocent persons will not be unreasonably invaded.

Furthermore, I also insisted—and continue to insist—that each application and full supporting papers be personally presented to me for my evaluation.

The result to date has been satisfactory. There have been authorized, as required by the circumstances in each case, a limited number of electronic eavesdropping devices which have proved, so far, to be highly productive.

I have refused to authorize a number of application which, upon inspection, posed more dangers to personal privacy than would be warranted, in my opinion, by the information which the tap was designed to collect.

As one could have predicted, the department has been criticized by both sides—by those who want massive wiretapping on the 5,000 known members of organized crime, and by over-sensitive civil libertarians who claim that any wiretapping is an invasion of privacy.

But as lawyers, I ask you to consider the problem and to make your own judgment as to whether our middle-of-the-road position—although not compatible with either extreme—is not "order with progress" in the area of organized criminal investigations.

## NATIONAL SECURITY

The other aspect to the wiretap controversy is the non-court authorized electronic surveillance for national security purposes.

Here again, we were faced with constitutional polarities. There are those who believe that every search conducted by government under any circumstances must conform to the Fourth Amendment requirements of a warrant issued by a magistrate.

And there are others who believe that, on the slightest pretext of national security, the executive should be able to conduct searches free from any court ordered showing of probable cause.

When I became attorney general, I was informed that every attorney general for the past 25 years has authorized electronic surveillance as a means of gathering foreign intelligence information and intelligence information concerning domestic organizations which pose a serious threat to the national security.

This power has been exercised under the constitutional prerogative of the president to protect the security of the nation upon the belief that the courts would accept the attorney general's determination that the search was necessary.

Thus, I decided that, as the president's lawyer, it was right and proper for me to defend the actions of my predecessor attorneys general who acted on behalf of their respective presidents. We have submitted this matter to the courts for their decision and we will, of course, abide by their rulings.

As a safeguard against abuse, a complete review of every existing national security wiretap was instituted. Each application must be presented to me personally with full supporting documentation. The result has been a restricted use of non-court authorized electronic surveillance.

We have used this approach of compromise and moderation in other areas of the criminal law where extremists argue for absolutes rather than policies carefully tailored to the problems to be solved.

## PRETRIAL DETENTION

For example, the nation is well on its way—and rightfully so—to eliminating money bail as a pre-condition for release in non-capital cases. The money bail system, as it was practiced until the early 1960s, made an accused's pretrial freedom depend upon his bank account.

The Eighth Amendment bars excessive bail. We had always assumed that reasonable bail was quantitative in relationship to the crime. But, as our social consciences became more aware of poverty in America, we began to look at bail qualitatively, i.e., what is reasonable bail for the financial circumstances of each defendant. Using this approach, we first examined the goals which money bail was expected to achieve.

They are: first, to insure a man's appearance in court; and second, to insure that, being under the jurisdiction of the court, he will be law-abiding during the period of his release.

Initial studies showed that the best guarantors of a man's appearance were his ties to the community and his employment record. Initially, we took the view that the type of crime charged and his prior criminal record were of no consequence and that his good behavior, while out on pretrial release, would be assumed.

After four years of ball experiments and a careful re-evaluation of the facts, we have concluded that a prior criminal record, and the type of crime charged, are very relevant as to whether an accused will be law-abiding when he is released.

The latest FBI statistics show that 82 percent of all persons arrested in 1968 had a previous arrest, that 70 percent were previously

convicted, and that 46 percent had been imprisoned under a prior sentence.

In addition, the FBI report shows that 67 percent of accused burglars, 71 percent of accused auto thieves, and 60 percent of accused robbers had been arrested in the previous 7-year period.

In the District of Columbia, in 1968, of 557 persons indicted for robbery, 63.7 percent of those released prior to trial were rearrested for additional crimes while awaiting trial.

Thus, we decided that an adjustment was necessary to protect those innocent members of our society who might be victims of an accused criminal whose character and background showed high recidivist tendencies.

The adjustment we have proposed to Congress is an amendment to the Federal Bail Act which would establish selected pretrial detention on a limited basis with strong safeguards against abuse.

Our bill would hold for pretrial detention only those persons who appear to be so "dangerous" that their release pending trial would probably result in a crime.

We have provided for a full hearing, permitting the accused to be represented by counsel, to present witnesses on his own behalf and to cross-examine the witnesses against him. There is a right to appeal promptly and the right to be tried within sixty days or to demand release.

The main criticisms against our bill are that it penalizes presumably innocent persons by imposing pretrial imprisonment and that it is impossible to predict, with complete accuracy, whether a particular arrested person will commit a crime.

The answer to these criticisms is that even under the money bail system, presumably innocent persons were denied their freedom, and that we are establishing a much more careful method of determining who should not be released.

We believe that in the limited number of cases where pretrial detention will be used, the right of the individual member of society to be protected from a crime will be carefully balanced against the right of a presumably innocent person accused to be given his freedom pending trial—a freedom that will only be limited if there is the most overwhelming evidence that he may commit a crime while released.

I know that there are those who argue that no arrested man should be denied his freedom until he is convicted, and I know that there are those who argue for more extensive pretrial detention on the grounds that society needs even more protection than we have proposed.

But we have selected a moderate course—a course that is constitutionally consistent and is adjusted to the realities of the crime problems of the day.

## ORDER WITH PROGRESS

And so you see that in critical decision-making areas—wiretapping and pretrial detention as in other areas—this administration has tried, and will continue to try, for the decent order with progress that all reasonable men must want for our nation.

We will continue to resist extremism and over-reaction, and I suppose we will continue to receive the most virulent criticism from both ends of the spectrum.

We live in difficult times where moderation is frequently rejected—where the practical and progressive reasonable man, seeking a common-sense solution, is drowned out by the cries of extremism.

But if the reasonable men of this nation do not come together now in a sincere attempt to hear our differences and improve our institutions—both in the law and in other areas—I feel that we may be headed for even more tragic times.

## APOLLO 12—NEW ERA FOR SCIENCE

## HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial in Aviation Week and Space Technology by Mr. Robert Hotz, discusses the importance of postlunar landing exploration of the moon and its contributions to a better understanding of the earth and solar system. Mr. Hotz points to the depth of management capability developed in the Apollo program and the applicability of this resource to other national problems. He further analyzes the significance and value of man in accomplishing the many and varied experiments on Apollo 12. Mr. Hotz points also to the contributions man may be expected to make in future scientific exploration of the moon on future Apollo flights. I commend this editorial to your reading:

## APOLLO 12—NEW ERA FOR SCIENCE

(By Robert Hotz)

Apollo 11 ended man's long-cherished dream to plant his feet on the moon. Apollo 12 opened a new era of scientific exploration that promises to finally yield many of the secrets of the solar system and the universe beyond.

Apollo 12 was an extremely fruitful mission in many ways. Among its major achievements are:

Management depth. Many of the stars of the superb Apollo management team departed or were shifted to other posts in the interval between the success of 11 and the launch of 12. The Apollo 12 mission was managed largely by the NASA second and third teams. Their excellent performance revealed what depth of unusually high-quality management the Apollo program has developed. This is a resource that should be applied widely to other national problems.

Systems reliability. The Apollo system has gone to the moon only four times and landed only twice. Yet it has proved its reliability as a dependable space transportation system. The journey to and from the moon has become routine in less than a year. Only the landing on and the ascent from the moon still pose some problems that require more experience for final solution. This does not mean that peril has disappeared from lunar exploration. There are still points at which failure of some component, such as the ascent stage engine, means disaster. Opportunity for human error is always present. Lunar explorers will still be braving dangers as serious as those that faced the 15th Century explorers of the earth's oceans and the pioneers of flight. But Apollo has provided them with a more-reliable vessel than anybody dreamed possible when Sputnik first beeped.

Value of man. All the Apollo lunar missions have added increments of evidence on why man is essential for the fullest exploitation of a space transportation and scientific exploration system. But Apollo 12 provided evidence that will begin a diminuendo of the unmanned vehicle chorus to a barely audible moan. Without man aboard, Apollo 12 would have never reached the moon. Without man aboard, it could not have provided such a rich harvest of scientific data. When lightning-like discharges blew the primary electrical power systems barely half a minute after launch, it took the cool analysis

and action of the crew with help from Mission Control to recycle the inertial platform and enable the flight to continue. The fate of Atlas 13-B in early 1959 provided a clue to the probably alternative. It was launched similarly through a heavy cloud layer. On burning through the top, all telemetry and other signals were lost permanently. Its ultimate fate is still unknown. Man in the spacecraft loop is expensive in dollars and payload. But it is an investment that pays tremendous dividends.

Scientific exploration. Apollo 12 demonstrated for all the world to hear, if not see, what the purpose of the Apollo program really is. It dispelled completely the myth that Apollo was simply a technical tour de force with no meaning beyond the lunar landing. It demonstrated in a startling variety of ways that the main goal of Apollo is to enable man to explore the moon and search for the secrets of our existence.

First, there was the erection of the nuclear-powered scientific station. Without man to implant then properly and to adjust them, even scientists now concede, these instruments would not be sending back the stream of exciting new data now being received on earth. The SNAP-27-powered complex of scientific measuring instruments now functioning on the Ocean of Storms is the pioneer prototype of permanent manned scientific working stations that will appear on the moon before the end of the next decade.

Second, there was the incredible activity of man himself as an explorer and geologist during a total of 16 hr. on the lunar surface. Certainly no other period in the history of science has yielded so much data per hour. Apollo 11 proved that man could survive and work on the lunar surface. But Apollo 12 provided some of the surprising parameters of just how long, how hard and how productively he really can work there. With moderate modifications to the present EVA equipment, there is every indication that these parameters can be extended far beyond any original hopes.

Third, there was the astounding demonstration of the ability to link the geological expertise of the scientific panel gathered in Houston's Mission Control room with the space engineering and operational expertise of Pete Conrad and Alan Bean some 250,000 mi. away on the moon. This scientific exploration by remote control in real time—instant science—is an achievement that will take some time to penetrate the scientific community fully.

It is revolutionary watershed for science. It is going to force scientist to change their methods of research, analysis and publication. There will no doubt be some now-distinguished names that will cling desperately to their hoary traditions and stubbornly resist these revolutionary changes. But the great scientific names of the future will be those who recognize the unprecedented opportunity the manned space flight program provides for a massive attack on the frontiers of knowledge. The future belongs to those scientists who learn quickly how to work with the space engineers either by remote control or inside the orbiting laboratories that will certainly be a part of the next generation of manned spacecraft.

Finally there was that reverberating echo of the impact of Intrepid's ascent stage on the lunar surface that does not fit any prior theory on the composition of the moon. There are the surface pictures showing the surprisingly firm and gentle slope of the Surveyor crater; the green rocks in Conrad's sample bag; the varying color and texture of the lunar surface dirt, and the strange geyser-hole type mounds.

All of this is new and untraditional knowledge of the moon. Man's initial exploration of the moon has perforated many long-held theories and raised more questions than it has answered. But a great new era of scientific exploration opened with Apollo 12.

Eventually, all of the answers will be forthcoming.

### LUNAR ATMOSPHERE

## HON. GRAHAM PURCELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, the Apollo 13 astronauts have now finished their postflight quarantine and the United States is again reaping the scientific knowledge of another successful trip to the moon.

One of the most important devices which the astronauts set up on the surface of the moon during this last flight was the LAD, the lunar atmosphere detector, which was developed by the University of Texas system.

We have generally accepted the fact that there is no atmosphere on the moon, and until the opportunity came up under which this could be looked at first hand, no one gave much thought to the possibility. The LAD has been left on the lunar surface in hopes of finding a "lunar atmosphere" which some scientists believe exists. The University of Texas is providing the means of finding out, and I would like to take this opportunity to commend these men for their work. I would like to insert in the RECORD at this point, a copy of a news release from the University of Texas at Dallas which explains this particular project in detail:

"THERE ISN'T ANY" MOON ATMOSPHERE; BUT THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, DALLAS/MSC TEAM WILL SEND MEASURING INSTRUMENT VIA APOLLO 12

DALLAS.—The most common description of the Moon's atmosphere is: There isn't any.

That's a good-enough conclusion for many purposes, some of them scientific. But two scientists, from Dallas and Houston, will be in NASA's Manned Spacecraft Center Experiment Mission Control room on Wednesday, Nov. 19, to see their experiment begin to measure what's really there.

About 2 o'clock that morning, Apollo 12 Astronauts Charles (Pete) Conrad, Jr., and Alan L. Bean will deploy an instrument package on the lunar surface, 300 feet away from their "Intrepid" module.

The whole ALSEP package (Apollo Lunar Surface Experiments Package), its weight reduced from an on-Earth value of 280 pounds down to 48 pounds in the Moon's gentler gravity, will include five scientific experiments.

Possibly the last item, and the smallest, to come off the bar-bell equipment pallet will be an instrument that looks a lot like a camera in a two-tone case. It will be placed about 55 feet beyond the ALSEP data center and power generator.

This is LAD, for short, Lunar Atmosphere Detector, for long. It is has also been known as a cold cathode gauge experiment.

It was suggested to NASA/MSC four years ago by Acting President Francis S. Johnson of The University of Texas at Dallas, who was then professor and head of space sciences at UTD's private predecessor, the Southwest Center for Advanced Studies.

Co-investigator for the moon-atmosphere experiment is Mr. Dallas Evans of Manned Spacecraft Center's Lunar Surface Program Office.

Project manager and engineer at UTD is Mr. James M. Carroll of Garland, Texas.

LAD will be literally connected to the Lunar Ionosphere Detector (LID) as the two units stand close together on the Moon's

surface. LID, which has also been identified as a suprathermal ion detector experiment (SIDE), will be furnished by Dr. John W. Freeman of Rice University. The two related experiments were "mated" there before the entire ALSEP package was brought together in Houston and transferred to Cape Kennedy.

MOON ATMOSPHERE IS ALMOST TOO THIN TO IMAGINE

The Johnson-suggested experiment is designed to sense variations of atmospheric pressure at the lunar surface by producing an electric discharge in the ionization gauge—which is open to the lunar atmosphere—and measuring the electric current in the discharge.

As Doctor Johnson says, the idea that there isn't any atmosphere on the Moon is "generally acceptable, because escape processes exist that can remove it."

But, he also says—in a briefing paper prepared for discussions with Astronauts—"observations made so far, such as the refraction or bending of starlight and radio waves when the Moon comes between us and a star, don't rule out the presence of an atmosphere with a pressure of about 10 millionths torr."

(Atmospheric pressures are measured in torr, after Galileo's pupil, Evangelista Torricelli, who found in 1643 that the weight of all the air above a point on the Earth's surface equals the weight of a column of mercury about 30 inches tall).

Without worrying about decimals that have 10 zeroes followed by the numeral 1, a 10 millionth, this amount of pressure can best be called a very good vacuum.

But some gas particles are there. In Earth's nitrogen-oxygen atmosphere, the molecules are about one 10 millionth of an inch apart. On the Moon, they would be 1/100th of an inch apart.

(If oxygen and nitrogen molecules could be enlarged 220 million times, they'd come out about the size of baseballs. On that scale, an inch equals 3,500 miles. The molecules would be one yard apart on Earth, but in the vacuum of space they would be most of 50 miles apart. This example doesn't apply to the Moon's atmosphere directly, but illustrates a very good vacuum).

An atmosphere at pressure of 10 millionths torr is still a significant atmosphere, says Doctor Johnson. The questions about it, after pressure is determined by LAD's activity, are: What kinds of gases are present on the Moon, and what are their sources?

MOST CERTAIN MOON-ATMOSPHERE SOURCE: THE SOLAR WIND

"The most certain source of lunar atmosphere is the solar wind, which strikes directly on the Moon's surface," says Doctor Johnson in the briefing paper. "The wind, which is ionized or electrically charged, should become neutralized on the lunar surface and be released as a neutral gas."

"The gas may be trapped on the lunar surface itself for some time, but the rate of release from the surface must be equal to the rate at which solar wind particles strike the surface. The gas concentrations, or atmosphere, that result from the solar wind depend on the loss processes from the atmosphere, and this is by escape from the lunar atmosphere to space."

The solar wind is no gentle zephyr. It's a million-mile-an-hour stream of charged particles coming from the Sun in a thin plasma, or gas mixture.

Moon-surface atmospheric physics isn't like that on Earth, where the solar wind is blocked off by a strong magnetic field. Near the lunar surface, "an ionized gas particle, formed from the neutral atmosphere by ionization due to the ultraviolet sunlight, is first 'kicked' at right angles to the flow of the solar wind by the wind's electrical field," explains Doctor Johnson.

As the ionized particle gains velocity, the magnetic field of the solar wind turns its mo-

tion back to the same general direction as the wind's flow.

"Some of the particles are directed back into the lunar surface, where they undergo neutralization—electrons from matter rejoining with ions—and are restored to the atmosphere."

Many of the particles don't strike the surface, but are carried away by the solar wind.

"The average atmospheric particle lifetime, for the heavier gases, depends mainly on the time required for solar radiation to ionize one atmospheric gas particle," says Doctor Johnson. "It's about 10 million seconds." This is about 115 days.

"The lifetime of gases on the Moon should be expected to be about that length of time for neon and heavier gases, and less for gases lighter than neon, because there is still more effective loss mechanism for the lighter gases."

#### PREDOMINANT GAS FROM SOLAR WIND SHOULD BE NEON

"The predominant gas of solar origin to be expected on the Moon is neon," says Doctor Johnson in the briefing paper. "Lighter gases, such as hydrogen and helium, should be less prevalent because of more rapid escape due to thermal motion, and heavier gases less prevalent because they are not so abundant in the solar wind." Among the heavier gases are argon, krypton, and xenon.

The solar wind is not an oxygen-carrier. The conditions that produced oxygen molecules on Earth involve water, solar energy, and early life itself, and are not matched on the Moon or the Sun.

There may be some small input to the lunar atmosphere as meteors strike the surface and release gases by vaporization, says Doctor Johnson. He calls this a "possibly significant source."

LAD may be able to detect gas intermittently released from vents on the lunar surface, he says, if such a release occurs—which would infer possible volcanic action, or below-surface heat. Some short-time luminous events have been recorded on the Moon by astronomers, and these have been interpreted as possible intermittent gas release. But the illuminations have not been satisfactorily explained.

"Atmospheric measurements will have greatest significance if it turns out that measured gases are of internal origin, related to the geochemistry of the Moon," says Doctor Johnson.

"But the real significance in this case will emerge only if the composition of such gases is measured, and this is something that can't be done with the Lunar Atmosphere Detector, or ionization gauge."

A mass spectrometer is needed to measure gas composition, and one is already being tested in the space physics laboratories at UT Dallas. Joining with Investigators Johnson and Evans, Assoc. Prof. John H. Hoffman of UTD's Atmospheric and Space Sciences Division faculty has completed the design of a "high-sensitivity, miniaturized magnetic sector mass spectrometer" and is evaluating its suitability for use on the lunar surface, under a separate NASA/MSC contract with UT Dallas.

The later-generation instrument "has the additional powerful advantage that it can recognize a significant but small presence of a particular gas in the presence of a large amount of other gases that are less significant," says Doctor Johnson. This will be especially important if contaminating gases are present in large amounts.

#### APOLLO 12 WILL CREATE "AIR POLLUTION" PROBLEMS ON MOON

There certainly will be "pollution" of the Moon's ultra-thin atmosphere from Apollo 12 rocket engines and surface operations, says Doctor Johnson. About 10 tons of volatiles

will be released near the lunar surface during "Intrepid's" descent, surface, and ascent operations.

The amount of contaminating gas molecules will be about equal to the amount of solar wind particles striking the entire lunar surface in about three hours.

"The critical question is: How quickly will the contamination clear up?"

LAD's entrance aperture—the part that resembles a camera's lens—will be turned away from "Intrepid" when the ALSEP package elements are placed on the surface. With LAD some 350 feet from the lunar module, this will avoid some pressure and back-scattering effects, especially at takeoff.

More important in the contamination problem, says Doctor Johnson, is probably the adsorption of exhaust gas on the lunar surface, and its slow release. The proportion of the 10 tons of exhaust gases that will "soak" into the surface, and the time needed for its release are not yet known.

If gas retention time at the surface is short, contamination may not be significant after one day. If it is long, three hours or more, the rate of improvement may be much slower. "Contamination could prove to be a problem for several months" in that case, says Doctor Johnson.

LAD was constructed from an improved version of a laboratory ionization gauge furnished by National (now Norton) Research Corporation of Cambridge, Mass., with associated electronics by Marshall Laboratories (now Time Zero Corporation) of Torrance, Calif. The gauge was tested at UT Dallas, and transferred to the Houston assembly point, where Bendix Corporation has been the prime contractor to bring the ALSEP hardware together.

ALSEP for Apollo 12, in addition to the lunar ionosphere detector from Rice, and LAD, will include a new seismic experiment prepared jointly by Columbia University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the University of Hawaii; instruments to measure the Moon's magnetic and electrical fields, jointly by NASA-Ames Research Center and Manned Spacecraft Center, and an experiment to measure the direction and intensity of the solar wind, furnished by Jet Propulsion Laboratory, California Institute of Technology.

ALSEP's electrical power, for both the experiments and the radio transmitters that will beam data back to Earth, will come from a nuclear generator, the first ever carried to another space body from Earth. Fueled by Plutonium 238, it is designed to keep ALSEP operating around the clock for at least one year of 14-day lunar days and nights.

#### CONGRATULATING GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

### HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, in these times when there is seemingly so much ingratitude in our society, it is indeed refreshing to receive a letter from one of my fine constituents which portrays real appreciation to the Federal Government. Many times the fine services of a Federal agency, like the Veterans' Administration, are taken for granted and unheralded.

This letter, I am sure, will let these dedicated Government employees know that the performance of their duties and untiring efforts are appreciated.

Mrs. Shackelford's letter is as follows:

DUBLIN, GA.,  
December 10, 1969.

Hon. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. HAGAN: Your recent expression of sympathy following the death of my husband, Sidney C. Shackelford, in the VA Center at Dublin, Georgia, was very kind. Hearing from you has prompted me to direct these words to you with the request that you please redirect them as you think appropriate.

My husband, a service-connected veteran of WWII, had long had contact at intervals with officials of the Veterans Administration. Their desire seemed always to render every service available to him and was accomplished with courtesy that permitted and encouraged his dignity. This in itself warrants my resolve to communicate appreciation.

When I mention to you that his death was preceded by a three year period during which he was hospitalized in each of the four VA Hospitals in Georgia so that every resource and facility of modern medicine be offered him in his fight for life as good as he could have for as long as he could have it, you begin to see, I am sure, the dilemma of one small voice trying to thank so many for so much. I must say that his excellent care was matched by courtesy and at times almost unbelievable concern for him and his family.

Surely, pride in such an Organization that functioned so untiringly and so well in my husband's case is justified among those who direct it. Please accept the gratitude of his family.

Very truly yours,  
(Mrs. S. C.) OLENE SHACKELFORD.

Having served for a time on the Veterans Committee of the House. I am well aware of the dedication of these people. Mrs. Shackelford has performed a service herself by bringing this to the attention of her Congressman and the general public. I am sure my colleagues will agree that her sincere letter of appreciation is indeed refreshing.

#### COWINNERS OF LANE BRYANT VOLUNTEER AWARDS

### HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, some 21 years ago the Lane Bryant Volunteer Awards were created with the objective of seeking out and calling public attention to those Americans who were making significant contributions to their fellow man through positive, volunteer action against massive social problems.

Since 1948, the first year in which the awards were given, 38 domestic awards and six international awards have been made. The recipients have represented all walks of life but one common demoninator characterizes them all—the encouragement of self-help through mutual involvement. Each provided aid and support to those in need but in addition they did what in the end is far more important—they taught others how to begin working toward a life of self-reliance and dignity.

The purpose of the Lane Bryant Volunteer Awards is to bring the work of

these unrecognized people to public light and public acknowledgment. As founder Raphael Malsin said of the awards:

They serve as a kind of X-ray into the inner workings of our society. They illuminate the trouble spots, they highlight the symptoms, they show us the best and the worst. They are a kind of laboratory where we can see healing ideas being tested. They are a tribute to the power of individuals, the best kind of individuals.

This year four Lane Bryant Volunteer Awards were made at a ceremony at the Department of State on December 4. It is my privilege to have known and admired one of the recipients, Sam Greene, for many years. He is a truly outstanding and unique American.

So that my colleagues may share in the appreciation of the fine work which these people are doing, I insert at this point in the RECORD, a brief description of the contributions which each of the award winners has made. It makes for very heartwarming reading, Mr. Speaker, and I know my colleagues will want to join me in extending our thanks and our congratulations to these truly selfless Americans.

**HUGH DOWNEY, COWINNER, INTERNATIONAL AWARD**

In a remote province of Ethiopia 3,500 feet above sea level, a 28-year-old native of Kansas City, Missouri labors in the hot, arid terrain. He is working to help people who are fighting not only the natural enemies of poverty and disease, but the human hostilities that exist in the unsettled areas as well.

Hugh Downey came to Ethiopia as an enlisted man in the United States Army. A chance meeting with a priest introduced the young soldier to the poverty of the remote villages. From that moment he was committed to teach the villagers how to help themselves in every way possible.

After Mr. Downey's discharge from the Army in 1965, he only returned home long enough to marry his childhood sweetheart and to seek support from among his friends and family for the people of Ethiopia. Then the Downeys returned and, despite tremendous obstacles, have recorded an impressive list of achievements.

Through their efforts, 10 schools, currently educating 1,000 pupils, have been built, equipped and staffed. Ten brick making machines, imported from the United States, have been loaned to villages to transform grass hut structures into sturdy, clean homes. One village has a church, council hall and many residences and, as a reward for its progress, has been presented with a gasoline powered generator for electricity.

An orphanage of five buildings, designed free of charge by an American architectural firm, houses 100 orphans. A school connected with the orphanage is open to an additional 100 day students from poor families in the area. Its scholastic standing is recognized as among the best. A public library of over 5,000 volumes was established in Keren. It was so popular that the municipality has taken over its operation.

The Downeys personally combated two serious malaria epidemics, obtaining quantities of medicines, organizing and supervising a distribution system. They have organized and taken part in medical safaris, carrying aid into remote areas never before having the benefit of modern medicine. They continually minister to the sick and afflicted in a large area surrounding the town of Keren. Presently, they are building a 75 bed hospital in Keren, a modern structure designed by an American architectural firm. Joining with the officials of the Down-

eys have helped establish an obstetrical clinic which is nearly ready for use.

With all this incredible activity, the Downeys have also managed to maintain a home, providing room, board and tuition for secondary school students who otherwise would be unable to continue their education. They have financed young native businessmen in establishing trades for which they are suited. In addition, Mr. Downey has conducted small, but successful agricultural experiments.

These accomplishments have taken their toll. Mrs. Downey lost her first baby in Keren and was once wounded in the leg by a stray rifle shot. Happily, the Downeys welcomed the birth of their son, Hugh Michael, on March 3, 1969.

Mr. Downey has been commended by His Imperial Majesty Emperor Haile Selassie. H. H. Ras Assefate Kassa, Governor General of Eritrea, stated that even more important than Mr. Downey's physical accomplishments, is his moral force. Governor Kassa pointed out that he is a man of peace and of much creative ability, compassion and intelligence. Hugh Downey conveys to the people the need for the commitment to self-government, the need for hard work in a spirit of sacrifice and growth. He actively trains Ethiopian citizens to take over the various projects he initiates, and inspires others to start similar projects on their own.

Praise for Hugh Downey does not come from high places alone. A river near Keren has been renamed. . . . The River Hugh.

**SAM GREENE, COWINNER, INTERNATIONAL AWARD**

Uncle Sam, to the people of Guatemala, is not the United States Government, but a retired New York businessman, Sam Greene. Mr. Greene might have been content to live in leisure at his comfortable home on the shore of Guatemala's beautiful Lake Atitlan, but his keen sense of obligation to help his neighbor, his sadness at seeing the poverty stricken hopelessness of many highland Indians, and his ever active practical mind prompted him to take action.

The late President Kennedy once said: "One man can make a difference." Sam Greene proves this to be true, but would have added: "The biggest bank in the world is the pair of hands of a poor man." For Sam Greene has altered the philosophy of volunteerism and community action with a startlingly simple thesis: If you loan a poor man money in terms he can understand (a penny a day), he would prefer to borrow the money and build for himself.

The Fundacion del Centavo, or Penny Foundation, was Sam Greene's unique penny-a-day program for rural community improvement. In 1962, he interested 70 Guatemalan businessmen in establishing a revolving fund from which loans are made to village groups for social programs they themselves choose. The people do the work and they pay for the materials and administrative costs plus interest in terms of a few cents a day, an idea which can be grasped by even the illiterate. In one case a pure water system immediately reduced high medicine costs, providing a saving even while paying off the loan. Each successful project not only gives a community self-respect and hope, but also it brings the traditionally isolated Indian into the economy as a consumer, saver, and taxpayer.

Reimbursement on projects has been over 90%. The Penny Foundation now has capital of \$200,000 including a matching grant from the Agency for International Development. The Pan American Development Foundation and the Inter-American Development Bank have used Sam Greene's help in establishing similar programs in Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Colombia, and Chile. Formation groups are meeting in Nicaragua, Honduras, Venezuela, and Peru.

Because ill persons cannot easily help themselves, Sam Greene at age 76 rides horseback into remote villages to make lists of needed medical equipment for isolated clinics. Then he helps find the necessary supplies. During recent epidemics he was instrumental in obtaining \$160,000 in polio vaccine and \$17,000 in vaccine making equipment. He is helping to form an integrated immunization program for all of Central America. He raised \$50,000 for a non-profit fund used to finance young doctors and dentists who wish to establish a practice in rural areas, most of which have one doctor per 100,000 people.

Mr. Greene also developed the first low cost life insurance program, designed to keep poor families from going into debt when a family member dies. This is important when one remembers that interest rates of 10% per month are common in Central America. He has begun a private sector land reform program whereby a sharecropper can buy his land, work it, and pay for it. He developed for the Ministry of Education an arrangement for rural education by television.

One of his favorite programs is based on the idea of leverage. Funds that stay in the United States are used as guarantees for loans made by Latin American banks for social development. The result is that United States capital is not exported but is used to help the Latin Americans to do their own development financing.

"Don't say I'm a philanthropist—I'm not," emphasizes Sam Greene. "I'm a good organizer." Whatever the terminology, his programs produce direct results at the grass roots level. His ideas on the use of money bring the pride of accomplishment, the pride of not begging, and the pride of paying one's way.

The Guatemalans think so too—they awarded him the Order of the Quetzal, the country's highest honor. He is the only American to have received it.

**BRONSON GENTRY, WINNER, NATIONAL INDIVIDUAL AWARD**

On a Monday morning in Detroit, young children cross at the once dangerous corner of Kitchner and Jefferson—safely. They might have been killed or seriously injured, as others had been, while the community was unable to secure a traffic light.

On a Tuesday evening in Detroit, parents attend a "coffee conference." They speak informally with their children's teachers—gaining valuable insights—bridging the generation gap. They might have been sitting at home, asking one another where they had failed.

On a summer day in Detroit, a group of youngsters swim in their recreation area's new pool. They might have been out vandalizing a supermarket.

On Thanksgiving day in Detroit, a woman serves her fourteen children a fine turkey dinner, though they had been living on meager funds. They might have had very little to be thankful for.

The outlook for many Detroit citizens might have been very bleak . . . if it were not for the efforts of Bronson Gentry.

The city of Detroit, like many others, has experienced its share of restlessness, disorder, vandalism and crime. With his strong belief in community self-help, Bronson Gentry organized his neighbors into groups able to take action against these social ills.

As scoutmaster of a troop he founded, Mr. Gentry guided his young men in an exhibition aimed at curbing vandalism. In addition, he sponsored a program on crime and vandalism for local merchants and churches, and was instrumental in organizing and directing a citizens' vigilance committee to maintain discipline on school buses.

An urban renewal program elsewhere in the city resulted in a housing shortage in

Mr. Gentry's neighborhood, as well as overcrowded schools and increased crime. Mr. Gentry took action. He petitioned City Hall for the improvement of Maheras Field, a recreational facility that had deteriorated to the extent that it was no longer safe for children. As a beginning he requested the construction of baseball diamonds, to be followed by a new field house, and finally, a swimming pool. The city's initial response was good. However, when the next fiscal year arrived, the money was suddenly diverted elsewhere. But not for long. Mr. Gentry went to work once more, and the money was reallocated for Maheras.

Bronson Gentry waged an unrelenting campaign for neighborhood conservation, undertaking an ambitious battle to have dangerous and dilapidated houses torn down. He offered reasonable plans for the use of lots left vacant, organized alley cleanups, improved street lighting, initiated more frequent garbage pick-ups and regular police patrols. He saw to it that traffic lights were installed on busy street corners where they were desperately needed and worked to rid the streets of abandoned and junked cars.

A leader in the volunteer anti-crime patrol which keeps a watchful eye on the city, Mr. Gentry went "into the streets" with a large group of men to "cool things down" when a summer disturbance threatened to erupt into a riot. As a result of his activities in this area, he recently received the Police Citizen Award in recognition of his outstanding contribution to police-citizen cooperation and understanding. The *Detroit News*, originator of the award, felt that Mr. Gentry displayed a unique sense of the individual's obligation to the community.

Recognizing the problems of overcrowding in the schools, Bronson Gentry led the fight for the construction of a new school. As head of a Project Advisory Committee, he prepared educational specifications for the new facility, which is now located next to Maheras Field, affording the area's children a place to play after school without having to cross dangerous intersections. Another first for the school is a community kitchen-lounge for informal parent-teacher conferences.

Bronson Gentry has demonstrated an unusual rapport with neighborhood youngsters. One of his most successful undertakings has been his work with boys involved in vandalism or petty theft. Paroled in his custody and "sentenced" to a few weeks of work in his basement, they spend every free hour working with saws and lathes, learning how to build, to create, to spend time constructively. Youngsters rarely want to leave when the "sentence" has been completed.

As chairman of the Youth Recreation committee of the Riverview Community Council, Mr. Gentry leads the area's boys and girls in projects designed to benefit needy families. Among their yearly activities is the distribution of Thanksgiving baskets to large families, widows and senior citizens.

Bronson Gentry is not a professional; he is a janitor in a local factory. He is concerned about his community, and is an indomitable force in its preservation. With his help, the future just might be a great deal brighter for the citizens of Detroit.

SCOTLAND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, INC.,  
WINNER, NATIONAL GROUP AWARD

Ramshackle houses on rutted dirt roads, surrounded by junked cars, mountains of rubbish and other debris of poverty. Shanties without indoor plumbing, running water, electricity, modern heat or trash removal. Crumbling homes. Helpless squalor. This was the community of Scotland in Montgomery County, Maryland.

An enclave of 50 Negro families whose median income of \$80 a week had to be stretched to cover the expenses of families

of six, seven, eight or more. These were the residents of Scotland.

A fast-growing, progressive county, where affluent white suburbanites enjoy lovely park lands, expensive new homes and one of the highest median incomes in the nation. This is the rest of Montgomery County.

Since the turn of the century, the residents of Scotland, mainly descendants of slaves, heeded the advice of their ancestors and held onto their land even when they had nothing else. But, in 1965, the roots of their rural community were severely strained by land speculators who sought acreage to house Washington's upper middle class. The future was indeed bleak for Scotland's citizens, who had no resources for relocation. The Save Our Scotland (SOS) Committee was set up by county, civic and church leaders, as well as some sympathetic Bethesda neighbors, to investigate avenues of action for the area. SOS moved the county to repair the town well and extend water and sewer services to the local church, and organized an ambitious clean-up campaign. As the community began to take on more and more responsibility for itself, the Scotland Community Development Corporation (SCDC) was formed.

The basic concept behind SCDC was that the local residents pool their combined land holdings, sell some of them, and build new housing on the remaining acreage. Then began the tortuous process of title-searching. Volunteers uncovered extremely complicated systems of ownership, to the extent where one resident was found to own 1/108 of his quarter acre plot. As the process of land buying progressed, model communities were designed, with the main requirements drawn by Scotland's citizens to conform with their own life-styles. An example is the inclusion of front porches on the townhouses, a rarity today. The final result is a plan which includes six basic types of townhouses, ranging in size from two to five bedrooms.

With the aid of a Housing and Urban Development (HUD) grant of \$78,400, the 100 units are now being completed. As they become ready, families will take possession, and their old shacks will be demolished, thus avoiding the trauma of forced relocation. Seventy-five of the units will be low rental, the others will be for sale through the life insurance industry's billion dollar housing fund.

Residents who owned land in Scotland have traded it for equity in housing. Others, such as Melvin Crawford, president of the SCDC, can gain equity in their homes through their own labor. Mr. Crawford, a maintenance man with a wife and seven children, spent 42 years in a "dilapidated four room house not fit to live in." He and his family have chosen their new three bedroom home in the development—with available room for expansion.

Along with the task of building new homes, the SCDC has accomplished many other goals. Anticipating some of the problems of the first year of residence, they held a benefit which raised over \$8,000 to hire a full-time social worker. They have instituted such services as tutorials, community newsletters, emergency legal help and a highly successful furniture drive. The Scotland Teen Health and Beauty Workshop, instituted this past year, offers girls a variety of activities dealing with fashion, dieting, cosmetics, creative exercise and modeling. A "mod fashion tour of Georgetown" and a tea with informal modeling are highlights of their activities to date.

The Scotland Community Development, Inc., saw a problem, studied it, and went into action. Using their own resources, hundreds of people from diverse backgrounds worked together to create in Scotland a climate of opportunity in which individuals can become economically and socially viable citizens—all within the familiar and comfortable surroundings of Montgomery County. This is the Scotland of today . . . and tomorrow.

AMERICA FOR AMERICANS—  
OR COMMIES?

HON. JOE SKUBITZ

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, I think that my colleagues would be extremely interested in a hard-hitting editorial written by Fred Krueger, editor of the *Baxter Springs Citizen*, on our Vice President, SPIRO AGNEW.

Mr. Krueger's editorial sums up the feelings of the people in the Fifth Congressional District of Kansas. Fred Krueger is one of our fearless Kansas editors who calls them as he sees them.

AMERICA FOR AMERICANS—OR COMMIES?

I am departing from my regular column format today for what we believe is a very important reason . . . to publicly state the position of our newspaper in regard to recent events taking place in America.

First of all, we strongly support the speech given by our Vice President the other evening concerning national television network news broadcasting.

For sometime now we have been extremely concerned over the way all three national TV networks have dredged the depths of insignificance to bring the anti-American philosophies, the hippies and the Stokely Carmichaels into national prominence.

As if by preplanned pattern, national TV news has become a direct tool for the salesmanship of communism, "the new culture", and every other cause aimed either at hate for America or the surrender of America.

Americans are now watching and hearing on TV exactly what the elite few want us to see and hear in a powerful attempt to sway public opinion.

We are pleased that our Vice President had the "guts" to stand up for us the way he did . . . but, we also note with utter disgust a few politicians who are as usual placing their personal ambitions above the good of our great country by publicly denouncing this stand. We challenge All Americans ir- regardless of their politics to unite by placing America first and politics second in these times of crisis.

Secondly, we want to go on record supporting our President as our team quarterback in regard to the terrible war in Viet Nam.

We all know the so-called Peace Moratoriums were originally organized and principally financed by Peking, Moscow and Havana for the sole purpose of bringing about the total surrender of America by enlisting Americans to do their impossible job for them.

Of course North Viet Nam's next move will be to take the war directly to wherever Americans are located in Viet Nam in order to make the sting of future peace moratoriums more effective.

It all boils down to one basic fact . . . The Communists are still determined to use every means at their disposal to overthrow our government and bury us all as they have threatened they will do from the beginning.

It is up to "the great silent majority", representing over 90% of the American people, to Speak Up Now! Let the networks (not our local stations) hear from you. Let your congressman know how you feel!

Just remember . . . Russia also has a "great silent majority" representing 90% of the Russian people, but their silent majority remained silent too long and Russia is now ruled with an iron fist by the 10% who call themselves "Communists".

Do You believe it can't happen here . . . ?

## BIG TRUCK BILL

## HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, my editorial for today is from the Columbia, S.C., State Record. The editorial follows:

## PRO, CON TRUCK TESTIMONY PILES UP

WASHINGTON.—Testimony for and against bigger trucks on federal interstate highways piled up before a House subcommittee last week with opponents outnumbering advocates in contrast to the preceding week.

Those stating their opposition to the proposal or portions of it included the American Automobile Association, the American Association of State Highway Officials, the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the Iowa director of highways.

Coming out in favor of it were Rep. Al Ullman, D-Ore., and William W. Owen, president of the Dayton, Ohio, City Transit Company.

It is the industry position that wider, heavier and in some cases longer buses and trucks would be safer and more comfortable and actually easier on the nation's highways than those presently in use. Critics dissent vigorously.

The bill would increase weight limits on a single axle from 18,000 to 20,000 pounds, on tandem axles from 32,000 to 34,000 pounds and raise the present gross weight limit of 73,280 pounds to as much as 108,000 pounds on a nine-axle truck.

It would permit widening of trucks and buses from eight to eight and one-half feet and impose a 70-foot length limit. There is presently no federal limit, but all but three states have limits of 65 feet or less.

The measure also contains a grandfather clause allowing states that now permit vastly larger trucks to continue to do so indefinitely.

The highway officials' association said this provision would "provide the opening for the encouragement of further escalation and liberalization of weight regulations."

But Ullman told the subcommittee on roads of the House Public Works Committee that the clause is essential, at least for Oregon which permits operation of mammoth triple-unit trailer combinations as much as 105 feet long.

George F. Kachlein Jr., executive vice president of Triple A, called the measure "an antisafety bill almost identical with the big truck bill which failed of passage last year."

Kachlein declared "we cannot ask 100 million drivers to be guinea pigs by increasing the sizes and weights and then researching the effects. The research should be done first."

Owen testified in behalf of the entire bill but said the width increase is essential to the bus industry. Presently, he said, many large cities already have the eight-and-one-half-foot-wide buses but they cannot leave city limits.

John Gunther, executive director of the United States Conference of Mayors, said the conference does not object to the wider buses but is against other provisions in the bill.

Douglas B. Fugate, vice president of the highway officials association testified a study by the association shows that "an increase from the 18,000-pound to the 20,000-pound load can result in an average loss of the result in an average loss of the remaining life of (highways and bridges) between 25 to 40 per cent. To increase it to 2,000 pounds can result in the loss of pavement life of close to 60 percent . . ."

CONGRESSMAN DURWARD HALL  
ADDRESSES GROCERY MANUFACTURERS OF AMERICA

## HON. DAN KUYKENDALL

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, recently our colleague, Congressman DURWARD G. HALL delivered an important address before the Grocery Manufacturers of America in New York City. Because Congressman HALL discussed some very vital issues concerning the relationship between Government and industry, I take this opportunity to include his remarks in the RECORD.

Congressman HALL's address follows:

## SPEECH BY REPRESENTATIVE DURWARD G. HALL

Mr. Chairman, it is indeed a pleasure for me to be here today, to get away from the "self-characterized, effete corps of impudent snobs", and dine with a group of those hardy Americans who still have courage enough to mix their drinks with Fresca!

I can't begin to tell you how good it is to occasionally take rest and recreation leave from the Nation's Capitol, described by some as a domed psychiatric center, and to my knowledge, the only institution in the world that's run by its own inmates.

I am happy to report, that things in Washington are about the same as usual—

Adam Clayton Powell is still out of town; Judge Haynsworth is still on trial; Dr. Knowles is now developing his own foreign policy, and Speaker John McCormack's pay telephone has been disconnected.

The Congress has even found time to pass some legislation. For example: The Congress has—

Doubled the Presidents salary; raised its own pay by 40 percent; enhanced their own retirement; hired more office personnel, and last week voted to add to (and consolidate) its equipment (office, that is!).

Now those are the major items. But, believe it or not, the House of Representatives has come up with some constructive legislation too—

We have passed and sent to the Senate a good tax reform measure; we have started the wheels rolling toward election reform; we have passed legislation aimed at equalizing the draft; we have produced a strong military preparedness bill, including the ABM, and my Assistant Secretary of Defense, health matters!

We have helped insure the safety of the Nation's coal miners by enacting the Coal Mine Safety Act; we have passed the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1969 (against my vote, I might add), and we have passed the air transportation bill.

There is much more to be accomplished in the 91st Congress. Legislation yet to be enacted, but now on the drawing boards include:

Postal reform; farm legislation; sex-oriented mail; and amendments to the Social Security Act.

As of now we have so far held off on authorizing any legislation for poverty and foreign aid!

There is much to be done, but in the words of John Randolph, the principles of free government in this country have more to fear from over legislation—than from any other cause.

A few years ago, I got tired of trying to make sense out of all the double talk that was going on, and I coined the phrase "credibility gap," before the Southern States Industrial Council—in two words I said "a mouthful!"

Today, I'm going to be even more efficient with my words—

If you take the "cr" out of credibility gap you'll have the topic of my speech. I want to say a few words about the "edibility gap."

And whether these two words are also a mouthful, depends on whether the Federal health officials still give a "politician," the option to eat his own words if somebody thinks they're unhealthy.

This audience knows better than anyone (that I can think of), what I mean about edibility gap. I'm talking about food additive safety. I'm talking about cyclamates and monosodium glutamate—unpronounceable technical terms a year ago, but household words today. I'm talking about salt and sugar and caffeine and modified starches and saccharin—and anything else that man decides is fitting to stuff rats with. Food supplements, drug additives, insecticides, the Delaney amendment and its need for changes. In short, edibility and your responsibility.

I don't like to eat my own words, or anything else that might be unhealthy. But, as Chairman Dunning's introduction pointed out, I'm from Missouri. And you all know what that means. You'll have to show me! I'm also a family physician, a hillbilly surgeon, and called the "Ridge-Runner Doc." so I know a little about what is healthy and what is not healthy. Old enuff to lived through the cholesterol scare three times!

Being from Missouri and being a medical doctor, I don't take kindly to anybody trying to scare me into protecting my health, or the health of my constituents. I want the facts first. Then I'll listen. And if I have to act to protect the public's health, I'll act quickly!

Nowadays, it has become fashionable to mix fact-finding with fact-telling.

The fact that the press reports the fact that someone is trying to prove something, leads to the fact that the public gets concerned. This leads to the fact that industry, government agencies, and Congress get concerned. And, more often than not, this leads to the fact that the world becomes concerned. (Shades of silent springs!)

But, everybody has a fact tolerance—you give people too many facts and they get confused. And that's the point. We've got to do a lot more fact-finding and a lot less fact-telling.

The Federal Government can't always do this! The last administration came to us with a bill to raise the debt limit and at the same time awarded a significant grant to the University of California to study comic strips to promote our understanding of them.

If we need Federal aid to understand comic strips, we can never hope to understand the effects of ingesting cyclamates and monosodium glutamate, or the use of L-dopa, as it's called, for limited and experimental prescription of Parkinson's disease.

As you are very much aware, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare ordered food and drug manufacturers to cease using cyclamates, due to tests in which a large dosage of a cyclamate mixture resulted in findings of cancer in several rat bladders.

Also, very much in the news lately, are some controversial tests with MSG and baby mice. Injections of high dosage of MSG were reported to have resulted in brain damage to baby mice.

A young lady acquaintance of one of my staff members called a regional office of a Federal Government agency. As a consumer who likes gravy and can afford to eat it, she asked a Federal functionary to explain what the problem was, with "MSG." He answered that MSG was found to have caused cancer in baby mice when given in doses ten times as great as a human baby would normally receive. Shades of passe mother's milk and cute efficient filtering processes.

He has gotten his mice and his rats and his cyclamates and MSG confused. Worse, he had spread his confusion. Maybe you can't

blame him, with all of the facts about food safety that are being thrown around these days. But this is how the "edibility gap" widens and confidence in industry and government breaks down.

Let's look at history for a minute—Suryona—

The first recorded case of concern over food safety involved a gentleman named Adam who took a bite out of an apple. We may presume that the apple contained no pesticide residue. But ever since that bite, man has been emotionally and economically concerned with food purity, and other problems!

Food, like the air we breathe, is a necessity. But unlike the air, food became a medium of commercial exchange. The simple trading of agricultural crops, evolved into a primitive network involving "specialists" who could take foods from producers and get them to consumers in pretty and efficient packages—for a profit.

Students of the Middle Ages know that the slightest suspicion of food adulteration by a merchant of those times resulted in his meeting with some of the cruelest punishment, then conceived by man.

Historically, one of the first and most certain methods of testing food safety was strictly empirical. If some one died or got sick from eating a particular food, the people in his community, stopped eating that food. This was a rather hit-and-miss method that used human beings as test animals. You all recall the kings "tester", as well as jester!

Some of you will recall that in the early 1900's scientists got very interested in feeding food to animals to trace its effect on the body. One of the major discoveries arising out of these comparative anatomy experiments was identification of vitamins. One of the major effects of these efforts was a public interest in nutrition and food purity.

Naturally, Congress became involved. In 1906 it passed the predecessor of today's Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act. This act contained a strong provision on food adulteration.

Meanwhile, great technological feats were being performed by private industry, competition and the open market place of risk, service and investment!

Enterprising businessmen realized the value of offering food that was consistently good. They produced more and more packaged goods. They increased their quality control. They used more food additives and supplements. They built up consumer confidence, and brand loyalty. But they also raised questions in consumers' minds—how was all this magic being done? Are these new foods safe?

Again, congress responded! In 1938, the Food and Drug Act was completely revitalized. Authority was given to the food and drug administration to issue definitions and standards of identity for foods, to assure that they met proper scientific criteria. Food additives were recognized as beneficial, if used properly.

In 1956 Congress passed the Food Additives Amendment to the Food and Drug Act, it resulted in a detailed system for recognizing as safe some additives that were presently being used, and for Federal approval of other additives before they were used in foods.

The 1958 amendment recognized the growing public concern over "food additive" safety. It also recognized another great concern of that time, as now—cancer—one of the four horsemen of human disorder, of unknown etiology but all the more universally feared by people!

A clause was inserted into the amendment that, among other things, directed the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to disapprove as unsafe, any food additive on which the permarket tests showed that it caused or was presumed to abet cancer in man, or animal.

Note the steady encroachment of central-

ized government—at least as a third party intervenor.

Now your president, George Koch tells me that ever since Grocers Manufacturers of America was incorporated in 1910 (the great year of my birth), one of its corporate articles has been, and I quote: "To preserve a high standard of purity of the articles dealt in, by its members."

Extensive industry testing of foods and particularly food additives has been the actual practice for many years. Cyclamates is a case in point. I'm told by experts that more safety tests have been run on cyclamates than on any other additive. A couple of weeks ago, one of these tests—done for a GMA member—resulted in a finding of bladder cancer in several of the hundreds of rats used in the two year study. I'm an expert on rats, famous for being against the Federal Government's "War on Rats."

These few, I am told, were among rats fed extremely high doses of a cyclamate mixture for their entire lives. Upon verifying the results, the company involved (in which I proudly profess to own a few shares over twenty years), immediately reported the findings to the Food and Drug Administration. The probable effects of acting responsibly and reporting these findings were well known to the company—even though they knew that the tests bore no reasonable relation to the amount of cyclamates a human being could ever consume. The tests had resulted in a cancer finding.

You all know what happened.

Public announcement of this action caused shudders in the food industry, and panic among diabetics. Physicians in my district are writing for my advice—what should they tell their patients, how are their patients going to be protected? If, as the FDA says, some cyclamate products will be available for use under a physician's direction, does this mean that prescriptions will have to be issued for the products? And will the products have to be sold by a pharmacist?

Even though the FDA says that it will allow some cyclamate products to be sold as drugs, some additional and very disturbing questions come to my mind: Will the costs be boosted so high that diabetics, and people suffering from obesity won't be able to afford them? Will the market become so small that you people sitting in this audience won't be able to economically and profitably produce them?

No one has answers to these questions yet. The situation and those affected by it are in a state of confusion. Many Monday morning quarterback, nervous Nellies, Harbingers of Doom, have found this time of confusion a ripe one for publicizing their own pet theories about the safety or lack of safety of other food additives. In politics we call it demagoguery, to use the nicest term, and it is not foreign, I might add.

Secretary Finch, in ordering cyclamates off the market, stated, and I quote "my decision to remove cyclamates from the list of approved substances in no sense should be interpreted as a 'lifesaving' or emergency measure."

The Secretary also stated that there was no evidence that cyclamate could cause cancer in human beings. But if there were any showing of cancer in tests on the substance, he said, the law required him to prohibit its use.

Perhaps this is the time for Congress to take another look at a law which allows anyone to perform any test—no matter what base or how relevant it is—that could result in depriving consumers of a product, that might be perfectly safe or essential in certain circumstances. Perhaps we should ask the national academy of sciences to give us their opinion of the scientific validity of this law?? The new attorney general? The expected counsel for the Congress, if we reorganize?

We have also seen a great deal of pub-

licity about MSG lately. Monosodium glutamate has been used, they tell me, since the Ming dynasty. It is a natural ingredient in most proteins, and the human body itself produces it as part of the digestion process. In fact, if you want to get technical, MSG is derived from glutamic acid, one of the amino acids that are the building blocks of protein. Are we to bar the south Vietnamese Nom Hoa from U.S. citizens overseas?

All of the fuss about MSG started when a psychiatrist injected massive doses of MSG into baby mice and later found evidence of brain damage. Many experts challenged these results on the basis of their being founded on injection, rather than oral feeding, and because of the absence of certain controls thought necessary for a toxicological study.

Now, I can leave these almost jurisdictional arguments to the toxicologists and psychiatrists, but what bothers me most about these studies was the way they were publicized. On the basis of his studies, the researcher publicly questioned the safety to unborn babies, whose mothers ate foods containing MSG. Further, he replied to criticism of his studies by saying that the burden was not on him to establish their relevancy to human safety. Those who advocate the use of MSG had the burden of proving his studies without relevance, he said. (Shades of thalidomide!) Fright survives, and happiness retreats before the muse!

As a man of science, this disturbs me! It is one thing to do inventive basic research. It is entirely another thing to pose, publicly inventive and alarming questions based on this research, then shift the responsibility for carrying the tests to their logical conclusions.

It's sort of like a man yelling "fire!" in a crowded movie theatre, but depending on everybody else to make sure way for him, before they run out. If he's seen a flame, I'd like to know about it, but I'd also feel a lot better running toward that exit if I were sure he knew what a flame looked like.

As a matter of fact, the whole food additive question must seem like that movie house to the average housewife. A man in the front row yells "fire!" and the usher yells back, "I don't see any fire!" But you know that housewife is going to leave the theatre—either because she doesn't want to take even the slightest chance;—or if a rare serene type, just because she can't enjoy the picture, with all that crazy yelling going on. And you, my good audience, own the theatre!

I thank you for your attention, and I appreciate the opportunity to appear before you today. I encourage you to involve yourselves in the mechanics of good government. If not as an organization, then as a responsible individual citizen. Call on your Congressman, write letters to your Congressman, make your views known, testify before your congressional committees—you have a George that will do it for you and not to you! This is the essence of good representative Government in a Republic. Remember, in this Republic, even the votes of the vicious and the stupid count! But under any other system they might be running the whole show.

#### WINNING PUBLIC SUPPORT

HON. JAMES A. McCLURE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. Speaker, on December 5, I had the pleasure of attending

the 60th Western Forestry Conference in Spokane, Wash. It was my good fortune to be present for an address by Mr. Ernest J. Hodges, president of the American Forestry Institute. I was particularly impressed with his description of the ways in which foresters are helping to maintain our environment. In these days when our concerns are focused on the quality of our environment it is refreshing to see the positive contributions of an industry pointed out as Mr. Hodges has done.

When many point their fingers in wrath at the forest industry for the conditions which accompany logging operations, I am glad to see someone so justifiably point out that trees absorb the carbon dioxide fouling our air and replace it with oxygen, forests protect our waters and provide a place of quiet beauty to soothe the harried souls.

The entire speech is thoughtful and challenging and I include it in the RECORD at this point:

#### WINNING PUBLIC SUPPORT

In these meetings you have spent time on subjects of great importance to us all. The care with which you have been looking at the problems of forest utilization, yield and management should be encouraging to thoughtful men in our industry.

I am also encouraged at the theme of our discussion today. You have put a 60-year frame of reference of these events. You have shown by this that you are thinking far ahead as you must.

My subject this morning is: Winning Public Support.

I am sure you will be relieved to hear that I think we have nothing very much to worry about in that—especially if we use our 60-year time span.

Winning public support is easy. That is, under proper circumstances, winning public support is easy. As in growing trees, there are certain steps which must be taken if we want to be successful. If we try shortcuts, or neglect our homework or look for lazy ways, we will probably not succeed. Just as in silviculture. You men are wise in the ways of nature and you know your jobs very well. You know that nature can be capricious, nature won't be rushed and yet can be built upon if properly approached.

On the other hand, people are part of nature, too. We speak of "human nature"—usually meaning that man has certain built-in characteristics, which are not always noble, not always wise—so we say "it's human nature" when he is fractious. However, people can be nourished and cultivated and brought along, so today let's take a look together at this process.

In my trade of communications we have a jargon, certain trade terms that are understood within the working group. Words such as motivational, attitudinal, opinions, publics and so on. We do campaigns to reach thought leaders or, as some call them, "influentials." We break our media and other means of reaching people down into their parts just as we segment the broad mass of the public itself into parts. That is our vocabulary, just as you have your vocabulary. So this morning, let me borrow from your vocabulary a little as we discuss winning public support.

As I said earlier, winning public support is easy. But step one of winning public support is tough—step one is gaining their attention. That is the slow, very tough part.

It is tough to gain the attention of the public. We will explore that in greater detail in a moment—because step one in winning public support should be taken only after a lot of preparation. Note, I am beginning to borrow from your vocabulary.

Preparation—Just as in growing trees, there are certain procedures which must be logically and patiently followed.

First is research. It's such an obvious thing that we should have "people research laboratories," just as we research tree species, site preparation, genetics, soil conditions, rainfall and bugs—and yet it is often overlooked. These kinds of opinion research and attitude evaluation cost no more than any other research we routinely do. But I am sure you will agree with me that it requires a certain amount of discipline not to have instant attitudes about what people think and will be interested in. I am sure you will agree that we often have to change our minds when "nature's humans" don't react as we want them to.

So, in my trade, as in yours, we must do the site inspections, determine the soil conditions, plan our approaches. We have to determine what kind of seed will have the chance for survival.

We all know that people are bound up—each of us with our own bundle of prejudices. Some are so full of this that they will prejudice us without opening their minds at all. They are seemingly impervious to any fact which might cause them to change their emotional position. So when we are doing our research, analyzing our mental sites, we must find out as well as we can, which groups can be made to listen to us without prejudging or, at least without their prejudices blocking our attempts entirely and then we must get their attention.

Some groups judge us in Emerson's terms. You recall the quote, I am sure:

"What you are stands over you . . . and thunders so that I cannot hear what you say to the contrary."

There are groups, or publics, who feel that way about our industry. They have an image of us that prevents them from hearing us. And therein lies a great irony. It is enormously ironic that our industry has a reputation for doing exactly the opposite of what we are doing. Why? You must ask yourselves that question.

But it is ironic, indeed, that large groups of people—fortunately not all the people—think that we plunder, we rape, we despoil and we leave an ecological barren stripped of trees, devoid of plant life, empty of game and the song of birds. Some even foolishly believe that the soil is left lifeless, never to produce growth again.

This is the mistaken image which "thunders" at people when we try to reach them with the true story of resource management, of wildlife conservation, of the renewal and restoration we practice.

Gentlemen, our image is that of the "spoilers," even "plunderers," yet, in modern times, we should be known as the "growers" and even "conservers."

And that is what winning public support is all about.

But let's get back to how this can be changed, how public support can be won.

We do our research, our homework. We make our plans and decide where we can hope to get relatively unprejudiced reception. We decide what seeds to try to plant and what tools we shall need. It is surely educational material of all sorts, it will include editorial material and advertising. None of these tools cost any more used in selling ideas than they do in selling a product. Accomplishing it may be a little harder—the advertising may have to be a little better and we may have to use more of it—for longer periods—because changing a mind, altering an emotional position, is somewhat harder than making someone want and buy a piece of beautiful plywood panelling. But it can be done. (Unless we do the first we might not be able to do the latter.)

So you have located your site for growth, you have done your studying and you plant your seeds. You don't wait for them to fully

germinate, because fertilizer should be applied promptly in the form of reinforcement of the ideas you have planted. This may take the form of television and radio and movies, but again, this costs no more than it does to use the same tools, the same media, to sell lumber.

Now as ideas sprout, you continue the nourishment, you prune and thin, practice mensuration, and refine your methods. You take the time, have the patience to let them mature and succeed.

Success!

You have won public support. As I said earlier, it is easy if we take all the right steps and the time to do the job properly.

Is now the time to try to do this?

Yes, for it is already late. We may be overwhelmed by more attention than we expect. Before we are, we should ask—

Have we done a good job?

Do we have the right kinds of seeds to plant, can we tell a good story?

You bet your sweet bippy, we can. Brand X doesn't have the story we do. In fact, we can make claims no other brand can make.

For example:

Automobiles foul the air and the auto industry has "consented" that it tried to avoid the day they had to do something about this.

But our trees absorb carbon dioxide and replace it with fresh, pure oxygen.

Some industries stain the water used in manufacturing but in the meantime, our forests protect watersheds and regenerate pure, clean streams.

Billboard industries create ugliness, you create beauty.

The aircraft industry creates noise, our forests muffle and absorb sound.

The mineral industries can only extract but you replace. You replace not only with a better crop but with the fish and the fowl and the beasts so beloved of those wildlife lovers who should be supporting us with all of their passionate vigor. Another irony.

You see, we have what Rosser Reeves, a well-known advertising man, called The Unique Selling Proposition. We have something different and something better to sell than others do. As I said before, it is toweringly ironic that our benefits are not seized upon and trumpeted for us. But that is not the nature of things when human beings are involved.

Here I must be critical. The irony is that while we are deserving of much praise, we have failed in one important aspect in trying to plant seeds in the minds of the public. We have committed the cardinal sin in the field of communications, and in agriculture as well. We have tried to plant the wrong seeds. We have tried to tell the public only about what interested us—jobs, economics, input to gross national product and the abstracts of how much they need us to supply them with growth and materials. We have sounded self-serving and we have come over to them as proprietary.

"It's ours and we know best," has been heard.

As a result, we got little attention and a low quotient of belief.

All the public seems to know about us is that we "leave holes in the sky," and barren earth below. The fact of regrowth has not been offered to the public minds in terms they care about or even notice or believe.

When we think in terms of gaining the first attention of the public we must think about what a tough job that is to do. And it is even tougher to keep their attention, to let an idea fully take root.

An example we might ponder. After the excitement and pride and curiosity of watching the first man take the first step on the moon, how many of us would have dared to predict that the second time would not be very interesting to the public. But that is the fact—and after all that preparation and the

millions of miles in silent space, Commander what's his name, may best be known to history for accidentally pointing that TV camera at the sun. The public can indeed be fickle. But it can be won, public support can be gained.

We in the forest industries must not fail in our attempts to win public support because of impatience. That is why your time-frame of 60 years is important. It will not take 60 years to win public support but it will not be lastingly done in one year. We make tremendous investments in a long-term crop which requires calm confidence. If we just as calmly set about the long-term job of assuring public support, we shall succeed.

But let us all remember that image I spoke of. That was a long time building and it will take time to change it. We shouldn't join the angry, the impatient, the ones who want instant love and immediate acceptance.

As we think of studying our problem and the publics who in their segments make up the general public, we must keep that time span and patience in mind.

For an example. How about this public segment. If we think in terms of instant acceptance, this is one we might well ponder. I will read a quote from someone who describes it pretty well:

"There are persons who constantly clamor. They complain of oppression, speculation, pernicious influence of wealth. They cry out loudly against all banks and corporations and the means by which small capitalists become united in order to produce important and beneficial results. They carry on mad hostility against all institutions. They would choke all the fountains of industry and dry all streams."

You see, we have some making up to do, for that quote was voiced 131 years ago on the floor of the United States Senate by Daniel Webster. That is a clue to how long business itself has been suspect to a portion of the public. There are a few who will damn us just because we are business.

But there may also be another factor in our favor despite our business role.

That is the current concern for environment which is sweeping like a wildfire across this country. I know you are seeing this, too—but from my vantage point I can see it spreading and becoming a crown fire. It is gathering speed and power at a nearly unbelievable rate.

Curiously this is encouraging to me—even a cause for confidence. It means that winning public support may be easier—if we do our job, as a responsible industry. When people are genuinely concerned about something they are much more likely to pay attention. So that may make an important part of our job easier—or harder, depending on how we go about it.

If we do not convince the public that we have a sincere concern for the environment and are doing something about it, they will go right on perpetuating the ironies of which I spoke earlier. They will mistake our role entirely, as some already have. They will make false assumptions. They will be easy converts to the myth that we leave holes in the sky and nothing useful or beautiful below. As an industry we cannot long survive on those terms. This country no longer has patience for such.

Gentlemen—we need not let this happen. We can win public support because we can demonstrate that we do care. We can gain attention and harvest lasting, meaningful support, but there are no short-cuts—there is no natural generation here for we are the seed trees. There are none yet on the site and re-generation will come later if we do our planting well now.

Have we the will? Can we come together—north and east—west and south? Can we come together regardless of the species of our particular interests? Can we come together to plan the plans, to take the time, to do the

work required in winning public support? Can we stay together to re-seed, to perpetuate the growth of good will we gain?

Gentlemen—those are the questions for you to answer—for I cannot.

If you have the will to do these things, the American Forest Institute is dedicated to helping. But you are the keepers of the future of our industry—AFI can only support you. You must make the promises—we can only help you keep them.

Thank you.

#### NEBRASKA WOMAN'S THERAPY HELPS NEEDY IN WORLD

### HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, at this time of the year it is refreshing to learn of the many ways people are helpful to their fellow man.

A story in the December 4 issue of the Burt County Plaindealer tells of the efforts of an 88-year-old great-grandmother, Mrs. Julia Gilbert, of Tekamah, Nebr. For the past 12 years, Mrs. Gilbert has made a baby quilt each week for the interdenominational Church World Service relief drive. She does this as therapy to help ease her arthritis.

Mr. Speaker, would it not be wonderful if we had more people like Mrs. Gilbert? The article follows:

"It's THERAPY"—ARTHRITIS HELPS SEW 500 QUILTS

Mrs. Julia Gilbert doesn't claim to be Tekamah's champion quilt maker. In fact, she's quite modest about the 50 baby quilts she has completed during the last year for the interdenominational Church World Service's relief drive.

"It's therapy," the 88-year-old great-grandmother says. It helps ease my arthritis."

She turns out a three-foot-square baby quilt at the rate of about one each week. She pieces the quilt tops from scraps of cloth, then adds lining and a back to each one.

Whenever her arthritis starts to pain, Mrs. Gilbert said, she goes to her 50-year-old sewing machine for a session of "therapy." The exercise her fingers receive through handling of the articles helps to control the arthritis pain.

For many years her machine was a treadle type, operated by foot power. She finally consented several years ago to have the venerable sewing companion converted to electric power.

Mrs. Gilbert began quilting regularly when she was 76. During those past 12 years she has completed more than 500 quilts for tots. All have been distributed around the world through charitable organizations. No two quilts have been identical.

Church work is another activity which Mrs. Gilbert considers as therapy. She is the oldest—and one of the busiest—member of Tekamah's Baptist Church. She seldom misses a Circle or prayer meeting and she is a regular member of the church's adult Sunday school class.

At 88, Mrs. Gilbert has more energy than some women half her age. She concedes, however, that the arthritis in her knees has slowed her down somewhat.

She hasn't stopped, though. After her 88th birthday last month, and after she had delivered her year's production of quilts for overseas shipment, she began anew. So far she has already finished seven quilts for next year's drive.

#### THE INDIANAPOLIS NEWS—A CENTURY OF PUBLISHING HISTORY

### HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, on December 6, 1969, the Indianapolis News marked 100 years of publishing. As Thomas Hardy wrote in his "The Newspaper Soliloquizes":

"Yes, yes; I am old. In me appears  
The history of a hundred years.  
Empires', kings', captives' births and  
deaths;  
Strange faiths and fleeting shibboleths;  
Tragedy, comedy, through my pages  
Beyond all mumbled on any stages;  
Cold hearts beat hot, hot hearts beat cold,  
And I beat on."

May the heart of the News beat on for another century. Following is the letter of congratulations from President Nixon to the publisher, Mr. Eugene C. Pulliam, and the lead editorial from the News on its 100th birthday:

THE WHITE HOUSE,

Washington, November 22, 1969.

MR. EUGENE C. PULLIAM,  
Publisher, the Indianapolis News,  
Indianapolis, Ind.

DEAR GENE: As The Indianapolis News celebrates a century of service to its readers, I am proud to be among those who applaud its distinguished reputation.

Published on December 6, 1869, a day before its inception in order to cover a message delivered to the Congress by President Grant, this fine publication has continued to be a sensitive, responsive and faithful chronicler of current events. As it has grown, it has also extended its adherence to journalistic integrity and to the highest principles of the free press. And it has never lost sight of the responsibility that cherished freedom incurs.

On this auspicious milestone in its history, I want to applaud your unshakable tradition of sound, prompt, reliable reporting. Your staff and readers have my warm congratulations and my hope that your high ideals may accompany you across the threshold of our current events. As it has grown, it has

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON.

[From the Indianapolis News, Dec. 6, 1969]

#### THE NEXT 100

Today The News celebrates a century of publishing history—a century in which it has lived and grown with the burgeoning city of Indianapolis.

Dec. 7, 1869, was the scheduled publishing date of Vol. 1, No. 1, under youthful publisher John H. Holliday—although, with typical enterprise, Holliday actually came out with his first paper the previous day to give his readers a full report on a speech by President Ulysses S. Grant.

In the century which has elapsed since then, The News has expanded continually and changed its physical location to accommodate the requirements of growth. It has dealt with major happenings at the local, state, and national levels alike. The paper has lived through an era of enormous changes in America, and has attempted to portray these fully and accurately to its readers.

Amid this change, The News has tried to play a consistent role—of service to our state and community, and to the principles which undergird the American republic. It has taken its stand in behalf of liberty and limited power, integrity in the political process, the

rule of law and justice at all levels of government.

In attempting to serve these ends, we believe the freedom of the press is of the utmost importance and have tried to speak out forcefully in its behalf. The News has contended that the public can best be served by a press which is vigilant to maintain the fundamental values upon which America was founded. It has attempted to use these values as guidelines by which to judge the issues.

As freedom of the press is important for the well-being of the nation, so is a general regime of freedom essential to the liberty of the press. We have contended that all American freedoms depend upon the restraint of power and adherence to the rule of law. The free press and the free society are mutually interdependent.

Those have been the standards by which The News has been guided in the past. On the occasion of this centennial, we reaffirm our dedication to these standards, and trust that in the 100 years to come The News, our city, and the cause of freedom will all be able to flourish together.

#### SERVICEMAN IS HUMAN

### HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, Mr. James Neal, editor of the Noblesville Daily Ledger, has written a superb column about a marine veteran's experiences and views on Vietnam.

The television networks and liberal press in the East have chosen to all but ignore the hideous torture of American soldiers.

For some reason the liberal media seems to always choose the side of the story most derogatory to America, and most favorable to the Communist enemy.

More truth can be found in the daily newspapers of the Midwest than in any of the Eastern press which are little more than sounding boards for Hanoi propaganda.

Every Member of Congress should examine this account by a former marine. The article follows:

#### SERVICEMAN IS HUMAN

(By Jim Neal)

A Marine, wounded in action in Vietnam and now living in Noblesville, has come to the defense of GIs allegedly involved in a massacre of women and children at My Lai.

Martin A. Vincel, 21, now on the temporary disability, retired list, struck out at critics who, he says, "don't know what they are talking about."

"The serviceman is only human," he said. "We had orders to shoot if we saw anything. If anything moved, you shot it. You didn't ask who was there."

Vincel, who is currently unemployed because he is carrying shrapnel in both legs below the knees, claims the public only hears what the government wants them to hear.

"What gets me is all these people sit back and voice opinions and they don't know what they are talking about."

"I feel the public has been misinformed. I think it is right we are over there, but you can't win a war when you can't stop their supplies coming into South Vietnam."

"How can they pull out all these troops and let our guys die for nothing."

"South Vietnam won't be able to hold them back. They're not organized enough. We could never depend on them. If anything happened they ran."

Vincel was with the 3rd Marine Division. He enlisted from Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, after graduating from high school there. It was October of 1966.

He was on a search and destroy mission, platoon size, when he stepped on a booby trap and was wounded. The date was Jan. 18, 1968. He was treated at Guam for three weeks and finally was hospitalized in a Navy installation at Key West, Fla. He was only 19 when he was released on July 24, 1968.

Since then he has married a Noblesville girl, Sandra Shell, has a 5-months-old baby, and is currently seeking employment.

Getting a job is difficult because Vincel can't stand on his feet very long. He also claims that places are reluctant to hire him because they do not want to assume any responsibility for his disability. Although Richard Mallery, Hamilton County's Veteran Service Officer, points out that there is no responsibility, most employers are dubious anyway.

Vincel, whose mother is Ida Mae Blakley of Noblesville, was employed in Ft. Lauderdale briefly and later worked part time here at Warner Commercial Body Co.

"People stick up their noses when they hear I've been in Vietnam," he said.

"I never saw any massacre. If they shoot at you, you've got to shoot back. If they say don't shoot until they shoot at you, they're crazy."

"You don't know who to shoot at. They (Viet Cong) don't wear uniforms."

"The kids sell you cokes with poison in it. They throw grenades at you."

"Nobody likes to shoot a kid, but you learn when you first get over there you don't trust nobody."

"They call it booby trap heaven around Da Nang."

"If you've seen one village, you've seen 'em all."

"I've met a lot of villagers and talked to them. Some could speak English. The people don't want war, but they don't want to be ruled by the Communists either."

"They've been fighting for a long time to get freedom."

"All South Vietnam is doing is what we did in America. They want some help to get their independence."

"But they (war critics) are turning the American people against the serviceman. It's wrong. Without a military we aren't going to have a country."

"Sure, I saw some dead children. They were killed by mortar or artillery fire."

"I also saw this guy hanging up in a tree, skinned. He was a GI."

Vincel was a Corporal. He was a team leader, which means he had three men working under him. His unit received a Presidential citation and he received a Purple Heart. He didn't get a good Conduct ribbon. He hadn't been in service long enough.

#### COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH CENTERS

### HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, on December 16, the House passed significant new legislation—legislation that would extend for 3 more years the program of matching grants for construction and

staffing of community mental health centers. The bill, still further, would extend for an equal period of time the matching grants program for specialized services in the treatment of alcoholism and narcotics addiction.

The need for such legislation is plain—indeed, conspicuous. The bleak and forbidding State hospitals to which the mentally disturbed are routinely committed are simply not adequate. Startling reports—indeed, chilling reports—have indicated just how inadequate many State psychiatric institutions have become. In many cases, they offer little more than the most cursory custodial care and virtually no therapy. New community mental health centers—where psychiatric patients can receive treatment in their own communities, where early counseling will help prevent the kind of severe psychosis that demands hospitalization—are one of this country's most pressing needs.

Continued programs for the treatment of alcoholism and narcotics addiction would answer a need of equal urgency. Alcoholism—despite the spate of publicity about marijuana and LSD—remains the most alarming drug problem in the United States. And addiction to opiates—heroin, for example, or morphine—gives rise to about 40 to 50 percent of the violent crime rate in any major city despite the fact that narcotics addicts are far fewer in number than alcoholics.

The legislation will carry on one of the few successful Federal programs that offer hope to the mentally disturbed and to those addicted to drugs.

#### OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

### HON. EARL B. RUTH

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. RUTH. Mr. Speaker, as a cosponsor of the bill to continue the operation of programs by the Office of Economic Opportunity through June 30, 1971, it was with regret that I was forced to vote against the bill.

I joined in introducing the bill, H.R. 12321, on June 23, 1969. But the bill as reported out by the Committee on Education and Labor had little appearance to the original measure which still shows my name as a sponsor. I voted against the bill in committee and voted for recommitment in the House.

The circumstances that have forced me to oppose legislation which I cosponsored is really not so difficult to understand. The original purpose of H.R. 12321 was to give the agency's Director another 2 years to put its house in order. This bill, in fact, was only 14 lines in length.

On the other hand the bill sent by the committee to the full House covered 16 pages, added three new titles loaded with new programing, and increased the administration's budget request for the agency by about \$300 million.

The agency Director, Donald Rumsfeld, had committed himself to a more orderly and efficient operation of the program, tightened administration, a more rational allocation of resources, and a general improvement of the program.

This is a worthy endeavor on his part. But when the Nixon administration states it needs lower funds to operate the agency it just does not make sense for Congress to add a whole host of new projects to clutter the function of an expensive operation. I simply could not vote for the new bill. It was no longer the bill I cosponsored.

#### A MOUNTAIN OF A MAN

### HON. JOHN WOLD

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. WOLD. Mr. Speaker, the very nature of our civilization seems to carry the seed for the destruction of traits that make man human. Our vast cities and densely crowded ghettos mitigate against the development of independence and self-sufficiency in our children. But these are still character habits that are just as necessary as ever.

In my district, the great State of Wyoming, we like to think people take on the rugged characteristics of our magnificent mountains. Honesty is the rule rather than the exception. Self-sufficiency and independence are traits imposed on us by the elements which still make the efforts of man seem puny.

We are proud of our State and, although wanting it developed, we hope to keep it relatively unsullied by the hand of man. We also want to share its bounties with other Americans. We hope their visit will give them a sense of the elemental forces of nature.

This week Life magazine carried a story about a fellow Wyomingite, Paul Petzoldt, of Lander, who even there is a "mountain of a man." He is an iconoclastic, rugged individual dedicated to preserving the beauties of nature and to teaching Americans to enjoy the wilderness without the trappings of our mechanized civilization. "Our students hunger for reality," Petzoldt told the Life interviewer.

They can find it with Paul Petzoldt in the mountains of Wyoming at the National Outdoor Leadership School which he operates in conjunction with the University of Wyoming and Kansas State Teachers College.

I recommend that my colleagues take the time to watch the first "Aloca Hour" special of the 1970 television series during the week of January 18. It will feature Paul Petzoldt and the National Outdoor Leadership School.

Our civilization is so complex we tend to lose sight of reality even though its harshness and beauty surround us every moment. Paul Petzoldt encourages Americans to sample the reality of nature and from that experience gain new inspiration for our more mundane lives.

#### THE LEFT AND THE MORATORIUM

### HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of October 16, I inserted extensive remarks on the "fall offensive," the program that brought thousands of protesters to Washington in October and November and which involved four organizations: The Vietnam Moratorium Committee, the Student Mobilization Committee, the New Mobilization Committee, and the SDS. The purpose of the fall offensive was to pressure the administration into an immediate, unilateral withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam regardless of the consequences to the security and safety of the people of South Vietnam. Although extensive treatment of the radical nature of the fall offensive appeared at various times in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, comparatively little appeared in the press concerning the involvement of extremist influences in the program. A notable exception was the comprehensive series of articles released by the Copley News Service on December 1 entitled "The Left and the Moratorium" which probed into the character and operations of the four organizations mentioned above.

The six-part series was authored by Francis J. McNamara, formerly staff director of the House Committee on Internal Security—until recently known as the House Committee on Un-American Activities—whose experience in the investigation of internal security matters extends over a period of 20 years. Through his intimate knowledge of the past performances of these radical groups and buttressed by a review of their literature and interviews with representatives of some of the groups, Mr. McNamara provides a valuable insight into a campaign which duped countless sincere Americans regarding its aims and radical motivation.

Since the fall offensive activities, the Student Mobilization Committee, the New Mobilization Committee, and the Vietnam Moratorium Committee have made public plans for future projects. In light of this, the Copley News Service and Mr. McNamara have rendered a valuable service in alerting the public to the true nature of these organizations. To help further in disseminating this information, I include the six-part series of the Copley News Service entitled "The Left and the Moratorium" by Francis J. McNamara at this point in the RECORD:

#### THE LEFT AND THE MORATORIUM

NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE I: MORATORIUM LEADERSHIP HAD COMMUNIST, NEW LEFT TINGE

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—On two occasions this fall, the Vietnam Moratorium signaled mass protests against U.S. involvement in Vietnam. In most instances, the moratorium movement sought what they termed "immediate withdrawal" of U.S. forces. Who was behind the organization of the moratorium? Most participants sincerely objected to the war and were non-Communists. But Francis J. McNamara, former staff director of the House Committee on Internal Security, has

written six articles which disclose the extent to which New Left and Communist organizations were closely involved in coordinating planning for the Oct. 15 Moratorium Day and the demonstrations of Nov. 13 through Nov. 15. He shows how some moratorium leaders misrepresented the stated purposes of the moratorium, after leading antiwar "dove" figures had given their names to the cause.)

(By Francis J. McNamara)

WASHINGTON.—The nation's capital is quiet and orderly again. The rioting and violence have ended. The Nov. 13-15 anti-Vietnam demonstrations are history.

The American taxpayer will foot the bill for the damage to public property and the cost of the extra police, the National Guard and thousands of federal troops moved into Washington to preserve the peace.

He is comparatively lucky. Some Washington businessmen will pay twice—both taxes and immediate cash outlays to repair damage to their property.

Yet everything is as normal in Washington as it ever can appear to be in the capital.

But things have changed and in ways that can't be seen on the surface.

In mid-October, people all over the world heard that 500,000 Americans joined in a "moratorium" to oppose the U.S. military involvement in South Vietnam.

A month later, they heard reports that the largest "antiwar" demonstration in the history of the United States, staged for the same purpose, took place in Washington itself; that the American flag at the Department of Justice was pulled down and—if only briefly—replaced by the flag of the Viet Cong.

On the same day, Nov. 15, anti-U.S.-in-Vietnam demonstrations took place in many nations.

This was no coincidence. It was all carefully coordinated and, aided by the international Communist propaganda machine. The desire was to project to the world the image of "people" everywhere assembling to protest, often with violence, U.S. intrusion and war-making in Vietnam.

The United States has suffered a defeat as a result of this campaign. It's not only that Washington was damaged as a city, but that America was damaged as a nation, with all that that implies in today's world.

Who was responsible? As one might expect, many are blaming it all on the SDS Weathermen, the Yippies and a handful of other small revolutionary groups.

That is oversimplifying. They couldn't have done it by themselves. And even if their members alone were responsible for every single act of violence and destruction in Washington, it would be unfair to place all the blame on them for the real and important damage done—even though they desired it. They merely did "their thing" when handed the opportunity on a golden platter.

The Washington "peace" rally and the violence that followed it comprised the most successful Communist united front operation to take place in the United States in many years. It was the result of months of careful planning and cooperative effort on the part of four organizations engaged in what they termed the "Fall Offensive Against the War in Vietnam."

The four groups are the New Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam (New MOBE) and its co-working Student Mobilization Committee (Student MOBE), Vietnam Moratorium Committee (VMC) and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

The New Mobilization Committee, technically the sponsor of the Nov. 15 Washington demonstrations, made many statements that it decried violence and wanted only a peaceful, orderly demonstration. The Student Mobilization did the same thing. The Moratorium Committee has always taken that position. SDS also promised it would not "instigate" violence.

But all the while they were making these statements, these groups were collaborating in an operation that would almost surely end in violence—largely because certain of their leaders wanted it.

David Dellinger, long the top official of New "MOBE," is a Hanoi-Havana visitor and served as the national coordinator of MOBE's No. 15 Washington-San Francisco demonstrations. He made an inflammatory speech to more than 200,000 people at the Washington rally and then urged them to join in marching on the Department of Justice—where, as had been announced, an "attack" was to take place.

The power spots in New MOBE are saturated with Communists and Hanoi sympathizers. If either of these Communist capitalists said, "No violence," there would have been none—at least not without a feud in MOBE that would have generated such heat the issue would have come to public attention. As it is, the contending (and cooperating) Moscow and Trotskyist Communists in the group had squabbled over lesser issues, such as program speakers.

By keeping the Oct. 15 moratorium peaceful to create the impression of belief in law and order, additional innocents were enticed into the climactic Nov. 15 action. Rioting and destruction in Washington itself following the huge rally would have far more worldwide propaganda value than the quiet fading away of a quarter of a million people.

The Nov. 15 demonstrations, climax of a three-day series of antiwar activities, were a Communist-engineered operation designed to serve the most important of today's Communist objectives—an immediate, unconditional pullout of U.S. forces from Vietnam so that Communists can take over the country.

In retrospect, the most important fact about the demonstrations was the revelation of a weakness in U.S. ability to deal effectively with internal Communist subversion.

The plans for the Nov. 15 and earlier related demonstrations have been a matter of public record for almost five months. There has been no secret about the organizations involved, their nature, objectives, leadership and past records. Yet there was no revelation of Communist involvement until the time of the Oct. 15 moratorium when a few senators and representatives presented facts which indicated that Communists were deeply entrenched in the Fall Offensive.

Even then these facts went largely unreported.

But the October and November demonstrations became two of the most widely reported events of the year. Yet in few accounts did the word "Communist" appear.

Antiwar and anti-draft demonstrations, on a smaller scale, took place four years ago. President Johnson publicly expressed concern at the time that well-meaning Americans might have been the victims of Communist exploitation.

He gave full support to a Department of Justice investigation to determine the role of Communists in the demonstrations.

The results of the investigation were never made public.

After MOBE's October, 1967, assault on the Pentagon, House Democratic floor leader Carl Albert said the marchers included "every Communist and Communist sympathizer who was able to make the trip." He also charged that the demonstration had been "basically organized by international communism."

Republican floor leader Gerald Ford then revealed that at a White House meeting President Johnson had read to him and other Republican leaders a secret report revealing that the demonstration was organized by international communism. He asked that the report be made public.

Attorney General Ramsey Clark visited Ford and said the report could not be re-

vealed without compromising sources of information and creating a new wave of "McCarthyism." This claim was also made by Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

Ford argued that the American people were mature enough to receive such information without reacting hysterically.

He got nowhere. The report was not released.

The results of suppressing the truth about the Pentagon demonstration were seen in November. Thousands upon thousands of idealistic, well-meaning young Americans turned out to support another operation by the same outfit—an operation designed to injure the United States and help its enemies, who are also enemies of all that the overwhelming majority of the demonstrating youngsters believed in. Thousands of adults were similarly misled.

The files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Central Intelligence Agency, congressional committees and local police departments bulge with information about Communist involvement in the Nov. 15 and related demonstrations.

Compromising sources of information is a minor problem in this case—there's much that can be revealed without injury to any intelligence operation.

It would have been different if Sens. Eugene McCarthy, George McGovern and Charles Goodell had organized a rally of true dissenters, making it clear that they vehemently opposed, and also would condemn, the Communist Viet Cong revolution in South Vietnam and North Vietnam's aggression against the south.

But instead of this, the senators gave their endorsement and support to a demonstration which was corrupted with communism.

Just how deeply the radical left and Communists were involved, however divided they may be on various issues, can be documented?

#### NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE II: MORATORIUM BACKERS PROVE CONTRADICTION AS TO MOTIVES

WASHINGTON—Millions of words have been spoken and written about the Vietnam Moratorium.

It has been the subject of television network specials, numerous editorials and columns and extended straight news coverage.

The first phase came on Oct. 15. Many people again stopped "business as usual" Nov. 13-15 to demonstrate against the war. And David Hawk, one of the four initiators of the sponsoring Vietnam Moratorium Committee (VMC), also told this writer that it is a "safe assumption" there'll be still another moratorium in December.

The Vietnam Moratorium Committee's original announced plan was to hold a moratorium every month that the war continues, extending it by one day each month. Then, if the war does not end by May, 1972, it would call for a complete shutdown of America. No one would do anything but protest the war, day in and day out, until every last American was pulled out of Vietnam.

This, of course, will never happen—and the VMC knows it.

Meanwhile, argument continued for weeks about the statements of the President and vice president on the original Oct. 15 moratorium. There was hot debate about whether it was good or bad, right or wrong, supportable or insupportable. And despite all the words, most people did not have the facts they need to make an informed judgment on the issue.

No one would be in a position to form an intelligent opinion about the Green Bay Packers, for instance, if he looked at the football team in isolation. You have to know something about the game, and the competition.

So it is with the Vietnam Moratorium Committee. The purpose of this series is to give some background information about the VMC, the game it is playing, other teams

in its league, and key personalities who might be compared to football stars and coaches.

#### What Was Moratorium Day For?

A basic issue is the purpose and aim of the VMC and its moratoriums. There's been a lot of confusion about this. To help clarify it, Rep. John Anderson, R-Ill., called David Mixner, another of the initiators and directors of the Moratorium Committee, to get a clear statement of its objective.

Anderson wanted this statement because congressional supporters of the Oct. 15 moratorium had announced their intention of keeping the House of Representatives in session through the night of Oct. 14 in honor of the observance. The great majority of members opposed, and eventually defeated, this move.

Congressman Anderson taped Mixner's answer to his question so that he could quote it with complete accuracy on the floor of the House. This is what Mixner told him: "We want out now, and this is not contingent on anything that Hanoi or the Viet Cong might do."

Has VMC told the public this is its aim? Let's look at the record.

One of its first organizing efforts was a letter addressed to interns working for the government in Washington last summer. The letter said Moratorium Day in October would be held so people could spend the day working "to end the war."

Later, there was a "Student Call For A Vietnam Moratorium" sent to campuses throughout the nation.

The moratorium, it said, was for "taking the issue of peace in Vietnam to the larger community." (In any early mailing of this call, VMC said about 200 student leaders had signed; in later mailings "about 500.")

A Faculty Call, mailed later, said the moratorium was to "further build sentiments for peace" and to express "opposition to the prolongation of the war." Over 60 professors were listed as signing this call. According to VMC, this was only a partial listing of those who had endorsed it.

A moratorium organizing memo, mailed in September, said that participation in the moratorium is "a commitment to intense work and to peace." Another release, "The Vietnam Moratorium," said the moratorium "is an effort to maximize public pressure to end the war."

Then there were three full-page newspaper ads. The first ad said:

"What we are working toward, ultimately, is the largest and broadest antiwar movement ever seen in the United States."

The same statement of purpose was contained in the third ad. The only difference was that the word "ultimately" was left out.

The second ad proclaimed that on Oct. 15 students and faculty would leave classes to talk about "the madness of Vietnam." The big eye-catcher, however, was this large, bold-type legend, "We Support October 15." Under it were listed the names of four senators—Charles Goodell, Mark Hatfield, Eugene McCarthy and George McGovern—followed by the names of 11 other persons of varied prominence. A brief statement by each one appeared under the name. At the bottom of the ad in small print readers were asked to work on Oct. 15 "for an early withdrawal of all our troops from Vietnam."

These ads were reproduced as VMC posters and distributed throughout the country.

A lettersize fold-over brochure prepared for Oct. 15 was the cheapest and therefore probably the most widely distributed VMC promotional item for M-Day.

It included the statement of purpose quoted above from the first ad. It also said:

"The Vietnam Moratorium Committee is an ad hoc group formed solely for the purpose of stimulating and supporting broad-based public action against the war in Vietnam." Note that word, "solely."

Sam Brown, VMC's chief spokesman, was interviewed on "Face the Nation" on Oct. 12, just three days before the first Moratorium Day. Facing a nationwide audience, he made conflicting statements about its purpose. First he said it was "immediate withdrawal," and claimed several times that VMC had "consistently" said this. Later in the program he changed it to withdrawal "as rapidly as it is possible to do so." In answering a subsequent charge that VMC's aim was "vaguely stated," Brown again changed position and said withdrawal "no later than Dec. 1 of next year, and that is not immediate."

Yet the very next day Mixner told Congressman Anderson that the aim was immediate and unconditional pullout. Moreover, VMC has been claiming ever since then that that is and has been its purpose. It is no wonder that even after Anderson quoted Mixner on VMC's aim, other congressmen who supported the moratorium rose to speak for it and made incorrect statements about its purpose.

There was much deceit, in the way VMC promoted its October Moratorium. The VMC wants this country to cut and run from Vietnam—no ifs, ands, or buts about it, and no matter what the consequences. Yet prior to Oct. 15, it never came out and stated this bluntly in appealing to the public to support its activities and donate money.

Hundreds of thousands turned out on the Oct. 15 Moratorium Day in response to the VMC's broad and generalized appeals for "peace in Vietnam," "ending the war" and an "early withdrawal" of U.S. forces.

But how many would have responded if the VMC had honestly stated that Moratorium Day's purpose was to have this country's forces pulled out of Vietnam instantly and unconditionally?

I called the offices of the four senators whose names appeared in the ad (Oct. 8) as Moratorium Day supporters. The same question was asked of each one: Does the senator support, or has he ever supported, an immediate, complete and unconditional pullout from Vietnam? In each case the answer was the same: "No."

Was the October Moratorium Day a success? It was and it wasn't. The successful aspect of it will be treated later.

VMC claimed that "millions" would observe the Oct. 15 Moratorium. Nothing like that happened. Most turnout estimates run to about 500,000, though VMC representatives have been reported as claiming over a million.

"We have not gone into the numbers game, you just can't tell," Hawk told this writer. He gave an example of what he meant, "A university closes for the day. Can you count all the students as supporters? There's a rally on campus and later one in the (nearby) city. Some students go to both. There's duplication."

Regardless of the numbers, however, M-Day was a failure because the great majority who turned out did not support VMC's position and were not converted to it by the day's events.

Ironically, it was the VMC-enlisted big name speakers who guaranteed the failure. They spoke, one after the other, against VMC's objective.

Former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg called for a "prompt and systematic withdrawal" of U.S. troops. Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., urged that all combat troops be withdrawn in a year and others by the end of 1972—a far cry from the VMC's demand.

Rev. Ralph Abernathy said that the only things to be discussed in Paris were "the safe exit of the Americans and political asylum for South Vietnamese who want it."

The VMC speakers list for M-Day contained the names of over 175 persons who were scheduled to address observances. It

cautioned that "not all" had endorsed the moratorium. Thirteen senators, 35 congressmen and about a dozen persons formerly prominent in government appeared on the list. Few support the VMC position. Most are on record as opposing it—and these were the speakers who attracted the largest audiences.

The nature of many M-Day activities also refutes the claim of its organizers that the day was a roaring success. Numerous observances were completely religious in nature, with no policy content at all. In quite a few cases, the "observances" were gatherings of schoolchildren.

Undoubtedly a number of speakers urged immediate withdrawal. Herbert Marcuse, philosopher of today's advocates of violence, was a scheduled speaker; so were far-leftist writer I. F. Stone, five of the persons now being tried in Chicago for conspiring to incite riots during last year's Democratic Convention, and others with lengthy records of activity in behalf of Communist front organizations.

No doubt, too, 95 per cent of those who favor a complete and unconditional withdrawal turned out on Oct. 15. The 5 per cent who didn't just couldn't make it for some reason or other. But there's every reason to believe that many speakers and the great majority of those demonstrating on M-Day did not favor VMC's position. I asked Hawk for his estimate of how many of the demonstrators actually supported an immediate, unconditional pullout.

"I have no estimate," he said. "I guess the ad was right when it said a lot did not support it."

Hawk was certain, though, that much was accomplished.

But as you read the papers and hear the news each day, you realize a very important point: Hawk is wrong. The pull-outers are a small minority and there are still many points of view on what to do about Vietnam.

#### NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE III: FALL OFFENSIVE LINKS SOME VIETNAM WAR FOES, REDS

WASHINGTON.—The Vietnam Moratorium Committee (VMC) did not, alone and on its own, turn out hundreds of thousands of people on Moratorium Day, Oct. 15.

Nor did it do so when moratorium, phase II, rolled around in November, and thousands again turned out to protest the U.S. role in the war in Vietnam.

VMC has had a lot of help in its operations and, without this help, nothing like what was seen on Oct. 15—and on Nov. 13-15—would have taken place. Many organizations have not received the recognition due them for such success as has been attributed to VMC's operations.

What groups are these? They are the teams playing in the "Fall Offensive" league with VMC. These other teams are the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

Just what is the Fall Offensive?

It is a series of escalating "actions," as their originators call them, against U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. Its full name is "Fall Offensive Against the War in Vietnam." The objective of the offensive was to exert such massive and intense pressure on the Nixon administration that it would abandon all effort to assist South Vietnam; it would pull out completely and immediately.

Many persons taking part in the Fall Offensive, unfortunately, did not realize its ultimate aim.

The program, worked out by the four participating groups last summer, was as follows (including minor changes since agreed upon):

Sept. 24—New Mobilization Committee—Chicago Actions in support of the "Con-

spiracy 8," tried for conspiring to incite the riots during the 1968 Democratic Convention.

Oct. 8-11—SDS—"Bring the War Home" Actions in Chicago.

Oct. 15—Vietnam Moratorium Committee—Moratorium Day.

Oct. 25—New Mobilization Committee—Chicago Actions in support of the "Conspiracy 8."

Nov. 8-15—SDS, —Joe Hill Caucus—Week of local activity to promote Nov. 15 actions.

Nov. 13-14—Vietnam Moratorium Committee—Moratorium Days.

Nov. 13-14—New Mobilization Committee—March Against Death; Washington, D.C.

Nov. 14—Student Mobilization Committee—National Student Strike.

Nov. 15—New Mobilization Committee—Mass Marches and Rallies, Washington and San Francisco.

The Fall Offensive "actions" are not limited to the U.S.—Moratorium Day, Oct. 15, was observed in several places overseas, almost exclusively by U.S. citizens. For that reason, the demonstrations were few and small. But Nov. 15, the climax of the offensive, was different. Communist and radical groups in foreign countries were utilized and demonstrations were held in Paris and the French provinces, Italy, West Germany, Holland, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, England, Australia, New Zealand and Chile.

The U.S. organizers of the Fall Offensive did not plan and coordinate all these foreign operations themselves. They do not have the personnel, finances or resources. Outside help was given.

Some of the U.S. leaders of the Fall Offensive could tell you how, who, where and why.

But if you asked, they would profess ignorance or come up with an amazingly simple explanation, such as: "Oh, people all over the world are so incensed about what the United States is doing to the Vietnamese people that, when they heard about our offensive, they decided that they had to do something to help."

Many Communists, America haters, and Moscow, Peking, Castro, Hanoi and Viet Cong sympathizers took part in the Fall Offensive. But the first thing that should be said is that it is not claimed nor implied that VMC, the sponsor of Moratorium Day, is Communist.

But it is true that the Vietnam Moratorium Committee is working with Communists.

Many of the groups working with VMC in the Fall Offensive call themselves "peace" or "antiwar" organizations. They are neither. They are not pacifist. They are not antiwar as such. They have never condemned a Communist "war of national liberation."

But U.S. military efforts, direct or indirect, large or small, to help halt a Communist takeover or some non-Communist nation, immediately arouse their opposition.

Before discussing these groups, let's touch briefly on a bit of recent history. It will help us appreciate the full significance of the Fall Offensive and provide a framework for objective judgment of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee.

On Jan. 23, 1967, then Rep. Edwin E. Willis, who was the chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, warned that "an assortment of Communists of both the Peking and Moscow varieties, fellow travelers, Marxists, radicals, pacifists and professional 'peace' agitators" had launched a "crash program" to undermine and sabotage U.S. resistance to Communist military aggression in Vietnam.

Their stepped-up agitation and propaganda campaign against American Vietnam policy, he said, would culminate in what they had designated "Vietnam Week," the week of April 8-15, 1967. Later, but before the event, the Willis committee published a report, "Communist Manipulation and Con-

trol of Vietnam Week," which revealed how Communists had initiated and controlled this operation.

Vietnam Week, in effect, was the "Spring Offensive" of that year. The April 15, 1967, New York and San Francisco rallies which capped the week's actions were the largest anti-Vietnam war demonstrations held in this country—until Oct. 15, 1969.

With the exception of the newly formed Vietnam Moratorium Committee, the groups which organized Vietnam Week in 1967 are the same groups which organized the Fall Offensive.

**NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE IV: MOBE IS RADICALLY ANTI-WAR, ANTI-U.S.**

The New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, under a variety of names, has been in existence for a little more than three years.

First called the Nov. 8 Mobilization Committee, it was formed in Cleveland in September, 1966, to make opposition to the Vietnam war an issue in that year's election.

It changed its name to "Spring" Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, while organizing Vietnam Week, 1967. Several months after Vietnam Week it again changed its name and became the "National" Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, or "National MOBE."

Under that name, it staged the October, 1967, "confrontation" during which the Pentagon was stormed; the 1968 Chicago Democratic Convention demonstration which ended up with large-scale rioting, and also the Jan. 20, 1969, "counter-inauguration" in Washington which also resulted in violence, though on a smaller scale.

MOBE, under its varied names, has been the country's major anti-U.S. in Vietnam war agitation organization. It is an umbrella-type group, serving as the planner, director and coordinator of operations for the groups affiliated with it whose members provide muscle for its operations. Most of these are in the Communist front, Communist-infiltrated and radical-left category; a few are pacifist.

A study shows that at no time since it was formed in 1966 has MOBE published propaganda or agitated on any issue that conflicted with Communist policies. The 1967 Willis Committee report found Communists "dominant" in MOBE when it was known as the Spring Mobilization Committee.

This is also true of New MOBE today.

New MOBE held a "Mass Rally" in Chicago on Sept. 24, the opening day of the trial of the "Conspiracy 8," as those charged with conspiring to foment a riot during the 1968 Democratic Convention have dubbed themselves.

A few hundred staged an all-night vigil the night before the trial and perhaps 500 turned out for the morning rally outside the Federal Building. Later in the day those taking part in a Grant Park rally numbered about 700. It was a far cry from the 5,000 to 10,000 turnout originally predicted. Black Panthers and the various SDS factions were represented.

There was violence, primarily the work of the SDS Weathermen faction. Thirteen persons were injured—two demonstrators, nine policemen and two city prosecutors. More than a score of Weathermen have since been indicted on various charges ranging from mob action to aggravated assault. New MOBE and the other SDS factions renounced the Weathermen violence.

MOBE's special interest in the Chicago trial is based on the fact that six of the eight defendants are key MOBE activists. Dave Dellinger, New and old MOBE chairman, is also coordinator of the Washington and Chicago actions in the Fall Offensive; Tom Hayden, a founder of SDS and of the new, secret Revolutionary Union, was a co-director of MOBE's 1968 Chicago Convention operation;

Rennie Davis, also an SDS founder, worked with Hayden in 1968 as the other co-director for Chicago, was coordinator of the Counter-Inaugural and co-director for New MOBE's recent Chicago demonstration; Jerry Rubin, Yippie founder, served as coordinator of MOBE's 1967 Pentagon confrontation; John Froines, assistant professor of chemistry at the University of Oregon, was on the MOBE staff during the '68 convention, as was Lee Weiner, a Northwestern University graduate student working toward a doctor's degree in sociology.

(The other two original defendants were Bobby Seale, California chairman of the Black Panthers, since convicted of contempt of court, and Abbie Hoffman, another Yippie leader. Both have been MOBE collaborators, though not officials.)

New MOBE was the sponsor of the two big events in the Fall Offensive:

The march Against Death at Washington, D.C., and mass marches and rallies in Washington, D.C. and San Francisco.

New MOBE conceived and launched the Fall Offensive Against the War in Vietnam under its former name, National MOBE.

This was accomplished by having a number of its key leaders enlist the cooperation of a few other "peace" activists in issuing a call to a National Anti-War Conference which was held in Cleveland on July 4-5 of this year. The conference was hosted by the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, a MOBE affiliate and the organization that sponsored the September, 1966, meeting at which the original MOBE was formed.

About 700 people attended the Cleveland meeting, most of them representing groups that had been affiliated with the old MOBE.

The conference ended with formal approval of the Fall Offensive. The Trotskyist Communist newspaper, The Militant, reported that it was generally agreed at the Cleveland conference that the offensive could have "explosive political impact in the fight to end Washington's aggression against the Vietnamese revolution."

Is New MOBE Communist? Not completely—because the Communists don't want it that way. There just aren't enough full-fledged party members in this country—even when you put the Muscovites, the Pekingese, the Trotskyists and all the splinter groups together—to put on a demonstration of such proportions that it could have national and international importance.

The Communists want "clout," impact. To get that they need two things, respectability and numbers.

How do they get these? By enlisting non-Communists in their operations—many of them: the 100 per cent fellow travelers who can always be counted on to rally to the cause, as well as the lesser fellow travelers who will respond on certain issues; the independent radicals and extremists, the non-party Marxists, the far-out pacifists (particularly useful for "cease" operations), the malcontents and anyone else they can coax, cajole or hoodwink into working for their cause.

Some of the "respectables" they enlist are always pushed to the forefront of their maneuvers and given impressive titles to provide cover for the more unsavory elements and the Communists, open and secret, who share power in the organization with them.

It should be stressed, however, that New MOBE is not a Communist "front" in the traditional sense of the term.

When MOBE originally was formed, there already were many fronts in existence, some formed for the specific purpose of agitating and propagandizing against this country's efforts to prevent a Communist victory in Vietnam. In addition, the outcome of the Vietnam war is tremendously important to world communism. There's more at stake than just South Vietnam. The issue is so

vital to Communists of all types that competing groups (Moscow, Peking, etc.) were willing to forget their ideological and tactical differences to unite for the common good.

Do Communists dominate the MOBE coalition? Consider these facts:

The following are some of the many persons, all identified or professed Communists, who were associated with the Cleveland Anti-War Conference at which New MOBE was ostensibly formed and/or are now serving New MOBE in one capacity or another:

Arnold Johnson, legislative representative and public relations director of the Communist Party, who was imprisoned for conspiring to overthrow the United States, and who has been with MOBE since its founding three years ago; Prof. Sidney Peck of Case-Western Reserve University, a veteran MOBE official; Irving Sarnoff, leader of the Peace Action Council in California, who has served on the District Council of the Southern California CP; Otto Nathan, who was denied a passport by the State Department some years ago on the grounds he had been a party member in Germany and invoked the Fifth Amendment in 1956 rather than tell a Congressional Committee if he was then a party member; Jack Spiegel of the Chicago Peace Council, who has run for public office on the CP ticket; Leroy Wolins, leader of the Veterans for Peace in Vietnam; Dorothy Hayes, active in the Womens International League for Peace and Freedom and Women Strike for Peace; Phil Bart, long associated with the Daily Worker who is now chairman of the Ohio CP; Ishmael Flory of the Afro-American Heritage Association in Chicago; also ILWU official Louis Goldblatt and party members such as Ben Friedlander, Hershel Walker, Orville Leach, Elliot Waxman and Anne Braden.

The Communist Party's youth group, the Du Bois Clubs, are represented by Gene Tournour, their national secretary, and by Jay Schaffner and Marc Beallor.

Dave Dellinger, veteran MOBE official, held the key post of coordinator of the Washington-San Francisco November demonstrations. Dellinger is often described as a pacifist, though he told the HCUA last year he is not one and has stated (in May, 1963) that he is a Communist, but not of the Soviet variety.

The Trotskyist Communists, rivals and generally more radical, are represented by their long-time leader, Fred Halstead, and also by Harry Ring, Lew Jones and Gus Horowitz. Their youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance, has an official voice in running New MOBE through Larry Slegle, its national chairman and editor of the YSA magazine, Young Socialist, also in Peter Vinther, Allan Myers, and Carol Lipman, all of whom serve on New MOBE's steering committee.

Key MOBE leaders, it is important to remember, have been frequent visitors to foreign Communist capitals such as Hanoi, Havana, Prague and Moscow. Examples are Dellinger; Tom Hayden; Rennie Davis and Prof. Robert Greenblatt are two others.

Greenblatt, a New MOBE steering committee member, went to Europe last year where he met with Viet Cong and North Vietnamese agents. He carried with him a note of introduction from Tom Hayden, MOBE's Chicago Democratic Convention project co-director, to Col. Lau of the North Vietnamese army, who was deputy chief of Ho Chi Minh's Paris negotiators at the time. The letter explained that Greenblatt had just returned from Hanoi, that he was a National MOBE coordinator, worked closely with Dellinger and Hayden and would be in Paris for a few days in case there were "any pressing questions" Col. Lau might want to discuss with him. Hayden, who had first met Lau in Hanoi, closed his note to Lau with these words: "Good fortune! Victory!"

"The task before the New MOBE is very clear," says New Mobilizer, the VMC voice; in addition to demanding the "immediate and unconditional" withdrawal of all U.S. forces in Vietnam, it must further insist that there be "no future wars of intervention at home or abroad against oppressed and exploited people who are asserting their rights of self-determination in the quest for human liberation."

Translated from Communist jargon that means: the Communist revolution in Vietnam (aided by North Vietnam, Peking and Moscow) must be allowed to succeed, and the United States must never again intervene to prevent the success of any Communist revolution anywhere—even here in this country.

New MOBE considered Moratorium Day and other Washington actions in the Fall Offensive so important that it moved its national headquarters from New York to the nation's capital to be on the scene and in the best possible position to lend assistance. It rented space in the same building with the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, on the floor immediately above its offices.

What does New MOBE think of the United States?

"American society has become a death machine . . .

"The Death Machine is not a gigantic accident—it has operators and they make a profit. They make a profit from not making automobiles safe, not ending air and water pollution, not feeding the poor, not cleaning up the coal mines . . .

"We must rescue the nation from the war-maker . . . this is only a small part of a long-term effort to create a society committed to Life and Freedom."

For anyone who might be puzzled about what is meant by a society "committed to Life and Freedom," the Communists in MOBE could spell out what precisely those words mean. Obviously, it would not include profit.

#### NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE VERSUS STUDENT MOBE—SDS PLAY ROLES IN RADICAL ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, usually referred to as the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) or "Student MOBE," describes itself as "the national organization of all high school and college students who are united in uncompromising struggle against the war in Vietnam."

Unlike the Vietnam Moratorium Committee (VMC) it does not mince words in proclaiming precisely what it stands for: "Our program is clear and straightforward. We are for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of ALL U.S. troops from Vietnam."

Student MOBE's prime role in the Fall Offensive was to organize a national student strike against the war on Nov. 14, the second day of the November Moratorium and the same day New MOBE began its March Against Death in Washington.

Student MOBE grew out of a proposal made by Bettina Aptheker of Berkeley Free Speech Movement fame that a nationwide student strike against the war be held in 1966. Daughter of the Communist Party's chief theoretician, she was a professed party member herself at the time and was elected to the Party's National Committee in June, 1966. She promoted her strike concept at the 1966 SDS national convention and in publications and gatherings of the Communist Party's youth group, the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America. Her organizing efforts led to the issuance of a formal "call" to a student strike conference which was held in Chicago in December, 1966.

The conference organizers, Bettina Aptheker and other Communists among them, made no secret of the fact that the full spectrum of Communist groups in the United

States was represented at the gathering. To those attending, it was also obvious that the representatives of these groups played key roles in the proceedings.

Among them were: the Communist Party USA and its youth organization, the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs; the Progressive Labor Party, which represents the Chinese wing of the U.S. Communist movement; the Socialist Workers Party, the Trotskyist Communist organization, and its youth arm, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). Youth Against War and Fascism, the youth group of a Trotskyist splinter movement, the Workers World Party, was also present. Students for a Democratic Society and various Communist front organizations were also represented.

Bettina Aptheker's strike proposal failed to win approval at the meeting—primarily because the delegates doubted they were capable of successfully organizing a national strike in the near future. Student MOBE, however, was born at this conference.

Since its formation, Student MOBE has served as the right arm of the name-changing adult MOBE, organizing student support for Vietnam Week, the Pentagon confrontation, etc. It has also undertaken various projects of its own—on April, 1968, student strike against the war, for example, in which it claims (with great exaggeration) that about one million took part.

It boasts of its past harassment of President Johnson. "We demonstrated wherever Johnson went until the antiwar movement forced Johnson to go everywhere unannounced."

Now President Nixon is its target. "We have announced our plans to do the same to Nixon. There will be no peace for Nixon until all the troops are brought home." (*Italic indicates bold type in original.*)

In announcing its "No Peace for Nixon Campaign" on Sept. 29, SMC promised to demonstrate at every public appearance the President made until he directed a complete, immediate and unqualified withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam.

Students MOBE also promotes antiwar agitation and propaganda within the armed forces. For this purpose, it has formed the GI Press Service, edited by Allan Myers, a SMC member, former serviceman, and a member of the Trotskyist Young Socialist Alliance who also serves on New MOBE's steering committee.

From birth, Student Mobe has been a united front organization, a combine of various groups, many openly Communist, uniting their efforts to draw as many youths as possible into the anti-Vietnam War movement. About a year and a half ago, however, an important change took place. As a result of a long-simmering feud, the CP element walked out in a huff, leaving the young "Trots" in command. As J. Edgar Hoover stated earlier this year, Student MOBE "is controlled by members of the Young Socialist Alliance, the youth group of the Socialist Workers Party."

Carol Lipman, SMC executive secretary, is the key to YSA control of Student MOBE. A leading YSA member, she serves on the editorial board of Young Socialist, the group's official publication. Miss Lipman also serves on the steering committee of New MOBE.

Student MOBE held an antiwar conference in Cleveland on July 6 of this year, the day immediately following New MOBE's gathering. At this conference, according to the Militant, the Trotskyist Communist newspaper, it voted to enter "into building the fall antiwar offensive" which was described as "an ambitious plan to build the most massive and intense series of antiwar actions yet."

An interesting development took place at this conference. SDS has generally kept itself aloof from formal cooperation with the

activities of Student MOBE and similar groups in recent years, although it has permitted its local chapters and individual members to participate on their own if they so desire. An SDS delegation appeared at SMC's Cleveland conference, however, interrupted the proceedings by chanting "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh" and "Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win," and then marched up to the podium and took over the microphone.

The SDSers harangued the other delegates for about 15 minutes.

In a more cooperative mood, the Student MOBEers, at the request of the SDS delegation, added an SDS workshop to their agenda.

The Student MOBE conference voted to work on a fall offensive that coincided, point-by-point, with the Fall Offensive approved by New MOBE the day before.

Recounting the action taken at Student MOBE's Cleveland meeting regarding the various operations in the Fall Offensive, the Militant reported: "SMC will also help build the nationwide moratorium against the war, planned by the Vietnam Moratorium Committee for Oct. 15; leaders of SMC and the Moratorium Committee agreed to cooperate in getting the participation of hundreds of thousands of students."

How strong is Student MOBE? How big a role did it play in turning out students for Moratorium Day? It is difficult to say and no one knows exactly. Carol Lipman has claimed SMC has about 1,500 branches. On the other hand, Don Gurewitz, 23-year-old SMC organizer and Case-Western Reserve grad, has given the number of local branches as 1,000—and that may be an exaggeration.

Student MOBE, like New MOBE, moved from New York to Washington to be where the key action in the Fall Offensive would take place.

Carol Lipman, Student MOBE's executive secretary, addressed two Oct. 15 Moratorium gatherings—the Wayne State University and Detroit citywide rallies. She called the President a liar and added:

"We will force Nixon's abdication like we forced Johnson's abdication. . . . There will be no peace for you, Mr. President, until . . . all our men are home."

She also had a reply to the Vice President's statement that Moratorium leaders and sponsors should repudiate the message of support from the premier of North Vietnam: "No, Mr. Vice President Agnew, we won't repudiate the message. . . . We welcome the message."

If you wonder about the violence that took place in Washington Nov. 14 and 15, consider what one of its own members has said about the nature of the Young Socialist Alliance whose members, as Student MOBEers, turned out en masse for the "actions" on those days.

YSA member Jose Rudder, by his own admission, is a former member of the Du Bois Clubs and their parent organization, the Communist Party. He left them "greatly disillusioned about the whole left." Then he began to read the literature of the YSA and its parent body, the Socialist Workers Party. He came to this conclusion:

"I was a Marxist, a Communist, and I believed in the revolution. . . . The only organization that I could see that was concerned about . . . seeing the revolution take place in this country was the YSA. So I decided to join."

There have been two significant changes in Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) since its informal participation in Vietnam Week, 1967.

First, Communist penetration of the organization, particularly by the Peking-oriented Progressive Labor Party (PLP), has become more and more evident. At the June, 1969, SDS convention, the PLP made an unsuccessful bid to take over the organization.

This led to the splintering of SDS into two factions, the more radical Weathermen group and the Revolutionary Youth Movement II. The PLP element, now known as SDS-PL, was expelled and is now a separate group with its headquarters in Boston.

The second change in SDS has been a marked trend toward violence, particularly destructive by explosives. SDSers in a number of areas have been arrested for bombings and one is now on the FBI's most wanted list for blowing up high voltage towers supplying power to a Colorado plant manufacturing helicopter armor and missile parts.

In the FBI's annual report for fiscal 1969, J. Edgar Hoover wrote: "The militant core of New Left extremism is the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). During the last year, this group has reflected an ever-increasing Marxist-Leninist revolutionary posture. Several SDS leaders publicly identified themselves as revolutionary Communists. The SDS openly espouses the overthrow of our institutions of free society (called the 'Establishment') through violent revolutionary action. Never before in American history has there been such a strong revolutionary Marxist movement of young people so eager to tear down established authority."

SDS delegations took part in the Cleveland conferences on both New and Student MOBE, where the actions in the Fall Offensive were planned.

An SDS delegation also spent eight days conferring with Viet Cong agents in Havana early last July. The Vietnam war was a major topic of discussion. The delegation came back to this country resolved "to establish another front against imperialism right here in America—to 'bring the war home.'"

The one action SDS was responsible for in the Fall Offensive, the Oct. 8-11 demonstrations in Chicago, were carried out under the slogan "Bring The War Home!" As expected, the action was marked by destruction, violence, injury and scores of arrests. In a brutal attack, one SDSer broke the neck of a Chicago city attorney. He has been charged, among other things, with attempted murder.

The violence was primarily the work of the ultraradical Weathermen faction of SDS. It was denounced by the Revolutionary Youth Movement II and the Black Panthers and Young Lords, who had also taken part in the action.

SDS is a problem to the other Fall Offensive groups. The Vietnam Moratorium Committee, rejecting violence and the concept of revolution accepted by others in the coalition, is naturally wary of SDS and has been denounced by it as "counterrevolutionary."

The dominant Communist elements in both New and Student MOBE are more concerned about SDS' stand-offishness, its refusal to cooperate with other organizations. They are also annoyed by the tendency of the Weathermen faction to engage in what they consider senseless and counterproductive violence.

The CP newspaper, the Daily World, published an editorial "Memo to SDS" shortly after the October Moratorium. It criticized SDS for "looking on from the sidelines" at "the very moment of the greatest mass turnout . . . for peace and against imperialism." It also hit SDS for its useless, damaging, "thoughtless" tactics and closed with these words:

"In the coming struggles . . . the masses of American working men and women could use your help and support. Think it over."

SDS' size has been an important factor in the yearning for its help. It is by far the largest of the New Left groups (claiming 40,000 members in some 250 chapters) and its membership greatly exceeds that of any Communist party or front in the country.

SDS participation in any "mass" Left-Communist demonstration is still important to an impressive showing.

As was true in the case of past MOBE mass demonstrations, individual members and chapters of SDS turned out with a will for the November actions. Even the Weathermen gave their formal cooperation—and promised no violence. Amazingly, their promise was believed by some officials.

For legal and public relations purposes, MOBE officials have always said they want peaceful, orderly demonstrations. They said that about the Democratic Convention last year and repeatedly said the same thing about the Washington-San Francisco November actions this year. Yet they never told SDS to stay away and actually, through the Daily World and Guardian, pleaded for its turnout.

#### NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE VI: MORATORIUM COMMITTEE SEEN AS NAIVE, VULNERABLE

The Vietnam Moratorium Committee (VMC) is the babe-in-the-woods of the Fall Offensive, both from the point of view of its existence as an organization and the age of its leaders.

It was formed in June of this year. Two of its four leaders are 26-year-olds; one is 24 and another, the lone female, is 23.

Sam Brown has been the group's chief spokesman. His fellow VMC founders and coordinators are David Hawk, David Mixner and Marge Skenclar.

Brown and Hawk are ex-divinity students (Harvard and Union Theological, respectively). Brown, Mixner and Skenclar worked in Sen. Eugene McCarthy's '68 campaign, and both Brown and Skenclar in the "Dump Johnson" movement. Brown, Mixner and Skenclar have held positions with the National Student Association (Brown is currently on its National Supervisory Board). Brown and Skenclar were active in the 1967 anti-Viet war operation called Vietnam Summer.

In his latest book, Theodore White, the recorder of recent presidential campaigns, quotes Brown as saying:

"We've recognized the true nature of the United States. We saw the United States attack Cuba, it attacked the Dominican Republic, it attacked South Vietnam. The Communists are now a fragmented force; the United States is now the great imperialist-aggressor nation in the world."

That is not a pro-Communist statement. It indicates a distaste for imperialism and aggression and, at least indirectly, recognizes that Communist powers have been imperialists and aggressors in the past. Nevertheless it is a demonstrably false statement—a reflection on Brown's knowledge and thus on those who follow his policy recommendations.

More damaging to Brown is a statement made by Dr. Martin Abend (Metromedia TV news commentator), in his Oct. 12 broadcast. Dr. Abend, also a professor of political geography at New Jersey State College, said that Sam Brown favors a Communist victory in Vietnam.

Brown's pro-Viet Cong views, Dr. Abend believes, explain his "keen interest" in having the United States pull out of Vietnam immediately and unconditionally.

As previously mentioned, Brown and Marge Skenclar were associated with the 1967 Vietnam Summer project, another anti-Viet war operation that was supported by a varied assortment of radicals and leftists that included Lee Webb, former national secretary of SDS; Mike Ansara of Harvard SDS, and Richard Fernandez, who has served as sponsor, treasurer and steering committee member of Mobe in various phases of its transition from "November 8" to "Spring," "National," etc.

President Nixon's statement that U.S. pol-

icy regarding Vietnam would not be influenced by the Moratorium or other street demonstrations Brown found "deeply disturbing." It was "surely unintended," the President "cannot mean" what he said. It was "distressing . . . the degree of isolation" it reflected, a "rigid stance" and he surely hoped the President would not "further isolate" himself from the American people.

David Hawk, Brown's right-hand man, was an All-American diver at Cornell where he obtained a B.A. degree in social sciences before going on to Union Theological Seminary for a time. He did voter registration work in Hattiesburg, Miss., and also helped organize the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party which challenged the regular Democratic Party delegation's seat at the Atlantic City convention.

He worked for SNCC again in Georgia in 1966—voter registration work and organizing a tenant's union in a low-cost housing project.

Though Stokely Carmichael was prominent in Students Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) at this time and engaged in inflammatory racial agitation, Hawk says he did not know him.

Earlier this year, working on the staff of the National Student Association (NSA), Hawk organized a draft resistance campaign among campus leaders. The result of his work became evident on April 22 with the public release of a letter addressed to President Nixon and signed by over 250 student body presidents and campus newspaper editors from 190 colleges and universities.

The letter proclaimed the signers would refuse to be drafted, even if it meant going to jail. They could see no justification for the war in Vietnam. Therefore their "integrity and conscience" would not permit them to accept military service.

Hawk admitted to me that he had worked on this project on NSA time and using NSA facilities. I asked if there had been formal NSA approval of it. He said there had not been but that NSA had adopted a resolution against the draft three years ago. When I asked if the resolution approved defiance of the draft, he said it did not. "But it clearly gave a mandate for the letter," he claimed. He pointed out that the letter was not illegal—just saying you will defy the draft at some future time is not a crime.

Hawk had been indicted for refusing to report for induction earlier this year. Recently, a pretrial motion to dismiss the charges against him was rejected.

Like Brown, Hawk has a problem seeing integrity or good in the U.S. government. The present draft law admittedly contains inequities. Congress has been wrestling to reform it for years. Yet when the President announced new draft reform measures, temporary draft suspensions, and additional Vietnam troop withdrawals in September, Hawk saw these only as a "cynical and calculated attempt to fool the public."

VMC is against more than the war in Vietnam. It has advocated a general assault on this country's over-all defense organization. Its July 8 letter to government summer interns said that while they worked to build up support for the October Moratorium "other antiwar activities . . . will, of course, continue."

What "other" activities? The letter spelled them out—"against the draft, ROTC, ABM, CBW, counter-insurgency research, and so on."

David Hawk announced on Oct. 9 that VMC would distribute throughout the services a GI Referendum which would ask servicemen this question: "Should the United States bring the rest of the GIs home from Vietnam now?"

The full story of this VMC effort to promote antiwar propaganda and agitation with-

in the Armed Services has not been told. Here it is:

On Sept. 29, the VMC addressed a letter to "GI Newspaper Editors," bringing the Fall Offensive and Moratorium Day to their attention and asking their help in organizing GI participation in a "recurring moratorium." The Oct. 15 demonstration, the letter pointed out, would help build a two-day moratorium in November and give the GIs the chance to focus "legal opposition" to the war on military bases.

"We realize that GIs cannot go on strike," the letter said. It also pointed out that a recent DOD directive banned antiwar meetings as such. Therefore, it suggested, say the directive is not clear and ask permission to hold a basewide meeting to discuss GI constitutional rights in the light of the directive. Ask the commanding officer or one of his subordinates to address the meeting—and put him on first if the invitation is accepted.

"Call Us Collect," VMC said, for legal help and outside civilian support if you have trouble getting permission. If permission is denied, let us know and we will try to arrange an off-base meeting. If a meeting is approved: "We suggest that this meeting be an open forum for ideas on what GIs can legally do to protest the war. Be sure to start by covering exactly what are your rights . . ."

"Certainly you will want to discuss the calendar for the 'Fall Offensive' and provide literature about events scheduled in the next two months. We will see that this information and material is provided."

A list of suggested on-base actions followed: pass base resolutions on the war; see chaplain to get a CO application; change insurance beneficiaries to include a "peace" organization; send telegrams to government officials; hold a fast; boycott products of "right-wing," "pro-war" companies (Schick Razor, which has given free razors to servicemen, was named as an example). Finally, there was this suggestion:

"Cancel those damn savings bonds."

VMC's GI Referendum ballots, the letter said, would be returned to Seaman Roger Priest. Priest faces a general court-martial on charges of soliciting servicemen to desert and commit sedition, and promoting disloyalty and disaffection in the armed services. The charges are based on articles published in his "underground" GI newspaper, OM, The Serviceman's Newsletter.

I asked Hawk what GI newspapers the VMC letter had been sent to. Hawk replied, "All of them; as many as there are." What kind of papers? The underground ones. Where did he get the names? Answer: From Carl Rogers, of Servicemens LINK to Peace, "a good friend of ours who works downstairs."

What is Servicemens LINK to Peace? I was told, "it helps GIs in incidents—like the Priest defense, publicity and so on."

Hawk indicated a copy of the GI Referendum ballot pasted on the wall. I noted that it did not have VMC's name on it. Hawk agreed.

Carl Rogers is on the Steering Committee of Mobilization Committee to End the War (New MOBE) as head of Servicemens LINK to Peace, one of MOBE's newly acquired "GI organizations." He is also the head of a group called the Committee for the Presidio '27, set up to defend military prisoners in the stockade at San Francisco's Presidio who were accused of mutiny. Both of these organizations have their headquarters at 1029 Vermont Ave. in Washington, the same building that houses VMC, NMC and SMC.

The "underground" GI newspapers to which VMC mailed its referendum are not, like the civilian type, largely pornographic. They fall into the "political" and subversive class—filled with antiwar propaganda of the type disseminated in Roger Priest's OM.

Student MOBE's GI Press Service, run by

the young Trotskyist, Allan Myers, recently circulated a list of these "GI Antiwar Papers." There were 42 on the list, most of them distributed from post office boxes near military bases. Four were published abroad. Myers is on the New MOBE steering committee with Hawk and Rogers.

It was Rogers who arranged a meeting between Hawk, a score or so of other VMC workers and Sen. Goodell in a New York apartment last Sept. 13. The result: the introduction of Sen. Goodell's resolution calling for the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam by the end of 1970. Hawk said he and Rogers were the only New MOBE representatives at the meeting.

On a recent visit to New MOBE headquarters I was told 100 organizations had joined the organization, despite the fact that New MOBE leaders have been reported as claiming only 60.

When I went to see David Hawk I knew that New and Student MOBE had made a big push for Oct. 15.

In addition to the thousands of leaflets, brochures and posters distributed, New Mobilizer had features advance articles on Moratorium Day by VMC leaders such as David Mixner and Marge Skenclear. The Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, their youth groups and other Communist organizations affiliated with New MOBE had also gone all-out for Moratorium Day.

Published reports that VMC had its own organizers in the East but had used MOBE organizers in the West and Midwest were mentioned and Hawk was asked how many New MOBE organizers VMC had used.

His reply contradicted his earlier claim that MOBE organizers had not made any difference: "It's not like theirs and ours . . . in the big cities MOBE has the old sectarian left groups . . . a lot of the New MOBE groups are on the Moratorium steering committee and on MOBE's so the same people—Clergy and Laymen Concerned and Women Strike for Peace—are working for the Moratorium Committee . . . Most organizers worked for both."

Hawk said the VMC founders had come to Washington with an organizing list of 15,000—Kennedy and McCarthy businessmen and contacts, people who had worked for causes, etc. They, too, had been used. But it was clear that MOBE organizers and Communist MOBE organizations had played a very important role in promoting the Oct. 15 turnout.

This was emphasized at a later point when Hawk was asked about the question of Communist influence in MOBE and the Fall Offensive. He deprecated the influence of the Communist Party.

"They don't really have any control. That comes from groups that bring prestige, influence, money."

"Which ones?"

"Women Strike for Peace, Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam, SANE, New Democratic Coalition, Student MOBE . . ."

"You say Student MOBE has prestige, influence, money?" I interrupted.

"They have numbers. They can produce," Hawk replied.

When Sam Brown was asked about VMC association with Student MOBE on "Face the Nation," he replied: "We have no association with the Student Mobilization Committee."

Hawk was asked whether he considered Communists enemies of, or a danger to, this country and if he believed in working with them. He answered:

"We do not recognize New MOBE as Communist, nor is Student MOBE, though it is true that the Communist Party of the U.S., which is defunct and harmless, more conservative than most New Left groups, has one vote on the steering committee of 70 members (of New MOBE). That is the extent of Communist input in New MOBE."

The issue of communism is "irrelevant; it's an attempt to slander the patriotism of those against war."

What about the Trotskyist influence added to the CP, doesn't that concern you?

"Concern, yes, sure . . . But there's much overlap in the group. New MOBE's center of gravity is a bit to the left of us. Some in New MOBE do not believe in electoral politics. Our center of gravity is people who believe in electoral politics."

When talking about Communist influence in the Fall Offensive, I asked Hawk whether he thought the Soviet Union, Red China and North Vietnam were enemies and a danger.

"I don't see any danger from Russia. It's not about to attack us." But he agreed world powers "always compete."

The Moratorium Committee, like New MOBE, has denounced the November violence and said it was not responsible for it.

But this does not clear it of blame for the damages and personal injury to young demonstrators, many of whom were enticed into going to Washington and San Francisco through its earlier Moratorium organizing efforts and subsequent direct appeals.

Immediately after the October Moratorium there were press reports that serious doubt existed about VMC support for New MOBE's November actions because of the presence of "radicals" in MOBE. It was difficult to believe them. There had been such close ties between the groups and VMC owed so much to SMC and NMC for their help that if they did not reciprocate, they would have been denied any further assistance for future moratoriums, which would hurt VMC badly. Not surprisingly, the alleged doubt was resolved by a VMC decision to help MOBE.

On Oct. 28, VMC sent a letter to its organizers, affiliates and "friends" announcing that the November Moratorium would take place on the 13th and 14th. The letter called attention to New MOBE's March Against Death and added that "Many supporters of the moratorium will be participating in this solemn event."

VMC persisted in its support of New MOBE's Washington action even after it became known that the Weathermen faction of SDS and other violence-prone and revolutionary groups would take part in it.

#### ESTABLISHMENT OF HOUSE ENVIRONMENT COMMITTEE URGED

### HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, increasingly, our society is recognizing that the 1970's will be the decade in which we must take action to restore and preserve our environment.

To adequately treat only water pollution will require national expenditures of \$30 billion, according to the Federal "Cost of Clean Water" study, and that estimate is just for a 5-year period.

Every year in America we throw away over 30 million tons of paper, 4 million tons of plastics, 48 billion cans, and 26 billion bottles.

It has been stated that if all forms of pollution were to be treated, the combined municipal, State, Federal, industrial, and private expenditures would cost at least \$10 billion per year for 20 years or \$200 billion by 1990.

The cost will be great and the ener-

gies the Congress must focus on the problem must also be great. For this reason, I am cosponsoring a resolution to establish a Standing Committee on Environment in the House of Representatives. The committee would be vested with legislative responsibility for water quality, air quality, weather modification, solid waste disposal, pesticides, herbicides, and acoustic pollution.

As the House committees are organized today, air pollution is considered separate from water pollution, and other vital facets of our environmental pollution is one great problem with many different aspects. It makes little sense to remove foul chemicals from the air and put them in the water.

The committee system has the great advantage of being able to encourage expertise in specific problems. One of the greatest problems facing us is the maintenance of our ecology, and only a permanent standing committee can adequately and efficiently handle it.

#### HEALTH CARE

### HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, December 4, in remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I called for increases in Federal support for programs of medical research and education and health services to avert a threatened crisis in health care in this Nation.

In that speech I outlined a six-point program which would provide the absolute minimum funding needed at a cost of only \$263 million, less than the Nation invested in the one moon shot last month.

Since that time I have received expressions of support from leading health professionals throughout the United States. Each of these underscores the grave damage that the recent Federal cutbacks will do to health programs in this country.

Congress is now in the process of making the final decisions on the funding of the various health programs and I believe that it is important to do so with full awareness of the serious issues at stake. For that reason on December 9 I placed in the RECORD 21 statements that I had received from health professionals. Today I am placing in the RECORD an additional 23 statements, which I commend to my colleagues' attention:

#### EXPRESSIONS OF SUPPORT FOR PROGRAMS OF MEDICAL RESEARCH

ROBERT J. GLASER, M.D., DEAN, SCHOOL OF MEDICINE, STANFORD UNIVERSITY MEDICAL CENTER, STANFORD, CALIF.

Thanks so much for your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy of the remarks that you are to deliver on the Floor of the House on December 4. I read them with great interest, and found myself much encouraged to know that you are putting forth a major effort to try to convince your colleagues of the need for providing adequate support for medical education and medical care. I think the term "pound foolish" is an absolutely correct one in respect to the present attitude toward the

support of medical schools and teaching hospitals. At a time when the health care demands are mounting steadily, it is essential that our medical schools be adequately supported. In fact, at this point in time we are being cut back badly, and unless something is done to rectify the situation, I see grave concern for the future. Even with adequate help in the way of financial support, the task before us is monumental.

JOSEPH R. D'PALMA, M.D., DEAN, THE HAHN-MANN MEDICAL COLLEGE AND HOSPITAL OF PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Your remarks made on December 4th, 1969 concerning "Cut Backs in Federal Health Programs" are most appropriate. The situation in most medical schools with regards to financing is rapidly becoming a bankrupt situation. Unless help comes soon from the Federal Government we will be forced to cut back on our programs. This will mean scientist and teachers out of work, less production of medical personnel and an inferior product. You have my complete endorsement. Keep up the good work.

CAMPBELL MOSES, M.D., MEDICAL DIRECTOR, AMERICAN HEART ASSOCIATION, INC., NEW YORK, N.Y.

I greatly appreciated the advance copy of your remarks made on the floor of the House on Thursday, December 4. I couldn't agree with them more—they were well-done.

MRS. NANCY A. PERSILY, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE DEAN, MOUNT SIANI SCHOOL OF MEDICINE, NEW YORK, N.Y.

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of the speech that you will deliver to the House of Representatives on December 4th, 1969. I regret that my comments will probably not reach you by the time you deliver your remarks, since Thanksgiving weekend must have held up the mail delivery: I just received your commentary: I am most impressed with your analysis of our Health Care crisis and the priorities that you have set in dealing with our health crisis. As a representative of a new medical school, I am of course, very sensitive to the comments that you have made about the need for more money to be channelled into the schools that have begun over the last decade or so. It is most important to emphasize the fact that there was tremendous pressure to build new schools of medicine and other allied health professions. The Federal Government was, of course, the one to put so much pressure on the States and private universities, to build these institutions, and should have assumed a substantial responsibility in supporting these new developing programs. However, just as these new schools were beginning—when their start-up costs were highest, the Federal Government rescinded many of its promises for funding, thus placing them in the critical position they are in today. Your analysis of the need for more allied health professionals and the definitive proposal for more student aid are two exceedingly important things included in your statement. Giving money for teachers to *teach* is by far one of your most important thoughts. Every medical school has had the problem of knowing that the money they receive for research purposes will be going towards teaching purposes. Every school does it, every school knows that every school does it, and even the Federal Government knows that this is true, and still this is the only way that medical schools are able to receive any funds for the purposes of the education of their students. This is certainly an inequity and in many ways indeed a fraud. I think that your statement which puts the cards on the table is indeed a most important one.

SPURGEON B. EURE, O.D., PRESIDENT, ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES OF OPTOMETRY

I have recently reviewed your remarks entitled "Pound Foolish", and find them to be right on target. Your examples are well taken

and certainly are true of all professions under the health care scheme. If the Federal programs were cut back, or in reality, purchasing power of our present grants is reduced, I'm afraid that many professional schools would have to close. This could be the case of Southern College of Optometry, which graduates approximately 20% of all the optometrists in the nation.

MICHAEL E. DEBAKEY, M.D., BAYLOR COLLEGE OF MEDICINE, HOUSTON, TEX.

Thank you for your letter of November 26, 1969, and the opportunity to review the remarks you will make on the Floor of the House Thursday, December 4, 1969, concerning the deplorable cutbacks in Federal programs. This excellent presentation is most convincing.

PIERRE M. GALLETI, M.D., PH. D., CHAIRMAN, DIVISION OF BIOLOGICAL AND MEDICAL SCIENCES, BROWN UNIVERSITY, PROVIDENCE, R.I.

Thank you for the advance copy of your remarks to be given on the Floor of the House. I congratulate you on your generous and farsighted intervention, particularly in reference to an increase in institutional funding, loans and scholarships, and support for training of health professionals other than physicians.

F. C. PANNILL, M.D., DEAN, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS MEDICAL SCHOOL AT SAN ANTONIO, SAN ANTONIO, TEX.

Thank you for the courtesy of sending me an advance copy of the remarks that you will make on December 4. I wish to congratulate you for your thoughtful and provocative presentation of a problem that has faced medical school administrators for the last several months. As a new school of medicine in its second year of operation, our growth and progress have been seriously inhibited by the curtailment in federal funds which occurred at the same period of time. It is reassuring to have had the opportunity to review your remarks and please let me know if I may provide you with any additional information which might be helpful in pursuing this matter further.

BERNARD J. CONWAY, ASSISTANT EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, LEGAL AFFAIRS, AMERICAN DENTAL ASSOCIATION, CHICAGO, ILL.

The American Dental Association commends you for your strong statement on the need to expand federal support for health research and health profession education grants. Your remarks in the December 4 issue of the *Congressional Record* present an irrefutable justification for Congress to appropriate the maximum authorized for educational grants and at least a 10 per cent increase over fiscal 1969 for research grants. The Association recently presented testimony before the Senate on appropriations for dental activities in HEW. I am enclosing a copy of that testimony to illustrate particularly the severe problems facing the dental schools because of inadequate financial support.

CLIFFORD G. GRULEE, JR., M.D., DEAN, COLLEGE OF MEDICINE, UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI, CINCINNATI, OHIO

I sincerely appreciated your courtesy in sending me a copy of your remarks to be presented on December 4th. Just as I began to dictate this note to you one of my most respected departmental chairmen called to discuss the devastating impact that federal cutbacks were already having on his department. We are wondering how we will maintain the integrity of some of the teams of investigator teachers that have been so vital in our programs of all sorts in recent years. As a medical educator, I deeply appreciate the position you are taking in speaking out concerning our needs at a time when the nation is demanding increased output of health manpower, and when it should be continuing to demand the type of research out-

put that I consider to be essential to the future.

GARY L. FILERMAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY PROGRAMS IN HOSPITAL ADMINISTRATION, CHICAGO, ILL.

I am writing to acknowledge with thanks the copy of your speech on Federal support for medical research and health services presented on the floor of the House on December 4, 1969, which you were kind enough to send to us. The presentation is effective and very much to the point of many of our concerns. We are particularly hopeful that Congress will develop a recognition of the importance of developing a profession of hospital administration in order to bring more effective management to these institutions in which the vast majority of the nation's health professionals work. Federal support for hospital and health care administration education is very small at the present time and a further reduction would be contrary to every national effort to improve the management of expensive and scarce health resources. So your interests and efforts are to be commended.

FRANK R. LEMON, M.D., ASSOCIATE DEAN, CONTINUING EDUCATION, COLLEGE OF MEDICINE, UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY, LEXINGTON, KY.

I have just finished reading a copy of your remarks to be made on the floor of the House, Thursday, December 4, 1969. You certainly have made a succinct statement of the major problems facing medical education and the imbalance in our national priorities to the approach to the problems of health. I was particularly pleased, as an epidemiologist formerly active in the tobacco and health field, to see your inclusion of remarks regarding the absurdity with which our nation supports the production of this noxious substance as compared with its efforts to eliminate major diseases caused by that same substance. The dispatch with which the government acted in regard to cyclamate, based upon infinitesimal evidence, is in stark contrast. Thank you again. We do need your support. Medicine and medical care is in my opinion going to be irreparably injured unless there is some early change in the bleak financial outlook.

HAMILTON B. G. ROBINSON, SCHOOL OF DENTISTRY, UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI-KANSAS CITY, KANSAS CITY, MO.

Thank you for sending me a copy of your remarks on the Floor of the House on Thursday, December 4th. I am in complete agreement with the need for full funding in the areas of health manpower. I certainly would not limit this to medical education or even to medical and dental education but to the health manpower throughout medicine, dentistry, nursing and the other health related areas. The Federation of Associations of the Schools of the Health Professions is greatly interested in full funding for the health manpower programs and its current Chairman, Dr. Myron Wegman, so testified at the Senate on December 3rd. On December 2nd I appeared before the Appropriations Committee of the Senate to present the needs in dental manpower and dental health for the American Dental Association and the American Association of Dental Schools. We hope that you will continue your activities on behalf of full funding for health manpower, health research and health services.

EMANUEL SUTER, M.D., DEAN, COLLEGE OF MEDICINE, UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA, GAINESVILLE, FLA.

Your remarks to be made on the floor of the House on Thursday, December 4 regarding medical research and health services certainly emphasize some of the important omissions creeping into our planning and budgetary processes with increasing rapidity. As do you, I feel our entire system of medical research in education is threatened without

offering any constructive alternative solutions. Although we all realize certain things should be done differently, we would only destroy the old structure once a new structure has been planned or implemented. As far as specific recommendations are concerned, I believe they would help to take care of some of the difficulties. In addition, however, it is most important that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare prepare a well thought out ten-year plan for the development of health services and health education—hopefully reaching the objective established a few years ago of providing first rate and equal health care to all citizens.

RULON W. RAWSON, M.D., DEAN OF MEDICINE AND VICE PRESIDENT, AND ERICH HIRSCHBERG, PH. D., ASSOCIATE DEAN FOR RESEARCH, NEW JERSEY COLLEGE OF MEDICINE AND DENTISTRY, NEWARK, N.J.

Thank you so much for sending us an advance copy of remarks you plan to make on the floor of the House tomorrow, December 4, 1969. We strongly support your efforts to reverse the present trend of cutting back Federal support for medical education and research. The significant decreases in funding in all categories, particularly research grants, student loans, and other operational funds, are particularly damaging to the efforts of the more recently established medical schools, such as ours, which do not have broad endowments or large boards of affluent alumni. It is evident, however, that even in the best established medical schools the current fiscal restrictions at the Federal level present a clear and present danger to the maintenance of the educational and investigative efforts which have in the past led to such significant advances in the solution of major health problems in our country. We are greatly encouraged to have so eloquent and well informed a spokesman fighting the good fight for us in the halls of Congress. We hope your efforts to maintain at least present funding for both medical education and biomedical research receive wide support among your colleagues.

EDMUND J. M'TERNAN, DEAN, SCHOOL OF ALLIED HEALTH PROFESSIONS, STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, STONY BROOK, N.Y.

I have just had the opportunity to read the remarks which you made on the Floor of the House on December 4, 1969 relating to the disastrous effects of Federal spending cutbacks in the field of health. I heartily concur with your statements and appreciate your courage in bringing this matter to the attention of the Congress at this point in time. As an educator concerned with the personnel-short and explosively growing Allied Health field, I especially appreciate the fact that you included Allied Health by name in your comments. On January 1, 1970, I will end my term as a member of the National Advisory Allied Health Professions Council. Because of my service on the Council, I have had an opportunity to see, perhaps better than most people, the beginning results of the poorly funded but germinal Allied Health Professions Act of 1966. The ultimate but unfavorable effect of the present Federal spending policy relating to this Act will not be realized for many years and will adversely affect the health care of all Americans for a generation or more. I sincerely hope that your colleagues in the Congress and the Administration heed your remarks and accept your recommendations.

WINSTON K. SHOREY, M.D., DEAN, UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS SCHOOL OF MEDICINE, LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of the remarks which you made in the House of Representatives on December 4 regarding the crisis in health, research, and medical education. It is very encouraging to

us who are deeply involved in these problems to hear a voice in Congress recognizing the problems and insisting that something be done about them. You are appreciated.

R. H. FELIX, M.D., DEAN, SCHOOL OF MEDICINE, ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, ST. LOUIS, MO.

"Thank you very much for your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy of your remarks entitled, "Pound Foolish Cut Backs in Federal Programs Threaten Nation with Growing Health Crisis," which you delivered in the House of Representatives on December 4. It is very heartwarming to those of us who are trying so hard to educate physicians to meet the manpower shortage in this country to know that there are members of Congress such as yourself who realize what it takes to do the job and how badly the job needs being done. You merit the thanks of every person in the United States and if I had my way you would get it.

K. ALBERT HARDEN, M.D., DEAN, COLLEGE OF MEDICINE, HOWARD UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Congratulations on your forthright stand upon perhaps the most important issue facing Congress today. Our nation's health and its future would be irreparably damaged by the proposed cutbacks in health care and health education programs.

S. B. GUEBERG, M.D., PROFESSOR AND CHAIRMAN, DEPARTMENT OF OBSTETRICS AND GYNECOLOGY, MOUNT SINAI SCHOOL OF MEDICINE, N.Y.

I thank you for your reply to my letter and for the copy of the excellent speech to the Congress delivered on Thursday, December 4, 1969. I write only to congratulate you on the accuracy of your appraisal of our difficult health situation and the excellence of the presentation of this plight that you have made. I think the emphasis you have placed on the financial aspect of the problem will be very effective for it would appear from recent tendencies in our Society that property is regarded more highly than life. Please keep up the good fight. Health is a major concern of all of us, both professionals and lay persons, and indeed has become a major "industry". Since the retirement of Senator Lister Hill and the death of Congressman Fogarty, there has been a few strong voices in the Congress with deep and primary concern for health care. I welcome you to the ranks of these persons with your broad ranging, in depth analysis of our health needs. You have invited me with courtesy to write to you about problems which may be of concern to me; please believe I shall not do so but only write about problems in which I have not only concern but some authority.

PAUL R. DONNELLY, DIRECTOR, DEPARTMENT OF HOSPITAL AND HEALTH CARE ADMINISTRATION, ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, ST. LOUIS, MO.

I want to assure you that I heartily endorse the comments which you make in your statement and hope that if there is any way that I can assist in giving further support to the efforts to increase the priority of health manpower training that you will let me know. As a Director of a Graduate Program in Hospital Administration I am well aware of the acute need for support for all health manpower services, and I certainly appreciate your support of this in the remarks which you prepared.

CLIFFORD GROBSTEIN, DEAN, SCHOOL OF MEDICINE, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

I want to express my thanks and to congratulate you for your speech on the House Floor on Thursday, December 4, a copy of which you kindly sent in advance. You have very effectively stated the case on a very important issue. As the Dean of a developing medical school I could not help but note your remarks especially directed to our problems. I shall be very interested in being kept informed as your plans for legislation creating

a special fund for new institutions of health training progress.

LEROY P. LEVITT, M.D., DEAN, THE CHICAGO MEDICAL SCHOOL, CHICAGO, ILL.

I have read your advance copy of the remarks that you will make on the Floor of the House December 4, 1969. It is a clear, succinct, accurate statement of the scene that exists today in medical education, medical research, and the health care and delivery system. On behalf of this institution, I commend you for your forthright stand in these vital issues.

## DARK SIDE OF THE MOON SHOT

### HON. JERRY L. PETTIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. PETTIS. Mr. Speaker, at a time when some political leaders are criticizing elements of the news media for careless and superficial reporting, it is interesting to note a topflight news executive taking his colleagues in the Nation's press to task for the triviality that marked their coverage of the Apollo 11 moon shot.

I refer specifically to the excellent article in the fall issue of the Columbia Journalism Review entitled, "The Dark Side of the Moonshot Coverage," by Edwin Diamond, a senior editor of Newsweek. This has nothing to do with politics, though one might be inclined after reading the article to accept the validity of the recent Executive criticism of the press.

So that all our colleagues will have the opportunity to read Mr. Diamond's superb critique, I ask that the article be inserted in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks:

THE DARK SIDE OF THE MOONSHOT COVERAGE  
(By Edwin Diamond, senior editor of Newsweek)

President Nixon, in a burst of egregious rhetoric which must have shaken the Bible Belt as severely as any recent Supreme Court declaration, proclaimed it "the greatest week since the Creation." Elmer Lower, president of ABC News, more modestly called it the "news story of the century" (and assigned 300 men to cover it—considerably more than were needed to launch the Saturn 5 rocket from Cape Kennedy). Indisputably, the 500,000-mile, eight-day flight of Apollo 11 to the moon was the most watched and written about single event in history.

In this country, according to A. C. Nielsen data, 53.5 million TV households (93.9 per cent of everyone owning a set) watched the coverage, an average of fifteen hours, thirty-five minutes—the largest U.S. TV audience ever.

Fifty national networks elsewhere relayed coverage for 230 hours of communications satellite time, exceeding all previous records.

Many American daily and some large foreign newspapers published special sections or extensive features, with the New York Times employing the largest headline type it has ever used—96-point, or one-inch high—for the banner lines "Men Land on Moon" and, in the last edition, "Man Walks on Moon."

There was, as has been recounted, much in which the media could take pride. More than for any previous event, the world was indeed a global village. Among large populaces, only the citizens of China and the Soviet

Union were denied simultaneous participation.

On a less cosmic level, Apollo 11 also represented one of those major events like a political convention, a war, or an assassination in which competitors meet head to head for audience attention and critical acclaim. Here, almost all the competitive verdicts were clear-cut: most TV critics agreed that tireless and able Walter Cronkite easily trounced the teams of Huntley-Brinkley-McGee on NBC and Bergman-Reynolds on ABC. AP bested UPI, obtaining up to 70 per cent of the page one play in competitive editions during the flight. Among newspapers, the New York Times was in a class by itself.

Yet when all the splash and dash of media coverage are subjected to some routine tests of journalistic performance, one feels similarities to the morning after an especially memorable party. NASA had been host to an exciting week-long event, all right; the three astronauts were perfect heroes with whom to spend time—competent, clear-eyed, courageous. But precisely what were all those other people doing there—Steve Allen, Julie Harris, James Earl Jones, Duke Ellington and his band? Though the networks kept insisting on the "epic" nature of the event, they succeeded in turning history into an extra-length Johnny Carson show. The ABC documentary on Apollo, for instance, was narrated by Efreim Zimbalist, Jr., the "star" of an ABC-TV dramatic series. A touch of blatant commercialism is to be expected. But the danger is that media which took so many bows may begin to believe their own press releases.

The networks, according to *Variety*, spent some \$13 million (including millions lost on pre-empted time), and the print media had as many years to prepare for the lunar landing as NASA had. Did anyone get his money's or his time's worth? Was there a better way to spend the money and time? More to the journalistic point, were all the essential facts clearly presented? Were the appropriate conclusions drawn from the facts? Was the event placed in context and related to other concerns of the audience? Was the meaning of the moment isolated and elaborated?

Any critical inspection of the dark side of the moon coverage exposes embarrassingly basic weaknesses and structural faults in media performance. According to the usual formulation of the way the media covers a story, TV and radio give the breaking news, and newspapers and magazines provide the background and interpretation. In the case of Apollo 11, the full news failed to get through on TV—the hours of continuous coverage to the contrary; in print, with only a few exceptions, the background context and interpretation never materialized adequately—nine years of preparation time to the contrary. Here we were, Earthmen, ready to set foot on another body in the solar system Earth's satellite—and not, incidentally, a "planet" as several commentators and writers persisted in misnaming the moon. Flank speed, clear out the white space, here is a story that newspapers could really run with. So one might have thought. But the performance of preparing the readers for the event is spotty at best.

The Los Angeles Times, for example, must be counted among one of the four or five best papers in the country, but did not offer any distinguished or distinctive material before the flight, though it serves an area that is buoyed up by the aerospace industry. The Washington Post, another superior newspaper, has a highly competent science staff but it was confined before liftoff to straight advance stories plus one major Sunday turn. The Post's reporting was superior—if it only had been laid out and illustrated with flair. Even in Houston, home base of Mission Control and the astronauts, the *Chronicle* and the *Post* had to flesh out their largely rou-

tine coverage with copy from the New York Times and the Washington Post-Los Angeles Times Service.

The thought of men going to the moon stirred few imaginative juices even in the most committed media space boosters. *Life*, America's foremost picture magazine, has been a showcase of the national space program since a peculiar 1962 financial arrangement gave it the magazine rights to the astronauts' "personal stories" [see box]. Yet despite *Life's* close partnership in the space program, the magazine's major preparatory effort consisted mainly of a coy farewell to the "old" moon plus twelve pages of color pictures of famous tides around the world (the moon's pull on Earth—get it?). To my knowledge only two newspapers attempted to prepare material equal to the event: the New York Times and *Today*, a Gannett paper in the Cape Kennedy area. Taking into account the respective resources available, *Today* did a much better job.

The Times' coverage began taking shape last March 10, when, in a memo to his editors, production men, and cartographers, Managing Editor A. M. Rosenthal asked what turned out to be some wrong questions: "Are there people outside the paper whose brains we should start picking for planning and contributions? What special qualities can we give our coverage, because of the talents and techniques available to us, that nobody can match?" The Times proceeded to pick brains preponderantly outside the paper, and mostly official NASA brains at that. In fact, the result of Rosenthal's memo—the Times' major preparatory supplement, *Man and the Moon*—resembled more a bland government history than an independent analysis.

The Times' own science and space staff has suffered from some defections and a split personality in recent years; the paper had, until a post-flight realignment in mid-September, both a Science News Coordinator and a Science Editor. In the event, the staff writers were outnumbered in the supplement pages by the guest government contributors. *Man and the Moon* contains a modest fifteen pages of editorial matter, after ads and the cover are subtracted. Of the thirty-one articles in the section, only seven were written by Times staff men (including a short feature by television critic Jack Gould). As if to underline the Times' own apparent staff limitations, one of the longer stories in the package was by Henry F. S. Cooper, Jr., a staff writer from *The New Yorker*. No fewer than sixteen articles were signed by present or past NASA officials. Most of these were official accounts with all the life squeezed out of them, despite heavy rewriting by the Times. Little of the real flesh-and-blood vitality—and human frailties—of the past decade of the American space venture were offered in these accounts.

Among the missing stories, to take only the most obvious examples, were the Cold War beginnings of the space program; John F. Kennedy's search for a space spectacular "that the U.S. could win"; the spurious nature of the "moon race" with the Russians (we raced only ourselves); the separate fiefdoms and the abrasive clash of personalities in NASA; the logrolling politics of space appropriations and decisions that put the Manned Spacecraft Center in Texas and other installations in Louisiana and Massachusetts; the shoddy workmanship of some of the biggest U.S. firms and slipshod Government management procedures that led to the death of three astronauts—in short, the full, as opposed to the official, story of Apollo. Instead of the carefully pruned Government accounts, how much better to have loosed some young tigers—or some old ones—on the Times staff back in March. But the Times chose, as *Times Talk*, the paper's house organ later explained, to send its Science News Co-

ordinator to NASA headquarters, where he was "promised full cooperation."

At the same time the three American networks were also getting in bed with NASA. This union, however, was a little more natural. Previously in these pages [Summer, 1965], I have observed that the alliance of TV and the U.S. space program was a marriage made in heaven; that the network news organizations need the space program to employ fully their undeniable journalistic muscle during dry news spells between Presidential election years. What I didn't see quite so clearly at the time was the obvious corollary that the space program needs the TV networks. Like Tang, Gulf Oil, Western Electric, Philco-Ford, or any of the other TV advertisers who utilized the tube during the flight to sell their products, NASA must push space spectaculars to win friends, influence Congressmen, and keep the budget appropriations coming in. This public relations factor, as much as abstract doctrines about Freedom of Information and the American Public's Right to Know, accounts for NASA's laudable open-skies information policy.

Less than a decade ago, when the infant U.S. space program was still in the grip of the military, space launchings were clandestine ventures held behind high security fences. Today at Cape Kennedy a media city springs up for each launching. For Apollo 11, a permanent concrete stand worthy of Belmont or Santa Anita held 4,000 pencil reporters, and a babble of foreign voices testified to the international nature of the event. No fewer than fifty-five countries were represented, according to NASA, including Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia. Alongside the grandstand, a trailer city of radio-TV vans brought the whole drama live and in color to listeners around the world. After the launching, much of the news corps was airlifted by commercial planes to Houston, where NASA public information offices kept them informed twenty-four hours a day.

Most newsmen and even those critics who cast a cold eye on the Government in general have tended to regard the open skies policy as a valued example of reality television—an actual event in actual time—and thus a great boon to the viewer. Yet Apollo 11 demonstrated that this form of reality TV is at best a mixed blessing; there are only thirty to forty minutes of real reality TV in a space flight, even one as soaring as the eight-day Apollo 11 mission. There are the last minutes of the countdown, the five or six minutes of liftoff and powered flight within range of the camera, and at the very end the twenty or thirty minutes on the carrier waiting for the spaceship to splash down. That leaves the main events beyond the TV eye. To an extent, NASA has been helpful about these gaps in the pictures: hand-held cameras, for example, have been deployed for in-flight telecasts from the past few Apollo missions, and it is common knowledge among the trade that they are done as *media events*.

If NASA was able to oblige the networks with in-flight and on-the-moon telecasts that solved part of the reality TV problem, it was not able to do so much for the visual medium during the rest of the mission, and especially for those thirty-two-odd hours the networks had cleared from Sunday morning, July 20, to Monday evening, July 21. Indeed, news executives at CBS, NBC, and ABC had to convince the money men at the level of William Paley, Robert Sarnoff, and Leonard Goldenson: 1) to cancel regular commercial programming for the hours on the moon; 2) to pay for elaborate sets and moon simulators to enable TV to provide video with the audio; and 3) to sign the checks for such guest talent as former astronaut Walter Schirra, who reportedly has a \$100,000 contract with CBS.

Producers began lining up talent for their

coverage, matching poet-for-poet (ABC had James Dickey, CBS had Marianne Moore); media-personality-for-media-personality (NBC mobilized Barbara Walters and Joe Garagiola, ABC had Steve Allen and the premiere of "Moon Maider" by Duke Ellington, and CBS offered Orson Welles); astronaut-for-astronaut (to counter the CBS coup in getting Schirra, NBC signed up two astronauts); scientist-for-scientist (ABC had Robert Jastrow, NBC had Harold Urey); and pundit-for-pundit (Marshall McLuhan and Bill Moyers on ABC, Rod McKuen and Marya Mannes on NBC, Ray Bradbury and Arthur Goldberg on CBS). By launching day, the producers found that they had more commitments and more talent than they could effectively employ. One scientist signed by one of the networks as a commentator said he had a "great sense of sitting around and not being used; the producers didn't seem to have too much understanding of the science of the event."

Before the launching, the single best Apollo story from a journalistic viewpoint was the role of Werner von Braun and other German-born alumni of Peenemünde. The imposing von Braun had built the Saturn 5 rocket and was always ready when a NASA appropriations bill floundered to appear and win over Congress. The New York Times' Bernard Weinraub sniffed at the edge of the story in an interview with Dr. Kurt Debus, a quiet man with a Heidelberg duelling scar who is now the director of the Kennedy Space Center.

During the pre-launch news conference at Cape Kennedy there was almost a novelistic contre-temps when a West German radio correspondent asked von Braun to answer a question in German so he could record it for his listeners. Von Braun handled the curve ball nimbly, answering first in English. Norman Mailer, special correspondent for Life, took it all in. In fact, Mailer's Life articles, for which he will earn a reported \$1 million after book and overseas rights are sold, made von Braun the central figure of the narrative. Mailer saw the subtleties of relationship between the American-born NASA directors and the German-born field leaders ("NASA is sensitive about origins," he wrote); he saw the dialectic of the news conference as von Braun—"sound, sensible, quick as mercury"—supplied the lead for the A.M.s and the overnights while von Braun's co-conferes dawdled and bobbled questions. He observed the fatuous reporters who applauded and gave a standing ovation to the people they were supposed to be questioning.

This adulation was particularly galling. One would think that reporters temporarily check their friendships and even their patriotism at the door of news conferences and go in and ask enlightening questions. Instead, many newsmen apparently see themselves as agents of the subject rather than as his potential adversaries. Thus the president of the National Association of Science Writers, a newspaperwoman who should know better, recently expressed her "thrill" at having had "a tiny role in mankind's historical step"—she had been in Houston covering the flight. And Walter Cronkite, who also should know better, moved out of his critic's seat on the aisle at a New York Sigma Delta Chi meeting, to defend the space program against "left-wing opposition."

Once the astronauts left earth, the coverage—apart from live pickups from the principals—deteriorated. In this second flight phase there were outright errors of fact (APOLLO BREAKS OUT OF EARTH'S PULL, the Houston Chronicle misinformed its readers). Armstrong and Aldrin set down on the moon after an agonizing descent during which their computer malfunctioned, their fuel ran low, dust clouds obscured their vision in the final seconds, and Mission Control was at a loss to know where precisely the Eagle had landed. Yet there was little enlightenment

from the networks about what was happening. The full story of those final two minutes of the Eagle's descent was not put together until at least four days later—mostly by Richard Witkin of the New York Times, a pencil reporter working in New York with his curiosity and his telephone. One of the old hands at space reporting who had another beat at the Times and had been drafted for the moon coverage, Witkin had heard along with everyone else Aldrin's cryptic messages about "Program Alarm 1202 . . . Program Alarm 1201 . . . Program Alarm 1203." Curious, after he returned to New York he began phoning various sources at Mission Control. By Thursday afternoon, after the astronauts had splashed down in the Pacific, Witkin had his story. He described how the Eagle had landed with "the margin of success . . . much narrower than the world realized." He quoted Lt. Gen. Samuel C. Phillips, director of Project Apollo, as saying: "We came awfully close to having to abort."

Witkin doesn't claim an exclusive; he says that Jules Bergman, the hard-working science editor of ABC, developed much the same material about the same time. Also Rudy Abramson, of the Los Angeles Times and Tom O'Toole of the Washington Post apparently performed creditably as bird dogs and were the first to get tapes of the touch-and-go phase of the lunar descent.

Especially revealing is a log of NBC's coverage kept by Kenneth Paul, a 1969 Dartmouth graduate who served last summer as a magazine trainee:

"In the first hours after lunar touchdown, there seems to be a failure to keep abreast of breaking news . . . insufficient explanation of the 'minor problems' that arose: the communications difficulties, the landing. . . . Topless showgirls in Las Vegas are shown uncorking champagne at the moment of landing. . . . Ray Scherer report from NBC's European Space Center . . . still more reactions than news. Good feature on the fantastic interest and coverage in West Germany, an unconscious ironic set-up for later talk with von Braun. Cologne experts give frighteningly clipped comments. . . . BBC moon expert Patrick Moore: 'No admiration can be too great. This is obviously a moment that humanity can never forget.' . . . Mrs. Armstrong tells reporters, 'I'm just about as excited as you-all are.' Still more reactions. Rev. Herman Weber in special Wapakoneta (Armstrong's hometown) service. . . . Mrs. Pat Collins with intelligent, sharp rejoinder to the newsmen's limp question, 'Isn't Mike a little disappointed up there with the others down on the moon?'—'Don't you think he's probably with them in spirit?' Asked if she'd watch the moon walk on TV—what an idiotic question—she came back, 'Oh positively—Is anyone going to bed?' . . . Interview with Sen. Muskie . . . A Truffautesque piece on space pioneer Hermann Oberst and his protege von Braun—the old codger eats cake while von Braun drones on about the old man's visionary contribution. . . ."

When the story returned to earth, there was the same dearth of reportorial digging, on the tube and in newspapers. One blank centered on the astronauts, who had gone into quarantine to protect the world against extraterrestrial germs and, some thought half facetiously, to protect their contract with Life and Field Enterprises. A few enterprising reporters such as Evert Clark of Newsweek managed to penetrate the isolation barrier by the simple expedient of interviewing on a not-for-attribution basis the official who had been interviewing the astronauts. As a result, much of what the astronauts had to say in their stories in Life proved hardly fresh at all.

Another, more serious blank involved the growing dissatisfaction of scientists within NASA over the dominance of the engineers and what scientists considered undue emphasis on public relations. Here was a story of conflict and controversy, the kind on

which reporters are supposed to thrive. Feelings were so inflamed that at one point early in the moonwalk the scientists, fuming at what they regarded as time-wasting planting of the U.S. flag and a telephone call from the President, actually phoned mission control and chivvied them about "civic ceremonies" when the crew was supposed to be collecting priceless rock samples. In fact, the dissatisfactions dated at least from last April, but it was not until the Manned Spacecraft Center's director of science, Dr. Wilmot Hess, announced his resignation on August 1 that anyone developed the story of the "scientists' complaint." And then only one newsman, Victor Cohn of the Washington Post, did the story in detail with quotes and background. On August 5, one of the astronaut/scientists, Dr. F. Curtis Michel, resigned—the fourth such scientist/astronaut (as contrasted to pilot/astronaut) to do so; not until September was Michel interviewed extensively about his conviction that NASA discriminated against the scientist/astronauts in flight assignments.

Where had all the reporters gone? Just possibly the constant blaring of the ubiquitous "squawk boxes" in Houston—there are perhaps 250 at the MSC and in rooms and hotels where reporters gather—may inhibit performance of basic news work; it is as if the overload of sensory stimuli by eager information officers at NASA has made "facts" and "leads" effortless to acquire and, in the process the muscles and synapses of the media have atrophied. It may even signify a permanent genetic change in the media, as more Government and private agencies discover that the way to keep newsmen flabby is to spoon feed them steadily with more information than they can use.

Another bobble at Houston involved a sin of commission rather than omission. When the first samples of moon rocks arrived at the Lunar Receiving Laboratory, the hard-core specialists standing by applauded and stamped their feet and sent out lead after lead as successive protective gear came off and the rocks became visible to all. What they largely failed to point out was that an unmanned Surveyor probe had soft-landed on the moon a few years before and radioed back a good deal of the same information that the Apollo 11 rocks were disclosing—at considerably cheaper rates than Apollo. Moreover, the report of the Surveyor findings had been published in the magazine *Science* by Prof. Anthony Turkevich only a few weeks before the Apollo 11 flight; informed—and full—accounts might have at least mentioned that the science of Apollo 11 could be performed by alternate transportation modes.

But is anyone so naive as to believe that science or the quest for knowledge are the motivating forces behind the U.S. manned spaceflights? What then is? This is a question that might have properly been aired. David Satter, a young university graduate and former college newspaper editor, now a Rhodes scholar, watched all of CBS' coverage and came away with the question on his mind. Said Satter:

"I took away the impression that CBS, despite its thorough job of reporting, had missed the point. . . . Everyone from Walter Schirra to Robert Heinlein, the science fiction writer, assumed that it was [significant], that it heralded the beginning of a new age. There was no one to answer questions like, can this feat yield any immediate benefits, and if not, how long will it be before any kind of return—other than a propaganda return—can be gained from this massive investment? It is possible that we do not despite everything have the resources to follow up this project, that we cannot, in fact, finance every project that we are technologically capable of undertaking? And if we are not, how do we choose between projects? What are the differences between this exploration and famous

explorations in the past? Does this trip not have a radically different *raison* than, say, Marco Polo's journey to China? It was questions like these that I felt were left unanswered in the adulation heaped on the astronauts, the space project, and the American common man."

In truth, air time and newspaper space were given to the critics of Apollo—who by and large were as simpleminded in their anti-Apollo arguments as the space boosters have been in their blue-sky declarations. It was almost too easy to go, as Jimmy Breslin did, to a New York City *barrio* while the men were walking on the moon and write about all the rats and overflowing garbage cans. That's what football pros call a "cheap shot." Breslin, as much as anybody, knows that the money cut from the space program by any presently imaginable U.S. Congress would not naturally flow into big-city ghettos. During Apollo 11 the whole space priorities vs. domestic priorities discussion became a kind of surrogate for the Larger Issues of the Nation—to no one's credit. Even on camera Walter Cronkite for some reason felt compelled to boost the program and to slam the young and the disaffected with: "I wonder what all those kids who pooh-pooed this program are saying now?" After listening to Cronkite, radical journalist Andrew Kopkind suggested that if the "kids" had any spirit left they would break into the CBS space simulation center at Grumman Aircraft in Bethpage, Long Island, and scream: "Pooh Pooh!"

"Pooh-poo" suggests the level of banality reached by both the Apollo advocates and most of its critics. It could have been an elevating and eventually a self-revealing week in the history of man's lurching attempts to understand his world and himself. But no one had the time or the inclination to approach meaningful material in a fresh way, to seriously consider, for example, the proposition: "We go to the moon because we want to, we don't fix the urban mess because we don't want to." The only thing I saw anywhere that came close was the CBS-TV program called *Nearer to Thee?* Physicist William Davidon, sculptor Richard Lippold, and theologian Rev. Theodore A. Gill, among others, met in an unadorned, unhooked-up CBS studio and, for a change, TV had something to say. Lest too many people hear it, it was at 10 a.m. Sunday EDT.

What will save the media from their own inadequacies during the next "story of the century?" Will anyone be prepared to do basic digging and clear interpretation? Who will even care? Certainly not shortsighted editors who offer official histories, or ratings-minded producers who perform as ringmasters for a Big Top on the tube, or reporters bereft of imagination who ask astronauts' wives "how do you feel now?" or journalists who see themselves as participants and allies of the Government. As veteran journalist James Cameron recently pointed out in the English weekly *New Statesmen*, the media used to be criticized for "sensationalism"—blowing up petty matters into big stories. Now, he says after watching the Apollo coverage, the charge is exactly the reverse—the media have succeeded in trivializing momentous stories. "The papers and the telly, confronted with genuinely significant and even vital events, reduce them intuitively to a sort of basic piffle . . . a level of numbing banality."

Few of the reporters who covered the flight in Houston were aware of this accusation. They were hearing somewhat sweeter thoughts from Werner von Braun: "I would like to thank all of you for all of the fine support you have always given the program, because without public relations and good presentations of these programs to the public, we would have been unable to do it." The final apotheosis of the press: It has made the von Braun-NASA space team, and it is grovelingly grateful.

## OEO PROGRAM MUST IMPROVE

HON. JOE SKUBITZ

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, there is not any question in my mind that the Office of Economic Opportunity—OEO—needs to be vastly improved because of scandals within some of the agency projects in various parts of the Nation. Unfortunately, we can expect any new program will have growing pains. However, OEO must improve and must do so quickly.

I supported OEO Director Donald Rumsfeld because I have great faith in our former colleague's ability to improve the situation at OEO. I supported his request for more time and funds because I feel that Mr. Rumsfeld is entitled to a chance to make the program work.

From the reports which I receive from my congressional district in Kansas we are fortunate to have an OEO program that apparently has worked well. The enclosed article in the *Parsons, Kans.*, Sun of December 6, 1969, edited by Clyde Reed, sums up the situation very well. I am sure that if the program had marked failures that Editor Reed would have discovered them and reported them in his fine newspaper. The article follows:

### SEK-CAP'S REPORT: POVERTY'S HARSH FACTS

PITTSBURG.—The seven-county southeast Kansas community action organization, reported to its constituents here Friday night on the harsh facts of poverty.

More than 3,700 persons received assistance and took part in various SEK-CAP programs last year.

Three thousand of them have incomes which are below poverty guidelines. Only half of them are on social welfare rolls.

SEK-CAP put it bluntly in a report at its first annual meeting:

"Hundreds of families in southeast Kansas are existing on less than \$75 a month, in poor housing, are suffering from malnutrition, are doing without proper doctor, dental and medical care.

"Hundreds will do without these services rather than be stripped of their dignity by some welfare representatives."

"We are engaged in a war against the common enemy of mankind—poverty," said a position paper adopted by SEK-CAP's multi-county board and read by James W. Garrison, director to 750 persons.

Surveys made by community organization aides in the seven counties comprising the SEK-CAP jurisdiction—Allen, Bourbon, Cherokee, Crawford, Labette, Linn and Montgomery—found that 2,726 individuals or families are living on less than \$125 a month. Of that number, 1,136 are getting social welfare assistance.

The surveys numbered 380 in Allen County, 356 in Bourbon, 458 in Cherokee, 454 in Crawford, 347 in Labette, 192 in Linn and 539 in Montgomery.

SEK-CAP has made "hundreds of referrals" to existing agencies, the report said, such as employment offices and welfare agencies.

"By following up on these referrals, we are finding many people being discouraged or talked out of the food stamp program, Medicaid and other services to which they are entitled.

"Our groups are going to take action on changing these injustices. We have already

improved the attitudes of many agencies and we plan to continue in our efforts to make poverty a little easier to bear."

Community-action covers adult and tutorial education, family planning, emergency food and medical services, Head Start classes and other functions.

The U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity provided \$810,000 for SEK-CAP's budget in 1968-69, while nonfederal costs, principally in the form of contributed services, totaled \$218,008.

A breakdown of costs revealed that administrative expenses for the year were \$95,409, of which \$59,905 was for personnel. The rest was covered in such items as travel, rent and equipment.

SEK-CAP listed 53 professional employees, including 36 engaged in Head Start, and 116 nonprofessional employees, 58 of whom are in Head Start.

Gov. Robert Docking, principal speaker at the dinner, said that SEK-CAP is helping make southeast Kansas a better place in which to live.

"Industry any SEK-CAP can work hand-in-hand to provide this region with a sound economy," the governor said.

"A certificate of merit" from SEK-CAP was presented at the dinner to Clyde M. Reed, editor and publisher of The Parsons Sun, "for demonstrated social concern" and service "beyond the call of civic duty."

Robert H. Booker of Parsons, president of the Labette County Community Action Board, made the presentation in SEK-CAP's behalf.

#### POW TESTIFIES

### HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, the liberal media have attempted an all-out smear of an American hero and prisoner of war who has returned home to describe the terrible effects of pro-Hanoi statements made by prominent American leaders.

John Lofton, Jr., has documented this incredible press attack on an American who has dared give Congress the true facts of POW life in Communist North Vietnam.

To the liberal media, an American hero is an object of scorn who must be destroyed, while anti-American statements are given full credibility by left-wing press sympathizers.

Lofton's fine article appeared in the December 10, 1969, edition of the Indianapolis News. For the clarification of the 91st Congress, it follows:

LIBERAL MEDIA MAUL MAJOR ROWE

(By John Lofton, Jr.)

While the liberal media have given full coverage to the alleged U.S. massacre at My Lai hamlet in Vietnam, they have been something less than enthusiastic about publicizing the barbarities of the Communists.

The recent visit to Capitol Hill by Maj. James N. Rowe is a case in point.

Invited to appear before the House Armed Services Committee to tell what it was like to be a captive of the Viet Cong for five years, Maj. Rowe accepted. After hearing his tale, several members of Congress were so impressed they asked the major if he would make individual films with them for showing back in their congressional districts. He agreed.

In the films, the major spoke of what Communists try to do to a prisoner:

"The Viet Cong have actually two goals with an American POW. First, they want to get as much propaganda value from him as they can while they have him. This is during indoctrinations. This is while they're trying what they call thought correction. Their major premise being that you're wrong, politically, socially, anything to do with religious concepts—you're wrong.

"The second goal they have is they want to try and get an American POW [prisoner of war] to violate our Code of Conduct, as they interpret it. They feel as if they can do this, that an American POW, if he is sent back to the U.S., will be punished by the government for violation of the code and once punished by the government, will be alienated and can be picked up by a left-wing organization and used as a propaganda tool for the anti-war movement or whatever they might have right within the United States. This is a far-reaching goal that they have with American POWs."

Maj. Rowe talked of the effect of U.S. anti-war propaganda:

"During this period of time (1963-67) they drew from their own sources: Radio Hanoi, Radio Liberation, etc. Generally speaking, this was ineffective because this was a Vietnamese writing for an American and even the syntax, the way they wrote their ideas were different from ours . . . But in the latter part of 1967, they ceased quoting any of their sources, dropped them completely, and began drawing from American sources, our own news media in the U.S. They started drawing from statements made by prominent individuals within our government (Sens. Mansfield, Morse, McGovern, Fulbright), people of note within the U.S. . . . They were quite free in using this . . . Radio Hanoi was free with their quotes.

"Radio Liberation drew quotes from American sources such as the Associated Press, United Press International, Time, Newsweek, Life, Look, the Washington Post and the New York Times. The political cadre who were in charge of indoctrination began to include these in the context of their lesson plans when they gave us actual indoctrinations so that it was a well-rounded attack and it was being drawn from right within the U.S."

Now, what kind of coverage did Maj. Rowe get on his trip to Washington to tell the Armed Services Committee about life in a Communist prison camp? Following is the lead paragraph from the front-page story in the Washington Post headlined "Major Held Five Years by Viet Cong Wages Fight on Doves in Congress:"

"With the sponsorship of hawkish congressmen and the knowledge of the Pentagon an Army major who is a Vietnam hero is attacking antiwar legislators and certain newspapers and magazines."

Later on in the story, reporter Bernard Nossiter tells us very straightforwardly that Maj. Rowe "poses in reverse the problem raised by servicemen who sign antiwar ads and march in peace parades. One central difference, however, is the high level sponsorship Rowe enjoys." Another central difference is that Maj. Rowe is speaking up for his country. An argument could also be made that those antiwar GIs signing ads and marching in parades also have high level sponsorship but not in this government. But that's another story.

This first Washington Post story appeared on a Sunday. Four days later, the follow-up story appeared, spread across eight columns headlined: "Major's Anti-Dove Activities Are Criticized in Congress."

Bristling at what he called the major's "vicious attacks," Ohio Sen. Stephen Young, labeled Rowe a "puppet of the Pentagon propagandists" and asserted that the major had "unmitigated effrontery" in questioning the

patriotism of Sen. McGovern, a decorated World War II pilot.

In any event, it all goes to illustrate what Vice-President Agnew was griping about when he issued his celebrated call for more fairness and objectivity in the media.

At this rate, the only way an American POW is going to be able to get coverage is if it can be proven that he abused his captors.

#### HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 454

### HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I think one of the most inhumane aspects of the current war in Vietnam is the refusal of our enemies to accord proper treatment as prescribed under the Geneva conventions to prisoners of war.

I recognize the difficult problem presented to our Government by the unfortunate and unhappy situation, but I think Congress must continue to urge the State Department to move in every way we can to seek viable agreements with the enemies, and with the world community, including the parties to the Geneva conventions and the United Nations, to make sure that rules of human conduct, compassion, sympathy, and kindness be substantiated, strengthened, and substituted for the calloused, merciless disregard of ordinary human values and the conventions that have been displayed by Hanoi and its collaborators.

I urge that our State Department continue to give these matters most persistent, dedicated attention, to the end that we may be able, not only, to perfect the Geneva conventions, but search vigorously for ways and means by which they can be respected, considered and enforced by all nations.

It is time that North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front responded to the appeals of other nations to treat American prisoners of war, and all such prisoners, like human beings, and accord them their human rights under international law and existing conventions.

The plight of American prisoners held in bondage by the Hanoi government is a question that must be resolutely handled by this Government. I recognize that efforts have been made, but they certainly must be intensified, concentrated, and exerted in a dedicated forceful manner that will leave no question in the minds of Hanoi or the nations of the earth about our determination to seek and get humane treatment for our prisoners and all other prisoners being held by the North Vietnamese Government.

I recognize that it is very difficult to deal with this Government. We have been trying for several years now to get peace with them and these efforts have been stepped up in Paris during the past year or more, and, yet, our fervent pleas for peace and a world freed of the horrors of war have fallen on deaf ears. Only a stony silence of contemptible, insulting

retorts have been the responses to our many appeals. Yet I urge that we continue to make these appeals and go into the United Nations and every other form that we think can be helpful to get compliance with human laws and rulings of the Geneva Convention regarding Hanoi's treatment of our prisoners. This is a question which we must follow up with special, vigorous attention and unflagging effort.

#### PLATTSMOUTH BAND "KNOCKS 'EM DEAD" IN CHICAGO

### HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the Plattsmouth, Nebr., High School band marched in Chicago's State Street Council Christmas Parade on November 30, making the 500-mile trip by bus.

The Cass County youngsters performed before an estimated 500,000 persons along the parade route. And it was no ordinary performance, according to the Chicago Daily News.

In a story reprinted by the Plattsmouth Journal, the Chicago paper said "the kids from Plattsmouth did indeed knock 'em dead."

Mr. Speaker, that is quite a tribute to my young constituents and I am certain my colleagues join me in extending congratulations for a job extremely well done.

The editorial follows:

#### THE KIDS FROM PLATTSMOUTH SWING!

A bearded red-costumed visitor from the North Pole was the one who came the farthest to appear in Chicago's 40-block-long Christmas parade.

But far and away the parade performers from next-farthest away were 92 high school boys and girls in royal and Columbian blue band uniforms.

All the way from Plattsmouth, Neb., they had been in Chicago since Friday without ever dropping into the International Amphitheatre to see the International Live Stock Exposition, which runs through Sunday.

"These kids see lots of stock shows," said Jack Herweg, band director.

If not for the stock show, then what did they come for?

What the small-town kids from the 550-enrollment school came for was to knock 'em dead in the big city—and Sunday afternoon, on State St., they did.

The Air Force Song, The Navy Song ("Anchors aweigh . . ."). The Marine Hymn. The Field Artillery Song. . . .

All marches any band can do.

But all marches, also, that only a really good band can do well.

Before an estimated 500,000 persons who watched the State Street Council's 35th annual parade, the kids from Plattsmouth (Pop. 7,000) did indeed knock 'em dead.

"They love to put on a show for people every time they get a chance," said Herweg, in explaining his musicians' unprecedented 500-mile journey to Chicago to play fewer than half a dozen songs.

One of eight band members who didn't make the trip was Lynn Munhall, laid up with the flu.

She was to have helped carry the large

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

white-letters-on-royal-blue-background sign reading "Plattsmouth, Nebraska, High School" that preceded the band as it marched smartly southward from Wacker Dr. to Congress.

But another girl (Renee Wilson, normally a bass clarinetist) filled in for Lynn at the last minute. And even without Lynn, the kids from Plattsmouth put on a great show.

#### PASTOR STREATER DISCUSSES THE PEACE MARCH

### HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Himm of Daly City, Calif., have graciously brought to my attention a letter from John B. Streater, pastor of the First Baptist Church of San Francisco, to his congregation discussing the peace march in San Francisco.

This is one of the most thoughtful and forthright discussions of this issue that I have seen, and I take this opportunity to have it placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that all of the Members of the House may have the opportunity to ponder Pastor Streater's words.

Pastor Streater was in China when the Communists took over there in 1949. He is a man who knows whereof he speaks. His letter follows:

NOVEMBER 7, 1969.

DEAR SIR: I recently received a letter from "Professionals for Peace," soliciting my participation in the so-called "November 15th Peace March in San Francisco." I am aware that many clergymen in our city will be participating in that march. However, as Pastor of one of the first protestant churches in California, and the oldest Baptist church in California, I would like to make it clear that the clergymen in that parade, November 15, do not represent me or the church I serve, as well as great numbers of evangelical churches in the bay area.

I disapprove of the November 15 demonstration for the following reasons.

(1) Although people may say that this is an immoral war, in fact, it is just the opposite. The most immoral think I can imagine would be for us to desert the South Vietnamese and let them fall into the hands of the Communist butchers of the North.

I was in China when the Communists took over in 1949, and saw their horrible program of torture, murder and brainwashing. One of the greatest tragedies of our history is that we failed to help the people of China in their hour of need.

(2) Americans have been giving millions of dollars annually, as well as giving their sons and daughters for foreign missions for generations. This effort for foreign missions is for the purpose of delivering people from darkness, slavery and bondage. For clergymen now to contradict this great history of modern missions, and say that there are more important things than protecting the rights of the Vietnamese people, is beyond imagination. If we should immediately pull out of Vietnam, and that is what these clergymen and the peace protestors are trying to force our Government to do, there would be the greatest slaughter of innocent people that country has ever seen. The only moral thing we can do is to see that the Vietnamese have the right to choose their own form of government.

(3) The action of these clergymen and

others in the so-called peace march, is actually prolonging the war by giving the North Vietnamese Communists the assurances that we really are not going to fight through to a just peace, but that we really are going to fake out and let them have what they want.

(4) The so-called peace marchers are actually propagating the old song of the isolationists down through the history of this country. They apparently would have us take the attitude that we don't care what happens to any other nation of people as long as we can be fat and healthy in this country. They are saying it is more important to raise our standard of living than to give the people of South Vietnam the opportunity of living in a free world.

(5) I am against this march, and particularly for clergymen to participate in it because it is unchristian, un-American and inhuman. It is unchristian, for they want us to ignore the rights and needs of the weak. It is un-American, for they want us to disobey our laws and the leadership of our elected officials. It is inhuman because they want us to refuse to hear the cries of the men, women and children in Vietnam whose husbands, wives, children and parents have been slaughtered by the terror tactics of the North Vietnamese.

(6) I am against this so-called peace march and the clergy participants because it belittles and degrades our servicemen, and particularly, those who have died trying to free the Vietnamese.

Finally, I would appreciate very much your help in informing all the people of the San Francisco Bay Area that the ministers marching on November 15, do not represent all the ministers, in fact, only a very few ministers of the Gospel of the Bay Area.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN B. STREATER,

Pastor, First Baptist Church of San Francisco; Immediate Past President, West Bay Ministers Alliance; Immediate Past President, West Bay Committee of National Association of Evangelicals; Member, Board of Directors, Kiwanis Club of San Francisco; Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Scandinavian Seamen's Mission, San Francisco; Vice President, Evangelical Concerns, Inc., San Francisco.

#### MICHIGAN LOSES AN OUTSTANDING EDUCATOR

### HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, it is with a mixture of pride and sadness that I call the attention of my colleagues to the appointment of my good friend, Dr. Durward P. Varner, as chancellor of the University of Nebraska.

For the past 10 years, Dr. Varner has been chancellor of Oakland University, an outstanding educational institution located in the 18th Congressional District of Michigan which I represent.

Under Dr. Varner's stewardship since it began operating in 1959, Oakland University has achieved a national reputation and become one of the fastest growing universities in Michigan.

It has been acclaimed throughout the country for its high scholastic standards and particularly for the excellence of the Meadow Brook Music Festival and the Meadow Brook Theater which

thrived under Dr. Varner's encouragement.

A graduate of Texas A. & M., Dr. Varner was an agricultural economics professor at Michigan State University before being named Michigan State's first vice president in 1955.

During those years, Dr. Varner worked under the Honorable Clifford M. Hardin, our present Secretary of Agriculture, the man Dr. Varner will succeed at the University of Nebraska.

When Oakland University was created from a 1,400-acre estate near Rochester, Mich., Dr. Varner was named to head the new branch by former Michigan State President Dr. John A. Hannah, who is now the Administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development.

During the past decade, Oakland University has grown from its original enrollment of 500 students to more than 6,000 and is now moving to establish its own graduate programs. Despite its rapid growth, Oakland University has maintained the highest intellectual and academic standards due principally to Chancellor Varner's personal dedication to those ideals.

More than just a top-notch educator, Dr. Varner made outstanding contributions to Michigan and our country as a citizen. He has devoted a great deal of his personal time and energy to country-to-country foreign assistance efforts in which Michigan has been involved and to the encouragement and furtherance of the arts in Michigan.

There is no one in Michigan who will be missed more than Dr. Varner just as there is no one more deserving of the success and high honor he has been accorded.

#### CATHOLIC PRIEST KILLED

### HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I am indebted to Mr. Joseph J. Hess, of Parkville in Baltimore County, for calling my attention to an article in The Catholic Review. Father John B. Buu Dong was found in a mass grave outside of Hue. He is the fifth Catholic priest killed in the Hue area by the Vietcong during the Tet offensive.

At this point I should like to share this article with my colleagues:

#### BODY OF VIETNAMESE PRIEST FOUND IN MASS GRAVE IN HUE

HUE, VIETNAM.—The body of a Vietnamese priest killed by the Viet Cong during the Tet offensive of February, 1968, was found outside Hue city.

The priest, Fr. John B. Buu Dong, 56, was pastor of a parish east of Hue when he was taken away in February, 1968.

That was the last that was seen of him until his body was uncovered in a mass grave.

During their 25-day occupation of the old imperial city of Hue—starting Jan. 31, and ending Feb. 24, 1968—the Viet Cong launched a reign of terror resulting in the massacre of at least 3,000 people. The bodies of 2,800 have been found and 1,000 are missing.

From the gruesome evidence uncovered in mass graves over the past year and a half, most of the people of Hue do not expect to see any of the missing alive.

With the finding of Father Buu Dong's body, it is now known that the Viet Cong killed five Catholic priests. Fr. M. Cressonier, 60, and Fr. Pierre Poncet, 36, were killed early in the occupation. They were members of the Paris Foreign Mission Society. Fr. Guy de Compiègne, 48, and Fr. Urbain David, 52, Benedictine priests from the Thien An monastery, were also killed.

Father David's body was found bound with seven others. From the position of the bodies it appeared that they were forced to stand in the common grave, which was eight feet deep. Because dirt was found in their mouths, it is thought that some were still alive when the grave was filled.

Two Vietnamese priests are still missing since the days of the Hue massacre. They are 74-year-old Fr. Michael Haynh Ngoc Bung and 61-year-old Fr. Joseph Le Van Ho.

Three Sacred Heart and two De la Salle brothers, all Vietnamese, also were victims of the Viet Cong. The bodies of the Sacred Heart brothers were found last year. The De la Salle brothers have not been found yet.

Three students of the Hue major seminary are still listed as missing.

#### MAYOR RICHARD LUGAR OF INDIANAPOLIS

### HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the election of Indianapolis Mayor Richard Lugar as vice president of the National League of Cities carries implications far beyond those immediately apparent.

As the mayor put it in a speech prior to the vote, the question was whether the league would work with other levels of government, or stand outside and constantly criticize.

Following is the full text of the mayor's remarks, and also an editorial from the Indianapolis Star of December 11, 1969:

#### TEXT OF THE REMARKS OF RICHARD G. LUGAR, MAYOR, INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

The National League of Cities has sounded the alarm and outlined the critical problems of the cities. No one will challenge the fact that all cities will be sorely tested.

The point at issue is whether the National League of Cities will assume primarily a role of incessant criticism of all other levels and forms of government in America or whether we will evolve a constructive and more harmonious relationship with the national administration of President Nixon, the United States Congress, State Governors and Legislatures, and County officials.

I believe that constructive inter-governmental cooperation is vital for the future of cities. I am pleased that President Nixon has initiated a vigorous domestic program and I am certain on the basis of personal experience that the President is eager to work closely with Mayors, Councilmen, and City Managers to reform the governmental structure and the quality of services offered to citizens of cities.

I am equally certain that the President is eager to receive some signs of appreciation from the League of Cities that his efforts are recognized. Similar signs of good will would be appreciated by State Governments.

The luxury of thousands upon thousands

of words of condemnation is a luxury we cannot afford.

I am a candidate for Vice President of the League of Cities because I believe that local city governments can and will succeed in meeting human needs. Much of this success will come because we were persuasive in obtaining assistance from others.

Specifically our leadership needs to be compatible and friendly with others who can help us. President Nixon has asked me to serve as Vice Chairman of the Advisory Commission on Inter-Governmental Relations, as a member of his Task Force on Model Cities, as one of four mayors who worked out the mandatory pass-through provision in the revenue sharing discussions with Governors and County officials.

I am optimistic about the 1970's because I have seen and shared in great advances for cities in 1969.

The National League of Cities needs greater strength through the recognition of city councilman and officials of cities large and small. Having gained the benefit of that strength, we need to begin to smile more and frown much less, to express genuine gratitude with as much fervor as heartfelt complaint.

We need to begin to look and to act like winners and stop sounding like pitiful candidates for charity.

I am taking this unusual step of actively seeking the office of Vice President of the League of Cities because I am certain that I can present the case for cities to the President, to the Congress, to State Governments and gain new allies for the great cause of better cities. All Americans want to help us. Our task is to point the way, to thank those who help, to win those who now wait for our leadership.

#### MAYOR LUGAR'S VICTORY

The victory of Indianapolis Mayor Richard G. Lugar over New York Mayor John V. Lindsay for vice-president of the National League of Cities has significant aspects.

It portends increased national stature for the Indianapolis mayor who had already received nationwide attention as a guest on network television programs and more recently as vice-chairman of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, to which post he was appointed by President Nixon.

The vote is generally regarded as a setback to Lindsay's future as a national political leader. He was a persistent critic of the Nixon administration's policies on urban affairs.

A few hours before the vote Lugar said, "The point at issue is whether the (league) will assume primarily a role of incessant criticism of all other levels and forms of government in America or whether we will evolve a constructive and more harmonious relationship with the national administration of President Nixon, the United States Congress, state governors and legislators, and county officials."

The league represents 14,600 municipalities, most of them small or suburban. In the past, large-city mayors headed the league and stressed issues pertinent to huge metropolises. Lugar's triumph is being assessed by league observers as being the result of a revolt of the membership and also as a sign that smaller cities and incorporated suburban communities may be closer to the Nixon administration's policies than to those expressed by Lindsay and other chief executives of bigger cities. Lugar clearly stated that he was running on a pro-Nixon platform, adding that he was "certain that the President is eager to receive some sign of appreciation from the League of Cities that his efforts are recognized."

In essence, Mr. Nixon maintains that, to a large extent, cities must solve their own affairs. Lindsay's pronouncements indicate

that most urban ills should be cured by mass infusion of Federal funds.

Besides eliciting the normal feelings of pride that come from having the "hometown boy" win, Lugar's victory appears to strengthen the concept that municipal problems can't be solved simply by demanding more Federal funds. Anything that makes that truth more evident is a plus—for Indianapolis and for all other municipalities.

#### MEET PRESIDENT ROGERS

### HON. CHARLES H. GRIFFIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, the current issue of Banking magazine has an interesting article on Mr. Nat S. Rogers, president of the American Bankers Association.

Mr. Rogers is one of the most dynamic business and financial leaders in the Nation. Personable and popular, Mr. Rogers made many contributions to the economic and cultural life of Mississippi before moving on to newer and larger responsibilities as president of the First City National Bank in Houston earlier this year.

I commend the following article to the attention of my colleagues:

#### MEET PRESIDENT ROGERS

(By Richard L. Kraybill)

During 1969 Nat S. Rogers has moved from the presidency of the Deposit Guaranty National Bank of Jackson, Miss., to the presidency of First City National Bank of Houston, Texas. And in this same year he has moved from the vice-presidency of The American Bankers Association to the office of president. Nat Rogers has been aptly described as a man on the move.

His first move occurred 32 years ago when, as a lad of 17, he left his home town, New Albany, Miss., to attend Millsaps College in Jackson. After graduating in 1941 with a BA degree, he joined the U.S. Navy in which he served for the duration of World War II.

His next move was to Cambridge, Mass., after the war where he attended the Harvard Business School as a George F. Baker Scholar. He earned his MBA degree there in 1947 and then returned to Jackson to carry on the family banking tradition by joining the credit department of the Deposit Guaranty National Bank.

Although Nat Rogers remained in Jackson from 1947 to 1969, he continued to be a man on the move during those years. He rose through numerous positions in that bank, each involving increased responsibilities. In 1958 he was elected a director and, later that same year, he was named president. He was appointed the bank's chief executive officer in 1966.

Not content with serving just his own bank, Nat Rogers has worked diligently for the entire banking community in his state, in the area, and throughout the nation. His vigorous participation in the activities of the Mississippi Bankers Association led to his election as president of the Junior Bankers Section and later to the presidency of the MBA, an office his father had held just 25 years earlier.

Besides serving the state organization, he was also very active with Robert Morris Associates holding the titles of Southeastern President, National Director, and National Membership Chairman. He is on the board of trustees of the Foundation for Full Serv-

ice Banks and has served as vice-chairman of the Region Eight Advisory Committee to the Comptroller of the Currency on Banking Policies and Practices. In addition to this he found time to serve as a lecturer at the School of Banking of the South at Louisiana State University from 1957 through 1960.

President Rogers entered A.B.A. activities with his customary enthusiasm when he was appointed to its Committee on Credit Unions in 1961 and he rose to the chairmanship of that committee in 1964-65. That same year he became a member of the Executive Committee of the A.B.A. Savings Division. The following year he was elected vice-president of the Savings Division and in 1966-67 he was chosen the Savings Division president. He has also served as the Mississippi representative on the Executive Council of the A.B.A.

The new president is active in other areas as well as in the field of banking. As a man on the move he has been president of the Jackson Civitan Club and the Jackson Chamber of Commerce; he was both chairman and president of the United Givers Fund; he was president of the Andrew Jackson Council of the Boy Scouts of America; and he has served the American Red Cross at the local, state, regional, and national levels.

#### MANY OTHER INTERESTS

His varied outside business interests are reflected in the many directorships he has held, which include those of the Mississippi Valley Title Insurance Company; the First Mississippi Corporation; Standard Life Insurance Company; Mississippi Steel Corporation; Mississippi Chemical Corporation; Coastal Chemical Corporation; and the Mississippi Power and Light Company. These are in addition to his directorships in the First National Bank of New Albany; the Merchants and Planters Bank of Tchula; and the Rankin County Bank.

Nat Rogers has always displayed a keen interest in education. He has served as a trustee of the Mississippi Foundation of Independent colleges. He has also retained close ties with his alma mater having served her as chairman of the Development Committee and chairman of the Finance Committee, as well as being president of the Millsaps College Alumni Association. In 1960 he was named Millsaps College Alumnus of the Year.

Clearly Nat Rogers is a man on the move, and a man who will continue to move. But even more important, he is a man who moves with care and consideration. Before accepting the position of president of First City National Bank last February, for example, he made sure that it would not prevent him from continuing his work with the A.B.A. In discussing his move at that time he said, "A paramount condition of my acceptance has been the complete and wholehearted willingness of the First City National Bank for me to accord the highest priority to the duties of my A.B.A. office."

While his activities as vice-president of A.B.A. took about a quarter of his time last year, he recently estimated that he will be spending about twice as much time this year to fill his role as president. As he moves into this new and challenging position, he brings energy, experience, and executive ability that will provide a sound basis for the continued growth of the A.B.A.

#### ACCENT ON PLANNING

Nat Rogers is a man with complete faith in the future. His only fear is complacency; and he believes that the best weapon to use against complacency is planning. He has cautioned bankers, "Unless we develop the will and skill to project our thinking into the future, the past will someday return to haunt us as financial has-beens."

To illustrate the importance of planning, he cited the MICR program as an example of what can be accomplished by anticipating future needs. "When it was started back in

1954," he explained, "annual check volume was only 8-billion, yet even this was beginning to put a strain on our capabilities. Today we are able to process almost triple that number." By way of contrast he added, "Without this planning effort, we might well have found ourselves in the same position as the securities industry."

As a sidelight to his statements on planning, it was gratifying to note that the new A.B.A. president is well aware of the problems that face the smaller banks. "There is a tendency to overlook the fact that half the nation's banks fall in the \$7,000,000 and under bracket," he acknowledged, "but smallness is no reason for failure to plan ahead." He then listed some things the small bank could do to prepare for the future.

Nat Rogers, a man of firm convictions, leaves no doubt about his attitude toward the dual banking system. He has clearly stated, "Those of us who are steeped in the traditions of American banking believe unreservedly in the dual banking system. It is unnecessary to point out that to think otherwise would be a banking heresy—especially since we have the record of more than a century that demonstrates its efficacy in serving the great American free enterprise economy."

He went on to point out that the 1970s will be a critical decade in the history of American banking with the industrial and social transformations that will occur. Not the least of the many problems we face, said Nat Rogers, is the development of influences that could "sweep away the dual banking system unless it retains a functional efficiency to respond to the needs of the new day." He will do all he can to support the vitality of a dual banking system and help it to retain such a functional efficiency.

Although he is fully in favor of the dual banking system, he does not approve of establishing still another system by permitting nonbanking institutions to expand into the field of commercial banking. He admitted that there may be instances where avenues of conversion should be opened. However, he insisted, there is no reason for allowing nonbanking institutions to "assume the powers and prerogatives of commercial banks, but avoid paying the price in terms of regulation or taxation."

#### EMPHASIS ON EDUCATION

While he may be a man on the move, Nat Rogers is never so hasty that he overlooks the obligations of the banking industry toward others. It was typical of him to say, "One of the most serious problems facing the business community today is training the undereducated worker to fill a useful role in our highly technical society. The banking industry must accept this challenge on a broad front, and improved training programs will go a long way toward helping it to discharge this obligation."

Education is a subject of great interest to Nat Rogers and he discussed its importance to banking. He pointed out that banks are finding it necessary to place stronger emphasis on training and education than on experience as a principal criterion for advancement. Among the reasons for this he lists the tremendous growth in banking, the high turnover, and the career disruptions of World War II that created an age gap between today's senior management and the men who will move ahead as replacements.

"Banker schools are essential, but they cannot fully meet the needs," he said as he called attention to the problem of the smaller banks that find it difficult if not impossible to send a key man to a resident school. One answer to this problem, he explained, is in the cooperative effort of banks, mainly on the local level, working within the framework of A.I.B. to develop programs for senior management.

Like most men on the move, the new A.B.A. president keeps an eye on the road as he advances. He is always looking toward the future and evaluating today's actions in terms of their effect on the future. In considering the many recent changes that have occurred, he had this to say, "The tradition of America has always been progress, but change has usually been accomplished through a relatively slow evolutionary process."

"Today we see that the increasing rapidity of change necessitates an accelerated transformation in our society. We can no longer meet change by direct confrontation, solving each problem as it comes up. If we are to maintain a viable society, we must anticipate change. We must be ready with the solutions before the problems occur. And the proper concern of banking must extend beyond the marketplace to the community at large."

Perhaps his whole philosophy on this subject was best expressed in the succinct statement, "The first rule for the future in banking must be involvement." It is his firm opinion that the bank and the community must join in working toward full employment opportunities, decent housing, and top educational facilities. Ever conscious of the needs of smaller banks, he added, "Our social problems are not exclusive to the large city nor to the big city banks."

On the subject of the one-bank holding company, Nat Rogers disagrees with those critics of banking who see this trend as being in direct conflict with the public interest. He said, "This restrictive view of the proper role of banking seems to ignore the fact that our industry is already one of the most closely regulated in the country." He went on to say that banks must have the opportunity to evolve, to change with the times. "Otherwise, they will lose the solvency and soundness required to perform their traditional functions in our economy. An enlightened approach on the part of the regulatory agencies is definitely in the public interest, for restrictive interpretations of existing regulations could well bar banks from evolving with today's dynamic economy."

On the truth-in-lending bill Nat Rogers was very optimistic. "If it is successful in making people more conscious of credit costs, it can't help but bring more business to banks," he maintained. The average borrower doesn't pay close attention to rates; his main care is whether he can meet payments. This attitude, said Nat Rogers, leads to irresponsible credit commitments which favor competitors who charge higher rates than the commercial banks.

The tight money situation is of special concern to Nat Rogers not only because it limits the ability of banks to participate fully in the revitalization of our society, but also because of the erroneous belief by some that banks have created the situation or benefit from it. On the one score he has said, "It is imperative that we bankers recognize the ramifications of tight money and that we exercise discretion in our banking policies to promote stability and encourage real growth."

Concerning the other aspect of tight money he said, "Equally important is informing the public that bankers have not created tight money, nor are they the beneficiaries of the stringency. The fact that banks are catalysts serving to equate supply and demand in today's strained market isn't generally appreciated by most people. Never before has the need been so urgent that this story be told simply and convincingly to all the people."

In pursuing this theme he pointed out that bankers must "communicate particularly and persuasively with the political establishment and with the public. This process is essential to the understanding and support which banking must obtain to meet its challenges."

To A.B.A.'s man on the move, these challenges are opportunities to exercise initiative. In meeting these challenges Nat Rogers can be counted upon to use that initiative and to plan for change rather than merely react to it.

#### ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT

**HON. JOHN M. MURPHY**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, it has often been said: "To be a little poor is to die a little each day. This truism, unfortunately, sums up the unfortunate plight of many Americans in this land of plenty."

I have always been committed to the eradication of poverty and human misery. As the record will show, I have always supported by vote and action the aspirations of the war on poverty.

Yet, it is ironic but true, that poverty has become a big business with the poor and the hungry being exploited by certain cults. Poverty is still a national disgrace despite the opportunity—the hope—offered by Congress more than 5 years ago when it passed the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Mistakes have been made, glaring ones, but the Office of Economic Opportunity has subtly given the poor a voice and a chance to shape their own destiny.

On Friday, December 12, the House of Representatives voted overwhelmingly 276 to 117 to extend over the next 2 years the life of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Heated debate preceded that vote, which included a 231-to-163 vote against recommitting this important legislation. I, of course, voted against the recommitment move and for the extension. I unqualifiedly opposed an offered amendment that would have gutted the OEO by giving State governments a veto power over OEO activities. The substitute would have created an administrative nightmare and done little to further the goals of a national commitment toward eliminating poverty and injustice.

I remarked earlier that mistakes have been made in the well-intentioned drive to once and for all erase the specter of poverty. There have, as the record will show, been instances of exploitation by opportunists.

For example, I have recently unearthed evidence that New York City tax dollars were funneled through the Human Resources Administration to send 30 busloads of protesters to Washington last April for demonstrations against proposed cuts in the antipoverty program. For this, I have been called a liar, despite conclusive evidence provided by the General Accounting Office.

I have since learned that an antipoverty employee was instrumental in recruiting New York high school students to participate in the November 13 to 15 antiwar moratorium here. Poverty officials have again denied the charge despite documentation. I have asked the mayor of New York to order the HRA to

cooperate with the GAO in a Federal probe to determine whether antipoverty funds are being diverted for harmful and meaningless extravaganzas like the above-mentioned demonstrations.

I will continue to battle the waste of hard-earned tax dollars. I will continue to unearth and correct malfeasance in public office. I will continue to insure that funds appropriated by the Congress for the poor and the underprivileged go to the poor and the underprivileged and not into the pockets of "instant politicians."

The poverty bill extension that recently passed the House does not include in its provisions a credit card for unauthorized use of payrolls and salaries. There is no language in the act that can possibly be broadened or construed to allow the tainted jiggling of funds for such miscarriages as those mentioned above.

My commitment to the poor is a continuing one as is my commitment to justice and integrity in the administration of programs designed to best help the poor.

#### DOUBLE TALK ON CIVIL RIGHTS

**HON. JAMES C. CORMAN**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, with all due respect to the Vice President, it is not only the eastern establishment press that is concerned about vital issues facing the country. The Los Angeles Times today frankly and succinctly comments on the strange game the Nixon administration is playing with the issue of civil rights.

On the one hand, as we have seen in recent weeks, Secretary Finch has opposed restraint in carrying out the Supreme Court's October 29 mandate that "every school district is to terminate dual school systems at once and to operate now and hereafter only unitary schools." Yet, the Attorney General of the United States just a few days ago shifted enforcement of school desegregation cases in the South away from its own Civil Rights Division and made them the responsibility of U.S. attorneys in the South, who are known to have little sympathy for the policy to finally terminate all dual school systems.

The Attorney General's action, a spokesman for the Justice Department said, was due to a lack of personnel in the Department—that they just do not have enough attorneys to do the job. Yet, the Attorney General saw to it that the extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act was defeated on the floor of the House last week and that his substitute bill was passed. Surely, the substitute bill, calling for enforcement in all 50 States, as opposed to the few States covered in the defeated bill, would need many more attorneys than the Department now has, since it is obviously short on attorneys and cannot enforce school desegregation cases. Double talk, again?

And again, when the House acted on the voting rights bill, the "Dear JERRY" letter from the President obviously played a big part in making possible the passage of the Attorney General's substitute bill. But the next day, when the House acted on the OEO bill, no "DEAR JERRY" letter was received, and the simple extension of the OEO bill passed, even though there was an obvious effort by the Republican leadership in the House to scuttle the OEO programs.

Mr. Speaker, the administration's doubletalk to enhance its "southern strategy" politics is a dangerous game to play.

The Los Angeles Times' editorial on the subject is worth the attention of every Member of the House, and I place it in the RECORD:

#### DOUBLE TALK ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The mood of Congress is running against civil rights.

Last week the House voted to dilute the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

And, last week and this, Democrats and Republicans alike unexpectedly deserted the cause of civil rights in certain crucial Senate votes on the proposal to remove from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare the power to deny federal funds to racially segregated schools.

It was gratifying to see Robert H. Finch, secretary of health, education and welfare, declare the Nixon Administration is "unalterably opposed" to the restriction. The federal government's power to cut off federal funds is the most effective tool it has for enforcing the Supreme Court's mandates.

But public opinion polls show that most of the white majority in this country think the black man has gained enough.

Congressmen read the polls. So does the Administration.

And the Nixon Administration has not been speaking with one voice on the subject of school desegregation.

While Finch presses for positive enforcement of the law, Atty. Gen. John N. Mitchell engages in what is at best a kind of negative enforcement. His Justice Department lawyers go into court to ask for delays in implementing the Supreme Court's recent rulings that "deliberate speed" is no longer a viable approach in desegregating Southern schools. He shifts the burden of school desegregation cases away from the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department and gives it to the local U.S. attorneys in the South, who can be counted on to tread lightly.

The process of desegregation in the South cannot, of course, be stopped. As fast as the Justice Department asks for delays, the Supreme Court says again there won't be any. Meanwhile the President has promised, as of course he must, to enforce the law.

That is not quite the point. The Southern Regional Council argues persuasively that "the false hopes engendered by the Administration have laid the seed for new resistance in the South."

And why are those seeds being sown? A "southern strategy" for the Republican Party, probably; also probably, the President's reading of where his majority lies, among northern whites as well as southern whites.

The kind of ambivalent politics the President is practicing with the constitutional rights of black Americans is, we suggest, short-sighted politics.

It can only, as it already has, dishearten and embitter black Americans, with all portents for future disorder which such a mood entails. It can only encourage Americans who are not black to think that our racial problems will be solved more easily than they, in fact, can be.

## CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM D. FORD OF MICHIGAN ADDRESSES INTER- NATIONAL EDUCATORS

### HON. JOHN BRADEMAs

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. BRADEMAs. Mr. Speaker, recently, my distinguished colleague on the Education and Labor Committee, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD) was honored by being invited to be the keynote speaker at an important international education conference in Athens, Greece.

Congressman FORD spoke at the 16th Annual Conference of the Near East-South Asia Council on International Schools. The council represents administrators from 24 countries in the Near East and South Asia, which serve the children of Americans stationed abroad.

Few persons realize the scope of this huge overseas school system, which is responsible for educating nearly a quarter of a million American children.

Mr. Speaker, the Athens Conference was attended by teachers and administrators representing American schools in a wide range of nations, including Afghanistan, Austria, Colombia, France, Greece, India, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Nepal, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Switzerland, Turkey, and the United Arab Republic.

Congressman FORD, in his excellent address, put into perspective some of the many problems faced by those who are entrusted with the task of educating the children of our servicemen and civil servants who are serving our Nation in other lands.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the text of Congressman FORD's talk in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this time and commend it to the attention of our colleagues:

#### REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE WILLIAM D. FORD

At the outset I would like to make the very obvious observation that I am happy to have this opportunity to return to Greece.

This is my third visit to Greece, and unfortunately, like my preceding visits, will be all too short, but I am sure you will agree with me that we could not be in a more interesting or appropriate place for the purpose of discussing education.

I would like to thank the Near East-South Asia Council on International Schools and your President, Mr. Tom Johnson, for inviting me here to speak on American education at home and abroad.

It is my privilege to serve in the House of Representatives on the Education and Labor Committee, and particularly as a member of the General Education Subcommittee of that Committee having primary responsibility for writing federal legislation affecting elementary and secondary education.

As we say in the House, I should like to associate myself with the remarks of the gentleman from Indiana, Representative John Brademas, who is my colleague on the Education and Labor Committee and who spoke to an education group here in Athens in September of 1967. He said at that time, and I quote him:

"It is, I think, most appropriate that we discuss education here in Athens—it was the Greeks, after all, who were the first genuine educators of the western world—the first to

raise profound questions about how to educate both children and men. But even as the ancient Greeks criticized their educational system, we too—modern Americans and modern Greeks—must answer serious questions about our own systems of learning and teaching."

I have been asked to speak briefly with you today of the progress in American education both at home and abroad with particular emphasis on what I view from the Washington scene as the Federal government's concern for, and commitment to, this progress.

#### AMERICAN QUALITY EDUCATION ABROAD

I certainly hope that during my brief say here at your Conference I will have the opportunity to exchange ideas, through direct personal discussions, with those of you attending this Conference as administrators, school board members, sponsors and professional educators directly involved in providing "American-quality" education to American dependent school children in the many countries represented here today. I know that such an exchange will add to such experience as I have gained during the past five years as a member of the Education and Labor Committee. We are truly eager to actually learn and know of our overseas schools in the many nations we serve around the world.

Most of you in attendance at this meeting are directly involved in the administration of programs of elementary and secondary education for American children living with their parents in the Near East and South Asia.

You are the people with the direct responsibility for operation of what, for want of a better term, we refer to as "American-sponsored" elementary and secondary schools.

The stated purposes of the Federal assistance program for these schools are to help the schools to provide adequate education for U.S. government dependents and to demonstrate to foreign nations the philosophy and methods of American education.

I need not tell you what a tremendous challenge this is when measured against the unique circumstances under which you operate.

At the present time the Federal government is involved in the direct and full financing or the partial support of a worldwide education system comprising approximately 438 schools in well over 100 countries. The rough breakdown of the distribution is as follows: 215,073 students attend these schools in elementary and secondary grades including 181,348 Department of Defense Dependents and 33,725 non-Department or civilian dependents and approved foreign nationals in the case of schools such as those you represent here.

This worldwide school system now employs 12,452 teachers and administrators with 7,839 in the Department of Defense School System and 4,613 in schools supported by the government through the State Department.

Although this year's budget for this educational system is more than \$177 million and this system of schools if located in any State in the continental United States would be one of the largest in our country, most American citizens and even some members of Congress are barely aware of your existence or purpose.

We would like to think that the hearings and investigative trips undertaken by the Special Subcommittee of the Education and Labor Committee headed by Congressman John Dent of Pennsylvania which was begun by a Special Resolution adopted by the House of Representatives in 1965 and has carried forward ever since, has contributed to a greater understanding within the Congress of the need for support for this great worldwide system of schools and their educational product.

## THE FEDERAL EFFORT IN EDUCATION

It was my privilege in January of 1965 to be assigned to the General Education Subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor in the United States House of Representatives at the very beginning of one of the most exciting periods of activity that the Committee has ever experienced.

Our Committee wrote the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 which was hailed by President Johnson as the greatest breakthrough in Federal support for public education in 100 years. More importantly, however, this signaled a new awareness in the Congress of its responsibility to American education.

I need not recount to you the great difficulty encountered by the friends of education over the past 50 years in attempting, without success, to bring the Federal government into partnership with the States and local school districts for the support of elementary and secondary schools and for assistance to our institutions of higher education as well. The first real awakening of the Federal establishment to its responsibility for the support of education in our country really came toward the end of the Eisenhower administration and in the beginning of the Kennedy administration. I am sure that you have heard the now famous statement of the former Commissioner of Education, Francis Keppel, who said he thought perhaps the greatest breakthrough for Federal aid to education in the United States came from Sputnik. You will remember that when the Russians successfully orbited the earth with Sputnik, the American public suddenly came face-to-face with the realization that we were not keeping up with other major countries in the world in the support of the institutions necessary to provide the trained persons needed by a country such as ours in a very complex and rapidly changing and shrinking world. Although somewhat sudden, this increase in American commitment to education was, I believe, best characterized by President John F. Kennedy when he said:

"Education is both the foundation and the unifying force of our Democratic way of Life—it is the mainstream of our economic and social progress—it is the highest expression of achievement in our society, ennobling and enriching human life. In short, it is at the same time the most profitable investment society can make and the richest reward it can offer."

## EDUCATION AS A NATIONAL RESOURCE

Lest I mislead you, I should not like you to think from what I have just said that we are any place close to the goal of a full commitment of the magnitude which many of us believe to be absolutely necessary at the Federal level. The Congress has passed more pieces of legislation affecting education in our country and providing greater support from the Federal level than ever before in the history of our country. However, we have not yet had a forthright and unqualified commitment by Congress to the proposition that the level of education of Americans is a national resource entitled to the massive commitment of national resources to its development and support in the same measure as any other essential national resource.

With all the legislation we have passed, including the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and the many additional programs that have followed it, we find our Federal contribution to elementary and secondary schools within the United States at the present time to be something less than 8% of the annual expenditure for education at this level from all sources. In my own state of Michigan, for example, the current rate of Federal expenditure from all programs is less than 5% of the total expenditures for elementary and secondary education in the state. It seems clear, there-

fore, that the Federal Government's present commitment to education in our country, though significant, still falls far short of the commitment of national resources necessary to reflect our willingness to have the Federal government become a full contributing partner in the effort to provide quality education in all parts of our nation.

Recent events in Washington have, however, been most encouraging, and I see the American education community as well as the American public awakening to the realization that the Federal government will have to make a much greater financial contribution to the assistance of our state and local school systems if we hope to keep pace with the ever-increasing demand being made on those systems by a growing, energetic, mobile and ever-urbanizing American population. It is clear that the events of the past few years have brought home to Americans, more than ever before, a realization that our position as a leading country in the world depends upon our ability as a people to educate ourselves to compete successfully not only in technology but in every other way if we are to remain a leading nation of the world.

## CUTBACKS IN EDUCATION FUNDS

This year we were dismayed when the outgoing President recommended an education budget that would have spent more money than we have spent before but which would not even keep pace with the increased costs being absorbed by ongoing programs. We viewed with even greater dismay, however, the budget of President Nixon who cut back the recommended appropriations for education on almost every front and recommended no money at all for some of our most successful ongoing programs. During the campaign of 1968, Mr. Nixon stated, on many occasions, his strong support for the commitment of the Federal government to support of education at all levels. Just some of his quotes—

"American opportunity begins in the classrooms of this nation for young and old alike."

"When we talk about cutting the expenses of government—either Federal, State, or Local—the one area we can't shortchange is education."

"Education is the area in which we must keep doing everything that is necessary to help achieve the American dream."

And then finally he said on many occasions—

"We call on every citizen to join with us in an action program for education."

However, after taking office, the President, not content with the cuts in education proposed by the Johnson Administration budget, proceeded to slash programs to the extent that some would be entirely wiped out. Here are a few examples:

Mr. Nixon proposed only 39% of the authorized amounts for Title I of the elementary and secondary education programs—the program for deprived children and youth; 20% of the authorization for vitally-needed supplemental education centers and services; 37% of the authorized money for strengthening state education departments; only 15% of the money earmarked for educating the handicapped; 25% of the authorization for bi-lingual education; and just 30% of the funding necessary for school operating expenses in areas with high concentrations of Federally-connected children—the "Impacted Areas" program which has been almost fully funded since its inception in 1950.

Having said this—why am I encouraged by recent happenings in Washington? The education community of America responded to the challenge presented by this shortsightedness on the part of both a Democratic and a Republican administration. Those of us who have been advocating a greater fi-

ancial effort found support coming to us from across the country in our efforts to broaden the Federal commitment and participation.

## THE REASONS FOR OPTIMISM

In a totally unprecedented move, the House of Representatives earlier this year overthrew the recommendations of the powerful House Appropriations Committee by the adoption of a package of amendments now known throughout the country as the "Joelson Amendment," which added one billion one hundred and twenty million dollars to the appropriations recommended by the President in his budget. This billion dollar-plus increase was passed in the House of Representatives by an overwhelming majority.

This didn't just happen. It didn't happen because of brilliant speeches or brilliantly-executed parliamentary maneuvers on the part of the friends of education who are members of Congress.

More realistically, it happened because the education community brought itself together in a concerted effort to impress the Congress with the urgency of their needs in the America of 1969.

A tremendous effort was put forth by organized groups of people interested in education ranging from the American School Boards Association, through the American Association of Libraries, the National Education Association, the Great Cities Schools Association, the AFL-CIO and many others who have been friends of education. This resulted in a coalition of over fifty organizations which early this year began a massive action program to impress their representatives in Congress with the need for immediate and meaningful action in the more adequate funding of the many educational programs we had previously authorized.

One member of the House, who was obviously piqued at the success of our efforts to overturn the Appropriations Committee and add this money to education, characterized these people from the education community as the new "Educational-Industrial Complex," and in a speech on the House Floor warned ominously that they might be a greater threat than the much-talked about "Military-Industrial Complex."

The Senate subsequently supported our efforts and in fact indicated its willingness to go even further than the House had gone in increasing the Federal commitment to Education.

These efforts and the results produced, in my view, signal an era when education and educators are coming into their own as a political force to be reckoned with. This may indeed be the great breakthrough that will make it possible for us to set a goal for education like landing on the moon; then to set out to do whatever is found to be necessary to accomplish that goal.

In short, I would like to say that from my vantage point on the Education and Labor Committee, where we have the unique opportunity to hear and to learn from people in all phases of education from throughout all parts of the country, it appears that although education is facing the greatest challenge it has ever before faced in America, it is now moving more rapidly than ever before to meet that challenge. I believe that we are in one of the most exciting periods of change and growth ever experienced by institutionalized education in our country.

## THE INVESTMENT PAYS OFF

Although the proliferation of new educational programs supported by Federal funds is not ambitious when measured in Federal dollars, against dollars of annual expenditures for education by other units of government, the effect of these Federal programs and expenditure of these funds from the Federal level has been very dramatic.

Through categorical aid, the Federal government has placed at the disposal of experienced and imaginative leaders at the state and local level funds which cannot be swallowed up by the building pressures and increasing costs that go on each year outside of the effective control of school administrators. In other words, an administrator attempting to develop programs for the special needs of educationally-deprived children in a big-city ghetto or in the hills of Appalachia has been able to develop these programs with Federal aid without having to fight to take the funds from the general school budget.

Local school administrators have done what I believe to be an outstanding job of using their funds for innovative programs which in many instances are proving to be so successful that local pressure has developed to appropriate funds from local and state sources to expand these programs to the many students not reached by the Federal categorical aids.

In spite of all of the publicity given to the alleged taxpayer revolt in our country, people are voting to increase taxes for the purpose of financing education at the local and state level in greater amounts than ever before. The American citizen is communicating his concern for quality education for American children to his local school board, his county and state officials and now to his representatives in the Congress and in the Executive Branch. The school teacher, the school administrator and the school board member have all discovered that they can and must organize themselves as a special interest group with what we sometimes refer to as "political clout." The "special interest" is of course quality education available to every young American without regard to where or under what circumstances he attends school—what greater and more worthy special interest might one serve?

#### AMERICAN-SPONSORED SCHOOLS OVERSEAS

Now what about the American student, at the elementary and secondary grade level, who by virtue of the temporary residence of his parents in a foreign country while in the service of American government or American private enterprise does not have access to the American public school system of which I have been speaking?

The numbers of these pupils in our overseas schools and the importance to our nation of their parents being in the countries where they are found dictate the urgent need for serious concern for the quality of education available to them.

Lacking a clearly defined national policy with regard to the responsibility of the United States Government for the educational opportunities afforded these children, the Congress has nevertheless recognized its responsibility for the education of the dependents of military and civilian employees of the United States Government through development of school systems such as the D.O.D. school system or the payment of education allowances to offset the unavailability of American Government provided facilities. A responsibility for supporting the presence of private citizens employed by American private enterprise has also been recognized by our government.

In 1965 when the Select Committee of the Education and Labor Committee made its trip to foreign countries inspecting the schools attended by defense dependents, we more or less stumbled across the American-sponsored schools because of the number of D.O.D. dependents attending them on a tuition-basis. Since that time the Committee has had an increased interest in and growing concern for the American student attending such schools.

During the past years we have gathered a substantial amount of material through closer contact with Mr. Ernest Manino, Director of the Office of Overseas Schools in the

U.S. Department of State; Mr. Gordon Parsons, and former teachers and administrators in such schools who appeared before our Committee from time to time. The Dent Committee has made on-the-spot inspections of facilities and held discussions with faculty, administration and students as well as parents in a substantial number of countries where the schools are located.

The Committee has visited American-sponsored overseas schools in Europe, Africa, Central America, South America, the Near East and South Asia, and East Asia.

Because the American-sponsored overseas schools are not Government owned or controlled, (I know of no one on our Committee who advocates that they be Government owned or controlled) we have been somewhat reticent in our recommendations for administrative modifications of the programs we saw. People here from the Department of Defense schools will recognize that some of the greatest progress made since the Committee began working with those schools has been made by the administrative changes evolving from criticisms and suggestions emanating from the Committee.

#### COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS

The basis for our recommendation that the Federal government do more to support the overseas schools was started in the first report that the Dent Committee made to the Congress and has been repeated many times by the Committee and its members in many places.

All Committee members recognized almost immediately the salutary effect the activities of the State Department's Department of Overseas Schools has had on the "American-sponsored" schools and the need to increase this activity at every level. The Dent Committee said in its report to the 90th Congress:

"It is apparent that resources of the United States Government available for the improvement of educational opportunities for American Children should also be made available to American-citizen children living overseas. Their parents are serving the interests of the United States abroad: They are in danger of becoming educationally-disadvantaged youth if resources which would be available to them at home are denied them while their parents serve abroad."

Bear in mind that the Committee report went on to say to our colleagues in the Congress that we were generally favorably impressed with the quality of education offered, the curriculums, and most definitely, the facilities of the various schools visited. We nevertheless developed some areas of concern and directed our attention toward them in subsequent years.

We are convinced that there is much more that we need to know about your schools and your problems but that there is much to be done on the basis of what we have encountered. The Committee has already made some general and some specific recommendations to the Congress and to the Federal agencies which might implement them by Executive action, and we do have some specific legislation pending.

In the area of legislation the Committee has recommended some things which might be done: (1) Review all existing Federal aid to education legislation with a view to providing extension of the benefits of such legislation to students, teachers and school systems overseas. For example:

(a) Tailoring the provisions of the International Education Act of 1966 to provide funds for training programs for staff employed in these schools to be held within or outside the United States and not limited to United States citizens;

(b) Amending the National Defense Education Act to include the Overseas Schools under the loan provisions of Title III for equipment and remodeling and under the

teacher institute provisions of Title XI to provide for institutes to be held outside the United States again not limited to United States citizens;

(c) Amending the Higher Education Facilities Act or other appropriate construction legislation to permit overseas schools to borrow under long-term, low-interest rates for academic construction and remodeling with such loans contingent upon the recommendation of the Office of Overseas Schools; and other appropriate agencies such as the U.S. Office of Education.

(d) Extend coverage under Title II, III and IV of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 to children enrolled in overseas schools.

I should say here that some of these recommendations have already been implemented with regard to the D.O.D. school system and some legislative attention has been focused on attempting to do the same for "American-sponsored" schools. You might be interested in my bill, H.R. 13285 cosponsored by other members of the Education and Labor Committee to extend the Loan Forgiveness features of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 to teachers "in American schools abroad supported by the United States." Although action has not yet been taken on this bill there is considerable sympathy for its purpose among the members of the Education and Labor Committee.

#### NATIONAL OVERSEAS EDUCATION BOARD

Another bill which you should be interested in even though it does not at the present time include you within its terms is H.R. 10308 introduced by Mrs. Mink of Hawaii and cosponsored by me and other members of the Education and Labor Committee. This bill would establish a "National Overseas Education Board" which would not be an operating agency for overseas schools but would be the one central coordinating agency for all overseas education; that might be calculated to guarantee some semblance of equal treatment for American children overseas through formation and implementation of some identifiable national policy with regard to our responsibility toward them.

Other specific recommendations that have been made include amending foreign aid legislation to permit the lending of P.L. 480 funds for long-term-low-interest construction loans and attempts to loosen up the restriction on the use of counterpart funds for teachers' salaries, textbooks and teaching materials.

We might also review the deductibility of corporate gifts to overseas schools with the purpose of encouraging this practice by American corporations doing business in foreign countries.

In closing, I should like to make some brief observations on some matters of particular concern to me and at least some of the other members of the Committee at the present time. If I may use what may be a nonsequitur—the one thing we found that the American-sponsored elementary and secondary schools overseas have in common with each other is that each one of them is unique.

#### GENERAL CONCERNS

In expressing some general concerns, I do not intend to imply that they are found in all or even a majority of the schools which you represent here but they have been found by the Committee frequently enough to make them worthy of consideration:

1. The private schools meet an educational need and there is great freedom in the development of the curriculum; however, many of these schools can only provide a very minimal educational program.

2. In some cases, the private schools are established to meet a need of the private companies and the children of United States Government employees are third or last in priority for admission.

3. Sometimes requirements of the Ministry of Education of the host country limits or controls the educational program: For example, in Buenos Aires, the American curriculum is taught in English in the mornings, but the Argentine Government requires that the Argentine curriculum be taught in Spanish in the afternoon.

4. The private schools, generally, have a greater mixture of children and teachers than the Department of Defense schools. In Rome, Italy, the faculty came from some 15 different countries. This can have a very fine and stimulating educational effect, but might not be good for the student returning to a state-side school after a short time.

5. Most of the private schools have financial problems. The schools, generally, must or desire to accept children from host-nation countries. The tuition charged will not provide monies for teachers' salaries and instructional supplies comparable to the state-side of Department of Defense educational programs. Teachers' salaries are generally low and as a result, many teachers are employed who lack formal education and qualifications and have some other principle reason for being in the country.

6. In many cases, APO facilities are not available to the private schools; thus, costs of getting books and supplies into a country are increased.

7. In many cases, influential people on the Board of Governors exercise too much control over the educational program. Sometimes this board is dominated by "old-timers," and semi-permanent members of the business community.

8. There is no uniformity in curriculum offerings or in instructional materials and textbooks being used.

9. In general, the facilities of private schools seem quite adequate. We have some concern about the Federal government providing grants for some facilities and then the children of Federal employees being required to pay the same tuition as others, when their sponsors did not contribute substantially to building costs. It seems that Uncle Sam is paying twice.

As I said, these are generalized concerns and are not offered as a criticism of the "American-sponsored" schools, but merely as an outline of the specific areas in which the Federal government might assist in guaranteeing equal and quality education abroad, as indeed we should at home.

**BILL PASSED TO ESTABLISH CABINET COMMITTEE ON OPPORTUNITIES FOR SPANISH-SPEAKING PEOPLE**

**HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure that I call attention to House passage of S. 740, a bill to establish a Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-Speaking People. This legislation does more than create another committee. It demonstrates our Government's real concern for those Spanish-speaking people living in many parts of our country.

S. 740 promises to assure that Federal programs are reaching all Spanish-speaking and Spanish-surnamed Americans and it purports to seek out new programs that may be necessary to bring more Spanish Americans into the mainstream of American life. The Committee

members will be appointed by the President and will work closely with Federal agencies to focus on the special needs and problems of this group.

It is unfortunate that the situation in our society demands that such a committee be established but the sad facts are true and the committee is indeed necessary. For the last 2 years it has operated as the Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican-American Affairs but the problems dealt with by the committee are not confined to Mexican Americans alone but affect the many Puerto Rican and Cuban Americans who reside in our country. For this reason, the Congress felt that a new committee must be formed which would properly respond to the needs of the large Spanish-speaking population in America.

New guidelines have been formulated for the committee and I look forward to the enactment into law of this legislation so that we may proceed with alacrity to the problems at hand.

**THE PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY AND THE CHANGING HEALTH CARE SCENE**

**HON. JOHN T. MYERS**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. MYERS. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to count the Chas. Pfizer & Co., Inc., among the many outstanding industries in my congressional district. The chairman of the board and president of Pfizer, Mr. John J. Powers, Jr., recently addressed the 95th annual meeting of the National Wholesale Druggist Association. In that address, Mr. Powers explained that commitments in six areas of service have earned world leadership for the American pharmaceutical industry. I would like to share the complete text of Mr. Powers' remarks with my colleagues:

**THE PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY AND THE CHANGING HEALTH CARE SCENE**

Ladies and gentlemen, I have taken due note of the topic that I was supposed to discuss today, namely, the pharmaceutical industry and the changing health care scene. And frankly, I think a talk on that subject is a bit premature. I don't know anybody who can do a good job on that topic. A lot of us, however, have been devoting a great deal of our time, our efforts, and our thoughts to this subject. And I'd like to talk to you today, if I may, in a rather informal fashion about certain fundamentals of the situation which should engage our attention before we can clearly define the changing scene and begin to work towards shaping the future of the pharmaceutical industry and health care in the United States.

I will start by trying to get some historical perspective. Recall with me, for a moment, that wonderful man, the general practitioner of 35 or more years ago, as most of us remember him as kids. That wonderful man who came to the house and he put his cheek against the baby's cheek to take his temperature. And he had an abundance, in most cases, of the greatest of all drugs—tender-loving care. This is a great man in the history of the health care system. But he had an extraordinarily thin armamentarium, as we say these days—in that black leather bag—very few specifics at all. And since

those days, this kind of an audience hardly needs to be reminded of what's happened: the emptying of tuberculosis hospitals; the number of mental health beds going down instead of sharply up as was predicted even fifteen years ago; the killers that were number one on the list back in the days I spoke of—at the bottom or even gone; life expectancy changing from something like 59 or 60 in the '30's to a little over 70 today. You may even know, you may even have checked, as I did to be sure, that it takes the average workman in America less time, less work, to pay for these new drugs today than for those old ones yesterday.

This record of the American pharmaceutical industry is certainly a remarkable one. So how can we be such a subject of attack? To a certain extent this is understandable. We like to knock down the man on top. This is an American game. As kids we all played King of the Hill. And there is something healthy, something good about this attitude—that is, until extremism steps in with its bitter edge, its hostility and its basic irrationalism. Through the '40's and the '50's this was a young, growing, lusty industry—and, like all youngsters, it was vulnerable. It was all too ready a target for the extremism of the '60's—the decade of confrontation. But this type of confrontation does not solve problems. It is basically destructive and in the melee which has ensued in this decade the voices became loud and shrill.

There was discourse, to some extent. There was some dialogue, but it was not thoughtful. Indeed, to me it sometimes seems not entirely clear what the debate has been about. Because there have been three kinds of people with whom we have been confronted. The first and, I believe, the smallest group is comprised of those who have sought to destroy or hobble this and other industries in America simply because they are private industries engaged in making a profit. In the second, somewhat larger group, are those who wanted to make a constructive criticism of this new, young, lusty industry, growing too fast, it was said, for its own good in a rapidly changing world, which perhaps could stand greater discipline. But there has been a much larger number within a third group where unfounded or distorted charges were hurled, and they hurt, not because they were valid, but because they gained the headlines of America and began to build a false legend about an entire industry—an industry which was the envy of the world outside its own country.

I think perhaps I have been most disturbed to find recently some members of the scientific and the intellectual community allowing themselves to be caught up in this tumultuous swell of irrational criticism when we ought to have been able to depend on this community to bring rational thought to such contentious questions and to solve problems—not add to them.

Quite recently, a man who has a reputation of great distinction in medicine said: "The overall system of drug evaluation is chaotic, biased, profit dominated, unscientific, unsafe and often dishonest." This unsupported and untrue statement is basically destructive. He doesn't help with that statement. It is not helpful to men of good will and of reason who seek ways to face our problems, and to make the most of our opportunities to build for America the best possible system of health care. The astonishing thing was that this type of statement was made at all by a man of science.

Second, a truly distinguished scientific publication—to my great surprise—recently carried a typical "good-guy," "bad-guy" kind of article about the pharmaceutical industry. It was out of character. It was shrill. However, in a subsequent issue of that same publication there was a thoughtful editorial

deploring the attack of extremists on this nation's institutions, particularly on industry "just for being private industry." The editor reminds us that the road marked by undue restrictions on the private sector is the road that leads to control by government bureaucracy. This surprised me quite a bit because it is no longer acknowledged quite so much as it might have been ten and twenty years ago that government bureaucracy indeed should have some limitation. Are these second thoughts? Or perhaps even new thoughts for this publication?

Has extremism at least for the pharmaceutical industry begun to run its course as so often it does? Have the shrill voices done their job (if we may grant them that much) by pointing more clearly than perhaps anything else could to the need for men of good will not to confront but to meet together in common purpose to accomplish worthy objectives for this country? I think, I hope, I begin to sense this in today's atmosphere. There are striking evidences of it. Most important among them is the White House statement on this subject, issued on July 10 of this year. It said this about reshaping the health care system: "Much of the burden must be taken up by the private sector, since it has the primary responsibility for the delivery of health care. Unless government and our vast array of private institutions can learn to work together we cannot succeed." And finally the statement said: "We will ask and challenge American business to involve itself in the health care industry, including the creation of new and competitive forms of organization to deliver comprehensive health services on a large scale. . . . What is ultimately at stake," said the statement, "is the pluralistic, independent, voluntary nature of our health care system. We will lose it to pressures for monolithic, government-dominated medical care unless we can make that system work for everyone in this nation."<sup>1</sup> This is language we understand; this is a call for help—a duty, to which we will respond. It's been a long time since we've heard anything quite like that from government in this country on this subject.

I cannot help but select another interesting example of the possibility of a new mood which I think puts the case well. This is an article by Dr. Ingelfinger in the *New England Journal of Medicine*,<sup>2</sup> decrying government regulation which does not improve but may even destroy. This is a fascinating and a thoughtful article. For today's purposes let me quote only from some of his concluding paragraphs, in which he points out that "the inimical confrontations that characterize exchanges between these two bodies (government and industry) benefit no one. . . . In this hostile atmosphere," he says, "extremist accents are vociferous and loud." But he urges that there is no reason why the professions, the drug firms and government should not work together. He said, "Some orderly system must replace the piecemeal decisions, the public hassles, and legal maneuvers that now appear to characterize the making, selling and using of drugs. That the groups involved will have conflicting points of view is inevitable. But their resolution, not their aggravation, will have to be the goal. Extremists identify problems. Sometimes they clearly precipitate them. But solutions must be sought and achieved by moderates."

So let us all begin to look for the solutions. And as far as we in the pharmaceutical industry are concerned, I believe we must once again seize the initiative we lost several years ago and assume our proper share of the responsibility for the shaping not just of our own future, but also of the new world of health care. I think we should begin by rec-

ognizing that we are probably the least understood industry in this country, in spite of all the publicity we have received—or, perhaps I should say, because of it. So this is the broad starting point for us in the industry: to be sure we know ourselves and to make ourselves known to others. This means to me objective, third-party studies of who we are, what we are, and how we operate. We have got to straighten the record as a necessary part of beginning to work on the future.

I say this because those of us who are close to this industry see an industry which I sometimes wonder if ever anybody else sees at all. The world of headlines and the real world are far apart. We should bring them together. This is an industry of commitment which—if I may picture this industry to you for just a moment in broad strokes—begins with a commitment to research. This is the *raison d'être* of our industry, if anything is. More is spent on research by this industry than its total net income, and it is estimated that government will contribute in 1969 only 1.5 percent—the lowest for any U.S. industry. Research is the principal, though not the sole, source of the great social benefits of life and health to be derived from this industry. Yet, I think it is perhaps the least understood part of our industry, and most strikingly misunderstood sometimes by those who are also in the health care field.

Next is the commitment to development which I distinguish from research because it is in itself an important, difficult, time-consuming kind of work requiring highly-skilled people, complex techniques and equipment. It is often the most important step in bringing something new to the public either through product or process development or both. It was so with penicillin. Penicillin was discovered in 1928, and in 1941 it was little more than a curious laboratory phenomenon when it was brought to America for development. And I am not embarrassed at all to say that I believe there was one company that led in this development effort, and that company was Pfizer, the first developer of an efficient deep tank fermentation process that made penicillin a practical reality. The evidence—it was Pfizer penicillin on the beachhead at Normandy in 1944. This was a development job.

The third important commitment is to manufacture under high standards of quality control. Now this whole business has changed drastically in our generation as completely new types of products and processes have evolved. New techniques have emerged, new methods of assay, new ways to test. And it is sometimes a bit irritating to have the professional critics judge our past conditions by present standards and present knowledge. Look at us as we are today. Our commitment here is complete and it's big and expensive.

And the fourth commitment which I have not too often seen discussed publicly, is distribution. Our products through our wholesalers, our retailers and the hospitals are 100 percent available throughout the United States. Now, Sears Roebuck, I have been told, likes to point with pride—and rightly so—to the fact that it has 85 percent distribution. Why not 100 percent? Too expensive? Probably not worth it. But if a prescription is written tonight in any hamlet in these United States of America, the odds are large indeed that it will be promptly filled by some corner drugstore, or even be filled in the doctor's bag. This is a tremendous job of making products available through the wholesaler, the retailer and the hospital, and our detail men are a strong adjunct to this—checking stocks and inventories, seeing that stocks are maintained at adequate levels and emergency needs met promptly. But this process is buried in our published profit and loss statements where it is usually included in a single line that says selling and general administrative expenses. The distribution

system of the pharmaceutical industry is, however, a great service to the American public. It is a critical stage in the delivery of pharmaceuticals to the consumer, and in my view, our accounts should be organized so that the role of this essential service can be better measured.

Next among the basic commitments is education. We have an extensive education system. It begins with the detail man, but it is in our literature, in the distribution of reprints from the technical journals, our symposia, our hospital meetings, our films—a tremendous educational network directed towards every physician, pharmacist and hospital. And in every analysis of this system that I can recall even by our critics, one thing we get back clearly from the doctor is that certainly to a significant extent, our activities in relation to them, are truly educational and a true service to the medical profession and, therefore, to the patient.

Now finally, there is promotion—sheer, straight building of the market and share of the market. Our industry is different from others in degree but not in kind. Attention must be attracted to the products available, especially new products. This history of marketing proves that people do not beat a path to your door to buy that better mousetrap. The market must be made. We must take greater care, but we must still build the market. This is a typical free enterprise type of operation which is expensive and necessary and without it the other services would not be possible.

So there they are, these six commitments of the pharmaceutical industry.

The most significant thing about this briefly told story is that it brings home that the pharmaceutical industry is not just a manufacturing industry, but a service industry as well. We are a service and a product industry with six commitments of profound social value. This is basic to an understanding of what we are.

At the beginning of this talk, I touched so lightly as hardly to have done it on some of the accomplishments of this industry. But, in the future, even more should be expected of this industry because knowledge builds on knowledge in geometric progression. And the evidence is all there, that there will be a speaker like me 30 or 35 years from now, making the kind of comparison I did at the outset of my remarks and probably likening us, too, to some equivalent of the kindly old general practitioner who had hardly anything in his black bag.

But some members of this industry do not assume all of these commitments. Some, hardly any of them. And I think this contrast helps bring the significance of these commitments into clear perspective.

I remember many years ago encountering one of these people in this category of little or no commitments, and out of sheer curiosity, I said to him, "How do you operate? I know you don't do any research. I doubt if you do any development. I've never seen any advertising, and you don't have any detail men do you?" And he got a big laugh out of this. And he said, "It's simple enough. First of all, I'm not a full-line house, I pick and choose the fast-moving items that are already developed, like the best-selling products in the Pfizer penicillin line." This was many years ago, as I said. But he said, "I can make these products and, in fact, I can make them cheaper than you can—you're too fancy. And I can send a postcard to the druggist. Not all across the nation, not even throughout all of my state. But I can send a postcard to the druggist and say I've got penicillin available at the lowest price on the market. They won't all come to me, but I'll get my share." He said, "I'm going down to Palm Beach this winter. What are you doing?"

I don't deny that man his right to operate

<sup>1</sup> Text in *New York Times*, July 11, 1969.

<sup>2</sup> September 4, 1969, p. 526 ff.

in that fashion as long as his products meet proper quality standards. I don't even criticize. But I ask this question: What is the relative social value of this entrepreneur. I don't mean the value of his enterprise to himself. I mean the value to society. This is what is in issue these days. This is what the debate is really all about, or should be about. To some, the lower prices of the drugs he supplies will seem an important social contribution. But just what is the net value to society of that price differential, when it is achieved by largely or completely avoiding those vital service commitments to research, development, quality control, distribution, education, and marketing that has earned world leadership for the American pharmaceutical industry, and on which the progress of therapeutics very substantially depends? What is the real price of that low price drug? And who pays it?

So this is the point of beginning for our industry—to know ourselves through serious study, to welcome the beginning of the possible new atmosphere as the shrill cries seem to moderate, or at least as some moderate voices begin to be heard. Before us now is the difficult problem of the future of health care in this country. Our hope and our responsibility is to participate with our new partners—government, the medical profession, and academia, in building for the future. The old way of hostile hearings and regulatory battles has little to do with this future—indeed can only hinder and impede it. In a word, if we are to build the future it will be by cooperation. In that necessary cooperative effort, the pharmaceutical industry is ready to do its part.

AMENDING TITLE 28, UNITED STATES CODE, TO EXTEND THE TIME FOR FILING TORT ACTIONS BY CERTAIN PERSONS

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 15, 1969

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, I support H.R. 10124, offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. DONOHUE), to extend the time for filing tort actions by persons under the age of 21, or insane or mentally ill, or imprisoned on a criminal charge.

I have sponsored a similar bill in past Congresses and in this Congress—H.R. 4155, 91st Congress. The bill will modify existing law by providing that the 2-year statute of limitations applicable to tort actions against the Government will not run against persons under legal disability at the time the action accrues, and that, such individuals may present the claim within 2 years after the disability ceases. We should recognize the fact that persons suffering from legal disabilities and particularly those who are under age are actually being deprived of their rights because of the presently overstrict limitation provision in subsection (b) of section 2401, title 28 of the United States Code.

There is a demonstrated need for this legislation. I support H.R. 10124 and I commend my distinguished colleague (Mr. DONOHUE) for the action of his subcommittee in bringing this bill to the House floor.

PLAYING WITH FIRE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply disturbed about the apparent erosion by the Nixon administration of our position of support for a fair and permanent resolution of the conflict between Israel and her Arab neighbors in the Middle East.

The basis of our policy has been to promote a settlement by direct negotiations between the parties of their disputes over borders, recognition, refugees, and access to international waterways and, until such a settlement can be reached, to assure Israel's invulnerability to Arab attack.

The first disturbing indication that the Nixon administration was backing away from this policy occurred at its inception when Gov. William Scranton announced, after a Presidential fact-finding tour of the area, that the new administration was going to pursue a more "even-handed" policy. Next came a period of equivocation over delivery of Phantom jets to Israel in pursuance with prior commitments. While the jets have now been promised, they still have not been delivered.

These events led to sincere fears that "even-handedness" meant abandoning Israel in favor of Republican oil interests in the Arab States.

These fears were heightened when the United States supported the United Nations resolution condemning Israel for her attacks on Lebanon in response to actions of Arab terrorists in blowing up an El Al airliner at Beirut airport without any condemnation for the Arab attacks which provoked the incident. This hardly seemed even-handed. Nor did our abstention from subsequent one-sided U.N. Middle East resolutions or our silence in the U.N. during the public hangings by Iraq of Jews.

These fears were again aroused when the U.S.-proposed four-power talks to promote a Middle East settlement with France and Russia committed to side with the Arabs. They were barely assuaged by our assurances that the four powers would concern themselves solely with broad guidelines for peace and not the specifics of a settlement which we stated would be left to direct negotiations.

The State Department's latest pronouncement inviting resumption of official recognition of the Arab States that have sworn to annihilate Israel and are daily sending terrorists across her borders to kill her citizens can but confirm these fears.

Worse yet, Secretary Rogers' recent speech putting forward specific border settlement proposals, undermines Israel's chief bargaining position requiring direct negotiations of the details of a settlement. Indeed, since only direct negotiations can produce a permanent and lasting settlement, the State Department's position seriously jeopardizes the prospects for peace in that troubled area.

It seems clear that President Nasser and his radical Arab associates will interpret Secretary Rogers' latest overtures as a signal that they are free to pursue, with Soviet assistance, their policy of military adventurism against Israel and her people. This encouragement could well prove to be explosive.

Indeed, it is significant that no sooner had Secretary Rogers spoken than the Soviet Union's prime minister promised increased military aid for Egypt and reaffirmed his nation's support for the terrorist Arab guerrilla movement.

I think it is clear that the Soviet-Arab strategy is to create an atmosphere of such intense crisis that the United States would force major concessions upon Israel as the price for a temporary respite. And temporary it clearly would be, for no arrangement worked out in the absence of direct negotiations between Israel and the Arabs can hope to have any permanence.

We cannot, we must not let ourselves be coerced into such a position, for to do so would jeopardize the political independence and territorial integrity of Israel without achieving a meaningful peace in the Middle East. To undermine Israel at this time would merely whet the radical Arab appetite for full-scale assault on Israel and increase the risk of a wider war.

It is appropriate to remind ourselves of the statements made by John Foster Dulles when he was Secretary of State under President Eisenhower:

The preservation of the State of Israel is one of the essential goals of United States foreign policy.

Israel is the one bastion of freedom in the Middle East. By encouraging the Arabs, we are playing with fire in an explosive situation. If the Arabs mount a major attack on Israel, we can hardly avoid becoming involved. It is eminently in our interests to prevent such a conflict from breaking out and to return to the sound principles for a sound settlement that this country has pursued until the present.

BIG TRUCK BILL

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, my editorial for today is from the Arizona Republic. The editorial follows:

CONGRESS LEFT TO DECIDE SAFETY QUESTION OF HEAVIER TRUCKS

WASHINGTON.—The Nixon administration left it up to Congress yesterday to decide whether heavier and bigger trailer trucks and buses are safe enough to be permitted to travel on interstate highways.

Federal Highway Administrator F. C. Turner told a House public works subcommittee his agency did not have "sufficient reliable evidence" to determine whether the increased sizes of trucks and buses proposed in controversial legislation would mean additional safety hazards to motorists.

If Congress decides motorists safety is not affected "measurably," Turner said, the ad-

ministration would urge that implementation be delayed until July 1, 1972, rather than on the date of passage. The government needs the three years to set performance standards for the bigger trucks, he said.

Turner's long-awaited disclosure of the administration position on the bill, while not an endorsement, brought smiles to the faces of subcommittee members who support the legislation.

As opponent, Rep. Fred Schwengel, R-Iowa, said it was "incredible" that the Transportation Department did not recommend delay in action on the bill until it could collect adequate safety data.

The bill, supported by the trucking industry and opposed by the American Automobile Association, would increase from 8 feet to 8½ feet the maximum allowable width of trucks and buses using the interstate highway system.

The limit on weight would be raised from 73,280 pounds to 108,500 pounds. The length, which is not limited now, would be set at 70 feet. Turner recommended a maximum length of 65 feet.

### CHRISTIAN HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE SEVENTIES

#### HON. BILL NICHOLS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, on November 18, 1969, Dr. Harry Philpott, president of Auburn University, addressed the Alabama Baptist State Convention in Birmingham. Dr. Philpott is an ordained Baptist minister although he has never held a pastorate, his entire career has been in the field of education. In his address, Dr. Philpott outlined the continuing need for Christian higher education in the years ahead. I would like to share his thoughts on this important subject with my colleagues by inserting his remarks in the RECORD at this point:

#### CHRISTIAN HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE SEVENTIES

Our emphasis on Christian higher education continues a glorious phase of Baptist history. It is well to remind ourselves of the fundamental importance of education in the development of Baptist churches. Our present-day heritage has many roots but none is more important than the leadership of Luther Rice in the 19th Century. One commentator has described his return from Burma to solicit support for Judson's pioneering missionary enterprise as the single most important event in Baptist history during the 19th Century. He arrived with a great zeal for missions but discovered the support necessary for these could not be obtained because of the fragmented character and separatism of the Baptist churches and because of the appalling lack of education within the ministry and the leadership of the churches. If the missionary endeavor was to move forward, it was necessary to bring the churches together in associations and conventions and to overcome the lack of education and understanding.

With unequalled devotion, Rice traveled throughout the eastern and southern United States drawing Baptists together, presenting the missionary challenge and sparking the organization of Baptist colleges and schools. The difficulty of his task can be seen in the fact that an early division in the ranks of the Baptists separated those who believed

in education and missions from those who opposed such endeavors by the churches. Our forebearers proudly proclaimed themselves Missionary Baptists and equally emphasized their great concern for education. Church-related educational programs, academies, colleges, universities and seminaries characterized the educational enterprises of our churches and continue to be a basic emphasis of our Christian mission today. Despite the problems which face us educationally and the changes in American education which have had their effect on our programs, we would be disloyal to our Baptist heritage and, more importantly, unworthy of the future if we did not continue to give major importance to these endeavors.

I stand before you today as a concerned individual with a troubled soul. I have always held, and still do, a firm belief in the dual system of higher education as we have known it in the United States. Problems which face both the private sector and the public sector of higher education are as difficult, if not more difficult, than at any time in our history. During this century we have witnessed undreamed of expansion in public education, while the private and church-related institutions have been forced by a variety of circumstances to simply hold their own, as a rule. In Alabama for example, in the last ten years we have seen a 115 per cent enrollment increase in our institutions of higher learning, with only a small proportion of this coming in the private and church-related sector. Our best estimates indicate that a 70 per cent increase in higher education enrollment will take place in the next decade, again with the overwhelming percentage being in the public institutions.

Changing circumstances have dictated new patterns for our Baptist programs in higher education. While continuing, as we absolutely must, support for our own institutions, we have been challenged to develop Baptist Student Programs in our public institutions. The developing Junior College system in Alabama has opened a new opportunity for student work in many of our churches and for the State Convention. Christian higher education today requires that we meet student needs whatever type of institution they attend.

It should not be supposed that the public institutions are immune from the same problems private institutions face in attempting to fulfill their responsibilities. We are witnessing at the present time, and I can only predict that this trend will accelerate in the next ten years, an obliteration of the line which distinguished private and public institutions of higher learning in the past. Tax dollars now provide as much as 45 per cent of the annual operating budgets for some private and denominational institutions while public institutions must avidly seek private gift support to supplement governmental appropriations.

We have only to remind ourselves that in every State Convention of Southern Baptists this year the issue of tax support for our institutions, or government aid in a variety of forms, will be a major consideration. I have no simple answer to resolve this issue but from a survey of recent history can only offer the prediction that in the decade ahead some form of support from the governments will be required for the continued existence of our institutions. Our task will be to devise programs which will safeguard, so far as possible, the administration of our schools in private hands and which will draw a clear line of distinction between activities which are religious in character and those which are common to the educational experience of all students.

In this connection, I am pleased with the growing understanding being shown by my fellow Baptists in placing the day by day

decisions in such matters in the hands of trustees and the administrators of our institutions. Large conventions can express overall policies and desires but simply do not have the time and background information to make a judgment on individual programs and opportunities. I am a firm believer that authority in such matters must be delegated to competent persons who will then be held accountable for the decisions reached.

Our program of Christian higher education is further threatened by the overall crisis which faces our collegiate institutions in the nation today. Traditionally in America we have had great faith in education as the ultimate solution to our major problems. Suddenly, we find ourselves in a situation in which a superficial observer might conclude that higher education is the source of great problems in our nation today. So much has been written about the crisis on the campus that it is not necessary to provide additional documentation for a group such as this. Suffice it only to say that the situation is extremely complicated and no simple description of campus unrest is possible. We must be honest in recognizing that since higher education occupies such a central role in the preservation of American democracy, those who would undermine our ideals and our liberties have chosen these institutions as the prime target for destruction. Small in number but extremely vocal, attracting an undue amount of attention from the news media and the public, they nevertheless do represent a grave threat to all of higher education.

Recently one of my friends in journalism told me that the events which are most important to the news media are those which describe substantial changes in life as we have known it and those which are totally unexpected. Riots and disorder on the campus, so foreign to the previous tranquility of the academic environment, fall into the latter category and make the news. Two hundred thousand American collegians last year, out of a total enrollment of 6,500,000, are estimated to have had any involvement whatsoever, even as onlookers, in campus disorders. The 6,300,000 students who went about their educational endeavors with devotion and calmness have escaped notice. It is this latter group, in my opinion, which will ultimately shape the future of our nation.

However, we cannot escape the fact that within this group there are serious questions being raised and serious problems encountered which must be faced realistically by all of us in education in the next decade. Their quest for relevance in the curriculum, their impatience with the ethical hypocrisy of their elders and their desire for knowledge of the meaning and significance of life constitute the great challenge to the Christian educator today and in the future. More than the problems, more than the crisis, it is our response to these needs that should be of primary concern to Baptists today.

We have a great educational heritage and I wish to testify to a personal undiminished faith in our capacity to make even greater contributions in the future. I am reminded of the words of Robert A. Millikan, a great physicist in my collegiate days: "We have come from somewhere and we are going somewhere. The great Architect of the Universe never built a stairway that leads to nowhere." Our Baptist institutions and our public institutions have not been built through years of dedicated labor and service in order that they may be destroyed. The problems and the crisis of the moment do not symbolize the beginning of the end but rather a larger opportunity for greater service. This will be true if we are undergirded by the basic faith of our Christian gospel. In the words of St. Paul: "Beloved, now are we the Sons of God and it doth not yet appear what we shall be."

In speaking of Baptist higher education in

the next decade I would like to choose as a text some words of Paul in his Second Epistle to Timothy. Writing in discouraging times, his spirit remained buoyant and his faith firm. He points out to the young Disciple, "For God hath not given us the spirit of fear; but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind." Those who simply fear for the future of our Baptist programs of education are lacking in the faith that, to those who love God, things will work together for the good.

As we face the decade ahead, we are animated not by fear and doubt but by a sense of power. It is rather ironic that a struggle for power has characterized so much of the disorder on the campus today. An educational institution—and the same thing is true in a church—that is characterized by a struggle for power, for authority and control, is suffering great harm. It is foreign to the intellectual enterprise when raw power is utilized by any segment of the institution's constituency. A college as well as a church moves forward when there is cooperative interaction, mutual understanding, and a dedication to the larger mission.

The power which Paul speaks of to Timothy comes from a deep commitment to the Christian interpretation of life. The power of Christian higher education is to be found in its opportunity to transmit to succeeding generations this comprehensive understanding of the meaning of existence. The late Walter Lippmann once observed: "We have established a system of education in which we insist that while everyone should be educated there is nothing in particular that an educated man must know." The growth of factual knowledge through research and experimentation gives to our young people more and more to learn. It has also fragmented our programs and resulted too often in an educational program for narrow specialists. The cry for relevance from our young people today is often the cry for unified meaning and understanding in the midst of confused diversity. Our young people need a religious faith which can provide a dynamic unity of understanding. This was the role of Christianity in the lives of our forefathers and it is the reassertion in our educational programs of this metaphysical which provides us with power for the future.

Again Paul reminds us that we were not given a spirit of fear but of love. Our young people are troubled by the impersonality of our lives and so many of our institutions. Too many of them are lonely, yearning for a warm community but unable to find it. When we deal with the masses as we are forced to do in education today, we have the temptation to think of students only as numbers and not as individual human personalities, sacred in the sight of the God who made them.

Again, it is interesting that some of our revolvers have latched on to the basic necessity for love and appropriated it for their own. Unfortunately, their definitions and descriptions of love are a parody on the concept set forth by Jesus Christ. The fact, however, that they seek to capitalize on love should re-enforce our own commitment to its importance in education and all aspects of life.

One of the memorable addresses that I have heard in my lifetime was delivered by the late Douglas Southall Freeman at the dedication of the Library at the University of Florida. Dr. Freeman was for many years the editor of the Richmond News-Leader and author of the Pulitzer Prize-winning biography of Robert E. Lee. At the conclusion of his address he made the rather startling observation that the most important thing about the library was not to be found in the size of the building or the books that it contained. Its future usefulness would be determined by whether or not there was love

for human beings on the part of those who served in it. Justifying this observation from personal experience, he told how as a boy of nine he had accidentally walked into a private library in Richmond. A kindly librarian, who loved little boys, ignored the fact that he was not entitled to be there, and led him to a shelf containing biographies of American heroes and invited him to read. This was the beginning of a life-long interest for him. In later years he told of encountering many librarians whose attitude seemed to be one of daring him to try to get any help or service from them. Whenever such events took place, he stated that he uttered a silent prayer of thanks to God for the fact that his first encounter with a librarian was with one who loved little children.

Love for human beings is still basic to all of education. A teacher may achieve competence in a subject matter field but without love and a desire to help others can never be a competent communicator of the material. A university or a college which is not undergirded by an interest in individuals and a concern for their development will never fulfill its educational mission. "Let love be genuine" should be an imperative for all of us in education.

Paul reminds us also that we do not possess the spirit of fear but of a sound mind. While true education must concern itself with more than intellectual attainments, this remains our central concern. As John Maysfield has written: "A true university is a place where those who hate ignorance may strive to know, where those who perceive the truth may strive to make others see." Christian higher education rests on the words of Jesus that "you shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

This matter is of particular importance to those of us who are Baptist because of our historic emphasis on the freedom and sufficiency of the individual to formulate his faith, based on his understanding of the revelation of the scriptures. An open mind with freedom to explore and propound is essential to our institutions as well as our churches. Occasionally our enthusiasm for a particular point of view leads us to forget this basic tenet of our faith. I have heard a Baptist stand on a Convention floor and say that our Baptist colleges should teach nothing but the things that all Baptists believe. I fear that having determined beliefs on which there was complete unanimity, there would be very little left for the curriculum to cover. We must guard against attempts to creedalize our faith and to tyrannize a sincere seeker for truth.

In a recent speech John Gardner, former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, spoke of two groups of people who were a danger to our institutions of higher learning. He referred to them as unloving critics and uncritical lovers. Throughout history our institutions have been under attack by some who were anti-intellectual and anti-educational. Unloving critics, may have sought for a variety of reasons to undermine our programs and our witness. On the other side, there have been those who have been so devoted to the institutions as they knew them that they have smothered them in complacency and tradition. Both groups are equally harmful. Our institutions need the critical assistance and the inclusive suggestions of those who love them and wish to see them advance. It has been said that "he has a right to criticize who has a heart to help." It is Baptists in this category who will assist our institutions in the development of sound minds.

The minds which we seek to develop are not limited to factual information and empirical observations. Rather, they possess the capacity to reason and to understand within the context of a great faith. Education itself is an enterprise of faith. Someone has

said that any fool can count the number of apples on a tree but that it takes a wise man to count the number of trees in an apple. It is a faith in our young people, a faith in the future and a faith in the realization of God's purpose for our lives that motivates us.

In retrospect, the problems and difficulties we face are small compared with the circumstances confronting Luther Rice on his return to America. There is an old Greek proverb which says: "Things worthy of admiration are never easily won." The world we dream of, the institutions devoted to the work of the Kingdom of God and the cause we seek to advance demand not a spirit of fear but of great faith. The willingness of each of us to assume our responsibility in our time will determine our stewardship of a great heritage we have received from those who have gone before.

Two men were climbing in the Pyrenees Mountains—one a novice and the other a veteran. Having been overtaken by nightfall, they spent the night sleeping on a ledge. Early in the morning a storm which the Latins call Euroclydon blew across the peaks. The frightened neophyte cried out, "I think this is the end of the world!" The veteran climber responded, "No, this is how the dawn comes in the Pyrenees."

In prayerful confidence and devoted service, let each of us resolve that the Seventies will witness a new dawn of advance for Christian higher education in our nation.

#### UNSOLICITED CREDIT CARDS MENACE CONSUMER

### HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, unsolicited credit cards have become one of the major scourges of the Nation's consumers. The cards have been an open invitation to mail fraud and can expose unsuspecting individuals to possible liability.

The Nixon administration initially supported the idea of a ban on unsolicited credit cards, but more recently modified its stand. Such action is contrary to the best public interest and must be revoked to eliminate the irresponsible mailings once and for all.

The following two editorials in the Washington Post and the Washington Star provide an excellent analysis of the unsolicited credit card problem:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post,  
Dec. 11, 1969]

#### THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON WHOSE INTERESTS?

Back in September, we had some harsh words to say about the people who send out unsolicited credit cards and we thought that the President's Committee on Consumer Interests was with us. It had urged the Federal Trade Commission, as we did, to adopt a proposed regulation barring companies under its jurisdiction from sending these cards to you without finding out first if you want them. It had also asked Congress, as we had done, to bar these unsolicited mailings by companies not within the FTC's jurisdiction, notably banks and transportation companies.

Now we find out that for some reason not exactly clear these White House guardians of consumer interests have had a change of heart. The problem had better

be studied some more, the committee's legislative director testified the other day. An outright ban on such mailings, he said, might give the banks and companies and stores that have already sent them out an unfair advantage over those who haven't done it yet.

That argument may have some appeal to those who look at credit cards only from the corporate viewpoint. It is exactly the argument made to Congress in recent weeks by the business interests. But one hopes for better from the President's Committee which is, after all, supposed to be concerned with *consumer interests*. Consumers who have already had to bend, fold, spindle, mutilate and destroy far too many unwanted credit cards are likely, we think, to regard it as a pretty sleazy argument. It is a little like a farmer refusing to lock his chicken coop after the first raid by the foxes for fear of being unfair to the rest of the foxes.

The case against the mailing of unsolicited credit cards is simple. The price on a stolen credit card is \$100 in the underworld and postal officials say these mass mailings have caused a seven-fold increase in mail fraud cases in recent years. That, alone, is sufficient cause for Congress to act. When you add the inconvenience these mailings cause consumers, the possible liability to which they are exposed, and the invasion of their privacy, the case for congressional action becomes overwhelming. The advice of the White House guardians of consumer interests is of no help on this issue, and won't be until the guardians discover that the word consumer means one who uses, not one who sells.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, Dec. 9, 1969]

#### CURBING THE CREDIT CARD BLIZZARD

It is regrettable that White House consumer aide Robert Meade has backed away from his strong stand in favor of an across-the-board ban on unsolicited mailings of credit cards. When he appeared before the House Postal Subcommittee on November 19, Meade was all for such a ban. He cited the \$100 million a year loss resulting from thefts of unsolicited credit cards. He also mentioned the nuisance value to the addressee who is obliged to destroy these cards or return them.

But in his recent appearance before the Senate Subcommittee on Financial Institutions, Meade trotted out the stale argument that such an across-the-board curb would be unfair to newcomers to the plastic credit field. In point of fact, the White House aide explicitly rejected this argument in his November 19th testimony for a very good reason. If these newcomers have a credit card that people want, the card will sell itself with the aid of a credit card application and appropriate advertising materials. Unsolicited mailings are not required to make the sale.

In any event, the White House surely owes less solicitude to these newcomers to the plastic credit field and more to the millions of American families a hair-breadth above the poverty line who have been bombarded with unwanted credit cards. Despite considerable congressional prodding, the administration has yet to send forth a bill that addresses this problem. Meanwhile, the appearances of Mr. Meade before interested congressional panels serve to mark time. Eventually, of course, the administration will have to bite the bullet and let the public know whether it favors a complete curb on unsolicited credit card mailings. In our view, it would do well to come out promptly for such a curb before all of us are buried under mounds of these cards.

## THE BLACK PANTHERS: THE UNFIT MARTYRS

### HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 16, 1969

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, there has been much misinterpretation and much distortion of the Black Panther "shoot-out" in Chicago last week and the efforts of citizens and public officials to obtain an impartial report on that event. Mayor Daley has called for an impartial report on the matter; the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, has announced that it will investigate the shoot-out; and a national ad hoc committee of distinguished lawyers has indicated that it plans a citizens' inquiry.

What is ironic about this nationwide interest in the Chicago shootout is that the Black Panthers are the unlikeliest of martyrs. The Black Panthers were and are a gun-toting, violence-preaching group of self-proclaimed political revolutionaries. It is all the more tragic that the Black Panthers' violent philosophy and their inherent lack of appeal to the vast majority of our citizens—black and white—have been obscured by the unanswered questions which surround the early morning raid on the Panther apartment in Chicago. The more quickly these questions can be answered and all citizens' doubts resolved, the more quickly attention will again focus on the real question—whether the Panthers' philosophy of violence and the gun has anything of value to contribute to solving the problems of race relations in America. My own belief is that it does not.

These thoughts were brought out recently in an editorial in the Washington Evening Star. I insert the editorial, "The Unfit Martyrs," at this point in the RECORD:

[From The Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Monday, Dec. 15, 1969]

#### THE UNFIT MARTYRS

The Black Panthers—in case anyone needs reminding—is a small, loud, revolutionary organization which preaches race hatred, extols violence, collects arms and excels in gutter invective. Today, this isolated band of extremists is being vested in the cloak of martyrdom by many who, short weeks ago, were counted among the Panthers' most active ideological foes.

This turn of events is something more than regrettable. It is extremely dangerous.

The cause of the unlikely martyrdom is a series of police actions in several cities over the past year: Raids that have resulted in hundreds of arrests and—according to Black Panther figures—the killing of 28 of its members.

The raids—again according to Panther spokesmen—were the result of a national policy of harassment, orchestrated by the Justice Department, and dedicated to the extermination of the Black Panther membership.

These charges of "genocide" and "police murder" were dismissed by most of the community as wild rhetoric. Then, on December 4, Chicago police raided a run-down West Side apartment. The head of the Illinois Black Panthers and a Panther leader from Peoria were killed, four Panther members

wounded, three others arrested. One policeman was wounded.

Four days later, in Los Angeles, 300 policemen surrounded a Panther headquarters and, after a four-hour gun battle, arrested 11 members.

The Chicago case became the center of immediate, intensive investigation and controversy. While final judgment must be suspended, it can be said that serious doubt has been cast on the police contention that they were met by heavy fire when they tried to enter the apartment. The Los Angeles raid, following so close behind the Chicago incident, fortified a growing suspicion that something more than isolated local police action was involved.

Nine members of Congress asked the Violence Commission to investigate the Chicago raid. Six Negro House members announced their own unofficial probe of the incident. The Urban League and the American Civil Liberties Union called for a broad investigation of police actions against the Panthers. Roy Wilkins said that the police actions "take on the aspect of a vendetta." Ralph Abernathy called on his followers to support the Panthers, and expressed a fear that his organization might be next on the list.

These charges must be taken seriously. If local police or the Justice Department are in fact undertaking to short-circuit the law in order to rid society of a band of dangerous troublemakers, that activity must be halted at once. Immediate consideration should be given to the formation of a special presidential commission to study the charges. The membership should include the questioning members of Congress and the thoughtful, moderate Negro leaders whose faith has been shaken.

We doubt that evidence of a national police conspiracy will turn up. But we would like to be certain. And aside from the ultimate findings, the formation of such a commission would have the immediate effect of halting the contagion of fear and distrust that has already spread to an alarming proportion of the black community.

## NIXON CRITICIZED FOR OUSTER OF MORGENTHAU

### HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, I was informed this afternoon that President Nixon and the Attorney General are ousting Robert Morgenthau from his position as U.S. attorney in the southern district of New York.

It is not easy for me to make a comment upon this matter for personal reasons; namely, that the successor appointed, Whitney N. Seymour, Jr., was my adversary last November when I ran for Congress. My statement is not intended to in any way reflect upon Mr. Seymour, who is a distinguished member of the New York bar.

However, the implication of the Attorney General's action are such as to require me to speak out. Robert Morgenthau, in the years that he has served, has been held by those familiar with criminal enforcement as the most outstanding U.S. attorney of this and recent decades. He has conducted his office without regard to party affiliation. To him, it meant

nothing that a prospective defendant was high placed and a member of the same party in which Morgenthau was enrolled. The most recent conviction of Carmine DeSapio, former New York County Democratic leader, under the personal direction of Robert Morgenthau established this fact beyond the shadow of a doubt.

I feel reasonably certain that other high figures both in the Democratic and Republican Parties will be very relieved to see him go because of his pending investigations. There have been few in this country willing to undertake a real battle against the Mafia, who are entrenched in so many States and corrupting public officials on every level. In the recent Marcus scandal, it was Robert Morgenthau's office that obtained convictions of a high city official and a Mafia don. If he is given the opportunity to finish out his term, I feel certain that the corruption which exists in the State of New York, as in the State of New Jersey, will be rooted out.

In that same Marcus case, the present Manhattan county leader of the Republican Party, Vincent Albano, was named as a political fixer and so what we have seen only partially uncovered to date is a sordid picture involving one former Democratic county leader and the current Republican county leader. It would be a shame and a scandal to interrupt these investigations.

I urge Robert Morgenthau to remain on under his fixed term which does not expire until 1971 and I call upon the President to rescind the appointment necessitating Morgenthau's resignation.

If the Attorney General means business in his fight against crime and the corruption of public officials, he has no business relieving Mr. Morgenthau who has been engaged in this fight for a far longer time than Mr. Mitchell.

When Robert Morgenthau leaves his position as U.S. attorney it should be to become the successor of J. Edgar Hoover.

#### PRAYERS FOR USE IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

### HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, each week we are offering five children's prayers for insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

These prayers may be repeated by children in the Nation's public schools as a means of overcoming the evil effects of the Supreme Court ban on prayer and Bible reading in the public schools.

The prayers follow:

I

What is before us we know not, but this we know: That all things are ordered and sure. Everything is ordered with unerring wisdom and unbounded love by Thee, our God, who art Love. Grant us in all things to see Thy hand.

II

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

III

Our Father, may the world not mould us today, but may we be so strong as to help mould the world.

IV

O Lord, Thou knowest how busy I must be this day; if I forget Thee, do not Thou forget me.

V

Father, may I so live the life of love this day that all those with whom I have anything to do may be as sure of love in the world as they are of the sunlight.

#### ACCENT ON HAND SKILLS

### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, since we in the House have passed additional legislation to expand vocational training, I was pleased to note the emphasis which the Illinois General Assembly is also placing on the subject.

A very timely editorial in the Chicago Heights Star, Sunday, December 14, very effectively emphasizes the value to the Nation of expanded vocational training programs. The editorial follows:

#### ACCENT ON HAND SKILLS

In one of his recent books, philosopher Eric Hoffer makes the persuasive point that, other national assets notwithstanding, countries whose people are skilled in the manual arts have a priceless economic advantage over countries in which hand skills have been allowed to deteriorate.

As proof of this he points to our own country, where mechanical geniuses such as Henry Ford, Thomas Edison and Cyrus McCormick—"Yankee mechanics all"—helped make America the workshop of the world. He also cites the classic cases of West Germany and Japan, whose economic recovery following World War II is among the most remarkable industrial achievements of the postwar era.

As though in confirmation of the concept that artisans are as important as artists in the national make-up, the Illinois General Assembly recently appropriated \$34 million to expand vocational training in the public schools. Distribution of funds will be based to some degree on shortages in local work forces and on the need for training new manpower.

A distinctive feature of the new, more liberal state-aid program is that, for the first time in Illinois, elementary schools also are eligible to receive funds for vocationally oriented programs. The schools may use the money for such things as field trips, group guidance classes, guest speakers and other activities that enable pupils to learn about day-to-day operations in business and industry.

Under the expanded program, the state will reimburse participating schools on the basis of students served, rather than on the basis of actual teaching hours. It also permits the state to reimburse schools for up to 50 per cent of the cost of any vocational facilities that they build and up to 60 per

cent of the cost of vocational training equipment. Because many schools are hard-pressed financially, this provision could be especially helpful.

As a result of the increase in state aid, Bloom, Rich, Homewood-Floosmoor, Crete-Monee, Thornton and Thornton-Fractional high schools are considering formation of a co-operative in vocational education. As currently envisioned, different vocational subjects would be centered at the various schools. This arrangement would remove another current obstacle—the lack of space at the various schools for use in vocational training.

When the Russians sent Sputnik I aloft in 1957, educators and U.S. government officials immediately began placing great emphasis on highly technical skills needed for our accelerated space program. It was not until just recently that we have come to realize something that we had forgotten—the fact that auto mechanics, carpenters and TV repairmen also are important to a healthy national economy.

The new state-aid vocational training program is a commendable step in the direction of creating a pool of young people whose manual skills will assure them of well-paying employment as they help keep the national economy functioning in good order.

#### LATIN AMERICAN TEACHING FELLOWSHIPS PROGRAM

### HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, I have had the pleasure of serving for over 2 years on the national advisory board of the Latin American teaching fellowships program, which is operated by the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. My very able associate from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, DON FRASER, also serves on the board, along with the senior Senator from New York, JACOB JAVITS.

I know of no other program that has shown a greater degree of imagination and innovation in the area of Latin American educational cooperation than the Tufts program. As an example of that innovation, I would like to introduce into the RECORD an article from the October 23, 1969, issue of Business Latin America.

The intern program described in this article benefits all parties concerned: the multinational business, the Latin American university, and the teaching intern.

The multinational business receives a direct benefit because the intern works with them directly in their own operation. He comes to the company with real skills and a high degree of knowledge about the culture and the language of the country. He also serves as a direct link between the company and the university where he teaches.

Second, the Latin American university receives a first-rate teacher for the 2 or 3 years that the man serves as an intern. This is of particularly critical importance because a man is a much more effective teacher the second or third year. Also, because his living stipend is pro-

vided by the company, the university's very limited resources are not further diluted.

Third, the teaching intern, because of this unique experience, gains a much greater understanding of the people in the country where he works. When he returns to teach in our own universities or to work here at home, he brings this awareness and understanding with him.

Finally, I would like to commend the program because of the close ties that LATF has developed in Latin America, particularly in Venezuela and in Mexico. In Venezuela they are working in close collaboration with the North American Association—truly one of the outstanding and unique organizations anywhere in the Americas. The NAA has done much, since its founding in 1942, to increase the bonds of friendship and understanding between Venezuela and the United States. They have very wisely concentrated on education, and it is encouraging to me to see the close ties between the Latin American teaching fellowship program and the North American Association.

In Mexico, LATF is working in productive cooperation with the *Comite Norte-Americano Pro-Mexico*. This excellent organization has as its aim the development of knowledge and understanding about our closest Latin American neighbor in the United States. I am gratified that the *Comite* and the LATF have developed such a productive working relationship.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to be associated with this effort and I think my colleagues will find the following article from *Business Latin America* of great interest:

**LATIN AMERICAN TEACHING FELLOWSHIPS PROGRAM OFFERS LATIN AMERICAN COMPANIES SKILLED LAWYERS, ECONOMISTS, AND MBAs**

If your company prefers to recruit management locally wherever possible, but faces short-term needs for specialized executive personnel that cannot be filled in this way, you should look into a novel graduate fellowship program that has helped other companies bridge this gap. The Latin American Teaching Fellowships Program (LATF), sponsored by the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy,<sup>1</sup> places young US-trained lawyers, economists, and MBAs with US subsidiaries and national firms in the region, giving the "interns" an opportunity to learn about international business at first hand while teaching in Latin America.

Working on flexible part-time schedules that allow them time to teach, the interns receive a monthly stipend of \$450 to \$550, paid by the companies indirectly through LATF to avoid conflict with local labor law stipulations. LATF itself covers transportation costs. The duration of fellowships varies between one and three years, and firms maintain the right to cancel the arrangements at any time.

**ACCURATE MATCHING**

So successful has the two-year-old LATF internship program been, that every sponsoring company has requested additional interns and the list of waiting firms far outstrips the number of available interns. Participating sponsors credit their uniformly favorably reaction toward the LATF program to the care

<sup>1</sup> Companies interested in the program may write Mr. William Cloberty, Latin American Teaching Fellowships Program, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, Medford, Mass. 02215.

with which the interns' skills, experience and interests are matched with company needs.

The First National City Bank branch in São Paulo, which is stepping up local recruitment efforts, received an economist whose graduate course work emphasized long-range manpower planning. Such accurate matching is possible because LATF initially approaches the local subsidiary, although it is the parent company which ultimately chooses the intern.

The LATF internships were originally devised simply as an alternative funding technique to outright solicitation of donations for a program that had been strictly academically oriented. The idea was the LATF participants could finance their stints as instructors in universities and business schools by working part-time with US companies. By now, however, the internships have acquired an attractiveness that equals that of the academic portion.

Moreover, sponsoring companies such as Ford, Union Carbide, and IBM have discovered that their highly specialized interns can fill important gaps in local planning, market research, or legal projects, whose short-term duration does not warrant the hiring of full-time personnel. For example, Union Carbide put its economist intern to work coming up with alternate funding strategies for its bulk chemical facilities. The intern's next project: contingency planning for Union Carbide in the event that Venezuela does join the Andean Common Market.

Ford's Venezuelan subsidiary decided it wanted to sponsor an LATF lawyer on a permanent basis after its first intern became in effect the legal middleman between parent-company lawyers and Ford's Venezuelan law firm. The LATF intern centralized company contacts with local lawyers, allowed Ford to verify lawyers' billing and, although he was not a practitioner of Venezuelan law, saved the company time and money by researching basic legal questions on his own. IBM also asked for and got a lawyer, the company's second intern, for its regional headquarters in Montevideo.

Companies have found that their interns' close relationship with local universities and graduate business schools gives them valuable contact with prime sources of potential local management recruits. The First National City Bank's intern in São Paulo, who will be concentrating on manpower planning, will also be teaching at Brazil's leading graduate school, sponsored by the Getulio Vargas Foundation (*BL '68* p. 158). IBM has utilized its Buenos Aires-based intern, who is an economist with advanced computer training, to determine how local universities can integrate computers into their academic programs. One food processing firm, which is still on the LATF waiting list, wants an intern to work-out an in-company training program that will give its local management trainees the analytical judgment they need to develop investment projects themselves rather than simply carry them out on assignment.

The biggest advantages of LATF interns, according to several companies, are their fluency in Spanish or Portuguese (an LATF requirement) and their receptivity to projects that involve close relations with local groups. Union Carbide's Venezuelan subsidiary feels that its intern's ability to speak the language, and his willingness to consult with local sources on financing projects, alerted the company to potential problems of public opinion.

Still, one highly technical sponsoring company admits that the enormous amount of training that subsidiary management must give an intern who is only going to be with the company a limited time is a definite drawback. Another firm pointed out that because of the strong interest in academic careers among LATF participants, any company that wants to recruit its own LATF intern will have to work hard.

**VOLUNTEERS IN SERVICE TO AMERICA**

**HON. CHARLES A. VANIK**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, those Members of this House who have been supporters of the Office of Economic Opportunity are indeed pleased with the high level of support which the Congress has shown in the past week in extending for 2 years this vital program.

Our former colleague, Don Rumsfeld, deserves a great deal of credit for his splendid efforts and commitment to this vital endeavor. He has already clearly demonstrated his talent and skill for administration. His commitment to the ideals of this program will mean a great deal to millions of Americans who seek assistance for meeting their most basic human needs. Don Rumsfeld has passed this critical test and we applaud him in his work. He has done a fine job thus far and we all wish him continued success.

Too many times in moments of heat and the passion of debate on the floor of the House and the other body years of work could be minimized, and good and worthy programs could be altered detrimentally. This was not the case with the action taken on extension of OEO.

Among the most vital and successful programs within the Office of Economic Opportunity has been the Volunteers in Service to America. The test of the success of any program is the loyalty and devotion which is shown by the VISTA volunteers who have labored so diligently who have easily met this test manifold. The difficult nature of the assignments have clearly proved that those who have stuck by their work, when they could have chosen much easier lives, have committed themselves instead to the very highest service to their fellow citizens and to their country. There has been no nobler demonstration of complete devotion than has been shown by our VISTA volunteers and the very dedicated and creative staff which so skillfully guides the work of this legion of volunteers.

No organization, however committed to the right goals, can function, without strong, effective, and honorable leadership. As is well known, the inspiration required to sustain idealism in on-going programs for a long period of time is no mean feat. Padraic Kennedy, VISTA's National Director, has clearly demonstrated his extraordinary ability to combine idealism with hard-nosed management abilities so that those who participate in the programs which he directs do not lose any of the spirit and excitement, the challenge and practical application of the fundamentals upon which our society is based.

No higher tribute can be paid to any man than is paid to Pat Kennedy when one looks at the record that has been established of the work accomplished by VISTA volunteers toward improving the lot of millions of Americans.

This long list of accomplishments is clearly on the record to be tested and

examined. But ultimately the real test of this kind of sensitively balanced program is the steadfastness and loyalty of the program's volunteers and the acceptance of their work by their fellow Americans who seek assistance and find it so readily among a willing, energetic, and committed corps of volunteers and staff.

If VISTA's future could be shaped with the successes of its past, it will make a continuing and significant contribution to the poor of this Nation. Under the skillful and dynamic guidance of Padraic Kennedy, VISTA has grown from an idea to the effective and popular program it is today. Kennedy, who came to Washington in the earliest days of the administration of President Kennedy to help form the Peace Corps, moved to the Office of Economic Opportunity at Sargent Shriver's bidding and helped to draft the basic design of the VISTA program.

Let me review some of the important developments which have taken place in the VISTA program under Kennedy's leadership. Recruitment and selection standards are tougher. Volunteers entering VISTA are more mature, more experienced, and more highly skilled. Some 73 percent of all VISTA applicants are college graduates, and 44 percent of those entering bring with them a professional skill, such as legal or business training. Projects have been upgraded and are now larger, with greater concentrations of volunteers for greater visibility and impact.

VISTA's improvements did not come about by chance. They were the direct result of Kennedy's insistence upon constructive and sweeping changes. Many innovative programs launched in the past year have involved the resources of universities and professional schools in poverty projects in their own communities. While increased emphasis has been placed upon the recruitment of specially skilled volunteers such as lawyers, business school graduates, urban planners, architects, and health specialists, VISTA has gone one step further and joined forces with schools of business administration to assist in economic development and ghetto entrepreneurship. And in schools of social work, law, education, architecture, and planning, VISTA has put education into action by mounting programs under university sponsorship in which students combine service to the poverty community with study in specially designed curriculums.

In my own city of Cleveland, I have seen this new breed of skilled volunteer at work. VISTA volunteer attorneys under the sponsorship of the Hough Development Council acted as legal advisers to the major project of the Hough Development Council, the Martin Luther King Memorial Shopping Plaza. These hard-working young men set up the legal corporation, drafted lease forms for merchants, drew up the necessary papers for the Hough Development Council to qualify for SBA loans, negotiated the financing of the new shopping plaza's stores and townhouses with local banks, and assisted with the purchase of urban renewal land from the city. And these dedicated volunteers are only a few of those who have turned to VISTA for an opportunity to serve, because today

VISTA has more than 1,500 volunteers with special skills.

VISTA has turned for an essential kind of know-how and leadership to the poverty community itself. Now one out of every three volunteers entering the program has been recruited from the ranks of the poor. In Alaska, VISTA has recruited Eskimos; in Arizona the Navajos are at work on the reservation; in Puerto Rico, over 200 volunteers serve in their own communities; and in large cities, poverty-level volunteers are teamed with specially skilled volunteers to produce an impact felt throughout the neighborhoods in which they live and work.

VISTA has become a tough and sophisticated program. But it did not happen overnight. In 1965 and 1966, while Peace Corps was attracting the students, VISTA was virtually unknown. Today, however, a Gallup poll tells us that 56 percent of all university students, more than 3 million, are interested in VISTA service. In another poll, three out of four parents said they would like their sons to serve in VISTA. The demand for volunteers from potential sponsors far exceeds the number VISTA can field on its budget; and applications for service have increased 27 percent in the last year alone. And VISTA is popular with my colleagues in the Congress, from both parties. This year, Congress authorized more funds for the VISTA program than even VISTA requested—a tribute to the program's impact and significance in the effort to end poverty, and to Padraic Kennedy's imaginative and creative guidance.

A significant problem which clearly arises from the experience we have received from the work of VISTA volunteers and the creative national staff is that much more can and should be done by our citizens for our own citizens. VISTA clearly demonstrates we have a very long way to go to meet head on the vast problems confronting our Nation. The wonderful proof of VISTA volunteers' successes shows undeniably that, when, and if, we as a Nation decide to make that dimension of commitment toward solving our problems of human need, our people can and will respond with their skills and their commitment. All that we need is for Government to respond in kind.

It is my sincere hope, shared by many of my colleagues, that men of the caliber of Pat Kennedy and hundreds of his associates, will continue actively to serve our country despite the rebuffs and discouragement of their labors, knowing that the rewards will continue to be as great as have been those resulting from their splendid work at VISTA.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS RANKS  
SEVENTH IN STUDENT POPULATION

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, the University of Texas this fall enrolled the

seventh largest number of students among higher education systems in the United States. The main branch of the University of Texas system, its nerve center, is in Austin.

A report released by the University of Cincinnati shows the University of Texas system with a total enrollment of 64,572, including students enrolled in extension courses.

Last year, the University of Texas system also placed seventh nationally.

#### LEGISLATION TO ENCOURAGE SPREAD OF HOMEOWNERSHIP

HON. DONALD E. LUKENS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. LUKENS. Mr. Speaker, today the house owner represents a vital stabilizing element in the American economy. However, today it is becoming more and more difficult for all Americans to own a home or property. We need to make it easier for desiring Americans to have a stake in the economy.

Thus I am introducing a bill today that hopefully will encourage the spread of homeownership. One of the main impediments of house hunters has been the scarcity of adequate mortgage money to finance the purchase of new homes. This bill would facilitate the movement of funds into the mortgage market.

The bill would allow the taxpayer to exclude from his gross income for Federal tax purposes the first \$750 of interest income received by him from his deposits held in a thrift institution. It would encourage the flow of savings to thrift institutions by increasing the effective yield of return to investors. As a result, these institutions would have more funds available for domestic mortgages, thus creating more capital for home construction.

Tight monetary policy instituted to combat inflation has devastated the mortgage market. What money is available for the purchase of a new home is available at extremely high interest rates. Fiscal policies, such as tax incentives, could provide the necessary incentive to encourage the flow of savings back into the mortgage market and stabilize what is now a cyclical housing and mortgage market due to tight monetary policies and inflation.

We are in danger of losing our American tradition of becoming a nation of homeowners. The housing shortage that faces the country today is reaching emergency proportions. The way that we meet the challenge of more housing will shape the living environment to come.

Two major studies have concluded that over 26 million new homes will be needed in the decade of 1968-78. We must average 2.6 million new homes per year for the next decade to meet our housing requirements. This is double the rate of homes built in the past 20 years. It is unlikely that this year even 1.4 million homes will be started. By 1970, it is estimated that there will be a housing shortage of 1.8 million units.

Growing population coupled with inflation have created this shortage of homes. Nationwide, less than 1 percent of the homes today are vacant, the lowest figure in decades. This kind of trend is restricting the traditional mobility of our population as people are reluctant to move if adequate housing is not available.

The housing shortage is affecting the lives of all income brackets. House hunters are finding that houses are more expensive and the downpayment and monthly payments are becoming exorbitant. Downpayments have gone up as much as \$2,000 on a medium price home in the past year and more where market conditions are tight. Mortgage interest has risen from an average of about 6.5 percent in 1967 to over 8.5 percent in recent months. For instance, on a \$25,000 mortgage, the 1.5 percent rise in interest over last year's average, means the homeowner forks out an additional \$20 to the monthly carrying cost.

In cities such as Cleveland, it is estimated that prices of homes have risen 10 percent over last year. Low- to middle-income families are being left high and dry because in most parts of the country houses in the \$15,000 range are no longer being built due to the rising cost of homes.

Inflation has devastated the mortgage market. Tight monetary policy has almost dried up money available for financing the purchase of new homes, and that money which is available is at extremely high interest rates. Without money, buyers cannot purchase homes, and builders will therefore not build new homes.

Over 40 percent of the Nation's mortgage money is supplied by thrift institutions such as savings and loans and mutual banks. In the first 10 months of this year there has been a 44-percent reduction in the deposits of thrift institutions as compared with last year. These institutions are restricted by the Government to a maximum of 5-percent interest paid to the depositors. The present tight monetary policy has resulted in available cash being invested where interest rates are higher, resulting in a decrease of funds available for mortgages. Therefore most home buyers have difficulty in finding a lender with sufficient money to invest and the expertise to evaluate a mortgage.

I feel that the overall advantages of this bill would offset any potential disadvantages that might result from the loss of revenue to the U.S. Treasury. This bill counters inflation and offers incentives to meet the housing requirements of today and the future. Its counterinflationary factors are:

It reduces the costs of obtaining loans by reducing pressure for higher interest rates since money supply is being increased.

It reduces pressures inflating the costs of housing by bringing about a greater supply of houses on the market. Money going into housing is for permanent rather than consumable items, a non-inflationary direction.

It encourages savings by individuals. The bill hopefully will promote the

free enterprise concept by encouraging private funds and initiative to meet the country's housing problems. This is preferable to costly Federal subsidy and control over housing.

#### REDS AID RALLY

### HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, a friend of mine, Mr. J. A. Cheeseman, 2800 Quebec Street NW., Washington, D.C., has been visiting in California, and wrote me this week expressing his interest in how far more carefully documented is the reporting of the recent so-called moratorium on the west coast than in the Washington metropolitan area.

Mr. Cheeseman felt, and I agree, that not only the residents of the Washington area, but all who read this RECORD, would benefit from reading a series of articles by Francis J. McNamara, which appeared in the San Diego Union December 7 through 12 of this year. The articles follow:

#### HELPED ORGANIZE MORATORIUM—REDS' ROLE IN RALLY REVEALED (By Francis J. McNamara)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—On two occasions this fall, the Vietnam Moratorium signaled mass protests against U.S. involvement in Vietnam. In most instances, the moratorium movement sought what they termed "immediate withdrawal" of U.S. forces. Most participants sincerely objected to the war and were non-Communists. But Francis J. McNamara, former staff director of the House Committee on Internal Security, has written six articles which disclose the extent to which New Left and Communist organizations were closely involved in coordinating planning for the demonstrations.)

WASHINGTON.—The nation's capital is quiet and orderly again.

The rioting and violence have ended. The Nov. 13-15 anti-Vietnam demonstrations are history.

The American taxpayer will foot the bill for the damage to public property and the cost of the extra police, the National Guard and thousands of federal troops moved into Washington to preserve the peace.

#### TAXPAYER LUCKY

The taxpayer is comparatively lucky. Some Washington businessmen will pay twice—both taxes and immediate cash outlays to repair damage to their property.

Yet everything is as normal in Washington as it ever can appear to be in the capital.

However, things have changed and in ways that cannot be seen on the surface.

In mid-October, people all over the world heard that 500,000 Americans joined in a "moratorium" to oppose the U.S. military involvement in South Vietnam.

A month later, they heard reports that the largest "antiwar" demonstration in the history of the United States, staged for the same purpose, took place in Washington itself; that the American flag at the Department of Justice was pulled down and—if only briefly—replaced by the flag of the Viet Cong.

On the same day, Nov. 15, anti-U.S.-in-Vietnam demonstrations took place in many nations.

This was no coincidence. It was all care-

fully coordinated and aided by the international Communist propaganda machine. The desire was to project to the world the image of "people" everywhere assembling to protest often with violence, U.S. intrusion and war-making in Vietnam.

The United States has suffered a defeat as a result of this campaign. It is not only that Washington was damaged as a city, but that America was damaged as a nation, with all that implies in today's world.

Who was responsible? As one might expect many are blaming it all on the SDS Weathermen, the Yippies and a handful of other small revolutionary groups.

#### UNFAIR BLAME

That is oversimplifying. They could not have done it by themselves. And even if their members alone were responsible for every act of violence and destruction in Washington, it would be unfair to place all the blame on them. They merely did "their thing" when handed the opportunity.

The Washington "peace" rally and the violence that followed it comprised the most successful Communist united front operation to take place in the United States in many years. It was the result of months of careful planning and cooperative effort on the part of four organizations engaged in which they termed the "Fall Offensive Against the War in Vietnam."

The four groups are the New Vietnam (New MOBE) and its co-working Student Mobilization Committee (Student MOBE), Vietnam Moratorium Committee (VMC) and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

The New Mobilization Committee, technically the sponsor of the Nov. 15 Washington demonstrations, made many statements that it decried violence and wanted only a peaceful, orderly demonstration. The Student Mobilization did the same thing. The Moratorium Committee has always taken that position. SDS also promised it would not "instigate" violence.

#### REDS IN POWER

However, all the while they were making these statements, these groups were collaborating in an operation that would almost surely end in violence, largely because certain of their leaders wanted it.

David Dellinger, long the top official of new "MOBE," is a Hanoi-Havana visitor and served as the national coordinator of MOBE's Nov. 15 Washington-San Francisco Demonstrations. He made an inflammatory speech to more than 200,000 people at the Washington rally and then urged them to join him in marching on the Department of Justice, where, as had been announced, an "attack" was to take place.

The power spots in New MOBE are saturated with Communists and Hanoi sympathizers. If either of these Communist capitals had said, "No violence," there would have been none—at least not without a feud in MOBE that would have generated such heat the issue would have come to public attention. As it is, the contending (and cooperating) Moscow and Trotskyist Communists in the group had squabbled over lesser issues, such as program speakers.

#### QUIET FADING

By keeping the Oct. 15 moratorium peaceful to create the impression of belief in law and order, additional innocents were enticed into the climactic Nov. 15 action. Rioting and destruction in Washington itself following the huge rally would have far more worldwide propaganda value than the quiet fading away of 250,000 people.

The Nov. 15 demonstrations, climax of a three-day series of antiwar activities, were a Communist-engineered operation designed to serve the most important of today's Communist objectives—an immediate, uncondi-

tional pullout of U.S. forces from Vietnam so that Communists can take over the country.

#### U.S. WEAKNESS REVEALED

In retrospect, the most important fact about the demonstrations was the revelation of a weakness in U.S. ability to deal effectively with internal Communist subversion.

The plans for the Nov. 15 and earlier related demonstrations have been a matter of public record for almost five months. There has been no secret about the organizations involved, their nature, objectives, leadership and past records. Yet there was no revelation of Communist involvement until the time of the Oct. 15 moratorium when a few senators and representatives presented facts which indicated that Communists were entrenched in the fall offensive.

Even then these facts went largely unreported.

However, the October and November demonstrations became two of the most widely reported events of the year. Yet in few accounts did the word "Communist" appear.

#### PROBE KEPT SECRET

Antiwar and anti-draft demonstrations, on a smaller scale, took place four years ago. Then President Lyndon Johnson publicly expressed concern that well-meaning Americans might have been the victims of Communist exploitation.

He gave full support to a Department of Justice investigation to determine the role of Communists in the demonstrations.

The results of the investigation were never made public.

After MOBE's October, 1967, assault on the Pentagon, House Democratic floor leader Carl Albert said the marchers included "every Communist and Communist sympathizer who was able to make the trip." He also charged that the demonstration had been "basically organized by international communism."

Republican floor leader Gerald Ford then revealed that at a White House meeting President Johnson had read to him and other Republican leaders a secret report revealing that the demonstration was organized by international communism. He asked that the report be made public.

Attorney General Ramsey Clark visited Ford and said the report could not be revealed without compromising sources of information and creating a new wave of "McCarthyism." This claim was also made by Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

Ford argued that the American people were mature enough to receive such information without reacting hysterically.

He got nowhere. The report was not released.

The results of suppressing the truth about the 1967 demonstration were seen in November. Thousands upon thousands of idealistic, well-meaning young Americans turned out to support another operation by the same outfit—an operation designed to injure the United States and help its enemies, who are also enemies of all that the overwhelming majority of the demonstrating youngsters believed in. Thousands of adults were similarly misled.

#### RALLY INDORSED

The files of the FBI Central Intelligence Agency, congressional committees and police departments bulge with information about Communist involvement in the Nov. 15 and related demonstrations.

Compromising sources of information is a minor problem in this case—there is much that can be revealed without injury to any intelligence operation.

It would have been different if Sen. Eugene McCarthy, D-Minn., Sen. George McGovern, D-S.D.; and Sen. Charles Goodell, R-N.Y. had organized a rally of true dissenters, making it clear that they vehemently op-

posed, and would condemn, the Communist Viet Cong revolution in South Vietnam and North Vietnam's aggression against the south.

However, instead of this, the senators gave their indorsement and support to a demonstration which was corrupted with communism.

Just how deeply the radical left and Communists were involved, however divided they may be on various issues, can be documented.

#### IMMEDIATE PULLOUT SOUGHT—MORATORIUM LOST BACKING WHEN TRUE GOAL REVEALED

(By Francis J. McNamara)

WASHINGTON.—Millions of words have been spoken and written about the Vietnam Moratorium.

It has been the subject of television network specials, numerous editorials and columns and extended straight news coverage.

The first phase came on Oct. 15. Many people again stopped "business as usual" Nov. 13-15 to demonstrate against the war. David Hawk, one of the four initiators of the sponsoring Vietnam Moratorium Committee (VMC) also said it is a "safe assumption" there will be still another moratorium in December.

The Vietnam Moratorium Committee's original announced plans was to hold a moratorium every month that the war continues, extending it by one day each month. Then, if the war does not end by May, 1972, it would call for a complete shutdown of America. No one would do anything but protest the war, day in and day out, until every last American was pulled out of Vietnam.

This, of course, will never happen—and the VMC knows it.

#### ARGUMENT CONTINUES FOR WEEKS

Meanwhile, argument continued for weeks about the statements of the President and vice president on the original Oct. 15 moratorium. There was hot debate about whether it was good or bad, right or wrong, supportable or insupportable. Despite all the words, most people did not have the facts they need to make an informed judgment on the issue.

The purpose of this series is to give some background information about the VMC, its aims, similar groups, and key personalities.

What was Moratorium Day for?

A basic issue is the purpose and aim of the VMC and its moratoriums. There has been a lot of confusion about this. To help clarify it, Rep. John Anderson, R-Ill., called David Mixner, another of the initiators and directors of the Moratorium Committee, to get a clear statement of its objective.

Anderson wanted this statement because congressional supporters of the Oct. 15 moratorium had announced their intention of keeping the House of Representatives in session through the night of Oct. 14 in honor of the observance. The great majority of members opposed the move and eventually defeated it.

Anderson taped Mixner's answer to his question so that he could quote it with complete accuracy on the floor of the House. This is what Mixner told him: "We want out now, and this is not contingent on anything that Hanoi or the Viet Cong might do."

Has VMC told the public this is its aim? Let's look at the record.

#### TAKEN TO LARGER COMMUNITY

One of its first organizing efforts was a letter addressed to interns working for the government in Washington last summer. The letter said Moratorium Day in October would be held so people could spend the day working "to end the war."

Later, a "student call for a Vietnam moratorium" was sent to campuses throughout the nation.

The moratorium, it said, was for "taking the issue of peace in Vietnam to the larger community." (In an early mailing of this call,

VMC said about 200 student leaders had signed it; in later mailings "about 500.")

A "faculty call," mailed later, said the moratorium was to "further build sentiments for peace" and to express "opposition to the prolongation of the war." More than 60 professors—called a partial list—were listed as signing this call.

A moratorium organizing memo, mailed in September, said participation in the moratorium is "a commitment to intense work and to peace." Another release, "The Vietnam Moratorium," said the moratorium "is an effort to maximize public pressure to end the war."

Then there were three full-page newspaper ads. The first ad said:

"What we are working toward, ultimately, is the largest and broadest antiwar movement ever seen in the United States."

The same statement of purpose was contained in the third ad. The only difference was that the word "ultimately" was left out.

#### NAMES OF 4 SENATORS LISTED

The second ad proclaimed that on Oct. 15 students and faculty would leave classes to talk about "the madness of Vietnam." The big eye-catcher, however, was this large, bold-type legend, "We Support October 15." Under it were listed the names of four senators—Charles Goodell, Mark Hatfield, Eugene McCarthy and George McGovern—followed by the names of 11 other persons of varied prominence. A brief statement by each one appeared under the name. At the bottom of the ad in small print readers were asked to work on Oct. 15 "for an early withdrawal of all our troops from Vietnam."

These ads were reproduced as VMC posters and distributed throughout the country.

A letter-size fold-over brochure prepared for Oct. 15 was the cheapest and therefore probably the most widely distributed VMC promotional item for M-Day.

It included the statement of purpose quoted above from the first ad. It also said:

"The Vietnam Moratorium Committee is an ad hoc group formed solely for the purpose of stimulating and supporting broad-based public action against the war in Vietnam." Note that word, "solely."

Sam Brown, VMC's chief spokesman, was interviewed on "Face the Nation" on Oct. 12, just three days before the first Moratorium Day. Facing a nationwide audience, he made conflicting statements about its purpose.

#### CHANGES POSITIONS ON WITHDRAWAL

First, he said it was "immediate withdrawal," and claimed several times that VMC had "consistently" said this. Later in the program he changed it to withdrawal "as rapidly as it is possible to do so." In answering a subsequent charge that VMC's aim was "vaguely stated," Brown again changed position and said withdrawal "no later than Dec. 1 of next year, and that is not immediate."

Yet the very next day Mixner told Anderson that the aim was immediate and unconditional pullout. VMC has been claiming ever since then that that is and has been its purpose. It is no wonder that even after Anderson quoted Mixner on VMC's aim, other congressmen who supported the moratorium rose to speak for it and made incorrect statements about its purpose.

There was much deceit in the way VMC promoted its October Moratorium.

Hundreds of thousands turned out on the Oct. 15 Moratorium Day in response to the VMC's broad and generalized appeals for "peace in Vietnam," ending the war" and an "early withdrawal" of U.S. forces.

How many would have responded if the VMC had honestly stated that Moratorium Day's purpose was to have this country's forces pulled out of Vietnam instantly and unconditionally?

#### SENATORS OPPOSE IMMEDIATE PULLOUT

I called the offices of the four Senators whose names appeared in the Oct. 8 ad as

Moratorium Day supporters. The same question was asked of each one: Does the senator support, or has he ever supported, an immediate, complete and unconditional pullout from Vietnam? In each case the answer was the same: "No."

Was the October Moratorium Day a success? It was and it wasn't.

VMC claimed that "millions" would observe the Oct. 15 Moratorium. Nothing like that happened. Most turnout estimates run to about 500,000, though VMC representatives have been reported as claiming over a million.

Regardless of the numbers, however, M-Day was a failure because the great majority who turned out did not support VMC's position and were not converted to it by the day's events.

Ironically, it was the VMC-enlisted big name speakers who guaranteed the failure. They spoke, one after the other, against VMC's objective.

Former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg called only for a "prompt and systematic withdrawal" of U.S. troops. Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., urged that all combat troops be withdrawn in a year and others by the end of 1972—a far cry from the VMC's demand.

#### FEW SUPPORT VMC POSITION

The Rev. Ralph Abernathy said that the only things to be discussed in Paris were "the safe exit of the Americans and political asylum for South Vietnamese who want it."

The VMC speaker list for M-Day contained the names of more than 175 persons who were scheduled to address observances. It cautioned that "not all" had endorsed the moratorium. Thirteen senators, 35 congressmen and about a dozen persons formerly prominent in government appeared on the list. Few support the VMC position. Most are on record as opposing it—and these were the speakers who attracted the largest audiences.

The nature of many M-Day activities also refutes the claim of its organizers that the day was a roaring success. Numerous observances were completely religious in nature, with no policy content at all. In quite a few cases, the "observances" were gatherings of schoolchildren.

Undoubtedly a number of speakers urged immediate withdrawal. Herbert Marcuse, philosopher of today's advocates of violence, was a scheduled speaker; so were far-leftist writer I. F. Stone, five of the persons now being tried in Chicago for conspiring to incite riots during last year's Democratic Convention, and others with lengthy records of activity in behalf of Communist front organizations.

No doubt, too, 95 per cent of those who favor a complete and unconditional withdrawal turned out on Oct. 15. The 5 per cent who didn't just couldn't make it for some reason or other. But there's every reason to believe that many speakers and the great majority of those demonstrating on M-Day did not favor VMC's position.

#### RED GROUPS AID MORATORIUM—MAJOR "FALL OFFENSIVE" A COMBINED OPERATION

(By Francis J. McNamara)

WASHINGTON.—The Vietnam Moratorium Committee (VMC) cannot claim sole responsibility for turning out hundreds of thousands of people on Moratorium Day, Oct. 15.

Nor could it make a similar claim when moratorium phase II rolled around in November, and thousands again turned out to protest the U.S. role in the war in Vietnam.

VMC had a lot of help in its operations and, without this help, nothing like what was seen on Oct. 15—and on Nov. 13-15—would have taken place. Many organizations

have not received the recognition due them for such success as has been attributed to VMC's operations.

#### GROUPS LISTED

What groups are these? They are the teams playing in the "Fall Offensive" league with VMC. These other teams are the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

Just what is the Fall Offensive?

It is a series of escalating "actions," as their originators call them, against U.S. involvement in the Vietnam war. Its full name is "Fall Offensive Against the War in Vietnam." The objective of the offensive was to exert such massive and intense pressure on the Nixon administration that it would abandon all effort to assist South Vietnam; it would pull out completely and immediately.

Many persons taking part in the Fall Offensive, unfortunately, did not realize its ultimate aim.

The program, worked out by the four groups last summer, was as follows (including minor changes since agreed upon):

Sept. 24—New Mobilization Committee—Chicago actions in support of the "Conspiracy 8," tried for conspiring to incite the riots during the 1968 Democratic Convention.

Oct. 8-11—SDS "Bring the War Home" actions in Chicago.

#### PROGRAM DESCRIBED

Oct. 15—Vietnam Moratorium Committee—Moratorium Day.

Oct. 25—New Mobilization Committee—Chicago actions in support of the "Conspiracy 8."

Nov. 8-15—SDS, Joe Hill Caucus—Week of local activity to promote Nov. 15 actions.

Nov. 13-14—Vietnam Moratorium Committee—Moratorium Days.

Nov. 13-14—New Mobilization Committee—March Against Death at Washington, D.C.

Nov. 14—Student Mobilization Committee—National student strike.

Nov. 15—New Mobilization Committee—Mass marches and rallies, Washington and San Francisco.

#### OVERSEAS, TOO

The Fall Offensive "actions" are not limited to the U.S. Moratorium Day, Oct. 15, was observed in several places overseas, almost exclusively by U.S. citizens. For that reason, the demonstrations were few and small.

However, Nov. 15, the climax of the offensive, was different. Communist and radical groups in foreign countries were utilized and demonstrations were held in Paris and the French provinces, Italy, West Germany, Holland, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, England, Australia, New Zealand and Chile.

The U.S. organizers of the Fall Offensive did not plan and coordinate all these foreign operations. They do not have the personnel, finances or resources. Outside help was given.

Some of the U.S. leaders of the Fall Offensive could tell you how, who, where and why.

If you asked, they would profess ignorance or come up with an amazingly simple explanation, such as: "Oh, people all over the world are so incensed about what the United States is doing to the Vietnamese people that, when they heard about our offensive, they decided that they had to do something to help."

#### WORK WITH REDS

Many Communists, America haters and Moscow, Peking, Castro, Hanoi and Viet Cong sympathizers took part in the Fall Offensive. The first thing that should be said, however, is that it is not claimed or implied that VMC, the sponsor of Moratorium Day, is Communist.

It is true that the VMC is working with Communists.

Many of the groups working with VMC in the Fall Offensive call themselves "peace" or "antiwar" organizations. They are neither. They are not pacifist. They are not antiwar as such. They have never condemned a Communist "war of national liberation."

Before discussing these groups, let's touch briefly on a bit of recent history. It will help us appreciate the full significance of the Fall Offensive and provide a framework for objective judgment of the VMC.

On Jan. 23, 1967, then-Rep. Edwin E. Willis, who was chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, warned that "an assortment of Communists of both the Peking and Moscow varieties, fellow travelers, Marxists, radicals, pacifists and professional 'peace' agitators" had begun a "crash program" to undermine and sabotage U.S. resistance to Communist military aggression in Vietnam.

Their stepped-up agitation and propaganda campaign against American Vietnam policy, he said, would culminate in what they had designated "Vietnam Week," the week of April 8-15, 1967. Later, but before the event, the Willis committee published a report, "Communist Manipulation and Control of Vietnam Week," which revealed how Communists had initiated and controlled this operation.

With the exception of the newly formed Vietnam Moratorium Committee, the groups which organized Vietnam Week of 1967 are the same groups which organized the Fall Offensive.

#### MOBE CALLED MAJOR ANTIWAR GROUP—IT'S ON HAND WHENEVER THERE'S AGITATION, DEMONSTRATIONS

(By Francis J. McNamara)

The New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, under a variety of names, has been in existence for a little more than three years.

First called the Nov. 8 Mobilization Committee, it was formed in Cleveland in September 1966 to make opposition to the Vietnam war an issue in that year's election.

It changed its name to "Spring" Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, while organizing Vietnam Week 1967. Several months after Vietnam Week it again changed its name and became the "National" Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, or "National MOBE."

MOBE, under its varied names, has been the country's major antiwar organization. It is an umbrella-type group, serving as the planner, director and coordinator of operations for the groups affiliated with it whose members provide muscle for its operations. Most of these are in the Communist front, Communist-infiltrated and radical-left category; a few are pacifist.

#### COMMUNISTS DOMINATE

A study shows that at no time since it was formed in 1966 has MOBE published propaganda or agitated on any issue that conflicted with Communist policies. The 1967 Willis Committee report found Communists "dominant" in MOBE when it was known as the Spring Mobilization Committee.

This is also true of New MOBE today. New MOBE held a mass rally in Chicago Sept. 24, the opening day of the trial of the "Conspiracy 8," as those charged with conspiring to foment a riot during the 1968 Democratic Convention have dubbed themselves.

MOBE's special interest in the Chicago trial is based on the fact that six of the eight defendants are key MOBE activists. Dave Dellinger, New and old MOBE chairman, is also coordinator of the Washington and Chicago actions in the fall offensive; Tom Hayden, a founder of Students for a Democratic Society and of the new, secret Revolutionary Union, was a co-director of MOBE's 1968 Chicago Convention operation.

## BACKGROUNDS GIVEN

Rennie Davis, also an SDS founder, worked with Hayden in 1968 as the other co-director for Chicago, was coordinator of the Counter-Inaugural and co-director for New MOBE's recent Chicago demonstration. Jerry Rubin, Yippie founder, served as coordinator of MOBE's 1967 Pentagon confrontation. John Froines, assistant professor of chemistry at the University of Oregon, was on the MOBE staff during the '68 convention, as was Lee Weiner, a Northwestern University graduate student working toward a doctor's degree in sociology.

The other two original defendants were Bobby Seale, California chairman of the Black Panthers, since convicted of contempt of court, and Abbie Hoffman, another Yippie leader. Both have been MOBE collaborators, though not officials.

New MOBE was the sponsor of the two big events in the fall offensive, the March Against Death at Washington, D.C., and mass marches and rallies in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco.

New MOBE conceived and launched the fall offensive Against the War in Vietnam under its former name, National MOBE.

This was accomplished by having a number of its key leaders enlist the cooperation of a few other "peace" activists in issuing a call to a National Antiwar Conference which was held in Cleveland last July 4-5. The conference was hosted by the Cleveland area Peace Action Council, a MOBE affiliate and the organization that sponsored the September 1966 meeting at which the original MOBE was formed.

## NOT COMPLETELY RED

Is New MOBE Communist? Not completely—because the Communists don't want it that way. There just aren't enough full-fledged party members in this country—even when you put the Muscovites, the Pekingese, the Trotskyists and all the splinter groups together—to put on a demonstration of such proportions that it could have national and international importance.

The Communists want impact. To get that they need two things, respectability and numbers.

How do they get these? By enlisting non-Communists in their operations—many of them: the 100 per cent fellow travelers who can always be counted on to rally to the cause, as well as the lesser fellow travelers who will respond on certain issues; the independent radicals and extremists, the non-party Marxists, the far-out pacifists (particularly useful for "peace" operations), the malcontents and anyone else they can coax, cajole or hoodwink into working for their cause.

## MANY FRONTS

Some of the "respectables" they enlist are always pushed to the forefront of their maneuvers and given impressive titles to provide cover for the more unsavory elements and the Communists, open and secret, who share power in the organization with them.

When MOBE originally was formed, there already were many fronts in existence, some formed for the specific purpose of agitating and propagandizing against this country's efforts to prevent a Communist victory in Vietnam. In addition, the outcome of the Vietnam war is tremendously important to world communism. There is more at stake than just South Vietnam. The issue is so vital to Communists of all types that competing groups (Moscow, Peking, etc.) were willing to forget their ideological and tactical differences to unite for the common good.

Do Communists dominate the MOBE coalition? Consider these facts:

The following are some of the many persons, all identified or professed Communists, who were associated with the Cleveland An-

tiwar Conference at which New MOBE was ostensibly formed and/or are now serving New MOBE in one capacity or another:

Arnold Johnson, legislative representative and public relations director of the Communist Party, who was imprisoned for conspiring to overthrow the United States, and who has been with MOBE since its founding three years ago.

Prof. Sidney Peck of Case-Western Reserve University, a veteran MOBE official.

Irvin Sarnoff, leader of the Peace Action Council in California, who has served on the District Council of the Southern California Communist Party.

## DENIED PASSPORT

Otto Nathan, who was denied a passport by the State Department some years ago on the grounds he had been a party member in Germany and invoked the Fifth Amendment in 1956 rather than tell a congressional committee if he was then a party member.

Jack Spiegel of the Chicago Peace Council, who has run for public office on the Communist ticket.

Leroy Wolins, leader of the Veterans for Peace in Vietnam.

Dorothy Hayes, active in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and Women Strike for Peace.

Phil Bart, long associated with the Daily Worker who is now chairman of the Ohio Communist party.

Ishmael Flory of the Afro-American Heritage Association in Chicago.

Also involved are International Longshore Workers Union official Louis Goldblatt and party members such as Ben Friedlander, Hershel Walker, Orville Leach, Elliot Waxman and Anne Braden.

The Communist party's youth group, the Du Bois Clubs, are represented by Gene Tournour, their national secretary, and by Jay Schaffner and Marc Beallor.

Dave Dellinger, veteran MOBE official, held the key post of coordinator of the Washington-San Francisco November demonstrations. Dellinger is often described as a pacifist, though he told the House Committee on Un-American Activities last year he is not one and has stated (in May 1963) that he is a Communist, but not of the Soviet variety.

## RIVAL REDS

The Trotskyist Communists, rivals and generally more radical, are represented by their long-time leader, Fred Halstead, and also by Harry Ring, Lew Jones and Gus Horowitz. Their youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance, has an official voice in running New MOBE through Larry Slegle, its national chairman and editor of the YSA magazine, Young Socialist, also in Peter Vinther, Allan Myers, and Carol Lipman, all of whom serve on New MOBE's steering committee.

Key MOBE leaders, it is important to remember, have been frequent visitors to foreign Communist capitals such as Hanoi, Havana, Prague and Moscow. Examples are Dellinger; Tom Hayden; Rennie Davis and Prof. Robert Greenblatt.

Greenblatt, a New MOBE steering committee member, went to Europe last year where he met with Viet Cong and North Vietnamese agents. He carried with him a note of introduction from Tom Hayden, MOBE's Chicago Democratic Convention project co-director, to Col. Lau of the North Vietnamese army, who was deputy chief of Ho Chi Minh's Paris negotiators at the time.

The letter explained that Greenblatt had just returned from Hanoi, that he was a National MOBE coordinator, worked closely with Dellinger and Hayden and would be in Paris for a few days in case there were "any pressing questions" Lau might want to discuss with him. Hayden, who had first met Lau in Hanoi, closed his note to Lau with these words: "Good fortune! Victory!"

## TASK "VERY CLEAR"

"The task before the New MOBE is very clear," says New Mobilizer, the VMC voice; in addition to demanding the "immediate and unconditional" withdrawal of all U.S. forces in Vietnam, it must further insist that there be "no future wars of intervention at home or abroad against oppressed and exploited people who are asserting their rights of self-determination in the quest for human liberation."

New MOBE considered Moratorium Day and other Washington actions in the Fall Offensive so important that it moved its national headquarters from New York to the nation's capital to be on the scene and in the best possible position to lend assistance. It rented space in the same building with the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, on the floor immediately above its offices.

## STUDENT MOBE LINKED WITH ACTIVITIES OF REDS

(By Francis J. McNamara)

The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, usually referred to as the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) or "Student MOBE," describes itself as "the national organization of all high school and college students who are united in uncompromising struggle against the war in Vietnam."

Unlike the Vietnam Moratorium Committee (VMC) it does not mince words in proclaiming precisely what it stands for: "Our program is clear and straightforward. We are for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam."

Student MOBE's prime role in the Fall Offensive was to organize a national student strike against the war on Nov. 14, the second day of the November Moratorium and the same day New MOBE began its March Against Death in Washington.

## PROMOTED BY RED

Student MOBE grew out of a proposal made by Bettina Aptheker, of Berkeley Free Speech Movement fame, that a nationwide student strike against the war be held in 1966. Daughter of the Communist party's chief theoretician, she was a professed party member herself at the time and was elected to the party's national committee in June, 1966.

She promoted her strike concept at the 1966 SDS national convention and in publications and gatherings of the Communist party's youth group, the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America. Her organizing efforts led to the issuance of a formal call to a student strike conference which was held in Chicago in December, 1966.

The conference organizers, Bettina Aptheker and other Communists among them, made no secret of the fact that the full spectrum of Communist groups in the United States was represented at the gathering. To those attending, it also was obvious that the representatives of these groups played key roles in the proceedings.

Among them were the Communist Party USA and its youth organization, the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs; the Progressive Labor Party which represents the Chinese wing of the U.S. Communist movement; the Socialist Workers party, the Trotskyist Communist organization, and its youth arm, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

Youth Against War and Fascism, the youth group of a Trotskyist splinter movement, the Workers World party, also was present. Students for a Democratic Society and various Communist front organizations were represented.

## STRIKE REJECTED

Bettina Aptheker's strike proposal failed to win approval at the meeting—primarily because the delegates doubted they were capa-

ble of successfully organizing a national strike in the near future. Student MOBE, however, was born at this conference.

Since its formation, Student MOBE has served as the right arm of the name-changing adult MOBE, organizing student support for Vietnam Week, the Pentagon confrontation, etc. It also has undertaken various projects of its own—an April, 1968, student strike against the war, for example, in which it claims (with great exaggeration) that about one million took part.

It boasts of its past harassment of President Johnson. "We demonstrated wherever Johnson went until the antiwar movement forced Johnson to go everywhere unannounced."

Now President Nixon is its target. "We have announced our plans to do the same to Nixon. There will be no peace for Nixon until all the troops are brought home."

#### UNITED FRONT GROUP

In announcing its "No Peace for Nixon Campaign" on Sept. 29, SMC promised to demonstrate at every public appearance the President made until he directed a complete, immediate and unqualified withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam.

Student MOBE also promotes antiwar agitation and propaganda within the armed forces. For this purpose, it has formed the GI Press Service, edited by Allan Myers, a SMC member, former serviceman, and a member of the Trotskyist Young Socialist Alliance who also serves on New MOBE's steering committee.

From birth, Student MOBE has been a united front organization, a combine of various groups, many openly Communist, uniting their efforts to draw as many youths as possible into the anti-Vietnam War Movement. About a year and a half ago, however, an important change took place. As a result of a long-simmering feud, the Communist party element walked out in a huff, leaving the young "Trots" in command. As J. Edgar Hoover stated earlier this year, Student MOBE "is controlled by members of the Young Socialist Alliance, the youth group of the Socialist Workers party."

Carol Lipman, SMC executive secretary, is the key to YSA control of Student MOBE. A leading YSA member, she serves on the editorial board of Young Socialist, the group's official publication. Miss Lipman also serves on the steering committee of New MOBE.

#### SDS TAKES OVER

Student MOBE held an antiwar conference in Cleveland on July 6 of this year, the day immediately following New MOBE's gathering. At this conference, according to the Militant, the Trotskyist Communist newspaper, it voted to enter "into building the fall antiwar offensive" which was described as "an ambitious plan to build the most massive and intensive series of antiwar actions yet."

An interesting development took place at this conference. SDS has generally kept itself aloof from formal cooperation with the activities of Student MOBE and similar groups in recent years, although it has permitted its local chapters and individual members to participate on their own if they so desire. An SDS delegation appeared at SMC's Cleveland conference, however, interrupted the proceedings by chanting "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh" and "Dare to Struggle Dare to Win," and then marched up to the podium and took over the microphone.

In a more cooperative mood, the Student MOBE's, at the request of the SDS delegation, added an SDS workshop to their agenda.

The Student MOBE conference voted to work on a fall offensive that coincided, point-by-point, with the Fall Offensive approved by New MOBE the day before.

Recounting the action taken at Student

MOBE's Cleveland meeting regarding the various operations in the Fall Offensive, the Militant reported: "SMC will also help build the nationwide moratorium against the war, planned by the Vietnam Moratorium Committee for Oct. 15; leaders of SMC and the Moratorium Committee agreed to cooperate in getting the participation of hundreds of thousands of students."

#### CLAIMS 1,500 BRANCHES

How strong is Student MOBE? How big a role did it play in turning out students for Moratorium Day? It is difficult to say and no one knows exactly. Carol Lipman has claimed SMC has about 1,500 branches. On the other hand, Don Gurewitz, 23-year-old SMC organizer and Case-Western Reserve grad, has given the number of local branches as 1,000—and that may be an exaggeration.

Student MOBE, like New MOBE moved from New York to Washington to be where the key action in the Fall Offensive would take place.

Carol Lipman addressed two Oct. 15 Moratorium gatherings—the Wayne State University and Detroit citywide rallies. She called the President a liar and added:

"We will force Nixon's abdication like we forced Johnson's abdication . . . There will be no peace for you, Mr. President, until . . . all our men are home."

She also had a reply to the vice president's statement that Moratorium leaders and sponsors should repudiate the message of support from the premier of North Vietnam. "No, Mr. Vice President Agnew, we won't repudiate the message . . . We welcome the message."

If you wonder about the violence that took place in Washington Nov. 14 and 15, consider what one of its own members has said about the nature of the Young Socialist Alliance whose members, as Student MOBE's, turned out en masse for the actions on those days.

#### EX-DU BOIS MEMBER

YSA member Jose Rudder, by his own admission, is a former member of the DuBois Clubs and their parent organization, the Communist party. He left them "greatly disillusioned about the whole left." Then he began to read the literature of the YSA and its parent body, the Socialist Workers party. He came to this conclusion:

"I was a Marxist, a Communist, and I believed in the revolution . . . The only organization that I could see that was concerned about . . . seeing the revolution take place in this country was the YSA. So I decided to join."

There have been two significant changes in Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) since its informal participation in Vietnam Week, 1967.

First, Communist penetration of the organization, particularly by the Peking-oriented Progressive party (PLP), has become more and more evident. At the June, 1969, SDS convention, the PLP made an unsuccessful bid to take over the organization. This led to the splintering of SDS into two factions, the more radical Weathermen group and the Revolutionary Youth Movement II. The PLP element, now known as SDSPL, was expelled and is now a separate group with its headquarters in Boston.

The second change in SDS has been a marked trend toward violence, particularly involving explosives. SDSers in a number of areas have been arrested for bombings and one is now on the FBI's most wanted list for blowing up high voltage towers supplying power to a Colorado plant manufacturing helicopter armor and missile parts.

#### BRANDED BY HOOVER

In the FBI's annual report for fiscal 1969, J. Edgar Hoover wrote: "The militant core of New Left extremism is the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). During the last

year, this group has reflected an ever-increasing Marxist-Leninist revolutionary posture. Several SDS leaders publicly identified themselves as revolutionary Communists. The SDS openly espouses the overthrow of our institutions of free society (called the 'Establishment') through violent revolutionary action. Never before in American history has there been such a strong revolutionary Marxist movement of young people so eager to tear down established authority."

SDS delegations took part in the Cleveland conferences on both New and Student MOBE, where the actions in the Fall Offensive were planned.

An SDS delegation also spent eight days conferring with Viet Cong agents in Havana early last July. The Vietnam war was a major topic of discussion. The delegation came back to this country resolved "to establish another front against imperialism right here in America—to 'bring the war home.'"

#### "BRING WAR HOME"

The one action SDS was responsible for in the Fall Offensive, the Oct. 8-11 demonstrations in Chicago, was carried out under the slogan "Bring the War Home!" As expected, the action was marked by destruction, violence, injury and scores of arrests. In a brutal attack, one SDSer broke the neck of a Chicago city attorney. He has been charged, among other things, with attempted murder.

The violence was primarily the work of the ultraradical Weathermen faction of SDS. It was denounced by the Revolutionary Youth Movement II and the Black Panthers and Young Lords, who also had taken part in the action.

The dominant Communist elements in both New and Student MOBE are more concerned about SDS' stand-offishness, the refusal to cooperate with other organizations. They also are annoyed by the tendency of the Weathermen faction to engage in what they consider senseless and counterproductive violence.

The Communist newspaper, the Daily World, published an editorial "Memo to SDS" shortly after the October Moratorium. It criticized SDS for "looking on from the sidelines" at "the very moment of the greatest mass turnout . . . for peace and against imperialism." It also hit SDS for its useless, damaging, "thoughtless" tactics and closed with these words:

"In the coming struggles . . . the masses of American working men and women could use your help and support. Think it over."

#### SIZE VITAL FACTOR

SDS' size has been an important factor in the yearning for its help. It is by far the largest of the New Left groups (claiming 40,000 members in some 250 chapters) and its membership greatly exceeds that of any Communist party or front in the country.

SDS participation in any "mass" left-Communist demonstration is still important to an impressive showing.

As was true in the case of past MOBE mass demonstrations, individual members and chapters of SDS turned out with a will for the November actions. Even the Weathermen gave their formal cooperation—and promised no violence. Amazingly, their promise was believed by some officials.

#### MORATORIUM GROUP LEADERS CALLED PRO-VIET CONG

(By Francis J. McNamara)

The Vietnam Moratorium Committee (VMC) is the babe-in-the-woods of the Fall Offensive, both from the point of view of its existence as an organization and the age of its leaders.

It was formed in June of this year. Two of its four leaders are 26-year-olds; one is 24 and another, the lone female, is 23.

Sam Brown has been the group's chief spokesman. His fellow VMC founders and coordinators are David Hawk, David Mixner and Marge Skenclar.

Brown and Hawk are ex-divinity students (Harvard and Union Theological, respectively). Brown, Mixner and Miss Skenclar worked in Sen. Eugene McCarthy's '68 campaign, and both Brown and Miss Skenclar in the "Dump Johnson" movement. Brown, Mixner and Skenclar have held positions with the National Student Association (Brown is currently on its national supervisory board). Brown and Miss Skenclar were active in the 1967 anti-Viet war operation called Vietnam Summer.

#### BOOK BY WHITE

In his latest book, Theodore White, the recorder of recent presidential campaigns, quotes Brown as saying:

"We've recognized the true nature of the United States. We saw the United States attack Cuba, it attacked the Dominican Republic, it attacked South Vietnam. The Communists are now a fragmented force; the United States is now the great imperialist-aggressor nation in the world."

That is not a pro-Communist statement. It indicates a distaste for imperialism and aggression and at least indirectly, recognizes that Communist powers have been imperialists and aggressors in the past. Nevertheless it is a demonstrably false statement—a reflection on Brown's knowledge and thus on those who follow his policy recommendations.

More damaging to Brown is a statement made by Dr. Martin Abend (Metromedia TV news commentator) in his Oct. 12 broadcast. Abend, also a professor of political geography at New Jersey State College, said that Sam Brown favors a Communist victory in Vietnam.

Brown's pro-Viet Cong views, Abend believes, explain his "keen interest" in having the United States pull out of Vietnam immediately and unconditionally.

#### VARIED ASSORTMENT

As previously mentioned, Brown and Marge Skenclar were associated with the 1967 Vietnam Summer project, another anti-Viet War operation that was supported by a varied assortment of radicals and leftists that included Lee Webb, former national secretary of SDS; Mike Ansara of Harvard SDS, and Richard Fernandez, who has served as sponsor, treasurer and steering committee member of the Committee to End the War in Vietnam (MOBE) in various phases of its transition from "November 8" to "Spring," "National," etc.

President Nixon's statement that U.S. policy regarding Vietnam would not be influenced by the moratorium or other street demonstrations Brown found "deeply disturbing." It was "surely unintended;" the President "cannot mean" what he said. It was "distressing . . . the degree of isolation" it reflected, a "rigid stance" and he surely hoped the President would not "further isolate" himself from the American people.

David Hawk, Brown's right-hand man, was an All-American diver at Cornell where he obtained a B.A. degree in social sciences before going on to Union Theological Seminary. He did voter registration work in Hattiesburg, Miss., and also helped organize the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which challenged the regular Democratic party delegation's seat at the Atlantic City convention.

He worked for SNCC again in Georgia in 1966—voter registration work and organizing a tenant's union in a low-cost housing project.

#### RESULT OF WORK

Though Stokely Carmichael was prominent in Students Non-Violent Coordinating

Committee (SNCC) at this time and engaged in inflammatory racial agitation, Hawk says he did not know him.

Earlier this year, working on the staff of the National Student Association (NSA), Hawk organized a draft resistance campaign among campus leaders. The result of his work became evident on April 22 with the public release of a letter addressed to President Nixon and signed by over 250 student body presidents and campus newspaper editors from 190 colleges and universities.

The letter proclaimed the signers would refuse to be drafted, even if it meant going to jail. They could see no justification for the war in Vietnam. Therefore their "integrity and conscience" would not permit them to accept military service.

Hawk admitted to me that he had worked on this project on NSA time and using NSA facilities. I asked if there had been formal NSA approval of it. He said there had not been but that NSA had adopted a resolution against the draft three years ago. When I asked if the resolution approved defiance of the draft, he said it did not. "But it clearly gave a mandate for the letter," he claimed. He pointed out that the letter was not illegal—just saying you will defy the draft at some future time is not a crime.

#### "A CYNICAL ATTEMPT"

Hawk had been indicted for refusing to report for induction earlier this year. Recently, a pretrial motion to dismiss the charges against him was rejected.

Like Brown, Hawk has a problem seeing integrity or good in the U.S. government. The present draft law admittedly contains inequities. Congress has been wrestling to reform it for years. Yet when the President announced new draft reform measures, temporary draft suspensions, and additional Vietnam troop withdrawals in September, Hawk saw these only as a "cynical and calculated attempt to fool the public."

VMC is against more than the war in Vietnam. It has advocated a general assault on this country's over-all defense organization. Its July 8 letter to government summer interns said that while they worked to build up support for the October moratorium "other antiwar activities . . . will, of course, continue."

What "other" activities? The letter spelled them out—"against the draft, ROTC, ABM, CBW, counter-insurgency research, and so on."

David Hawk announced on Oct. 9 that VMC would distribute throughout the services a GI referendum which would ask servicemen this question: "Should the United States bring the rest of the GIs home from Vietnam now?"

#### NOT BEEN TOLD

The full story of this VMC effort to promote antiwar propaganda and agitation within the armed services has not been told. Here it is:

On Sept. 29, the VMC addressed a letter to "GI Newspaper Editors," bringing the Fall Offensive and Moratorium Day to their attention and asking their help in organizing GI participation in a "recurring moratorium." The Oct. 15 demonstration, the letter pointed out, would help build a two-day moratorium in November and give the GIs the chance to focus "legal opposition" to the war on military bases.

"We realize that GIs cannot go on strike," the letter said. It also pointed out that a recent DOD directive banned antiwar meetings as such. Therefore, it suggested, say the directive is not clear and ask permission to hold a basewide meeting to discuss GI constitutional rights in the light of the directive. Ask the commanding officer or one of his subordinates to address the meeting—and put him on first if the invitation is accepted.

"Call Us Collect," VMC said, for legal help and outside civilian support if you have trouble getting permission.

#### OPEN FORUM

If permission is denied, let us know and we will try to arrange an off-base meeting. If a meeting is approved: "We suggest that this meeting be an open forum for ideas on what GIs can legally do to protest the war. Be sure to start by covering exactly what are your rights . . ."

"Certainly you will want to discuss the calendar for the 'Fall Offensive' and provide literature about events scheduled in the next two months. We will see that this information and material is provided."

A list of suggested on-base actions followed: pass base resolutions on the war; see chaplain to get a CO application; change insurance beneficiaries to include a "peace" organization; send telegrams to government officials; hold a fast; boycott products of "right-wing," "pro-war" companies (Schick Razor, which has given free razors to servicemen, was named as an example). Finally, there was this suggestion:

"Cancel those damn savings bonds."

#### "A GOOD FRIEND"

VMC's GI referendum ballots, the letter said, would be returned to Seaman Roger Priest. Priest faces a general court-martial on charges of soliciting servicemen to desert and commit sedition, and promoting disloyalty and disaffection in the armed services. The charges are based on articles published in his "underground" GI newspaper, OM, The Serviceman's Newsletter.

I asked Hawk what GI newspapers the VMC letter had been sent to. Hawk replied, "All of them; as many as there are." What kind of papers? The underground ones. Where did he get the names? Answer: From Carl Rogers, of Servicemen's LINK to Peace, "a good friend of ours who works downstairs."

What is Servicemen's LINK to Peace? I was told, "it helps GIs in incidents—like the Priest defense, publicly and so on."

Hawk indicated a copy of the GI referendum ballot pasted on the wall. I noted that it did not have VMC's name on it. Hawk agreed.

Carl Rogers is on the Steering Committee of Mobilization Committee to End the War (New MOBE) as head of Servicemen's LINK to Peace, one of MOBE's newly acquired "GI organizations." He is also the head of a group called the Committee For the Presidio '27, set up to defend military prisoners in the stockade at San Francisco's Presidio who were accused of mutiny. Both of these organizations have their headquarters at 1029 Vermont Ave. in Washington, the same building that houses VMC, NMC and SMC.

#### "POLITICAL" CLASS

The "underground" GI newspapers to which VMC mailed its referendum are not, like the civilian type, largely pornographic. They fall into the "political" and subversive class—filled with antiwar propaganda of the type disseminated in Roger Priest's OM.

Student MOBE's GI Press Service, run by the young Trotskyist, Allan Myers, recently circulated a list of these "GI Antiwar Papers." There were 42 on the list, most of them distributed from post office boxes near military bases. Four were published abroad. Myers is on the New MOBE steering committee with Hawk and Rogers.

It was Rogers who arranged a meeting between Hawk, a score or so of other VMC workers and Sen. Charles Goodell (R-N.Y.) in a New York apartment last Sept. 13. The result: the introduction of Sen. Goodell's resolution calling for the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam by the end of 1970. Hawk said he and Rogers were the only New MOBE representatives at the meeting.

On a recent visit to New MOBE headquarters I was told 100 organizations had joined

the organization, despite the fact that New MOBE leaders have been reported as claiming only 60.

When I went to see David Hawk I knew that New and Student MOBE had made a big push for Oct. 15.

#### ADVANCED ARTICLES

In addition to the thousands of leaflets, brochures and posters distributed, New Mobilizer had featured advance articles on Moratorium Day by VMC leaders such as David Mixner and Marge Skenciar. The Communist party, the Socialist Workers party, their youth groups and other Communist organizations affiliated with New MOBE had also gone all-out for Moratorium Day.

Published reports that VMC had its own organizers in the East but had used MOBE organizers in the West and Midwest were mentioned and Hawk was asked how many New MOBE organizers VMC had used.

His reply contradicted his earlier claim that MOBE organizers had not made any difference: "It's not like theirs and ours . . . in the big cities MOBE has the old sectarian left groups . . . a lot of the New MOBE groups are on the moratorium steering committee and on MOBE's so the same people—Clergy and Laymen Concerned and Women Strike for Peace—are working for the Moratorium Committee. . . . Most organizers worked for both."

#### LATER POINT

Hawk said the VMC founders had come to Washington with an organizing list of 15,000—Kennedy and McCarthy businessmen and contacts, people who had worked for causes, etc. They, too, had been used. But it was clear that MOBE organizers and Communist MOBE organizations had played a very important role in promoting the Oct. 15 turnout.

This was emphasized at a later point when Hawk was asked about the question of Communist influence in MOBE and the Fall Offensive. He deprecated the influence of the Communist party.

"They don't really have any control. That comes from groups that bring prestige, influence, money."

"Which ones?"

"Women Strike for Peace, Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam, SANE, New Democratic Coalition, Student MOBE. . . ."

When Sam Brown was asked about VMC association with Student MOBE on "Face the Nation," he replied: "We have no association with the Student Mobilization Committee."

Hawk was asked whether he considered Communists enemies of, or a danger to, this country and if he believed in working with them. He answered:

"We do not recognize New MOBE as Communist, nor is Student MOBE, though it is true that the Communist party of the U.S., which is defunct and harmless, more conservative than most New Left groups, has one vote on the steering committee of 70 members (of New MOBE). That is the extent of Communist input in New MOBE."

The issue of communism is "irrelevant; it's an attempt to slander the patriotism of those against war."

What about the Trotskyist influence added to the CP, doesn't that concern you?

"Concern, yes, sure . . . But there's much overlap in the group. New MOBE's center of gravity is a bit to the left of us. Some in New MOBE do not believe in electoral politics. Our center of gravity is people who believe in electoral politics."

The moratorium committee, like New MOBE, has denounced the November violence and said it was not responsible for it.

#### DAMAGES, INJURY

But this does not clear it of blame for the damages and personal injury to young demonstrators, many of whom were enticed

into going to Washington and San Francisco through its earlier moratorium organizing efforts and subsequent direct appeals.

Immediately after the October moratorium there were press reports that serious doubt existed about VMC support for New MOBE's November actions because of the presence of "radicals" in MOBE. It was difficult to believe them. There had been such close ties between the groups and VMC owed so much to SMC and NMC for their help that if they did not reciprocate, they would have been denied any further assistance for future moratoriums, which would hurt VMC badly. Not surprisingly, the alleged doubt was resolved by a VMC decision to help MOBE.

On Oct. 28, VMC sent a letter to its organizers, affiliates and "friends" announcing that the November moratorium would take place on the 13th and 14th. The letter called attention to New MOBE's March Against Death and added that "Many supporters of the moratorium will be participating in this solemn event."

VMC persisted in its support of New MOBE's Washington action, even after it became known that the Weathermen faction of SDS and other violence-prone and revolutionary groups would take part in it.

#### BULLETS ALONE WILL NOT WIN VIETNAM-TYPE WARS

### HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, the Alameda, Calif., Times-Star carried an editorial recently by the distinguished correspondent, Ray Cromley, entitled "Bullets Alone Will Not Win Vietnam-Type Wars."

I know of no man more capable of making a judgment in this field than Ray Cromley. His long experience in the Orient before and during World War II has given him the understanding that few have of how to deal with the people in that area of the world.

I congratulate the Times-Star for placing this article on its editorial page.

The editorial follows:

#### BULLETS ALONE WILL NOT WIN VIETNAM-TYPE WARS

(By Ray Cromley)

An Army captain, adviser to the district chief in Duc Pho, not too many miles away from the reported massacre at My Lai (Song My), rides in his jeep talking to an associate. He accidentally runs down a chicken. Immediately he turns around, drives back to the hamlet he has just passed through, finds the chicken's owner and apologizes in Vietnamese. He offers to pay. But the farmer says: "No, that's all right," and thanks the captain profusely for caring. The captain says he won't give him money for the chicken, then, but perhaps he can give him a little toward buying a pig.

At the other end of South Vietnam, down toward Ca Mau, an Army truck stalls in the mud and, in getting out runs off the road and destroys a part of a rice field. A major gets out of his vehicle, finds out who owns the field and says, since he is responsible for the damage, it is his responsibility to reimburse the farmer for the loss.

From then on, wherever this unit goes, the word spreads out ahead that "the unit with a heart for the people" is coming.

The contrast between these incidents and

what reportedly occurred at My Lai (or Song My) is not only the difference between decency and savagery, it is the difference between winning and losing a war as well.

For the military logic of Vietnam-type wars is that they are not won primarily by bullets (though bullets may be very necessary at times). They are won primarily by incidents such as the episodes above. They are lost by massacres, by calling native people "gooks" or "slopes" or "dinks" and by other acts that show disdain for the dignity and lives of the people living there.

In this type of a war, an army cannot win if it loses sight of its main objective—preserving the people it is there to defend.

Civil action at its best (as the defeat of Che Guevarra in Bolivia proves) is not an incidental good will gesture. It is a basic element of victory.

It may mean the difference between a local government that can stand on its own feet as a visible, democratic entity able to handle subversive totalitarian insurgencies and a country so divided it will crumble regardless of how many U.S. troops are deployed.

Respect for the Vietnamese is not a matter only of good will. It may mean, for example, being informed beforehand by the local citizenry of enemy ambushes . . . or not being informed and falling into VC traps.

As a guerrilla in World War II, this reporter lived behind enemy lines only because he had the support of the local people. If that support goes, a guerrilla is dead.

This friendship with the people (by both Americans and Vietnamese officials) can destroy the very will of the Viet Cong to fight. For a guerrilla cannot operate in a community united against him.

But disdain for local people can make new converts for the Viet Cong faster than bullets can kill VC troops.

#### COLLUSION AMONG ELECTRIC UTILITIES

### HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, December 17, 1969

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, on April 24, 1969, 84 electric utility executives gathered at the Northstar Inn in Minneapolis. They represented eight major utilities, the leadership of the industry in the region stretching from Illinois to Montana. They came to attend a municipal seminar sponsored by the North Central Electric Association.

For a number of the executives, the meeting offered an opportunity to renew old acquaintances with men they had planned with at previous municipal seminars. They had gathered at the inn on June 6 and 7, 1968, and on June 8 and 9, 1967. They had met back in April 1966, at Hopkins House, at the intersection of Highways 7 and 494 in Hopkins, Minn. Their North Central Electric Association was 12 years old now, having been formed in 1957, in Minneapolis, "to advance the art and science of the production, distribution and use of electricity for light, heat, and power for public service" in Minnesota, North and South Dakota, and adjacent States.

Two of the companies represented at this year's seminar—Northern States Power and Otter Tail Power—serve portions of Minnesota and both Dakotas.

Of the 84 participants, 50 men came from Northern States Power. One company, Montana-Dakota Utilities, serves portions of those three States and also eastern Montana. Interstate Power serves parts of Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, and South Dakota; Iowa Public Service serves portions of Iowa and South Dakota. The service area of Black Hills Power & Light covers areas of both Wyoming and South Dakota. Two of the participants confine their electric service to two States. They are Northwestern Public Service, which operates in South Dakota, and Minnesota Power & Light. A Wisconsin Utility, Superior Water, Light & Power, had sent representation to the 1967 and 1968 meetings.

The program in 1967 was typical of the annual seminars. Presidents, vice presidents, and division managers of the member utilities and General Electric discussed various aspects of the perennial subject, municipal; that is, city-owned, electric systems. Members divided into study groups, then reassembled to hear findings and conclusions from a panel consisting of President David Heskett, of Montana-Dakota Utilities, President A. V. Hartl, of Otter Tail Power, Vice President J. W. Hoffman, of Northern States Power; and Robert Asheim, administrative vice president of Black Hills Power & Light. The panel was moderated by E. A. Savage, division manager of Minnesota Power & Light.

President Hartl of Otter Tail served also as president of the North Central Electric Association in 1967. The previous year, at Hopkins House, he had keynoted the seminar after which one of his vice presidents, Bob Bigwood, moderated a report session covering areas of the Upper Midwest where people were threatening to provide themselves with electricity, rather than purchasing it from a member company.

Vice President S. E. Sewell, of Northwestern Public Service Co., then reported which groups of people were troubling the investor-owned utilities. There were quite a few. They included small-town businessmen, politicians, and editors who questioned utility practices, city councilmen looking for revenue, members of the Farmers Union, National Farmers Organization, and rural electric cooperatives, people who commuted from towns served by municipal power, retired farmers, and diesel salesmen.

What could be done about those agitators? R. G. Asheim, administrative vice president of Black Hills Power & Light, and S. Laskin, vice president of Minnesota Power & Light, gave the answers. The utilities should marshal their massive and pervasive strength, to the end that they would be able to buy out small city-owned systems and forestall any attempts to deny renewal of utility franchises by councils or voter referendums.

The minutes of that meeting spell out the details of their recommendations:

Utility should maintain effective control of the campaign at all times, while not having it apparent or obvious . . .

Use the unions for support . . .

Use letters to the editors, preferably by an outsider . . .

Place company insurance in a manner that allows insurance agencies in all communi-

ties to share in company's insurance program . . .

Use local banks wherever it is practical and try to get participation from banks in all communities served by the company . . .

Hire housewives for precinct workers during franchise renewal . . .

Encourage employees to belong to local, civic and service organizations and to be active in local politics, and on some occasions run for public office . . .

Be sure election procedure is well organized for poll watchers, babysitters, rides to the polls . . .

Use Home Service girls for customer contacts and franchise work . . .

Have dinner meetings with all news media . . . schedule meetings with news media people on a regular basis. One company was reported to have gone into this aspect "quite intensively." Company officials were reaping dividends from their regular contacts with these (news) people.

The following year, 1967, 80 utility officials gathered at the Northstar Inn. C. T. Sickel, division manager of Minnesota Power & Light, told how utility officials quietly arranged for public officials in Gilbert, Minn., to front for the company in its effort to obtain the city light plant. I quote from the North Central Electric Association's own account of his report:

There was no difficulty in getting the City Council to agree to a special election in which the sale of the municipal system would be placed on the ballot. By law, this requires the unanimous consent of the council. Steps were taken to have a Taxpayers Committee formed for the purpose of selling the city on the advantages of the sale of their municipal distribution system to MP&L Co. Two members of the council were to spearhead this committee. No formal announcement was made to the people of Gilbert, nor was a date set for an election.

Dell B. Raymond, vice president for marketing of Iowa Public Service, discussed an aspect of utility marketing which differs from the image of that specialty which the utilities project, in the Midwestern schools, through their sponsorship of work study booklets and business-education days:

We filed a bill in both the House and Senate,

Reported Vice President Raymond—

Our company had a very favorable chairman . . .

Then Richard Bennett, general sales manager for Montana-Dakota Utilities, issued his plea for "believable" answers to the unsettling statements, abroad throughout the region, which were disrupting the utilities' efforts to increase their monopoly.

Does anyone—

He asked—

have concise believable answers to the following claims advanced by municipal ownership advocates:

a. The private electric utilities are not really a part of the historic American free enterprise system.

b. Since most communities own and operate their water and sewer systems, there certainly is nothing Socialistic or fundamentally wrong with a city owning its own electric facilities.

c. Why shouldn't the city own its electric system and keep all the profits at home for community betterment instead of permitting the utility company to drain off all that

money and send it to small groups of wealthy stockholders and bankers in the big cities?

Truly alarmed, Mr. Bennett reported that even chambers of commerce no longer found the utility litany believable. Indeed, the businessmen were organizing the opposition.

In each community, where we have experienced municipal ownership agitation, he reported, "It is the businessmen and their business organizations, such as the Junior Chamber of Commerce and the commercial club, who are spearheading the municipal ownership movement.

The president of Montana-Dakota Utilities, David M. Heskett, summarized the findings of the roundtable study group assigned the topic, "Acquisition of Municipal Systems." He noted:

Many attempts are being made to acquire municipal systems, by different utilities.

He said:

Careful planning and handling was important, adding that the psychological impact of a successful acquisition of a municipally-owned system warrants more time, attention and aggressiveness than this type of effort is apparently receiving in most utilities today.

His panel has stressed, as had previous speakers, the importance of subterfuge and elaborate, costly political action. President Heskett presented the step-by-step approach to sellouts reported by one utility:

1. Survey the community first for sentiment. (Use a professional survey organization.)

2. Hire a consultant.

3. Use a local man to engineer and front for the effort. Set up an office and put the man to work with the acquisition as his sole assignment.

4. Use retired people, relatives, and similar groups for contact work.

5. Remember that an election won't be won on main street. There has to be contact in the residential areas.

6. Use women to make calls and catalog everyone as to their position on an acquisition attempt.

7. Minimize accounting aspects in any brochure and develop suitable illustrative artwork. Economic factors should be set out and interpreted for understanding.

8. Use voter registration lists for contacts and ignore others.

9. Use newspaper advertising and direct all efforts toward the election.

10. On interviewing, use a tailgate conference each night to determine standing in community and to learn from the combined experience of those making contacts.

11. The consultant's fee could fall in the neighborhood of \$100 per day plus costs with an undertaking in a larger community probably costing more.

Mr. President, the documents upon which my remarks above are based have been entered into the record of the Federal Power Commission Docket E-7278. This is an antitrust case regarding the town of Elbow Lake, Minn., which chose to provide its own power. Elbow Lake sought to supplement its diesel generation and obtained an allocation of power from the Bureau of Reclamation. Otter Tail Power, one of the members of the North Central Electric Association, refused to wheel the Bureau power to the municipal and the suit ensued.

This year, on July 19, the Justice Department filed an antitrust suit against

Otter Tail, accusing it of monopolizing the sale of electric power to 464 towns in Minnesota and the Dakotas. I commended the Department for its action at the time. This is a cast of historic importance to all small power systems, municipal-, cooperative-, and investor-owned, which are dependent on transmission facilities which they do not control.

The North Central utilities' own accounts of their actions and further plans to decrease what little competition they have, indicate the seriousness and scope of their effort to undermine independent local governments. These reports by the utilities indicate widespread conspiracy to monopolize the market. They show the need for filing additional antitrust suits. I shall shortly ask the Attorney General to file such additional antitrust suits as are necessary to dismantle unlawful monopoly.

State laws may also have been violated. One Minnesota utility official spoke to this point. I shall refer these documents to the appropriate attorneys general.

The record of these meetings also reveals that the utilities made substantial expenditures which should be borne by the stockholders, rather than customers. The decision as to which group pays is made by the various State utility commissions, not by the Federal Power Commission, which is sharply restricted in its regulatory authority.

However, in two of the States here involved—Minnesota and South Dakota—there are no State utility commissions with responsibilities affecting electric utilities. The other States involved have commissions with exceedingly small staffs, most of them now attempting to analyze the record number of rate increase requests that have been put before them this year by various utilities, including some of the members of the North Central Electric Association.

The audit staff of the Federal Power Commission is so small, in comparison with the mammoth electric and gas industries, that accounts of these utilities are not audited by the FPC more than once every 5 to 7 years.

The FPC can do better than that, and it should. The books of all the members of the North Central Electric Association should be audited now, by the FPC, and the findings made public. The job should begin in the two States where the public does not even have a weak, understaffed State commission, Minnesota and South Dakota. And the audit should cover at least the 4 years that the utility officials are known to have been concerting to kill off their competition.

If the FPC needs more money to do the job, it should ask for it promptly.

The distinguished Senator from Washington will recall that some years ago the FPC investigated a comparable situation in Washington, when investor-owned utilities were attempting to kill off public utility districts. The FPC documented the purchase of politicians and press by the IOUs and widespread use of front organizations by the utilities.

If the FPC does not promptly audit the books of these companies and report its findings, the Congress itself, which

has delegated regulatory responsibility to the independent commissions, should do the job.

Mr. President, were S. 607, the Utility Consumers' Counsel Act, now law, the questionable expenditures by members of the North Central Electric Association would be a matter of public record and convenient access. The long-term, commonsense, fair way to curb utility excesses is through illumination of their accounts.

During the hearings on S. 607, witnesses from the city of Danville, Va., testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations. They told how American Electric Power and its subsidiary, Appalachian Power, working closely with a citizens committee, saturated the Media with advertisements in opposition to the bond issue necessary to finance the expansion of the municipal powerplant. An audit this year by the FPC identified almost \$25,000 in expenditures by Appalachian Power in its effort to defeat the referendum. The audit further showed that a substantial portion of the political expenditures were improperly accounted by Appalachian Power. And it showed that some expenditures by the citizens committee opposing the bond issue had been billed to Appalachian Power. I would add that the antimunicipal activity in Danville, as reported in the hearings on S. 607, and the FPC auditors report, which appears in the July 24, 1969, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD beginning on page 20735, are strikingly similar to the 11-point program set forth by MDU President Heskett, as referred to above.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the documents regarding the North Central Electric Association to which I have referred. They are the programs for the 1966, 1967, 1968, and 1969 municipal seminars, reports by NCEA on the 1966 and 1967 seminars and the organization's constitution.

I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the testimony of the Federal Power Commission auditor who went into Otter Tail Power books this year. His testimony describes how political advertising, payments to front organizations, participation in North Central Electric Association activities and costs of bill stuffers were improperly accounted and passed on to the utility's customers.

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

NORTH CENTRAL ELECTRIC ASSOCIATION, ONE DAY CONFERENCE ON THE COMMUNITY—UNDERSTANDING IT RETAINING ITS GOODWILL

Harry C. Johnson, Chairman.

Date: Tuesday, April 26, 1966.

Time: 8:30 A.M. Daylight Time (If Adopted).

Location: Hopkins House, Highways 7 & 494, Hopkins, Minn.

*The basic conference objective*

To study the problem of promotion of municipally-owned electric systems and to discuss and determine: What Is Happening, What's The Problem, Why It's Happening, What Can Be Done About It, How To Keep It From Happening.

*The conference program*

8:30 A.M. A *Keynote Talk*—Objective: To set the tone of the conference with emphasis on the need and merit of working together in analyzing the problem and in finding solutions. A. V. Hartl, President, Otter Tail Power Company.

*What is happening*

9:00 A.M. A *Panel Discussion*—Objective: To exchange information on past and existing cases of municipal agitation, with each company, if it wishes, presenting one case where the case was either won, lost, or caught at an early stage of development. Moderator: R. W. Steele, President, Interstate Power Company.

*Cases*

Montana-Dakota Utilities—Hazen, N.D.—Current problem.

Minnesota Power & Light—Crosby, Minn.—Caught in early stage.

Interstate Power Company—Buffalo Center, Iowa—Won.

Northwestern Public Service Co.—Parkston, S.D.—Re-establish confidence in town and won.

Otter Tail Power Company—Elbow Lake, Minn.—Lost.

Iowa Public Service Co.—Alton, Iowa—Lost.

Black Hills Power & Light Co.—Hot Springs, S.D.—Lost Franchise, not town.

Northern States Power Company—Southwest Fargo, N.D.—Won.

10:30 A.M. to 12:00 Noon. *Round-Table Study Groups.*

*What's the problem*

*Group #1*—Objective: To isolate and identify—

a. The earliest indication of a possible problem.

b. The factors which gave impetus to the movement.

c. The groups and type of people within the community who were most susceptible to persuasion in favor of the movement.

Conference Leader: S. E. Sewell, Vice President, Northwestern Public Service Company

*Why it's happening*

*Group #2*—Objectives:

1. To isolate and identify the factors from outside the community which were at work.

2. To determine if common factors or influences were present in all or most situations and if so, what they were.

3. To establish, if possible, criteria for determining presence of a community bias in favor of municipal ownership.

4. To study the individual "catalyst" and what makes him effective.

Conference Leader: J. W. Hoffman, Vice President, Northern States Power Company

*What can be done about it*

*Group #3*—Objective: To exchange information on effective, proven approaches and techniques used in combating and suppressing either developing or full-blown cases of municipal agitation.

Conference Leader: R. G. Asheim, Administrative Vice President, Black Hills Power & Light Company

*How to keep it from happening*

*Group #4*—Objective: To exchange information on community relations programs of proven value, how such programs are implemented and how their results are measured to the end that no community dissatisfaction comes into being.

Conference Leader: S. Laskin, Vice President—Commercial, Minnesota Power & Light Company

12:00 Noon to 1:30 P.M. Noon Recess.

2:45 P.M. *Report-Back Session—Study Groups*—Objective: To report findings and conclusions of study groups to all those in attendance at the conference and with group leaders serving as a panel to provide the

opportunity for concluding general exchange of opinions and observations. Moderator: R. M. Bigwood, Vice President—Management Services, Otter Tail Power Company.

4:00 P.M. Conference Adjourns.

The keynote talk, panel presentation and study group reports, together with such additional pertinent commentary as may come out of the concluding general session, will be assembled in a confidential conference report which will be provided to all conference participants.

#### WHAT'S THE PROBLEM

Conference Leader: S. E. Sewell, Vice President, Northwestern Public Service Company.

Summary: Dissatisfaction with service, company people or policy, municipal finances, which is translated into a growing fester that ultimately progresses into a relationship problem.

Objective: To isolate and identify.

A. The earliest indication of a possible problem.

1. Where there is a history of municipal ownership agitation in a community, special attention should be given.

2. Attempt to get a new franchise several years ahead of expiration date whenever time appears to be favorable. Then there will be time to take corrective action if trouble develops.

3. Dissatisfaction with rates, either municipal or general. Resistance to street lighting or other municipal contracts. Large number of high bill complaints or large number of arrears.

4. Hostile newspaper with regular appearance of unfavorable editorials or news stories. Unfavorable letters to the editors.

5. Local or state political candidates who raise issue of rates, taxes, franchises, and general policies of utility (such as underground service.)

6. When normally friendly people start changing their attitude toward the Company or attempt to avoid Company employees. Any indication that Company employees are not accepted in civic organizations.

7. Municipal ownership agitation in neighboring communities.

8. REA active in a community, such as a new REA headquarters building, REA seeking to serve municipal loads, etc.

9. Special attention should be given to towns with unusually high municipal debt or where there is gross earnings tax agitation.

10. Communities who have no Company employees located in the community are particularly vulnerable.

11. Low merchandise volume in a community when Company has an active merchandising program.

12. Community which establishes a municipal gas operation.

13. Presence of diesel salesmen.

B. The factors which give impetus to the movement.

1. Isolated cases where customer has an unusually high bill due to high demand, seasonal load, etc.

2. Request for renewal of a franchise or street lighting contracts which usually brings up the amount city is paying for street lighting, water, and sewer pumping.

3. Requests by REA for a franchise.

4. New city administration that finds itself with a depleted city treasury with promises and requests for more municipal services and demands for lower taxes.

5. Lack of good public relations and contacts with community leaders, municipal and school officials.

6. Lack of good public information program on taxes, rate reductions, earnings, and new investments for improved service.

7. REA and Bureau employees, living both in and outside of community, who become active in the community.

8. Activity by engineering consultants, equipment salesmen, and bonding companies.

9. Availability of other sources of low cost wholesale supply power, such as Bureau of Reclamation, Basin Electric Cooperative, etc.

C. The groups and types of people within the community who were most susceptible to persuasion in favor of the movement.

1. Farmers Union and NFO.

2. Employees of REA or Bureau of Reclamation living in the community.

3. Retired and sidewalk farmers.

4. Marginal businessmen, particularly appliance dealers, and those badly in arrears.

5. Businessmen in smaller community who are susceptible to pressure from REA members.

6. Attorneys who represent REAs, cooperatives, or liberal organizations.

7. Council that is not business oriented.

8. Those with historical grudges.

9. Commuters from municipal plant towns.

#### WHY IT'S HAPPENING

Conference Leader: J. W. Hoffman, Vice President, Northern States Power Company.

Summary: Possibly, in brief, the "Why It's Happening" is:

1. Need for money by the community.

2. Poor representation by the company.

3. Effective leadership for municipal ownership, aided by outside interests such as the Bureau of Reclamation, REA, rate experts, bonding companies, and engineering companies.

Objective:

A. To isolate and identify the factors from outside the community which were at work.

1. There appear to be a number of factors from outside the communities which are common to most cases. There is agitation by those who wish to earn a fee through studies on the feasibility of municipal ownership, such as rate experts, bonding companies and, in some instances, equipment manufacturers, although the promotional work by the diesel engine companies in the past seem to be not too prominent.

2. Publicity originating from communities that are investigating municipal ownership tends to spread the idea to other adjacent communities and cause interest and publicity in these other communities.

3. Communities in the marketing area of the Bureau of Reclamation are particularly vulnerable due to the low rates offered by the Bureau. This situation is sometimes further aggravated by REA's operating in the area who indicate they might supply power requirements beyond the Bureau allocations.

B. To determine if common factors or influences were present in all or most situations and if so, what they were.

1. The most common factor seems to be the community's need for more revenue, and municipal ownership of the electric utility seems to be a possible source.

2. Another factor is a community where the utility investment is relatively low, which was reflected in a low tax benefit to the community. Most municipal agitation occurred in communities under 2500 population—possible in part due to this low utility investment.

3. Sometimes the utility representative in the community is not doing an adequate public relations job. This is difficult to evaluate, but it was the consensus that the best possible personnel be located in the communities that have been historically troublesome.

4. There were always one or two effective community leaders supporting the program where the threat of municipal ownership became serious. Oftentimes these leaders were long-standing opponents of the utility.

C. To establish, if possible, criteria for determining presence of a community bias in favor of municipal ownership.

1. Frequently the community leaders avoid meetings with company representatives and company employees. There is a relatively high level of complaints about service and rates.

2. Where there is some indication of possible favor for municipal ownership, many companies have initiated surveys either directly by company personnel or by public survey organizations. For the most part, results of these surveys have been very helpful.

3. Close examination of newspaper articles and editorials in the local paper might offer evidence of community bias in favor of municipal ownership.

4. Communities in which a large number of cooperative organizations are located tend to be more vulnerable to municipal ownership programs.

5. Nearness to Municipal Plants.

D. To study the individual "catalyst" and what makes him effective.

1. It seems that each troublesome community had one individual capable of organizing a municipal ownership agitation. This "catalyst" in most instances is sincere in his beliefs and dedicated to the program. In some instances his actions and thinking are the result of being a dedicated antagonist of the power company or the capitalistic system. Possibly this individual is a dissident customer of long standing.

2. These individuals almost reach the point of being incorrigible from the viewpoint of the utility, but it was generally agreed that the utility representative should continue to cultivate these people in the hope of neutralizing their attitudes.

3. The effective "catalyst" normally enjoys a good standing in the community, frequently is a politician with considerable ability, and possibly has some personal ambitions. In any event, this individual should not be ignored, for he always remains a potential problem.

#### WHAT CAN BE DONE ABOUT IT

Conference Leader: R. G. Ashelm, Administrative Vice President, Black Hills Power & Light Company.

Summary: Good public relations throughout the companies by constant customer contact and careful education and use of employees were the key points in the discussion. Operate always as if you are getting ready for a franchise election.

Objective:

To exchange information on effective, proven approaches and techniques used in combating and suppressing either developing or full-blown cases of municipal agitation. The subject was divided into two parts: A. What can be done to prevent municipal agitation. B. What can be done to suppress agitation once it has started.

A. What can be done to prevent municipal agitation.

1. Isolate problems and set up priority list to solve them.

2. Keep in contact with people and convince them of your sincerity and interest.

3. Regular contacts with all customers.

4. Work with industrial development groups and be alert to industry moving into your towns.

5. Give good service and then tell the people you gave them good service.

6. Use Home Service girls for customer contacts and franchise work.

7. One company hired housewives for precinct workers during franchise renewal.

8. Have strong public relations-minded employees.

9. If you have problems with an employee, either train him properly or move him out of the area. Unions can be worked with on this problem.

10. Generally, most companies encourage and permit employees to run for council positions. Special permission is required for any state position. Permission will depend

on individual and the job he may hold with the company.

11. Generally, hourly-paid employees are permitted to run for local office by all companies.

12. Most companies would discourage an employee running for office if the company feels problems would result because of it.

13. Careful analysis must be made, however, because it was brought out that some employees have broadened their knowledge and improved themselves considerably even though originally they were thought not to have the capability.

14. One of the dangers involved if an employee is discouraged from running for office and later is successful, you may lose the man to the other side.

15. Take care of the little complaints—good service is expected.

16. Must find ways and means to be important to the customer.

17. Keep employees well informed.

18. Use local employee for customer contacts as much as possible.

19. Operate always as if you are getting ready for a franchise.

20. Be sure to contact all groups including school boards.

21. Take leadership in tax equalization studies. It was felt by most of the group that it would be an advantage for the power companies to have the tax benefits paid on a broader area.

22. Use careful selection of information in ads and brochures.

23. Use Political Action Course in company to improve knowledge of employees in politics.

24. Have dinner meetings with all news media.

25. Discourage franchise "bait" and take franchise election by itself. Most power companies pay franchise election costs. Some companies tie a franchise election in with large expenditures in a given community.

26. The word "franchise" does not connote a favorable reaction. The use of "operating permit" seems to be more readily accepted.

27. One company uses meter readers on their regular routes to tell franchise stories.

28. Merchandise selling has definite public relation assets.

29. If possible, work with consulting engineers in your areas.

B. What can be done to suppress agitation once it has started.

1. Isolate the problems on a priority basis.

2. Door-to-door campaign for telling company story.

3. Develop organization structure to deal with problems.

4. Keep in touch with all the people including your opponents.

5. Use the unions for support.

6. Use letters to the editors, preferably by an outsider.

7. Develop citizens committee. It is desirable to have this committee work in its own behalf.

8. Seek out a leader with equivalent quality or better than the leader of the opposition.

9. Guide citizens committee with accurate, up-to-date information.

10. Try to have at least some of the leaders free from boycott possibilities.

11. Businessmen may be the first to leave your committee under pressure.

12. Use survey to aid in defining the problems.

13. Use local people on house-to-house canvases to determine attitudes of the people.

14. Catalog these people with a card index file.

15. In later stages of campaign, keep a day-to-day contact with all the key people.

16. Be sure election procedure is well organized for poll watchers, babysitters, rides to the polls, etc.

17. Work closely with advertising agency.

18. Analyze opposition report and hit its weak spots.

19. Set up timetable to include all phases of the election.

20. Absentee voting is very important and employees should know the details involved in this procedure.

21. Know legal problems involved with elections.

22. Do not neglect opposition people—a convert is very important.

23. Use common terms to keep the public from being confused—use people talk.

24. Use service clubs to inform the people.

25. Keep utility ads and contacts positive.

26. Utility should maintain effective control of the campaign at all times, while not having it apparent or obvious.

27. Timing is very important—do not use all your material too soon.

28. Coffee parties for telling company story.

29. Do not say during the franchise campaign that you must have the franchise for a particular reason and find yourself defending the issue later.

Reasons why company should have franchise:

1. Gives endorsement of company by the city.

2. Aid for securing financing.

3. Possible elimination of duplication of facilities.

4. Establishes contractual arrangements with the city.

5. Guarantees the city electric service and aid from the utility.

#### HOW TO KEEP IT FROM HAPPENING

Conference Leader: S. Laskin, Vice President—Commercial Minnesota Power & Light Company.

Summary: Give the best possible service at all times.

Objective:

To exchange information on community relations programs of value, how such programs are implemented and how their results are measured to the end that no community dissatisfaction comes into being.

Conclusions summarized as follows:

1. Get acquainted and stay acquainted with council members, school board members and community leaders. Some companies have made it a practice for their managers to attend a minimum of two meetings per year of councils, school boards, etc., sending reports of these meetings to the General Office. One company has a practice of inviting each council annually to an appreciation dinner.

2. Take surveys from time to time. Many of the companies are using customer surveys on a regular basis. One company said that they are able to trend the results of these surveys and can spot problem areas before they blossom into real problems.

3. Don't trust any one employee to know what is going on in a town. Sometimes an employee is not contacting all of the elements in a community and has a distorted view of the situation in that particular area.

4. Encourage employees to belong to local, civic and service organizations and to be active in local politics, and on some occasions running for public office.

5. Carry on employee information programs, especially for all employees who contact the public. This is being done by various companies through meetings, publications and other data furnished employees.

6. It was suggested in borrowing funds, companies use local banks wherever it is practical and try to get participation from banks in all communities served by the company.

7. Place company insurance in a manner that allows insurance agents in all communities to share in company's insurance program.

8. Make sure you have a well qualified man in a local manager's job. Most of the cases

where companies developed trouble could be traced to the fact that the local manager did not know what was happening in his community and had not made contacts with the proper people to keep abreast of the situation.

9. Encourage labor organizations in their opposition to public power. There has apparently developed quite a surge of labor resentment against public power and this could be a very pertinent tool in our fight against the public power advocates.

10. Use area development as a tool to build a good image for your company locally. Most companies have information which is of great help to local communities in area development. Proper use of this information through the local manager and area development staff can greatly enhance our public image in a community.

11. Work with people in education. One of our great problems is to let educators—superintendents, principals and teachers—know something of our business. This problem is being worked on by various means, such as business-education days, scholarships, work study booklet now being used by two companies, and various other methods.

12. Cultivate your enemies. Most managers do not relish the thought of talking to people opposed to our manner of doing business. Many dividends are obtained by cultivating people opposed to us and, although they may not be won over to our side, with the proper approach they can certainly be neutralized in many situations.

13. Organize and encourage plan tours. Many companies are doing this for various groups, such as councils, school people, service clubs, etc.

14. Schedule meetings with news media people on a regular basis. One company has gone into this quite intensively and say that they are reaping dividends from these regular contacts with these people.

15. Use modern street lighting to improve your relationship in municipalities. The greater value of your rate sources should be offered to communities to better their systems and in turn better our relationships with the communities.

16. Settle damage claims promptly. One company has a practice of authorizing their managers to make settlements on claims within 24 hours, if possible.

17. Maintain strong and firm collection policies. It was the unanimous feeling of the group that where good public policies are maintained, public relations are generally better.

#### NORTH CENTRAL ELECTRIC ASSOCIATION MUNICIPAL SEMINAR, JUNE 8-9, 1967

(Minnesota Power & Light Co., sponsor)

Officers of NCEA: A. V. Hart, President; D. M. Heskett, Vice President; C. K. Larson, Treasurer; R. B. Newman, Secretary.

Municipal Seminar Representatives:  
Black Hills Power & Light Company:

Robert G. Ashelm.

Interstate Power Company: Ken Gordon, K. L. Meyer, Mead Schenck, G. J. Muir, R. W. Steele.

Iowa Public Service Company: Warren Kane, Jack Kinney, Dell Raymond, R. G. Ruisch, Ed Wendell.

Minnesota Power & Light Company: W. L. Claffey, Sylvester Laskin, E. A. Savage, Charles T. Sichel, George Spurbeck, Fred E. Stout.

Montana-Dakota Utilities Company: Irvine Bates, R. T. Bennett, Warren Dotseth, W. L. Hayes, D. M. Heskett, Louis Lenhardt, Robert Naylor, Mark Scharf, John Stewart.

Northern States Power Company: D. L. Anderson, R. H. Slotten, Donald L. Haugum, F. D. Johnson, E. C. Spethman, J. H. Schreier, S. J. Petterson, A. E. Hassinger, W. R. Williams, H. L. Larsen, Lewis J. Crain, W. A. Daniel, R. D. Cook, S. J. Johnsrud, J. H. Mertz, Dennis F. Sunderman, Wendell D.

Wischer, G. H. Lund, John Mullins, J. W. McKellip, E. V. Berkstrom, D. D. Butterwick, H. J. Dreis, R. L. Vannelli, A. D. Brusven, T. G. Cote, P. J. Cressy, J. W. Hoffmann, D. W. King, R. J. Lebens, J. E. Meyer, Jr., J. E. Rudolph, H. W. Spell, C. L. Sundem, L. W. Tuskey, F. J. Vojta, P. W. Beck, R. E. Hanson.

Northwestern Public Service Company: Jack Boub, Donald Solum, S. E. Sewell, Ivan Strommen, R. A. Wilkins.

Otter Tail Power Company: K. H. Berquist, R. M. Bigwood, P. J. Brewer, A. V. Hartl, Harry Johnson, Ralph Johnson, Ralph B. Newman, Robert Hygard, L. E. Yates.

Superior Water, Light & Power Company: H. W. Holton.

South Dakota Electric Information Institute: William Johnson.

AGENDA: NORTH CENTRAL ELECTRIC ASSOCIATION MUNICIPAL SEMINAR

(Northstar Inn, 618 Second Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minn., Tele. No. 335-9351, June 8 and 9, 1967)

Thursday—June 8, 1967

- 6:00 p.m. Social Hour.
- 7:00 p.m. Dinner.
- 8:30 p.m. Announcements—E. A. Savage.
- 8:40 p.m. Introduction of dinner speaker by George Spurbeck, General Sales Mgr., Minnesota Power & Light—Duluth.
- Speaker—Frank Hershey, District Mgr., Electric Utility Sales Div. of General Electric Company, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, "Street Lighting and the Municipality."

Friday—June 9, 1967

(Ballrooms 4 and 5)

General Chairman—E. A. Savage, Division Manager, Minnesota Power & Light, Little Falls, Minnesota.

General Secretary—Fred E. Stout, Division Manager, Minnesota Power & Light, Duluth, Minnesota.

8:30 a.m. Welcome—E. A. Savage, Chairman.

8:33 a.m. Our Challenge in Municipal Relations: Sylvester Laskin, Vice President, Minnesota Power & Light.

8:45-10:00 a.m. (Ballroom 4 & 5) What Is Currently Happening: A Panel Discussion—Objective: To exchange information on current issues affecting municipal systems.

8:45 a.m. Relations in Company Towns in Which REA Headquarters are Located: Harry C. Johnson, Controller & Treasurer, Otter Tail Power Company, Fergus Falls, Minnesota.

8:56 a.m. Attempted Purchase of Municipal Systems: C. T. Sickel, Division Manager, Minnesota Power & Light, Eveleth, Minnesota.

9:07 a.m. Missouri Basin Municipal Power Agency: Richard Lebens, Mgr., Area Power Contracts, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

9:18 a.m. Are Profits Reported in Municipally-Operated Towns Realistic?: K. L. Meyer, Executive Assistant, Interstate Power Company, Dubuque, Iowa.

9:29 a.m. Association of Municipal Electric Utilities: Dell Raymond, Vice President-Mktg., Iowa Public Service Co., Sioux City, Iowa.

9:40 a.m. With Towns Operating Sewer and Water Systems, Why Not Electric as Well?: Richard Bennett, General Sales Manager, Montana-Dakota Utilities, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

9:51 a.m. Gross Earnings Payments to Municipalities—Legal Identity and Municipal Powers: Arland Brusven, Attorney-at-Law, Northern States Power Co., Minneapolis, Minnesota.

10:02 a.m. Comments: E. A. Savage, Chairman.

10:10 a.m. Coffee.

Round table study groups

10:30-12:00 Noon (Marquette Room). Acquisition of Municipal Systems: Objective: Examine recent efforts in this field, both successful and unsuccessful, in an attempt

to learn methods of approach and action most effective.

Conference Leader: D. M. Heskett, President, Montana-Dakota Utilities.

Secretary: Robert Bigwood, Vice President, Mgt. Services, Otter Tail Power Company.

(Hennepin I) Electric Franchises: Objective: To examine methods and practices employed in negotiating franchise renewals, determining most effective methods. (a) Provisions of franchises; (b) Ownership of street lighting and signal systems.

Conference Leader: Robert Asheim, Adm. V. Pres., Black Hills Power & Light.

Secretary: R. A. Wilkins, Div. Mgr., Northwestern Public Service, Huron, South Dakota.

(Hennepin II) Organizations of Municipal Groups: Objective: Exchange information relative to newly-formed groups and existing groups that might have the effect of organizing municipalities or encourage them to own and operate electric distribution systems.

Conference Leader: J. W. Hoffman, Vice Pres., Northern States Power Co.

Secretary: Dell Raymond, V. Pres.-Mktg., Iowa Public Service Company.

(Ballroom 6) Needs of Municipalities for Additional Revenue: Objective: Exchange of information relative to experience with municipalities regarding franchise fees, gross earnings, taxes, operating permit, fees, etc. To discuss the municipal electric operation as a source of revenue to municipalities.

Conference Leader: A. V. Hartl, President, Otter Tail Power Company.

Secretary: K. L. Meyer, Exec. Ass't., Interstate Power Company.

1:30-2:40 p.m. Noon Luncheon.

2:40 p.m. (Ballrooms 4 & 5) Report Back Session of the Study Groups: Objective: To report findings and conclusions of study groups to all in attendance in a general session with group leaders serving as a panel.

Moderator: E. A. Savage, Minnesota Power & Light.

Panel: D. M. Heskett, Montana-Dakota Utilities; A. V. Hartl, Otter Tail Power Company; J. W. Hoffmann, Northern States Power; R. G. Asheim, Black Hills Power & Light.

4:00 p.m. General discussion.

4:25 p.m. Remarks by Ralph B. Newman, Secretary.

4:30 p.m. Seminar adjourns.

Sectional meetings

1. Each person will pay for his own room at the hotel.

2. Meals and hospitality will be charged to the N.C.E.A. The Secretary will be sent the bills by the hotel or motel. The total bill will be divided by the number of people participating in the meeting. The Secretary will then bill each *Advisory Committee member* in each *member company*; based on the number participating from the company.

3. The Secretary of the N.C.E.A. will then send the money collected from each company to the treasurer of the N.C.E.A. for payment of bills for the meeting.

4. The chairman of each sectional meeting will appoint a secretary to keep the minutes of the meeting. The minutes will be approved by the *chairman* and the *Advisory Committee member* from the sponsoring company. A copy will be sent to the President and Vice President prior to publication for any comments, prior to general distribution by the Secretary of the N.C.E.A.

5. When they have approved the minutes, the chairman will forward the minutes to the Secretary who in turn will duplicate the approved minutes. The minutes will be forwarded to:

- A. Those participating in the meeting.
- B. The Executive Committee members of N.C.E.A.
- C. The Advisory Committee members of N.C.E.A.

ATTEMPTED PURCHASE OF MUNICIPAL SYSTEMS

(By C. T. Sickel, Division Manager, Minnesota Power & Light, Eveleth, Minnesota)

Many municipally operated electric distribution systems in the State of Minnesota are presently operating less efficiently than systems served retail by investor owned utilities. The measure of efficiency is based on the cost per KWH to the consumer. In the past few years the trend has been for the rates of the investor owned utilities to continue downward, or at least to hold their own, while municipal systems have had to increase rates. In the majority of these municipalities, the relationship between the investor owned utilities and the municipality is excellent. The municipality is generally a good wholesale customer of the investor owned utility and there has been no animosity between the city or village and the utility.

These statements would lead one to believe that it would be a fairly simple transition for the investor owned utility to acquire these municipal distribution systems, based on the overall benefit that the consumer would realize. This, however, has not been the trend. I would assume that the problems in Minnesota Power & Light Company territory are similar to the problems being uncovered by other investor owned utilities in acquiring distribution systems. In order to more easily analyze the problems, I will take the specific case of the City of Gilbert, Minnesota, as an example in an attempt to point out the main problems which must be overcome.

The City of Gilbert is a community of approximately 2500 population. The city has been a wholesale customer since Minnesota Power & Light Company was formed in 1924. MP&L's relationship with this community has been excellent and there has never been agitation from the electric company towards the City of Gilbert for purchase of their system. On two occasions during the past 10 years the City of Gilbert has inquired into the conditions for purchase of their distribution system by Minnesota Power & Light Co. In these cases, meetings were held with the mayor, council and city clerk. The issue has never been presented to the public for a vote. The present average electric service rates in the City of Gilbert are approximately 20-25% higher than comparable Minnesota Power & Light Co. rates. During the past year the entire council has been working with MP&L Co. representatives in an attempt to reach an agreement on a purchase price, and the conditions surrounding selling their distribution system. All of the numerous meetings held with the council were on an extremely friendly basis and the councilmen have been quite truthful and frank in their comments on the situation.

The basic financial considerations with the City of Gilbert will be overly simplified so as not to burden this talk with statistics. Briefly, the present total cost to taxpayers of the City of Gilbert for electric service is \$172,100. The estimated total cost to the taxpayers if Minnesota Power & Light Co. served Gilbert as a retail customer would be \$139,500.

[To be put on blackboard or easel]

Present municipal revenue.....	\$167,000
Cost of present municipal services..	7,100
Present taxes paid by M.P. & L. in community .....	(2,000)
<b>Total cost to taxpayer.....</b>	<b>172,100</b>
Revenue if served retail by M.P. & L.....	136,000
Cost of municipal services if served by M.P. & L. Co.....	15,200
Estimate of taxes if distribution system owned by M.P. & L. Co....	(11,700)
<b>.....</b>	<b>139,500</b>

In addition to the direct savings to the electric customer, the purchase price of the system was adequate to retire present bonded indebtedness, plus the city's portion of an additional bonded indebtedness to install a new water system in the City of Gilbert. Federal funds would pay for 50% of the water system with the city to finance the remaining 50%. The City of Gilbert is actually in need of financial help and the financial picture seemed to favor disposing of the electric system.

There was no difficulty in getting the City Council to agree to a special election in which the sale of the municipal system would be placed on a ballot. By law, this requires the unanimous consent of the council. Steps were taken to have a Taxpayers Committee formed for the purpose of selling the City on the advantages of the sale of their municipal distribution system to M.P. & L. Co. Two members of the council were to spearhead this committee. No formal announcement was made to the people of Gilbert, nor was a date set for an election. Again on the surface it would appear that the immediate savings to the customer, coupled with a cash value to be paid for the system, which was to be earmarked for a necessary facility, would almost assure that a 2/3 majority vote for the proposal would carry in an election. The cold political facts, however, are that this is extremely difficult to present to the voters, especially when legally the investor owned utilities are not free to use their personnel to distribute information on the possible acquisition.

An independent audit was made of Gilbert's electric distribution operation covering the past 10 years. When the audit was completed, the council and city attorney studied the results. The method of figuring savings to a community from the standpoint of the utility and the municipality was then pointed out to be quite different. MP&L showed a savings to the taxpayer of \$32,600 per year, plus the advantages to be gained by the purchase price. From the standpoint of the municipality's governing body, a deficit of \$30,400 per year was indicated. This peculiar play on figures came about as follows: MP&L indicated the \$32,600 savings to the taxpayer by calculating the difference between the present yearly cost of \$172,100 and the \$139,500 yearly cost if MP&L served the city retail. The audit indicated that the City of Gilbert presently is taxing at their legal per capita limit; consequently, the additional taxes that MP&L would pay, whereas it would reduce the taxpayer's burden in the community, would not increase the moneys available to the council. The municipal services which the City of Gilbert would be billed for would have to come out of the general tax fund, which would reduce the moneys available for other projects by the amount of \$15,200. This peculiar quirk was interpreted to mean that the governing body would actually have a loss of \$30,400 per year over the present moneys available. The reasoning was that they presently could cover the municipal services directly from the electric distribution revenues over and above general taxation levels. This would not be true if the system were sold to the private utility. They arrived at the \$30,400 figure by stating that not only would they have to pay \$15,200 for municipal services, but \$15,200 would not be available to spend on present projects.

The audit which was made was not made public and the council's greatest fear seemed to be that the results of the audit would become generally known, which would probably have caused a clamor for a rate reduction by the taxpayers. It was inferred that the audit showed an annual profit of \$15-200,000 which would actually raise the deficit in the council's eyes to between \$45 and \$50,000 per year. It was pointed out that as long as the municipality retained the elec-

tric distribution system, they had a method of collecting additional revenue when needed without going to a vote of the people, and still stay within the legal limit of "per capita taxation."

The council realized that whereas a majority of the taxpayers in Gilbert would properly evaluate the issue and vote for the sale of the electric distribution system, the opposition would be supplied with immediate ammunition and could point out that some present services would have to be cut as there would be less money available. This would put the council in the position of having to explain which services should be cut. The fact that the taxpayer would actually save substantially would be overlooked by many voters.

It was the consensus of opinion of the mayor and city council that whereas they still favored selling the distribution system, a 2/3 majority vote on the proposition would be impossible. It was estimated that the proposal would carry by a 50-55% majority, but not a 67% majority. This, coupled with the talk of tax relief to communities through the State government, led all concerned to abandon the idea of a municipal election at the present time.

It is interesting to note in the analysis of the Gilbert situation that the purchase price of the distribution facility was not the major factor. The 2/3 majority vote definitely was the factor which could not be overcome. The organization of a truly effective committee from the City of Gilbert to present information regarding the sale would be extremely difficult. The taxpayer would definitely have to make himself heard and the taxpayer's organization would have to put forth a tremendous effort to acquaint all of the voters of the issues involved in order to hope for a 2/3 majority vote.

#### MISSOURI BASIN MUNICIPAL POWER AGENCY

(By Richard Lebens, manager, area power contracts, Minneapolis, Minnesota)

Before discussing the Missouri Basin Municipal Power Agency as such, let's put it in proper perspective as to objectives. This Agency is merely the latest addition to a group of organizations having the same goal—the promotion and extension of public power throughout the area. First at the post and the original leader in the field was East River Electric Power Cooperative, Inc. Next came the Mid-West Electric Consumers Association with the first involvement of municipal systems. This was followed by Basin Electric Power Cooperative hurriedly formed to stop Andy Freeman's group in North Dakota, and finally the Missouri Basin Systems Group.

Now it may be that, with all our other problems, we have failed to devote sufficient thought and planning to a very disturbing movement by this group. I refer to the increasingly bold efforts to establish what can best be described as joint cooperative-municipal pooling organizations. There is nothing unique about the concept. It simply applies the principles of the super generation and transmission cooperative to groups of municipals.

There has been a continuously increasing emphasis on municipal systems by the public power oriented organizations since they offer such groups an opportunity for expansion. The municipal systems are scattered throughout the service areas of the investor-owned companies. Their loads can be used by the public power groups to promote generation and duplicating transmission systems.

A good example is the Southwest Minnesota Power Association formed way back in 1959 by seven municipal systems and two cooperatives. The group considered construction of a 69 kv or 115 kv line to tie the member systems together and to extend westward to the Bureau's Sioux Falls substation.

The Missouri Basin Systems Group was formed in January 1963. The Municipal Sub-

committee of the Systems Group immediately took over and actively promoted the Southwestern Minnesota activities. Soon, the announced membership included 15 municipal utilities and 8 rural electric cooperatives, and they were in Washington requesting the appropriation of \$35,000,000 of federal funds for the Bureau of Reclamation to construct approximately 600 miles of 115 kv and 230 kv transmission lines. We were able to stop this but temporary setbacks do not deter these public power groups, and this plan is far from dead.

In 1964, continuing its "empire building" tactics, the Municipal Subcommittee of the Missouri Basin Systems Group engaged the Washington Law Firm of Ely, Duncan and Bennett to prepare a report and recommendations upon means by which the municipal power systems in the Missouri Basin might secure the "advantages of size" in the cooperative planning and construction of generation and transmission facilities to meet their load growth. The report was submitted in June 1965.

The report recommended the formation of the Missouri Basin Municipal Power Agency as a separate entity under the Iowa Joint Powers Act. A form of agreement to set up the Agency was included and activity to secure members was immediately started.

The Agency is governed by a nine-member Board of Directors selected from the municipal representatives. Arie Verrips, Superintendent of the Sioux Center, Iowa, municipal utility is General Manager of the Agency. Verrips is also Chairman of the Systems Group Municipal Subcommittee and the prime mover in this group.

The Agency is organized on a nonprofit, tax-exempt basis. Preliminary financing was recommended to be by moderate assessments on the members with contributions from the Missouri Basin Systems Group because of their interest in the engineering studies to be made. Generation and transmission construction is to be financed by the issuance of tax-exempt revenue bonds. A recent announcement indicates that the Agency attorneys are working with the bonding companies on language so the Agency can be ready to issue bonds to obtain funds for construction when the time comes.

The first annual meeting was held on November 17, 1966, with 26 municipal members. We know that membership has increased to over 30 with the bulk of the membership from Iowa. As far as I know, only three Minnesota municipals—Windom, Jackson, and Lakefield—have joined.

The Board of Directors authorized R. W. Beck and Associates to make an engineering study for the Agency. The study will include all the municipals in the Bureau marketing area and some of the outside area. Wheeling arrangements and power sources available will be investigated to determine how much transmission and ultimate generation will be needed. Verrips recently announced that the Bureau 115 and 230 kv transmission system for southwestern Minnesota proposed in 1964 will be needed for the municipal loads, so as I said earlier, this scheme to extend the public power system to the east is not dead.

The legal report also suggested that the Agency may operate as the contracting agency with the Bureau of Reclamation for power for its members and bill its members at cost plus a small surcharge. We have recently learned that the Agency is negotiating a contract for 100,000 kilowatts of firm power with the Bureau.

A further activity involves the possibility of cooperation with Basin Electric looking to a joint venture with Basin in financing a second unit in Basin's Stanton Plant. This would be accomplished through a wholly-owned, nonprofit corporation organized under the laws of North Dakota. Basin would operate the plant and deliver power to the

Agency in amounts reflecting the Agency's proportionate contribution to the cost.

In examining the activities of the Agency to date, you will note the close tie into the Missouri Basin Systems Group and Basin Electric. It is readily apparent that the municipals are being used by the powers that be in the Systems Group to expand their empire and any benefits that may accrue to the municipals are purely incidental.

The potential dangers to the investor-owned companies are also readily apparent. If the Agency is successful in obtaining a large block of Bureau power for resale to members, we will surely see activity offering membership to towns outside the marketing area. Large scale generation jointly financed with 2% REA money and revenue bonds can become a reality. The ability to sell to municipal systems the subsidized low cost power from such a unit has some unpleasant connotations such as increased municipal agitation in our retail towns.

A Missouri Basin Systems Group Newsletter contained the following: "With the present difficulty of the Bureau of Reclamation and REA borrowers in getting adequate capital for construction, the Municipal Power Agency's prospective ability to get tax-exempt bond financing could be useful indeed."

Obviously, the public power people recognize the potential for expansion represented by the municipal systems. To counter this we, the investor-owned companies, must increase our activities with the municipals. We must make available some of the benefits of pooling to the smaller systems. The alternatives are obvious.

**NORTH CENTRAL ELECTRIC ASSOCIATION  
MUNICIPAL SEMINAR, JUNE 9, 1967**

(By Dell B. Raymond, vice president—marketing, Iowa Public Service Company)

*Municipal enabling legislation passed by the Iowa Legislature*

The Iowa Legislature meets every two years for a period of what we use to consider 100 days. After the Legislature changed remuneration of the legislators from an annual basis to a daily basis, the legislative period became prolonged. In the 1965 Session it ran for 145 days and in the 1967 Session, today, June 9, it is 149 days and there appears to be a long road ahead.

During the 1965 Session, a Bill was introduced in the House, "To Authorize Joint Exercise of Governmental Powers by Public Agencies."

This was known as House File 188 and a copy of the entire Bill is attached.

The main purpose of the Bill was set out in Section I, which reads as follows:

Section 1. The purpose of this act is to permit State and local governments in Iowa to make efficient use of their powers by enabling them to provide joint services and facilities with other agencies and to cooperate in other ways of mutual advantage. This act shall be liberally construed to that end.

In Section 12, a "fence" was built around the administration of the Bill, which reads as follows:

Section 12. Any one (1) or more public agencies may contract with any one (1) or more other public agencies to perform any governmental service, activity, or undertaking which any of the public agencies entering into the contract is authorized by law to perform, provided that such contract shall be authorized by the governing body of each party to the contract.

The Bill appeared to be innocuous and frankly, we did not realize the scope of the interpretation of this legislation.

Bill passed both the House and the Senate with very few dissenting votes.

Using this Legislation as a vehicle, there were two groups of communities developed within the State of Iowa, one of which was a

group of 12 municipals that became members of the Corn Belt Co-op, at Humboldt and the other was 21 municipals in Western Iowa that joined the Midwest Electric Consumers Association, as an agency of the Missouri Basin System. Many of the latter group were located in Iowa, but it was not limited to the Iowa Municipals.

At the start of the 1967 Session, we filed a Bill in both the House (Bill HF-388) and the Senate (Bill S-414) which reads as follows:

An Act relating to joint services by municipal bodies.

Be It Enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Iowa:

Section 1. Section twenty-eight E point ten (28E, 10), Code 1966, is hereby amended by striking from line eleven (11) the period and inserting in lieu thereof the words " provided, however, no agreement under this chapter shall provide for generation, transmission or distribution of electricity."

There was considerable lobbying on this Bill, both by the utilities and the municipals but the REC's and the State REA were very active in lobbying against it. This was referred to the Cities and Towns Committee in the House and the Governmental Affairs Committee in the Senate.

Our Company had a very favorable chairman in the Cities and Towns Committee (House) and it was brought to the Committee's attention on April 5, 1967. At that time, it was moved to table the Bill by a vote of 12 to 9, with 4 members not voting.

The Senate Committee as of this date, has not considered the Bill.

On May 17, it was moved in the Cities and Towns Committee in the House to reconsider the tabling of this Bill. Again, the Bill lost by a vote of 14 to 19. Inasmuch as the Rules of the House required  $\frac{2}{3}$  majority to remove from the table, the vote was 3 votes short.

During the week of May 29th, a sifting committee was set up in the House and one of their early actions was to bring House File 388 to the floor.

Final action on the Bill was held on the afternoon of Tuesday, June 6, after an hour and a half of debate and bitter denunciation of the utility lobbying, the Bill lost 48 to 65.

For all practical purposes, the Bill is now dead for this Session. Most of the opposition came from representatives from towns with municipal electric utilities.

The whole point of this paper is this. . . . Each Bill that goes to the Legislature should be watched very carefully for any sleepers or possibility of expanded interpretation. It was the case in this particular piece of legislation.

This of course is a monumental task (over 1500 Bills in the past Iowa Session) and a must, if we are going to keep on top of situations like this.

**WITH TOWNS OPERATING SEWER AND WATER SYSTEMS, WHY NOT ELECTRIC AS WELL?**

(By Richard Bennett, general sales manager, Montana-Dakota Utilities, Minneapolis, Minn.)

Being assigned a part on this program proves the fallacy of cooperating with the program chairman. When Ralph Newman sent out notice of the meeting, he asked for suggested topics that might be appropriate for the agenda. I sent in several suggestions and—wouldn't you know, I was assigned one of them. Really, I was looking for information rather than a speaking engagement! I was just a bit confused as to how to treat the assigned subject since it is only one part of several questions posed. Since this rash of municipal ownership agitation is an area problem which involves all utilities in the NCEA group, the questions suggest some possibilities for joint action, as follows:

1. Would it be desirable to establish an automatic, dependable clearing house among NCEA utility members for any and all information which might prove useful in combating municipal ownership?

2. How best can such a clearing house be organized?

3. Would it be desirable for NCEA utility members to jointly sponsor a thorough, in depth study by qualified people of the municipal operations currently being held by the pro-municipal forces as "proof positive" of all the benefits and big profits to be achieved by a community through municipal ownership of their electric system. We are thinking of communities like—Howard, South Dakota; Faith, South Dakota; Arlington, South Dakota; Colman, South Dakota; Groton, South Dakota; Maddock, North Dakota; Park River, North Dakota; and others.

4. If desirable, how best could a study of this kind be organized and financed?

5. Since Senator Lee Metcalf's and Vic Reinemer's book "Overcharge" is now being used as the bible by pro-municipal ownership forces to whip up anti-private utility sentiment in municipal ownership campaigns, shouldn't there be an expert analysis of the book to point out areas of bias, half truths, etc. to be used in rebuttal? Who could best make such an analysis?

6. Does anyone have concise, believable answers to the following claims advanced by municipal ownership advocates:

a. The private electric utilities are not really a part of the historic American free enterprise system.

b. Since most communities own and operate their water and sewer systems, there certainly is nothing Socialistic or fundamentally wrong with a city owning its own electric facilities.

c. Why shouldn't the city own its electric system and keep all the profits at home for community betterment instead of permitting the utility company to drain off all that money and send it to small groups of wealthy stockholders and bankers in the big cities—?

It is quite apparent the pressure on our communities is going to get a good deal worse before it gets better. I think we should explore the idea of coordinating the efforts of all of our companies and fight this battle as a well organized group rather than each company more or less going it alone.

These questions were born out of our recent experiences in combatting the municipal ownership forces in several locations but specifically in McLaughlin, South Dakota, where, incidentally, we are battling 500. We won one close election on this issue last November and lost a close one on the same issue last April. Out of the crucible of these two rough and tumble elections, the pro-municipal ownership crowd have, we think, revealed their basic plan and propaganda line. It is skillfully designed to erode any pro-utility sentiment in a community, disassociate private utilities from the American free enterprise system and then build up a community state of mind whereby it appears logical and desirable to vote out their present electric supplier and vote in city ownership of the electric facilities.

It is obvious the municipal ownership crowd have studied communities in the area. They have catalogued franchised expiration dates and decided to "zero in" on towns of 900-1500 population as the most vulnerable. Many of these communities are too small to justify a local utility office. In many instances, they do not have a resident serviceman. Most of these towns are losing population and struggling to maintain schools, streets, water systems and other essential services. Many people in these communities believe that if the town had modern facilities such as playgrounds, swimming pools, hospitals, etc., young people would be encouraged to remain in the town and industry might locate in the community. Of

course, the burning question is how to finance such facilities. It isn't any wonder then that the story of *big profits* from municipal ownership has great appeal. It sounds like a "cure all" for all municipal problems.

Since the "big profit" story is the real "hot button" argument in selling a community on municipal ownership, don't you think a thorough professional study of the actual financial status of municipal systems in our area would be useful? I can assure you, based on our recent experiences, the pro-municipal profit propaganda cannot be "beat down" successfully with generalities.

Businessmen usually are the political and economic leaders of the community, so the municipal ownership propaganda is aimed at this group. The membership of both the junior and senior Chambers of Commerce and commercial clubs are the prime targets. Knowing the vast majority of businessmen in our area are inclined to be pro-private enterprise, they are subjected to skillful propaganda, designed to break down their pro-utility, pro-private enterprise attitudes. It goes something like this:

"Is your present utility company really interested in your town? Are they to be completely trusted? Here's a copy of a recent book on private electric utility operations by Senator Lee Metcalf and Vic Reinemer of Montana called 'Overcharge.' Read it and pass it around to others when finished."

I am sure you are aware that copies of this book are being distributed to City Council members, clergymen, and other thought leaders in many communities in our service area. The purpose, of course, is to sow seeds of suspicion and distrust among our customers. Can we afford to ignore the impact of the book in our communities? Don't we need an antidote for this poison—in the form of an expert analysis written in non-technical, believable language—an expose that purges out the bias, half truths, etc. contained in this book?

The pro-municipal forces list specific municipal operations with published net profit figures. Now, in the light of sound utility accounting and operating practices, these profits may be overstated but, believe me, the time has come when we have to offer specific proof that such is the case. Making such a study could be a joint effort of the companies represented here.

After sowing seeds of suspicion about the private utility serving the community, the next argument goes like this: "A private utility company is not a part of the historic American free enterprise system." It's a monopoly with guaranteed earnings. Being a monopoly, it has no competition. If you don't like the utility or its service, you can't purchase a similar product from another competing supplier. You have no freedom of choice like you do when you buy cars, gasoline, groceries, clothing, insurance, etc.

And then comes this argument. Certainly there is nothing Socialistic about a town owning and operating its electric system. Practically all cities own their water and sewer systems. These are public utility services rendered to all residents of the community. No one labels these city owned businesses Socialistic. So, what's so different about the city owning its electric system?

Now, since our city needs money desperately, doesn't it make sense to own our electric system and keep all the profits at home for community betterment instead of permitting the utility company to drain off all that money from our town and send it to a bunch of well-heeled stockholders and bankers in the big city?

Is this propaganda effective in convincing small town businessmen that municipal ownership does not violate their belief in the free enterprise system? We believe it is! In each community where we have experienced municipal ownership agitation, it is the businessmen and their business organizations,

such as the Junior Chamber of Commerce and the commercial club, who are spearheading the municipal ownership movement.

There are many other side angles to the municipal ownership propaganda but the foregoing are the essentials.

We need the best, the most logical and believable answers to these arguments. I would like to suggest we should organize within this association to obtain the best answers and fight this movement as a coordinated group. It is evident our pro-public power adversaries have attained a high degree of organization and coordination among their many different groups, so let us do likewise! Thank you.

REPORT OF THE ROUND TABLE STUDY GROUP ACQUISITION OF MUNICIPAL SYSTEMS, JUNE 8-9, 1967

Conference Leader: D. M. Heskett, President, Montana-Dakota Utilities Company.

Secretary: R. M. Bigwood, Vice President, Management Services, Otter Tail Power Company.

#### The Counter Insurgency

The assignment of this study group was to examine recent efforts in the field of acquisition of municipal systems, both successful and unsuccessful, in an attempt to learn methods of approach and action most effective. While the discussion did not reveal any recent successful acquisition attempts, it did point up that many attempts are being made to acquire municipal systems by different utilities, that these attempts are meeting with varying degrees of success—without the utility—in most instances—losing ground, that the stage can be set for subsequent successful efforts by careful planning and handling of a present attempt, that acquisition is not an impossibility, and that the psychological impact of a successful acquisition of a municipality-operated system warrants more time, attention and aggressiveness than this type of effort is apparently receiving in most utilities today.

The following covers the basic points which came out of the discussion and which would, hopefully, be of the most interest and, therefore, of the most help to the participating companies in any review of the conference proceedings:

#### Obstacles to Acquisition:

1. The required  $\frac{2}{3}$  majority favorable vote This is also a protection for the utility in keeping a municipal from voting out the investor-owned utility.

2. Proving without offending that a municipal system is less efficient than an investor-owned system, and that a sale would be to the advantage of the community. Convincing the community is the need and also the problem.

3. Lack of availability of realistic and accurate municipal financial statements.

4. Metcalf's and Reinemer's "Overcharge" and other unwarranted castings of suspicion on the utilities. "Utility not really free enterprise." Refuting of Metcalf's and Reinemer's book handled briefly and very ably in an article in the Investment Dealers Digest, March 27, 1967.

5. While there is no set pattern, municipal rates are substantially lower than can be offered by the utilities, with commercial rates generally the most favorable to municipal operation in comparison with what the utility can offer. This leads to business support of municipal operation—a matter of dollars, not philosophy.

6. People unwilling to take sides, especially if the feeling is that a vote to sell would not achieve the needed majority.

7. American Public Power Association (A.P.P.A.) underground involvement when continuation of a municipal operation threatened.

8. Citizens of a community believe or have been convinced that a municipal operation can or is doing much for the community.

9. The psychological barrier to a sale imposed by the community citizen having a pride of ownership in "my own system."

10. Delays promoted as "not rushing into this thing" or "let's study for awhile."

#### A Major Developing Concern:

Cooperating groups of municipals with such groups developing or acquiring blocks of power, engaging in joint plant ventures, contacting other municipals, and in other ways fostering the idea of economic gain community by operating its own municipal distribution system.

#### Assists to Acquisitions:

1. The merit of taking utility operation out of local politics.

2. The ability to promise an efficient operation and a properly maintained system. (So many municipal systems are in poor condition and are in need of major revamping.)

3. The certainty of developing an expanded tax base for the community.

4. An active citizens committee that willingly takes the initiative and carries the ball—actually a starting "must" in any acquisition attempt.

5. Showing up the opposition as persons with personal axes to grind—no objectivity or making of decisions based on accurate information or merit.

6. Young people under 30 and older people who tend to be more favorable to acquisition and using them in any effort.

7. Staying alert to any municipal acquisitions nationwide and trying for local newspaper publicity on such acquisitions.

8. A good Public Service Commission.

Consultants' Views on Techniques—Reported by one utility:

1. Survey the community first for sentiment. (Use a professional survey organization.)

2. Hire a consultant.

3. Use a local man to engineer and front for the effort. Set up in an office and put the man to work with the acquisition as his sole assignment.

4. Use retired people, relatives, and similar groups for contact work.

5. Remember that an election won't be won on main street. There has to be contact in the residential areas.

6. Use women to make calls and catalog everyone as to their position on an acquisition attempt.

7. Minimize accounting aspects in any brochure and develop suitable illustrative artwork. Economic factors should be set out and interpreted for understanding.

8. Use voter registration lists for contacts and ignore others.

9. Use newspaper advertising and direct all efforts toward the election.

10. On interviewing, use a tagline conference each night to determine standing in community and to learn from the combined experience of those making contacts.

11. The consultant's fees could fall in the neighborhood of \$100 per day plus costs with an undertaking in a larger community probably costing more.

#### Offering Price to a Community:

This is a matter of considering many factors condition of the system, worth potential, publicity impact of acquiring, etc. The merit of offering a community several options was discussed—a matter of determining how the purchase sum could be provided to a community for the greatest advantage to the community. It was felt that there was merit in assuring that a purchase sum benefit a community over the longest possible period of time.

#### Illustration of an Acquisition Attempt:

One of the participating utilities reviewed an acquisition attempt with the following of a quick review of that attempt and some of the conclusions reached.

The situation involved a community of approximately 3,500 population, no utility commission in the community, some indus-

try, a 4,000 KW generating plant, and a load of approximately the same dimensions. In 1965, exploring of the possibility of acquisition started. The superintendent of the municipal system was neutral. The city council was 100% in favor of going to an election. A utility committee was assigned to make a study. A past study by Pfeifer and Shultz and other sources of information were used. The utility committee asked the utility for general terms and conditions. This committee came forth with a favorable report and said everything but sell. A citizen advisory committee, which was developed, asked the utility to provide information, and then took over the effort with the utility company working behind the scenes. The biggest problem seem to be that the people felt the issue would be badly defeated and didn't want to commit themselves. This was hindsight.

The selling was undertaken primarily through block parties with the emphasis strictly on the economics of the sale of the system. Opposition to the sale started to develop late and showed up for the first time in January, 1967, with the election following in March, 1967. The vote was 51.1% in favor of the sale, short of the necessary  $\frac{2}{3}$  majority needed to authorize sale. An accomplishment was that the election stopped installation of additional generation. Another election is likely. The utility company came out of the effort with a good image. A very active citizens committee still viewed as a key to the success of such an undertaking. The utility company in the next effort, when and if undertaken, may speak to community groups, such as service clubs. It should be recognized that the opposition was organized and it was effective. The American Public Power Association appeared.

#### Needs:

1. A close watch on bills that go to legislatures and a depth study of such. Stumbling blocks to acquisition can be introduced and stumbling blocks can be removed through legislative action.

2. A careful and continuing analysis of community gross earnings. Tax implications and possibilities—contract versus tax aspects of such needs exploration.

3. A task force established on a continuing basis to study problem in more depth, come up with a definitive program which provides step-by-step guidance on acquisitions and to provide for reviewing and updating techniques based on experience.

4. A clearinghouse in N.C.E.A. on matters of municipal agitation or unrest. Desirable as acquisitions may be it has to be recognized that our No. 1 objective and need is to retain those communities we do have and to continue an involvement in their growth and development.

NORTH CENTRAL ELECTRIC ASSOCIATION  
MUNICIPAL SEMINAR, JUNE 9, 1967

#### Round Table Study Group—Electric Franchises

Conference Leader: Robert Asheim, Adm. Vice President, Black Hills Power and Light Company.

Secretary: R. A. Wilkens, Assistant to the President, Northwestern Public Service Company.

Present: Don Eck, Iowa Public Service Company; Don Eng, Otter Tail Power Company; George Spurbeck, Minnesota Power and Light Company; Dennis Sunderman, Northern States Power Company; S. E. Sewell, Northwestern Public Service Company; Irvine Bates, Montana-Dakota Utilities Company; D. L. Anderson, Northern States Power Company; N. L. Larsen, Northern States Power Company; Charles T. Sickel, Minnesota Power and Light Company; R. L. Vannelli, Northern States Power Company; J. E. Rudolph, Northern States Power Company; R. A. Wilkens, Northwestern Public Service

Company; Robert Asheim, Black Hills Power and Light Company; Donald L. Haugum, Northern States Power Company; A. D. Brusven, Northern States Power Company.

The purpose of this round table discussion was to examine methods and practices employed in negotiating franchise renewals, determining the most effective methods.

First of all, a general brainstorming session was held to discuss things cities occasionally ask utility companies to put into franchises. Some of the items follow:

1. A percentage of the gross revenue, a tax or an annual operating fee.
2. Free Municipal service.
3. No interest loans, such as for park improvement facilities.
4. Municipal services exemption from the gross earnings tax.
5. Pressure for underground residential distribution.
6. Provisions for determining transmission route selection.
7. Terms of the franchise set as to shorten the normal length of time or duration.
8. Franchise vs. Operating Permit. (the word franchise is often misleading and some prefer to offer an operating permit for a certain number of years.)
9. A periodic review of the franchise after a set of number of years with a "buy out" provision at the time of review.
10. Rate equalization with larger cities or reducing rates in special cases.
11. Set rates included in the franchise.
12. Total service contract.
13. Stated municipal or company ownership of street lights.
14. Ornamental street lights.
15. Economic operating report.

A general discussion followed examining the methods and practices employed in negotiating franchise renewals, and in determining the most effective methods to employ. A detailed breakdown of some problem areas and recommended procedure follow:

#### I—Renewals of franchises

A—Know and recognize external opposition to normal franchise renewals.

1. REA preparation of booklets.
2. Rural service area agreement granted by REA as an incentive.
3. Engineering and other aids from REA's.
4. Hungry consultants.
5. Bonding companies.
6. Some equipment suppliers or manufacturers.
7. Gas company promoting total energy.
8. U.S.B.R. encourages change to municipal ownership.
9. Municipal electric associations.
10. Empire builders.

B—Know and recognize areas of internal opposition.

1. Some city employees.
2. Opportunists agitating for municipal ownership.
3. Local REA residents on councils and in community action groups.
4. Dissatisfied customers.
5. Consistent agitators.
6. Ethnic groups favoring community ownership e.g. Hutterites, Mennonites.
7. Liberal political groups.
8. Liberal teachers, preachers, bankers and lawyers.
9. Form of city government.

C—General problems and factors to be recognized and acknowledged.

1. Poor and inadequate local utility personnel.
2. Poor company image.
3. Poor utility service.
4. Reluctance of companies to modernize rates.
5. Eliminating offices in communities.
6. Changing or eliminating personnel in communities.
7. Failure to start franchise preparation soon enough.

8. Community demand for two-way feed (electric).

9. Problems in explaining reasons to the community that they should grant the utility company a franchise.

10. Demands or restrictions of P.U.C. or lack of P.U.C.

11. Possible rate differential for franchised towns.

12. Use of "indeterminate permit" by P.U.C. in place of franchise.

D—Techniques used by opposition which should be expected and prepared for.

1. Last minute handout sheets or flyers.
2. Public meetings.
3. "Underground meetings."
4. P.A. system (mobil).
5. Letters to editors and other newspaper articles.
6. Free trips to REA and public power facilities, such as the Basin plant.
7. Youth education or "brainwashing."
  - a. Washington, D.C. trips.
  - b. Essay contests.
  - c. Talent contests.
  - d. Teachers and textbooks.
8. Organized local citizens and committees.
9. Agitation by other municipal and public electric leaders.
10. Rate comparisons.
11. Half truths and innuendos.
12. Canvassing community attitude.
13. Telephone campaigns.
14. Advertising campaigns.

E—Proper procedure for obtaining franchise.

1. Importance of complying with legal requirements.
2. Adequate and early groundwork.
  - a. Home service contact.
  - b. Stepped up advertising.
  - c. Individual contact.
  - d. Providing betterment facilities in advance.
  - e. Providing good service.
  - f. Maintaining good contacts with municipal leaders and thought leaders.
  - g. Supporting good community, city and political leaders.
  - h. Good company citizenship.
  - i. Proper timing.
3. Anticipating opposition and preparing good defense.
4. Prepared advertising campaign, customer oriented.

#### II—Ownership of street lighting and signal systems

Some companies felt there is a definite advantage to owning 100% of the street lights.

A—Ownership of Street Lighting.

1. Advantages of 100% utility ownership of street lights.
  - a. Improved maintenance.
  - b. Company image.
  - c. Ownership of street lights makes municipal ownership more difficult.
  - d. Better standards of street lighting usually results.
  - e. More opportunities for contact with city fathers.
  - f. Provides standardization of fixtures and service.
2. Advantages of city owning part or all of the street lighting system.
  - a. Part of costs of ornamental system can be assessed against property.
  - b. Lower operating costs to city.
  - c. Eliminates frequent changes in new system.
  - d. Decreases demand for company capital outlays.

B—General viewpoint on ownership of Signal Systems.

1. Advantages of company owning them.
  - a. None.
  - b. Disadvantages of the company owning them.
    - a. May be liability if company owns them.
    - b. Involves company maintenance.
    - c. Metering or flat rate is a problem.

## C—Ownership of Fire and Air Raid Sirens.

1. Some companies include this with water pumping rates, most leave this up to the city.

## REPORT OF THE ROUND TABLE STUDY GROUP ON ORGANIZATIONS OF MUNICIPAL GROUPS, JUNE 8 AND 9, 1967

Conference Leader: J. W. Hoffman, Vice President, Northern States Power Company. Secretary: Dell Raymond, Vice President, Marketing, Iowa Public Service Company.

There were 19 in attendance at the meeting of this group. Very interesting and informative discussion developed and for the most part pertained directly to the subject matter.

There appears to be no national trend in the number of municipals during the past 20 years although there now seems to be more agitation developing particularly in the Missouri Basin. There is also considerable interest among the municipals to group together or become a part of other groups.

There recently was an initial meeting of the "Missouri Basin Municipal Power Agency." This meeting was held in November 1966 and now has 30 members. It is an attempt by municipals in the Missouri Basin to band together for bargaining purposes and develop programs for interconnection. This power agency would own and operate generation and transmission facilities. The agency would also arrange for wheeling, wholesale power, interties with other systems and all associated contractual arrangements. At this early date, it is difficult to predict the future of this organization but it definitely is potentially dangerous.

It appears the greatest single threat toward the organization of municipals as well as the threat of existing retail towns becoming municipally owned is through the efforts of the Basin Electric Power Cooperative and the East River Power Cooperative. These organizations have numerous field men attempting to attract customers of other suppliers. These organizations are also active in securing REA appropriations for the construction of transmission which will permit them to wheel Coop and Bureau power to municipal communities as well as their distribution Coop members. Through this program the REA transmission system would become the backbone for interconnecting municipals one with another as well as providing access to other power sources. In general this use of the REA transmission system is a new expanding threat and can easily become part of a public power transmission grid.

The MAPP program which now has 26 municipal members was discussed. This organization is in part an association of municipals and is a deterrent to the threat of these municipals becoming part of some competing group.

There does not seem to be any definite pattern among the utilities regarding interconnection with municipal communities. Some utilities do not as a general practice interconnect with municipals in their service territory. Others actively pursue a program of interconnecting where ever possible. Some utilities were connected with all of their communities in their service territory and others are connected with none of these communities. Some companies feel an interconnection obtains good relations with the municipal and some control, and others feel an isolated municipal will become unprofitable and more available for purchase.

The discussion indicated there is a definite acceleration of activity among municipals presumably brought about by national publicity on power pooling and transmission grids and the economic advantages of these programs. There was an instance in Wisconsin where two communities were interconnected by a jointly financed transmission

line. There was another instance in Wisconsin where municipal communities purchasing wholesale power were attempting to bargain with the power supplier as a unit.

In summary, the greatest single threat to organizations of existing municipal communities and the loss of existing retail communities was through the activity of some of the REA organizations. These Cooperatives disregard the true intent of REA and attempt to secure funds to expand their generation and transmission programs part of which is to be used to attract municipal communities. Communities in the range of 500 to 1500 population seem to be particularly vulnerable. Recognizing the possible future of some of these new developments in municipal activities would make it highly desirable for the investor owned utilities to be fully advised of all local and regional activity.

## NORTH CENTRAL ELECTRIC ASSOCIATION MUNICIPAL SEMINAR, JUNE 6 AND 7, 1968

Officers of NCEA: D. M. Heskett, President; C. K. Larson, Vice President; H. C. Johnson, Treasurer; R. B. Newman, Secretary.

Municipal Seminar Representatives: Black Hills Power & Light Company: R. E. Furois, Joe Rovere, Robert G. Asheim, Mrs. Kay Nolan.

Interstate Power Company: K. L. Meyer, Ken Gordon, G. J. Muir.

Iowa Public Service Company: E. A. Wendel, Jack Kinney, Rod Robertson.

Minnesota Power & Light Company: Parker Lowell, W. L. Clafey, Glen J. Alden, E. A. Savage, Charles T. Sichel.

Montana-Dakota Utilities Company: David M. Haskett, Warren Dotseth, Richard L. Jacobson, L. N. Lenhardt, H. L. McLarnon, Irv Bates, Mark Scharf, John Stewart, R. T. Bennett, William Murray.

Northern States Power Company: C. K. Larson, D. D. Butterwick, R. L. Vannelli, N. J. Dreis, N. W. Ecklund, R. B. Burg, Russell Sloten, R. E. Pile, John Mertz, N. L. Larsen, W. Rowe Williams, W. A. Daniel, Selmer Johnsrud, L. J. Crain, R. D. Cook, Dennis Sunderman, Lad Karel, John Mullins, Peter W. Beck, Richard E. Hanson, F. E. Utecht, John A. June, Frank A. Graham, James A. Swanson, Forrest Johnson, M. D. Olson, R. J. Lebens, Ed C. Spethmann Merv Tretter, Joe Meyer, Lee Tuskey, Roy Berglund, J. B. McMains, Jack W. Hoffmann, F. J. Vojta, D. W. King, P. J. Cressy, R. E. Setzler.

Northwestern Public Service Company: S. E. Sewell, R. A. Wilkens, G. G. Hoover, Robert Stewart.

Otter Tail Power Company: T. V. Reese, Mel Sunby, Harry C. Johnson, P. J. Brewer, Mel Olson, L. M. Robinson, Henry Berquist, Robert Bigwood, Ralph S. Johnson, R. W. Nygard, Gordon Solee, A. D. Millard.

Superior Water, Light & Power Company: Harold W. Holton, Richard D. Kennedy.

Others: Warren May, Attorney-at-Law, Pierre, South Dakota; A. W. Benkusky, Manager, MAPP, Minneapolis; W. B. Farrell, Coordinator, MAPP, Minneapolis.

Presiding: Robert G. Asheim.  
Recording Secretary: John Mertz.

## Thursday, June 6

12:00. Noon Luncheon, Ballrooms 4, 5 & 6.  
12:45 p.m. Ballrooms 1, 2 & 3: Review of the past two Municipal Seminars—Harry C. Johnson.

1:00 p.m. The Velva, N. D. Campaign. Moderator, R. W. Nygard.

A Mayor's Role in Municipal Agitation: Ernest Sands, Mayor, Velva, N.D.

A Local Employee on the Firing Line: Walter Kraft.

A Manager's Role in Municipal Elections: Henry Berquist.

Wrap-Up; R. W. Nygard.

2:30 p.m. Coffee Break.  
2:45 p.m. Acquisition of Municipal Electric Systems: R. J. (Dick) Lebens.

General approach to get request: R. J. (Dick) Lebens.

Details of NSP Offer: R. J. (Dick) Lebens.

Case history of Bayport: Merv Tretter.

Case history of Mazeppa: Joe Meyer.

Case history of LeSueur: Les Tuskey.

These discussions all involve "How to Counteract the Municipal Power Profit Story."

3:40 p.m. The Hot Springs, S.D. Elections. Moderator, Robert G. Asheim.

Pitfalls to Avoid and Getting Results: Joe Rovere.

Door-to-Door Contact by a Home Service Representative: Mrs. Kay Nolan.

4:40 p.m. Supreme Court Decisions in the Cases Involving Miller, S.D. and Salem, S.D.: Warren May, Attorney.

6:00 p.m. Social Hour, Foyer.

7:00 p.m. Dinner, Ballrooms 4, 5 & 6.  
8:00 p.m. Trends in Thinking That Lead to Municipal Agitation: Fred Danforth, Central Surveys, Shenandoah, Iowa.

## Friday, June 7

(Ballrooms 1, 2 & 3)

8:30 a.m. Plan for the Day: Robert G. Asheim.

8:40 a.m. Municipal Relations, K. L. Meyer: Early warning signals of municipal unrest. Customer contacts, customer relationships programs. How do you get closer relationships with community thought leaders? Why should a community grant a franchise to an investor-owned utility?

10:00 a.m. Coffee Break.

10:15 a.m. Municipal Electric Systems: History of Municipal Electric Systems, Ed C. Spethmann. (Who and what is behind the growing threat of municipal power agitation?)

Developing Relations with Municipal Electric Systems: Dick Lebens.

Municipal Utility Power Pooling in the Last Year... Ed C. Spethmann.

A Possible Research Program to Determine the Profits of Municipal Systems in the NCEA area:

a. Suggested program: Ed Spethmann;

b. Professor Cowles' Economic Evaluation of LeSueur: Roy Berglund.

c. Development of Economic Purchase Price: Roy Berglund.

The Merits of A Franchise Tax: Merv Tretter.

12:00. Noon Luncheon, Ballrooms 4, 5 & 6.  
1:00 p.m. Legislative and REA Matters

Moderator: E. A. Wendel.

Panel Members: James McMains, Minnesota; Ken Gordon, Iowa; R. L. Jacobson, N. Dak.; William S. Murray, N. Dak.; Warren May, South Dakota.

Territorial Problems With Distribution REA's.

Territorial Protection and State Laws Governing Same in the NCEA Area.

Legislation to create a Minnesota Utilities Commission.

Serving Municipal Utilities Outside Corporate Limits.

Functions of Municipal Utility Associations in the States Covered by NCEA.

3:00 p.m. Coffee Break.

3:15 p.m. Beautification and its Effects on the Industry, Dave Masten: Trees, Underground, Transformers, Use of Colored Poles.

Reports on Municipal Agitation and Elections. (Ten minutes per person) Paper on each will be given the chairman to be used in the report of the meeting.

1. Freeman, S. D.: R. A. Wilkens.

2. McLaughlin, S. D.: Warren Dotseth.

3. Finley, N. D.: R. W. Nygard.

4. Hankinson, N. D.: Les Robinson.

5. Aurora, S. D.: P. J. Brewer.

6. Elbow Lake, Minn.: Mel Olson.

Summary of meeting and conclusions: John Mertz.

Question and Answer Period.  
5:00 Adjournment.

**NORTH CENTRAL ELECTRIC ASSOCIATION  
MUNICIPAL SEMINAR, APRIL 24, 1969**

**Officers of NCEA:** C. K. Larson, President; F. W. Griffith, Vice President; H. C. Johnson, Treasurer; R. B. Newman, Secretary.

**Municipal Representatives:**

**Black Hills Power & Light Company:** Bob Asheim, Joe Rovere, R. E. "Dint" Furois.

**Interstate Power Company:** K. L. Meyer, C. R. Morley, Paul Larimore, J. G. Halbmaier, A. F. Gertjensen, Bidney Bergie, G. J. Muir.

**Iowa Public Service Company:** Scott Phelps, R. J. Reideler, R. G. Ruisch, W. I. Pierce, H. C. Schogren, Jon Cleghorn, S. M. Swanson.

**Investor-owned Utilities of South Dakota:** William A. Johnson.

**Minnesota Power & Light Company:** Glen J. Alden, E. A. Savage.

**Montana-Dakota Utilities Company:** Warren Dotseth, Irv Bates, Louis Lenhardt.

**Northern States Power Company:** M. L. Blaskey, Arland D. Brusven, O. C. Christian-son, P. J. Cressy, J. F. Jordan, D. W. King, J. E. Meyer, E. H. Schentzel, Edward C. Spethmann, M. B. Tretter, F. J. Vojta, L. C. Whitney, D. L. Anderson, R. H. Sloten, D. J. Chmiel, R. J. Graf, C. D. Moline, F. D. Johnson, M. D. Olson, S. J. Pettersen, F. E. Utecht, J. A. Flynn, R. W. Steuernagel, L. A. Gauthier, A. E. Hassinger, J. B. Delano, D. W. McCarthy, C. L. Sundem, J. C. Pearce, H. K. Junge, H. W. Spell, Norman L. Larsen, L. J. Crain, W. A. Daniel, R. D. Cook, Selmer J. Johnsrud, Robert B. Burg, Darrell D. But-terwick, Nicholas J. Dreis, Norman W. Eck-lund, Frank E. Graham, Ronald L. Vannelli, Gerald R. Wallace, Dennis F. Sunderman, Wendell D. Wischer, Lad Karel, John Mul-lins, R. E. Hanson, J. A. June, A. M. Ryser.

**Northwestern Public Service Company:** S. E. Sewell, R. A. Wilkens.

**Otter Tail Power Company:** Harry C. John-son, P. J. Brewer, R. W. Nygard, Trevor Reese, Vic Zeiher, Les Robinson, Ted Roten-berger, Henry Berquist, Al Seltz.

**Thursday, April 24, 1969**

9:00 A.M. Seminar Objectives: K. L. Meyer.

9:15 A.M. Group Discussions. (Each group will meet in a separate room).

**GROUP I—Chairman, Ed C. Spethmann**

**Legislation:** Status of Utility Regulation by States, City Charters, Utility Franchise and/or Gross Receipts Tax, Source of Tax Monies for Municipalities.

**GROUP II—Chairman, Robert Asheim**

**Municipal Acquisitions:** "Municipals in Business", Case Histories, Formula for Ac-quisition.

**GROUP III—Chairman, Warren Dotseth**

**Municipal Agitation:** Case Histories, Exist-ing Problems, Review of Elbow Lake Situa-tion.

**GROUP IV—Chairman, Scott Phelps**

**Associations (Friends and/or Foes):** Mun-icipal Utilities Organizations, Heartland Project, Rural Electric Cooperatives, Minne-sota Valley Co-op.'s Offer To Buy System At Granite Falls.

**GROUP V—Chairman, Harry C. Johnson**

**Customer Relations:** Planned Activities, Opinion Surveys, Street Lighting Promo-tion, Rate Increases.

10:30 A.M. Coffee Break.

10:45 A.M. Continue Group Discussions.

12:00 Noon Luncheon.

1:15 P.M. General Session: Reports on Results of Group Discussions.

1:15 P.M. Group IV—Scott Phelps.

1:35 P.M. Question & Answer Period.

1:45 P.M. Group I—Ed Spethmann.

2:05 P.M. Question & Answer Period.

2:15 P.M. Group II—Robert Asheim.

2:35 P.M. Question & Answer Period.

2:45 P.M. Coffee Break.

3:00 P.M. Group III—Warren Dotseth.

3:20 P.M. Question & Answer Period.

3:30 P.M. Group V—Harry C. Johnson.

3:50 P.M. Question & Answer Period.

4:00 P.M. Adjourn.

**Sectional meetings**

1. Each person will pay for his own room at the hotel.

2. The noon luncheon will be paid by NCEA. The Secretary will be sent the bills by the hotel or motel. The total bill will be divided by the number of people participating in the meeting. The Secretary will then bill each Advisory Committee Member in each member company based on the number participating from the company.

3. The Secretary of the NCEA will then send the money collected from each company to the treasurer of the NCEA for pay-ment of bills for the meeting.

**CONSTITUTION AS APPROVED BY ASSOCIATION MEMBERS AT THE MEETING IN MINNEAPOLIS NOVEMBER 21, 1957, NORTH CENTRAL ELECTRIC ASSOCIATION**

**Article I—Name**

The name of this Association shall be North Central Electric Association.

**Article II—Object**

The object of this Association shall be to advance the art and science of the produc-tion, distribution and use of electricity for light, heat and power for public service.

In the furtherance of this object its ac-tivities shall be largely educational and for the fullest development of the electrical engineering arts and sciences in all their branches.

It shall not be engaged in business.

**Article III—Membership**

Section 1. Members shall be regularly in-corporated privately managed electric com-panies or individuals located in the states of Minnesota, North and South Dakota and ad-jacent states, engaged in producing and sup-plying electricity for light, heat and power for public use. Each member shall be en-titled, through its regularly accredited dele-gate, to attend all meetings of the Associa-tion, to vote and to hold office.

Section 2. Honorary Members shall be elected upon unanimous recommendations of the Executive Committee and approved by a two-thirds vote of the Association. They shall have all the privileges of members except the right to vote, to hold executive office, and to attend executive sessions.

Section 3. Every application for member-ship shall be made in writing to the Secre-tary, and shall contain an agreement on the part of the applicant to comply with the re-quirements of the Constitution, if elected. The application shall be referred to the Ex-ecutive Committee, and if approved by a ma-jority the applicant shall become a mem-ber.

Section 4. In the case of a corporation the membership shall stand in the name of the company, and such company shall have the right to be represented at any meeting of the Association by its accredited delegate.

Section 5. Resignations must be in writ-ing, addressed to the Secretary, and will be accepted if the member is not indebted to this Association.

Section 6. A member may be expelled from the Association upon a report and motion to that effect made by a majority of the Ex-ecutive Committee at any general meeting of the Association. The vote shall be by ballot and shall require two-thirds of the votes cast for its adoption.

**Article IV—Dues**

Section 1. The annual dues of members shall be a percentage of the gross revenue from the retail sale of electrical energy for the preceding calendar year as determined by the Executive Committee. The minimum dues of members shall be \$10.

Section 2. There shall be no dues collected from Honorary Members.

Section 3. All dues shall be payable in ad-vance. Any members in arrears for ninety days from date of billing shall be suspended from all privileges of membership but may be reinstated by action of the Executive Committee.

**Article V—Officers**

Section 1. The officers of this Association shall be a President, a Vice President, a Sec-retary, a Treasurer and an Executive Com-mittee. The President, Vice President and Treasurer shall be elected annually by bal-lot by members' delegates and shall assume office on their election. They shall hold office for one year or until their successors have been duly elected. The Secretary shall be elected by the Executive Committee.

Section 2. The Executive Committee shall be composed of the President, the Vice Presi-dent, the President of the preceding year and at least seven other members elected from the membership, who shall hold office for one year, or until their successors have been duly elected.

Section 3. Ad interim vacancies among the officers shall be filled by the Executive Committee.

**Article VI—Management**

Section 1. The Executive Committee shall be the governing body of the Association, subject to the control of the Association by its action in annual or special meetings. All questions before the Executive Committee, except as elsewhere provided, shall be deter-mined by a majority vote of those present. Seven members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum. The Committee shall pass on all applications for member-ship; shall recommend action upon all mem-bers in arrears for dues; shall in the ab-sence of any specially appointed Committee, attend to all business in the interests of the members of the Association.

Section 2. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Association and of the Executive Committee. He shall name all such Committees as may seem to him desir-able, subject to the approval of the Execu-tive Committee. He shall be an ex-officio member of all Committees. He may call meetings of the Committee's whenever he deems it advisable to do so, and he shall be required to call a meeting of the Execu-tive Committee on the written request of three members of the same. In the case of his absence or disability, his office shall be filled by the Vice President.

Section 3. The Secretary shall take the minutes of all the proceedings of the As-sociation and of the Executive Committee, and enter them in proper books. He shall collect all moneys, send notices to the mem-bers of the meetings and perform whatever other duties may be required by the Execu-tive Committee.

Section 4. The Treasurer shall receive from the Secretary and safely keep all funds of the Association; keep correct account of the same and pay all bills approved by the Executive Committee. He shall submit a re-port at the annual meeting, approved by the Executive Committee and certified to by an Auditing Committee.

Section 5. The Secretary and Treasurer shall each be bonded for an amount to be fixed from time to time by the Executive Committee, the expense of which shall be paid by the Association. The bond shall be approved by the Executive Committee and shall be in the custody of the President.

**Article VII—Election of officers**

Section 1. Previous to each annual meet-ing the President shall appoint a Nominat-ing Committee, none of whom are officers of the Association, and the said Nominating

Committee shall, at each annual meeting, submit a list of nominees for the several offices.

Any accredited delegate may make additional nominations, and when such nominations are seconded by any other accredited delegate, that nominee's name shall be placed before the Association and be voted upon. After the lists have been closed by resolution, a ballot shall be taken and the nominees receiving the greatest number of votes shall be declared elected. When there is no contest the Secretary may be instructed to cast the ballot.

#### Article VIII—Meetings

Section 1. The annual meeting shall be held at a time and place set by the Executive Committee.

Section 2. Special meetings of the Association may be called by the Executive Committee, and shall be called on the written request of five (5) members of the Association. Any business not otherwise prohibited may be transacted at these meetings.

Section 3. Notice of the time and place of the annual meeting or of special meetings, shall be mailed to all members at least two weeks before the date set for the same, and shall state the purpose of the meeting.

Section 4. At any meeting of the Association a majority of its members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

Section 5. A roll call shall be ordered on the demand of five (5) members on any question before the Association. Where it is not otherwise specified, the accredited delegates shall cast their vote by rising.

Section 6. Voting by proxy shall not be allowed at any meeting of the Association or of any of its Committees but an accredited substitute representative without vote may attend.

Section 7. The usual parliamentary rules shall apply to all meetings of the Association or of its Committees.

#### Article IX

Any amendments to the Constitution shall be proposed by not less than three (3) members and shall be presented in writing to the Secretary, and copies of the same shall be sent to all members at least twenty (20) days before being acted upon. A two-thirds affirmative vote of all members in good standing shall be required to adopt the amendment.

#### Article X

This Association may, with the approval of two-thirds of the members at a meeting called for the purpose, merge with other associations having a similar constitution, and all assets of this Association shall forthwith become the property of the resulting Association and the corporate life of this Association shall cease.

PREPARED TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM CONNELLY  
(In the Matter of *Village of Elbow Lake vs. Otter Tail Power Company*, Docket No. E-7278)

Q. Would you please state your name and address?

A. My name is William Connelly and I reside at 101 G Street, S.W., Washington, D.C.

Q. And what is your occupation?

A. I am a supervisory auditor in the Division of Audits, Office of Accounting and Finance, Federal Power Commission.

Q. Have you had any formal education in accounting?

A. Yes. I graduated in 1960 from Northeastern University, Boston, Massachusetts, with a Bachelor of Science degree in business administration, with a major in accounting. Since that time I have attended or taken courses to maintain or increase my proficiency in accounting.

Q. What has been your professional experience in accounting?

A. Since September 1960, I have been employed by the Federal Power Commission as an auditor on various field investigations of licensees, electric utilities, and natural gas companies to establish the original cost of utility plant and to determine compliance with the Commission's Uniform System of Accounts, and more recently, in the Washington office as Assistant to Chief, North Central Region, Division of Audits.

Q. I take it your audit reports are used as a basis for Commission action?

A. Yes. They are.

Q. Do you belong to any professional societies?

A. Yes. I am a member of the Federal Government Accountants Association.

Q. Have you had occasion to examine certain books and records of Otter Tail Power Company?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. When did you make your examination?

A. On Friday, June 27, 1969, I was present at the deposition of Mr. Harry C. Johnson, Controller and Treasurer, of Otter Tail Power Company. This deposition related to certain accounting practices and procedures of Otter Tail Power. Following the deposition, I examined certain books and records of the company for compliance with the Commission's Uniform System of Accounts with the assistance of Mr. Dennis Duffy, a Federal Power Commission auditor.

Q. How long did your examination take?

A. The examination took approximately two weeks.

Q. Will you briefly explain the purpose of the FPC's Uniform System of Accounts?

A. The purpose of the Uniform System of Accounts, and the related report forms, is to promote uniformity and consistency in the recording, classifying and reporting, on a functional basis, transactions of the utility. This accounting and the subsequent reporting are useful as a tool to aid management and investors, as well as regulatory commissions, in performing their proper roles to insure that the amounts charged to the consumer are just and reasonable within the framework of regulatory requirements.

Q. What is Account 426.4 of the Commission's Uniform System of Accounts prescribed for public utilities and licensees?

A. Account 426.4 is entitled, "Expenditures for certain civic, political and related activities," and reads as follows:

"This account shall include expenditures for the purpose of influencing public opinion with respect to the election or appointment of public officials, referenda, legislation, or ordinances (either with respect to the possible adoption of new referenda, legislation or ordinances or repeal or modification of existing referenda, legislation or ordinances) or approval, modification or revocation of franchises; or for the purpose of influencing the decisions of public officials, but shall not include such expenditures which are directly related to appearances before regulatory or other governmental bodies in connection with the reporting utility's existing or proposed operations."

Q. When was Account 426.4 promulgated by the Commission?

A. It was promulgated as Order No. 276 in the year 1963 and is found in the Commission Reports at 30 FPC 1539.

Q. Prior to that time were there any accounts prescribed by the Commission to cover expenditures required to be accounted for in Account 426.4?

A. Yes. Account 426, Other income deductions, and prior to the revision of the Uniform System of Accounts in 1961, Account 538, Miscellaneous income deductions. This was based upon the Commission's memorandum opinion in the Northwestern Electric Company case reported at 2 FPC 369 and following that, the ECAP case reported at 24 FPC 278. In addition, the Commission had

issued on November 27, 1945 Accounting Interpretation E-110 in regard to this type of expense. Accounting Interpretation E-110 was adopted by the National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners and appears as NARUC Interpretation 58.

The Commission stated in the ECAP case (24 FPC 278, 289) that, "The fact that NARUC likewise adopted this interpretation of its System of Accounts, as set forth in Accounting Interpretation E-110, or the fact that we have, for convenience and uniformity, regarded the NARUC interpretation, as interpreting our System of Accounts, does not detract from our prior interpretation of our System of Accounts, nor does it give rise to any errors in the promulgation of this interpretation of the System of Accounts or its application to respondents."

Q. You have already testified that you were present at the taking of the deposition of Mr. Johnson, is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. And you heard his testimony as to how he would account for expenditures for advertising for the purpose of influencing public opinion as to the election of public officers, referenda, proposed legislation, proposed ordinances, repeal of existing laws or ordinances, approval or revocation of franchises; for the purpose of influencing decisions of public officers; or having any direct or indirect relationship to political matters?

A. Yes.

Q. Would you give the thrust of his response?

A. Mr. Johnson indicated that under his interpretation and pursuant to his instruction, only expenditures regarding national political issues would be recorded by Otter Tail Power in Account 426.4.

Q. How is Mr. Johnson's view implemented in Otter Tail Power's accounting procedures?

A. It was implemented by Otter Tail Power Company's Accounting Circular No. 22 dated January 1, 1967 and approved by Mr. Johnson which states, in part, "This account will not include any expenditures for present or proposed legislation or ordinances related directly to our business. The appropriate operating expense accounts will be used for these expenses."

Q. Do you agree with Mr. Johnson's interpretation of Account 426.4?

A. No, I do not. The text of Account 426.4 makes no mention of restricting its use to national political issues. Further, the Commission in Order No. 276 which established Account 426.4 specifically included "Advertising in various mass communication media to influence the election or appointment of public officers or proposed legislation at Federal, state, or local levels." (30 FPC 1542). Further, it is difficult for me to construe the words "ordinances" or "franchises" as having anything to do with national political matters.

Q. In your opinion, what are the results of the accounting followed by Otter Tail?

A. Expenditures properly chargeable to Account 426.4 were improperly charged to other accounts of the company.

Q. What was the purpose of your audit?

A. The purpose of my audit was to determine if expenditures of a political nature has been made by the company and to determine the extent of such expenditures. In order to do this, it was also necessary to determine if such expenditures were properly classified according to the Commission's Uniform System of Accounts. This would also be helpful in determining what additional staff action should be taken.

Q. Did you have any material made available to you which would indicate such costs were incurred by Otter Tail?

A. I had available to me advertisements published in newspapers, brochures and other material distributed in municipalities which were supplied by a representative of Elbow Lake Municipal Electric System and purported to be paid for by Otter Tail Power

Company. I also had materials supplied to me which purport to originate with local groups which I discuss later. The representatives of Elbow Lake also supplied press clippings which accused Otter Tail Power of intervening in local elections in its service territory.

Q. Do you have copies of some of the advertisements, brochures, clippings and other material with you?

A. Yes, I do.

Mr. Examiner, I ask that these be marked for identification as Exhibit No. 36 (C1), consisting of eighteen schedules.

Q. What was the scope of the time period covered by your audit review?

A. A review of a general nature was made for the period 1959 through 1968. I then selected two years of this period for examination of certain 900 expense accounts of the company. Due to the time limitations only selected 900 accounts and company subaccounts of these 900 accounts were tested.

Q. What do you mean by 900 accounts?

A. The accounts dealing with customer accounts expenses, sales expenses and administrative and general expenses.

Q. Did you prepare an Exhibit showing the 900 accounts and listing the subaccounts you examined?

A. Yes.

Mr. Examiner, I ask that these be marked for identification as Exhibit No. 37 (C2), consisting of two schedules.

Q. Is it correct that many of the advertisements with respect to Elbow Lake appear in papers prior to 1962?

A. Yes, but the company had destroyed the vouchers which would disclose payments in regard to expenses in connection with Elbow Lake advertisements. This is allowed by the Commission's regulations for preservation of records, but made an audit for years prior to 1962 impractical.

Q. Is there any other way to track down the vouchers once those vouchers have been destroyed, in your opinion?

A. It would be possible that some of the expense vouchers had been retained because charges with a longer expiration time than those destroyed were recorded on the same voucher, but this would be coincidence.

Q. Was it practicable for you to make an audit for the entire period 1962 to the present time?

A. No. Due to the time limitations such an audit would have been impracticable.

Q. Could you explain this briefly?

A. The company's system of recording charges is to show only a voucher number and an amount on the subsidiary account ledger card. To examine seven years of the company's records would require examination of several thousand vouchers and would take several months. I, therefore, confined my examination to the years 1966 and 1968 and even for those years, only to selected 900 accounts or subaccounts where I suspected possible misclassified expenses might be found.

Q. What were the results of your audit?

A. We found evidence that the company had made expenditures to influence local political matters and these expenses were improperly classified in that they were not recorded in Account 426.4.

Q. Were there any balances reported in Account 426.4?

A. No. Apparently they have never used the account.

Q. Do you have any examples of such evidence of this type of expenditure?

A. Yes.

Mr. Examiner, I would like to have marked for identification as Exhibit No. 38 (C3), consisting of four schedules.

Q. Could you describe this Exhibit?

A. I refer first to Exhibit No. — (C), Schedule No. 1 which consists of Voucher No. 54653. It shows payment of a billing of Harold E. Flint and Associates by Otter Tail

Power Company for a special project in Velva and for other services. The supporting documentation for portion of this charge are billings by the Velva Journal of Velva, North Dakota in the amount of \$475.75 on one occasion which was carried forward on account and to which an additional amount of \$4.80 was added for a total of \$480.55. The billing of \$475.75 was to Mrs. Dorothy Becker, Committee for Sound Government. According to the ads run in the Velva papers some of which are identifiable with this billing and are shown in Exhibit No. — (C1), Mrs. Dorothy Becker was also associated with the Committee for Free Enterprise, as its Treasurer. From the ad run it appears that the Committee for Free Enterprise and the Committee for Sound Government were one and the same. The ads in my opinion are political in nature.

Q. Would you please describe schedule 2 of Exhibit — (C3)?

A. Schedule 2 is company Voucher No. 57705 which is a payment to Lewis and Bullis, a law firm, of Wahpeton, North Dakota, in the amount of \$634.62. The supporting detail for this voucher shows that it is payment for service rendered to the Taxpayers Association in Hankinson, North Dakota election contest.

Q. What kind of election was that?

A. It is my understanding that it was a political election to provide for a municipal electric power system. The election was contested by a Mr. Roy P. Anderson who wished to enjoin the city of Hankinson, North Dakota from engaging any consultants for preliminary engineering services and spending money on other services to explore the ultimate feasibility of the undertaking of a municipal electric system.

Q. What else does the voucher show?

A. Voucher 57705 in the supporting documentation shows expenses incurred and paid for by Lewis and Bullis in regard to Anderson vs. the City of Hankinson case. I am advised by counsel that the history and facts of this case are discussed in Anderson v. City of Hankinson, N.D. 157 N.W. 2d 833 (Supreme Court of North Dakota, April 3, 1968).

The voucher we are discussing now is a final payment of \$634.42 and was charged by Otter Tail Power to Account 426.5, Other deductions. The preceding payment in regard to this matter was made on Voucher 38169, such payment totaled \$1,590.48 and was charged to Account 355, Poles and fixtures. Referring back to the supporting documentation of Voucher 57705, it states that \$1,590.40 was donated to the Taxpayers Association by Otter Tail Power Company and paid to Lewis & Bullis. In addition to the vouchers mentioned, Voucher 33115 shows a payment of \$454.35 to Lewis & Bullis. The supporting documentation shows that this payment for services in the Hankinson matter prior to the Taxpayers Association engaging the firm. This amount of \$454.35 was charged to Account 923, Outside services employed. The payments extended over the period November 15, 1966 to September 10, 1968 and show that the company financed the Taxpayers Association suit against the city of Hankinson.

Q. Does that conclude your explanation of this Exhibit?

A. Yes.

Q. What other information did you find with respect to the company engaging in litigation of municipals' electric operations?

A. There were two vouchers that we examined that had to do with the franchise election at Aurora, South Dakota. The first was Voucher 52950, a payment of \$147.05 to Cheever and Mydland which was charged to Account 923, Outside services employed, and the second was Voucher 52111 paid Austin, Hinderaker and Hackett in the amount of \$271.33 which was also charged to Account 923. The two firms were used because a member of the Cheever and Mydland firm was a candidate for elective office and apparently

the firm withdrew to avoid any conflict of interests. The firm of Austin, Hinderaker and Hackett filed a suit for the company in regards to the municipal election. The company was unsuccessful in the suit. This information was secured from Mr. Emmen, an Otter Tail Power employee, when these vouchers were questioned during our examination. In addition, the review of the information supplied by the representative of Elbow Lake disclosed that the company was active also in the Colman, South Dakota election. My review of the Director's minutes indicated this to be the case because in the Directors' minutes of May 29, 1961, it is stated, "Report was made on Colman, South Dakota where the company is resisting the establishment of a municipal distribution system."

Q. Did you find indications of other improper charges?

A. Yes, in the following area. The company has engaged on various occasions Central Survey, Inc. of Shenandoah, Iowa, a public opinion sampling firm, to determine the customers' reaction to regulation of cooperatives and municipals, if the area would be better served by municipals or private power companies, and other general customer reaction to the company's policies and advertising programs.

Q. What were the magnitude of those expenditures?

A. The amounts, which vary, from approximately \$500 for a limited study in regards to how North Dakotans feel to regulation of cooperatives and municipalities to approximately \$10,000, or more, for a survey of the overall company service area regarding total company operations which would include questions as to preference in power supply.

Q. What other indications did you find of charges having political implications?

A. The District Managers and certain officers of the company regularly entertained members of the State Legislatures and members of the city governments.

Q. Do you have enough information about these dinners to express an opinion as to whether the charges were improperly classified?

A. No, I do not.

Q. What were the magnitude of the amounts spent on these dinners?

A. The amounts would range normally from about \$50 to \$200 depending on the number of guests. The amounts might total several thousand dollars per year.

Q. How frequent were they during the period of time you studied?

A. The expenses for the dinners were found in many of the expense vouchers we examined with a minimum of an annual dinner for each district, and, more frequently, at the discretion of the District Manager and/or the officer.

Q. What other employee's time and expenses are more clearly chargeable as political expenses?

A. In June 1968, a municipal seminar was sponsored by the North Central Electric Association. The overall theme of this seminar was how to prevent agitation for municipal electric systems and what to do if such agitation was present. A portion of the meeting was devoted to the acquisition of existing municipals' electric systems.

Q. Did you obtain copy of the program of that meeting?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Who attended the meeting?

A. Approximately 80 employees or officers from ten privately-owned electric companies in the area attended this meeting.

Q. How many were there from Otter Tail Power Company?

A. According to the program 12 employees of Otter Tail Power Company attended the meeting.

Q. Do you have a copy of the program to submit for the record?

A. Yes, I do.

Mr. Examiner, I would like to have marked for identification as Exhibit No. 39 (C4) twelve page booklet entitled, "NECA, North Central Electric Association Municipal Seminar" of June 6 and 7, 1968.

Q. Did you find any employee or officer salary or expense charged to Account 426.4 in connection with either this program or any of the other activities discussed above?

A. No, I did not.

Q. Are there any other expenses that should, in your view, be charged to the political advertising account?

A. Yes, I have copies of what are known as "stuffers" which are political in their nature and properly chargeable to Account 426.4. I have copies of advertisements run in the local newspapers, which are properly chargeable to Account 426.4. I also have the copy of a written draft of television advertisement which shows the intervention of the Federal Government into the electric industry in a bad light.

Mr. Examiner, I would like to have marked for identification as Exhibit No. 40 (C5) consisting of three schedules.

Q. What part of the television advertisement are you referring to?

A. Starting on page 6 of the advertisement with Video Item 19 through 23 and Audio which would be broadcasted at that time. On page 13 Video Item 41 and Audio portion broadcasted at that time.

Q. Would you explain your criteria for determining these ads are political in nature?

A. Certain ads which were used in the ECAP case already cited are reproduced or discussed at 20 FPC 108. These ads used by Otter Tail Power are in the same vein as those already indicated by the Commission as political in nature.

Q. Do you have any total cost of these ads to submit for the record?

A. For these various advertisements in newspapers and TV, and the bill stuffers, no attempt was made due to time limitations to determine the cost that was incurred because of the impracticality of segregating costs between Account 913, Advertising, Account 930, Miscellaneous general expenses and Account 426.4 on the various vouchers from Harold E. Flint and Associates, and from other sources from which the company obtained advertising material.

Q. Do you have any figure to supply the Commission which would indicate the total amount of company expenditures properly chargeable to Account 426.4 even in the two years you concentrated on?

A. No. For all the reasons indicated above, a complete audit was not possible and I was unable to determine the magnitude of Otter Tail's total expenditures for this purpose. If such expenditures had been properly accounted for the balances in Account 426.4 would have supplied this information. All I can say is that it is some undetermined part of the amounts shown on Exhibit No. 2 schedule 1.

Q. Does that conclude your testimony?

A. Yes.

### AN OLD PRO LOOKS AT THE CAMPUS

**HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM**  
OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, Dr. William H. Thompson, dean emeritus of the University of Nebraska at Omaha and a very dear friend of mine, recently discussed the Nation's problems on campus before the West Omaha Rotary Club.

Dr. Thompson is no Johnny-come-lately to the campus. He taught 10 years in high school, 10 years in college and spent 30 years as a college professor and administrator.

Mr. Speaker, his remarks, which follow, merit not only the attention of my colleagues here in the House, but concerned people throughout this land of ours:

#### AN OLD PRO LOOKS AT THE CAMPUS

(By William H. Thompson, Ph. D.)

I submit the following qualifications for appearing before you. I taught 10 years in high school, 10 years as a college teacher, 30 years as a college professor and administrator. I have survived two campus riots and one student body strike. I have fired 10 faculty members in one day and 35 students in one day. I have endured innumerable parades, complaint committees, appearances before my superiors and a bushel basket of unfriendly newspaper items. These, among other matters I will not mention, are my credentials for speaking to you today. During this career I've made many mistakes—among them was the flunking of the mayor's son. I've appeared before boards of education, boards of regents, superintendents, presidents, faculty and ministerial committees to answer for my deeds. I have only one virtue to offer to you and that is—I did not run away! These, gentlemen, are my credentials.

My recent visit to the campus of the University of California in Berkeley is the stimulus that produces my reaction today. As I stood at the entrance to campus of one of the world's most beautiful and famous universities and saw it spew out its scummy product, my heart was sick beyond all description. To walk through Telegraph Street leading to the main gate of this temple reared to learning is an unforgettable experience. It is unbelievable to see the dirty, ugly horde of young people eating, drinking, sleeping, in what was to have been one of the most lovely and attractive streets of the world. This desecration was enhanced by odorous hawkers of newspapers paid for and furnished by Chinese communists as a means for their support. These newspapers are pornographic and contain the most indescribable filth possible to print. The editorial page spoke of the "New Utopia" brought by the revolution which would dissolve the family. The first page ran an ad inviting all to a party, "Come bottom-less or top-less, or both; however, you have to furnish your own pot." The descriptions of filth parties were among the social items of the day. Long diatribes on Mao's Communism was an added feature.

This impossible situation can only be believed by seeing. I am advised that this street has the highest venereal disease ratio in the world. Its denizens are supported by welfare contributions from parents and money from communistic sources.

Policemen on campus describe the population of the university as two kinds—bright, ordinary young people; others extending from the bearded left-wingers to the most degenerated "hippies." I was advised that about one-third of the faculty members were "hippies." I talked with one of these faculty members who had the remnants of last Tuesday's soup in his beard and a breath that reminded one of last night's beer. He smelled like a stable and looked like he had slept in a box car. I asked him what he represented in the university and he said, "The New Left." I felt he should have been left long ago. And this brings out the real villain of the piece—his name is never mentioned; he gets no publicity and yet in my judgment is largely responsible for many of the unspeakable conditions on the faculties of our universities.

He is the man who hires the faculty, too often on the basis of academic proficiency alone. I submit to you that our youth deserve better than the character of "The New Left." Our universities owe it to our young generation to be led and instructed by men of character, personality and appreciation of the issues of life—certainly by men who are loyal to the country that preserves us all.

The policemen surveyed the scene with me and they told me of a new breed called "street people," who are joined by the hippies of the university. They stated that the campus plan of the Chinese communists is to corrupt the bright and young of this generation and thus prepare the downfall of our nation. They told me many people come from all over the world to see this festering menace. They were very emphatic in stating that if it were not for the support of Governor Reagan, the police could not control the situation.

I have talked to many college administrators from various parts of the country. They told me that what is happening in Berkeley is part of the plot by which communism is invading the campus and ultimately plans to achieve the destruction of the Republic by the hands of those who have received its greatest benefactions. They are skillfully and intelligently led; their agents invade every campus, break no laws and prey upon the credulity and the urge for adventure that exists in all youth. They ply their destructive schemes by an ingenious and insidious philosophy which challenges our whole system of values.

I had felt that men like J. Edgar Hoover, Dr. Fred Schwartz and Billy Hargis—and hosts of others—were blowing blatant horns of exaggeration; but as one looks into the existing situation, his mind changes. One asks the question: How can these things be? The agony of this question should be borne by every American. Perhaps we should thank God for the many thousands of dedicated professors and scientists who are faithful to their responsibilities—and for the further fact that they still are in the great majority. I have found administrators more alert to the threatening disaster. They realize it, but often feel helpless for many reasons. I would like to discuss a few with you.

No. 1. It is my opinion that television and news media have been large contributors to the present situation. In my view the modern newspaper is a journal of abnormal psychology and television is the most modern means of confusion, distortion and disorientation of the mind of man yet invented. The dregs of campus society are glorified through the news media presenting their abominations to world-wide audiences. I hesitate to think what would have happened to me when I was wandering through the academic forests attempting to keep the preserves safe for all who wished to learn. I can see myself now . . . running to the moon with the news and TV boys breathing down my neck with the dogooders just behind in hot pursuit.

One opens the paper to page 16—or must tune in TV soap operas featuring "Over the Back Fence," or—"Chatting with Aunt Sally," to find out anything normal or natural about the human animal.

No. 2. Our universities have become temples of data processing. Freshman Joe is only a number. He is too often fed a curriculum of mental pap such as: how to fish in the northwest—play games on the recreation field—fourth-grade English dignified by title, "English I"—contemporary problems where he learns to take a bath, stand up when ladies enter the room and the proper use of Right Guard. He is taught by a graduate student who cares less about Freshman Joe and his cohorts than how to finish his dissertation and go into research and thus disappear from the legitimate function of the university, namely, teaching. Joe is hounded by a horde of disinterested, ill-prepared, poorly-paid harpies known as counselors; and at the end

of the year finds himself depersonalized and descended into probation because he never made his Brownie points—known in the academic world as grade point averages. In the meantime highly-paid academicians empty bottles into test tubes, push rats through mazes, cook bacteria and write scholarly papers for journals and make 13 copies for their government grant. Freshman Joe sees the name of the "Great Man" of the catalogue on his office door, but that's about as far as he gets to knowing him.

It is sad to think that the great multi-university of today has too little place for the Olive Grove of Socrates, or the Crack in the Castle Wall of Pastalozzi, or the Walk to Emaus with Christ.

No. 3. While one may find many difficulties with this great civilizing institution called the university, the predicament we face is not totally explained in terms of the university. I may illustrate my point by telling you of a clinical experience I recently had. A little boy, seven years old, was sent to me for psychological analysis. He had set his home on fire three times and the last time he nearly made it. In talking with him, I said, "Johnny, why did you do it?" He looked at me with big earnest eyes, "Oh, Doctor, it was the only way I could get my folks to come home."

We have produced a generation gap by falling off cocktail stools, rushing into all the social and economic go-getterisms and when at home, cluing in on the TV so that we live with our children as strangers—little realizing that there are some characters who communicate with them and who think with them—but, it is too often, not ourselves. The English have a saying, "We send our son to the schoolmaster, but the school boy educates him."

There are many facets to this problem. I might mention a few: Our political leaders compromise with indolence, greed, sloth and are forging more and more chains upon the producer and adding more and more stuffing to the feather-bedding for those who will not work. We have witnessed the degeneration of the stage and the debauch of the motion picture. We place more emphasis on sex obscenity than any society since the Roman hey-day. We have emptied sex of its spiritual values and accepted the poverty-stricken idea of motel short order sex. In our great city of Chicago, there stands in the city square, a tremendous so-called "art form." The politicians and professors gathered at the acceptance ceremonies. They talked of public relations, international relations and modern art. The ignorant crowd gaped at the "big shots." A taxi driver remarked, "I don't know what it is all about and I don't think they do." And yet, here was a modern exhibit of sculpture, in the center of one of the greatest cities, which daily speaks of the depersonalization of man. Modern art has praised the monsters that have wriggled from the caverns of the subconscious of Picasso—and others.

From the mouths of our clergy, too often, come the dragon-breath of socialism, welfareism, Mao-ism, that lead to personal degeneration in the name of the social gospel. Our educators, too often, compromise with ease and get-something-for-nothing pressures from a public that wants the symbols of education without the price. Consequently we have divested our curricula of the difficult discipline of the classics. We have accepted, too often, the objective of education as a custodial function. Just keep them off the streets; Thanks to the non-failure policy of our public and parochial schools, we have overwhelmed our universities with a host of semi-illiterates. The universities have adjusted to this flood of incompetence by cheapening the curriculum and debasing the degrees—so that a college degree, now, merely serves as an I.D. card when applying for a job or a ticket of admission to the Society of the Lounge.

Our courts have compromised with crime and the officers of the law are badgered as never before in the history of this country. Even the ancient and honorable practice of medicine is gradually sinking into the Fabian morass of mediocrity.

All this is not unnoticed by our youth. You had better believe it! It would be a complete distortion to think what is being said is the real picture of our youth, for never has there been in recorded history, a generation whose average health and strength is greater. Never has there been before, among the children of man, a generation equal to the intelligence, ability and capacity to perform. These now provide the footfalls in the halls of our institutions of learning. They are capable of the challenge for greatness. However, they are the victims, daily bathed, in the glorified dregs of our society and the iniquities of our generation as projected by the news media. They are frustrated by the lock step of inferiority in our schools. They are neglected by their parents; uninspired by our churches; disgusted with our political infidelities—and thus are rendered easy prey for the hot, seductive breath of moral degeneration, political anarchy, religious nihilism and complete personal disaster.

I ask you—what is wrong with an honest devotion to the things that have made this country great, its constitution, its moral fiber, its productive work, its great freedoms, its mighty expressions of mercy and good will, its happy, cooperative living, its unprecedented opportunities?

I ask you—what is wrong with, "In God We Trust?" Every true teacher knows that if these banners are held high—our youth will respond.

I ask you—shall we shake ourselves out of the slough of despond and stand again in the sunshine of our rightness, our strength, our manhood and our proven values—or shall we go stuttering and stumbling, brawling and burning, reeling and bleeding, back over the hill of yesterday to barbarism?

#### "CURIOUS" RATING APALLING

### HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the Hudson Dispatch of Hudson County, N.J., recently published an editorial urging review of our present laws against the distribution of obscene materials. The editorial calls upon the Congress to tighten up controls on pornography and cited a recent New Jersey Superior Court case in which the New Jersey court was unable to ban an obscene movie because of the "U.S. Supreme Court's failure to issue a clear-cut definition of obscenity."

Because of the importance of this matter to my colleagues I am including the editorial in the RECORD. The editorial follows:

#### "CURIOUS" RATING APALLING

A New Jersey Superior Court judge has given the controversial Swedish film, "I Am Curious, Yellow" a bad review but in the process also gave it a tremendous boxoffice boost. Judge Mintz' refusal to ban the showing of the picture can be linked directly to the U.S. Supreme Court's failure to issue a clear-cut definition of obscenity.

The decision favored the producers and the promoters of the picture because the court found that it had a modicum of redeeming social value. Although it is patently offensive

to the community and appealed to purely prurient interests, it did not fall all three standards for obscenity as defined by the nation's highest tribunal and the New Jersey laws.

If ever there was any doubt that the statutes governing obscenity and pornography needed revision, the ruling by Judge Mintz points up the need for revamping of the law. The decision does not reflect the judge's personal view, he found the film appalling and a bore, but is based on the letter of the law and the protections of an individual prescribed in the First Amendment of the constitution.

It was a setback for the counties of Essex, Middlesex and Union who joined in the battle to ban the picture. It also involves legal actions instituted or contemplated in Bergen and elsewhere against exhibition of the film which strangely passed the scrutiny of U.S. censors and customs agents.

There should be no hesitancy among the counsels for the three counties involved in the trial to file an immediate appeal and carry the case to the highest court of the land if need be. Its receptivity there should be amicable and reassuring for Chief Justice Burger has displayed some firm views against smut, which did not prevail under the aegis of Chief Justice Warren who was responsible for the vague obscenity ruling, which tends to be onerous to the local judiciaries and tends to confuse the public.

The State of Arizona has banned "Curious" because it was ruled unqualifiedly obscene. Its dominant theme is abnormal sex life, an element that has gained widespread display in innumerable movies, in books and on the theatrical stage of America. The subject, contrary to the mores of the nation and appalling to the community standards, which so predominates, "I Am Curious, Yellow", was aptly termed a "cesspool of filth" by a priest who is a member of the Presidential Commission on Pornography and Obscenity.

The New Jersey decision provides an appropriateness for a reminder to the presidential board to expedite its study and prepare some meaningful recommendations to the White House and the congress that will tighten the rules against distribution of questionable material and the importation of obviously offensive and lascivious pictures.

#### MERCHANT MARINE REVITALIZATION

### HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, the President's recent commitment to restoring America's merchant marine to its rightful place in the world's fleets is a welcome step to me. For too long we have listened to the so-called experts who decided that a competitive merchant marine was no longer in our national interest to support.

The war in Vietnam, where 97 percent of the materiel involved was shipped by sea, proved them wrong. And so today we have a national administration that, for the first time in decades, has committed itself to the goal of a front-rank merchant marine for the United States.

Navy magazine has taken note of this situation, and in no uncertain terms has delineated the steps this Nation must take in this vital area. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues and the public.

The editorial follows:

#### WHY CAN'T WE TAKE THE MARITIME LEAD?

President Nixon's message to Congress laying out a program for revival of the U.S. Merchant Marine is perhaps the most significant maritime pronouncement that has come from the White House since World War II. It is a breakthrough in that for the first time since 1945, an American President has said in effect, "we must do much more at sea." We must fully exploit and enhance our natural oceanic advantages, our fortunate geography and our fundamental maritime expertise, said Mr. Nixon.

After more than a generation dominated by top level U.S. land-minded strategy, this is the greatest news in years. But it is only a first step, an encouraging beginning. For the first time in many years, we see hope that with a strong, maritime-minded Chief Executive and courageous, dedicated and knowledgeable officials in the key posts of Maritime Administrator and Chairman of the Maritime Commission, ready and willing to take leadership, things are starting to happen.

#### CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS SUPPORT PROGRAM

Congressional leaders long have been pressing for modernization of both the Merchant Marine and the Navy. They can be counted upon not only to carry out Mr. Nixon's maritime shipping plan, but also support the vital naval ship modernization program.

Those who have been dragging their feet must heed President Nixon's challenge to rebuild the Merchant Marine at a reasonable expense. He spoke specifically, in his challenge, of the shipbuilding industry, ship operators and seamen. But the obstructionists also include those in the Defense Department, Navy and other governmental agencies who have been denying the need of a strong merchant marine as an arm of defense for years. They must get behind the President.

Some years ago, the late Secretary of Defense Charles Wilson made history with a comment that he liked hound dogs, who earned their keep, more than kennel dogs, who took handouts. Engine Charlie was criticized for this but most people agreed. Unfortunately there have been kennel dogs in the maritime industry, ready to take handouts without producing results. They must start building, operating and manning ships and cooperating under the new program or—as President Nixon indicated—the whole deal is off. What he meant is not entirely clear, but his plan includes both a carrot and a stick. Many assume he might build some ships abroad, as some of his land-minded advisors have recommended. We think building abroad would be a fundamental mistake, for the maritime industry is indivisible and the Navy, Merchant Marine and U.S. shipbuilding industry must stand or fall together. We believe Ed Hood when he says the industry will produce. It must.

#### M'NAMARA POLICY PROVEN WRONG

There also have been administrators and cost analysts in the Pentagon and elsewhere in Government who resist steps to attain a viable U.S. Merchant Marine industry. Andy Gibson, one of the strong men so much needed today, took on the Defense Department last month when he sharply attacked Pentagon officials before a House committee for failing to adequately support the Nixon Program. For many years, former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara had refused to recognize the Merchant Marine as necessary to defense, apparently on the false, money-saving theory that airlift would take care of defense needs. Viet Nam proved him wrong, when sealift carried some 97 per cent of the war supplies to our forces there, but he and his aides never admitted it publicly.

The McNamara anti-maritime policy still evidently lingers among those gifted theo-

retical thinkers just below the top who write the policy papers in the Pentagon. It is encouraging that when Gibson spoke out publicly, Defense Secretary Laird felt compelled to answer. Laird's statement repudiated his subordinates, asserting his "complete support for the Nixon program."

We say the President's statement is only a beginning for a variety of other reasons. Despite the efforts of Chairman Rivers, Representative Bennett and others, the Navy shipbuilding program seems destined to be limited to about \$2.6 billion—up from last year but way below what is necessary to do something about the dangerous block obsolescence of the Fleet.

But we also are optimistic about the prospects of the SS *Manhattan's* feat in opening a Northwest Passage to commercial shipping. It could lead to a breakthrough in maritime affairs, if the Nation follows up by exploiting the northern mineral riches of Alaska and Canada by shipping. This means not only building more giant ice-breaker tankers, but much more resolute research and development in this field—such as redesigning ships, both merchantmen and warships, to penetrate the heavy Arctic ice; new concepts of ice-breaking rather than the use of brute force; and new navigational aids, etc. This development could be revolutionary, perhaps more important than another Panama Canal or two, and also open the way for newly needed seabased early warning and missile-intercept systems, akin to SABMIS.

#### MARITIME COORDINATION NEEDED

Many other things must be done to take advantage of President Nixon's precedent-breaking pronouncement. The first must be to convince our top leaders that the future strategy of the United States lies in moving more of America's strength to sea. This means reversing the current division of U.S. military and military-oriented research and development funds, which now give about three-fourths of the large sums available to land-oriented purposes (Army and Air Force) and only one-fourth to seabased systems.

One badly needed move is to provide some sort of high level coordination of all maritime matters, such as now exists in Moscow. Maritime affairs are now badly fragmented, with the Navy under the firm control of the Secretary of Defense (and largely turning its back on its traditional second function of aiding American foreign commerce), and the Coast Guard, Maritime Administration, Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, and the Coast and Geodetic Survey, etc., divided among various departments.

Another step should be setting definite goals, such as the late President Kennedy laid down for putting Americans on the moon in the 1960s. We spent billions and did it. If somewhat smaller goals could be fixed for maritime aims, miracles could be performed. Instead of spending a few million dollars a year for shipbuilding and oceanic research, here and there, with no clear goal, we might, for example, set out to build a new type ship that can cross the Atlantic at an average speed of 100 knots by 1980—there are such craft in test—and do it.

#### GOVERNMENT AS A GOD

#### HON. ODIN LANGEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, I was the discussion leader at the regular weekly prayer breakfast. The breakfast is a meeting of several Members of Congress at which we discuss the issues of

the day and how they can be interpreted within the framework of religious belief. In my remarks, I quoted from the text of a sermon that came to my attention some time ago. Several of my colleagues expressed an interest in the sermon. It is written by J. Lester McGee of the Centenary United Methodist Church of St. Louis. The sermon concerns the listlessness of American life in many circles where the Federal Government has tried to be not only the administrator of justice and maker of rules but also giver of life and worker of miracles. The text of the sermon follows:

COME UNTO THE GOVERNMENT ALL WHO ARE WEARY AND HEAVY LADEN

(From a sermon by J. Lester McGee, D.D.)

Many of our visitors, some of whom travel and get to visit all kinds of churches, say to me that everywhere they go to church they hear nothing but socialistic themes—and they get very hungry for a simple Gospel message of inspiration and hope.

You who hear me often know that I do not ride this Social-Gospel Hobby Horse. I believe I have something to share much broader, deeper, and certainly more durable.

To me it is unfortunate that some ministers are so caught up in this socialistic syndrome they have nothing to offer the inner man. All they know to do, or want to do, is to fill his belly with food, provide him a clean pad, a coffee house, and a playboy club and they have fulfilled their divine commission as Christ's minister.

I heard a minister of much experience and sound wisdom say that Jesus was interested in people and He fed them and healed them, and then told them to go and sin no more. But today, he said, we feed them, house them, heal them, and then tell them: "Go right on sinning, fellows, we're with you all the way." This is the one fallacy of the secular gospel.

I was in a meeting a few months ago with the ministers of the downtown-midtown area, and we were discussing what we could do together to help people. Out of my experiences here at Centenary and elsewhere, I suggested among other things a cooperative pastoral counseling center for the poor, the people who can't pay the fees charged by other counseling groups. One of the ministers, in the social ministry vanguard, howled me over with the question: "What is that?" When I explained it meant sitting down with individual persons and families and talking over their problems in confidence and understanding and trying to help them with solutions, he quickly said he wanted no part of that. You see, that wasn't organizing the ghettos, demonstration for peace in Vietnam, or parading in front of city hall.

Let me hasten to say that I do believe Christianity has a dramatic word to say on the rightful priority of social concerns—including the elimination of pockets of poverty and racial discrimination, and the promotion of public righteousness. There are social implications of Christian commitment which I will discuss in the next few sermons. The point of this sermon is: We are pooped people. We are tired, weary, exhausted, frustrated, anxious and confused. The only hope we see is Prince Charming Government caring for us from the cradle to the grave. We have shifted the plea: "Give us this day our daily bread" from God to government. This I call The Pooped People Philosophy.

Here it is: "I used to think I was poor. Then they told me I wasn't poor, I was needy. Then they told me it was self-defeating to think of myself as needy, that I was culturally deprived. Then they told me deprived was a bad image, that I was underprivileged. Then they told me underprivileged was overused, that I was disadvantaged. I still don't

have a dime, but what the heck! The government will house me, feed me, clothe me, send my kids to school from Head Start through college, provide them with a swimming pool and a playground. The Supreme Court will protect my rights, and brother I've got my rights! Society will excuse me when I do wrong, heal me when I am sick, care for me when I am old, and bury me when I am dead. And when I am dead I am dead. There is no God. I don't need heaven. The government gives it to me here." There it is, a strange new philosophy of life we are instilling in both the old and the new generations.

A curious change seems to have occurred in our national philosophy with respect to problems and work, grit and sacrifice, all conditioned by one word: Gimme!

Our heritage as Americans is that of a people with courage and resourcefulness aplenty for tearing great problems to pieces. Then there arose among us the notion that ideally nobody should have a problem, that part of the function of government, and of civilization, is to relieve us of all problems. This is because we are humanitarians. We don't want anyone to suffer. We want to alleviate pain. This is as it should be. But there is a great danger here, and I fear we have reached that danger line in our American life. America is so busy being its brother's keeper we have perhaps forgotten how to be our brother's brother.

Some one has said if Abe Lincoln had lived today, the Rotary Club would have provided him with books, the Lions' Club with a reading lamp, and Kiwanis would have supplied his cabin with a floor; the minimum wage law and social security would have protected him; unemployment insurance would have paid him between rail-splitting jobs; the Railsplitters Union would have increased his take-home wages periodically; a scholarship would have sent him to college. In fact, Abe would never have found it necessary to study law or go into politics.

When I first felt called to the ministry, I had not been to college. I took a student pastoral charge consisting of five small country churches paying me a total salary of \$600 for the year. On that I matriculated in college, bought my books, housed and fed and clothed myself, bought an old car to travel to and from my churches. There was no scholarships. I received no outside help. Yet I did have to do considerable evangelistic moonlighting to make ends meet. And I did not go in debt.

A Kentucky minister friend who is the Registrar of the Board of Ministerial training of my old home conference told me a few days ago that now when a young man wants to go into the ministry he is given a nice little church with a parsonage, a minimum salary of \$4,200, and practically all his schooling, books, etc. But that conference is now faced with a new kind of dropout problem. The fellows get their education at the church's expense and then promptly drop out of the ministry and enter another field. This is happening all over Methodism and in other denominations as well.

Our college classrooms are filled with irresponsible who are not there seeking knowledge because they or their parents have paid dearly for it, but there under a "grant" or "loan" which motivates as little as it burdens.

I could talk at length on the innumerable dols, gratuities, handouts and subsidies, and proposals for more and more of them. For example, there is the proposal, put forward in all seriousness by knowledgeable people, that every American be "guaranteed an annual income" by the federal government.

My friends, isn't it just human nature for those who receive handouts to look upon

them as something to which they are entitled, as something that rightfully belongs to them?

Then there is the tendency to depend upon such gifts, rather than exert oneself to the greatest possible effort to meet his own needs. From the lowliest panhandler on the street to the worthiest recipient of today's social security benefits we are being "spoiled rotten" and rockabyed to sleep to the strains of that haunting lullaby known as the Beggar-American Rhapsody "Gimme gimme, gimme gimme gimme."

Time does not permit me to discuss the economic problem which commonsense leads us to anticipate as we pay for this paternalism. You know the old bromide about the feasting bureaucrats who say: "Get into poverty. That's where all the money is."

It is a common and careless assumption, but a false and dangerous one, that federal expenditures are from some other source than your own pocket, that the government pays, not you. This is as naive as the patient who told his psychiatrist he was making long distance calls to himself. "Isn't that expensive?" asked the doctor. "Oh no, it doesn't cost me a cent. You see, I always reverse the charges."

Now please do not go away and say I disapprove of helping those really in need. I am a Methodist and Methodists have a great social creed. Just let me read one brief word from that creed: "The concern of both churches and government should be for the inclusive welfare of persons, for their freedom and dignity, and for their successful functioning in community life, as well as for their physical maintenance. But needs should be met in such ways that dependency is discouraged and spiritual development made possible."

Where are the old proverbs: "God helps those who help themselves . . . Man's extremity is God's opportunity."? Are these just silly, sentimental, idealistic back numbers now repealed and ready to be junked?

Not long ago, an outstanding American said that before a nation can have a Great Society it must first have great people. Many people have been stirred by this challenge for a great society, and certainly we need it. But if a great society could be built with economic blueprints, or with brain power, or with money power, it would now be a reality.

America has the knowhow. We are conquering our rivers. We will eliminate air pollution. We will rid our cities of slums and poverty ghettos. We have harnessed the power of electricity, and now the power of the atom is bending to our will. We have comforts and conveniences and luxuries to dispense to all. But unfortunately we are missing the one blueprint by which we can create a great society, and that blueprint deals with values that are moral, spiritual and eternal. I listened to Svetlana Stalin during her press conference and the thing that impressed me in her reasoning to come to America was that emerging spiritual quality which was there dormant in her make-up all the time she was being oriented to communism. We can go secular as far as we dare, but without this depth dimension there is no hope. A few years ago a Russian leader wanted to bury us. Now the danger is that we will bury ourselves under our own potential and abundance of material things.

A teacher asked her class to write essays on that popular picture of the Revolutionary War called The Spirit of '76. Three men are in it. They are marching men. One plays a fife. One beats a drum. The third man has his head bandaged.

Well, one boy wrote his essay this way: "The Spirit of '76 is a picture of three men. One is blowing his horn. One is beating his drum. The other has the headache."

Here is a picture of our present day trying to build a great society. We are blowing our horns telling what we are going to do. We are beating our drums telling what we are doing. But many people still have headaches, and they have headaches because they have heartaches, because our lives are so shallow and irresponsible.

We do not want the Kingdom of God and His righteousness. We do not even want to labor for the things that perish. We want them doled to us. "Give us this day our daily bread—our daily fun, our daily kicks, our daily ease."

Jesus gave us the blueprint for the great society. Hear Him say: "Whoever hears these words of mine and does them, he is like a wise man who built his house on a rock foundation . . ." And that rock foundation must be made up of specific ingredients. As commonplace and cliched as it sounds I must list these ingredients: a sense of personal responsibility, hard work, determination, industry, sweat, perseverance, frugality, sacrifice.

Respectfully, I should like to recommend a change in the Lord's Prayer . . . recommended in the Christian Century. Where it now reads: "Give us this day our daily bread," I would like to see that phrase updated to read: "Give us this day the strength to earn our daily bread." I truly believe that is what Jesus meant. His whole life and ministry typified that. Remember, God decreed a long time ago that man should earn his bread by the sweat of his brow . . .

The Pooped People Philosophy is "Come unto the government all who are weary and heavy laden." I think there are only two ways of really getting pooped, fagged out, exhausted. One is from listlessness, idleness, shiftlessness, irresponsibility, panhandling. Nothing tires and depresses more than that. Isn't it frustrating to have no other source of sustenance and strength than the government? To be so completely at the mercy of a paternalistic society? What does this do to one's pride, self-respect? One of the tragedies of our time is this loss of personal dignity and self-respect.

The other way of becoming exhausted or pooped is from effort, grit, hard work, determination, struggle, perseverance, sacrifice, giving it your best, your all, trying to stand on your own two feet . . . And when you have done that, my friend, on any level of human endeavor, it is to you Jesus says: "Come unto me all you who labor and are heavy laden . . ." It is He and not the government, or anyone or anything else, who gives assurance, a sense of well-being, dignity and rest.

THE GSA NATIONAL PUBLIC  
ADVISORY COUNCIL

HON. HENRY BELLMON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. BELLMON. Mr. President, it was most gratifying to me to learn of the effort being made by the General Services Administration to get a firsthand reading on how it can be of most service to the American people. I am speaking, of course, about the National Public Advisory Council which GSA Administrator Robert L. Kunzig, has named to counsel him on agency policies, plans, and programs. Among the 16 distinguished citizens of the United States whom Mr. Kunzig has selected for this important responsibility is Al Snipes of Oklahoma City, a man I have long known

and respected, and whose dedication to the development of the Oklahoma City area and the rest of the State knows no bounds.

I am sure that this same dedication will make Mr. Snipes a most valuable adviser to Mr. Kunzig, who is to be congratulated for this forward step in administration. Mr. Snipes has wide experience in the insurance and real estate investment areas and now is a director of the Grants Square Bank in Oklahoma City. His leadership in civic activities is as outstanding as his business career. Selection of men of such high caliber to advise our Government is a credit to the entire Nixon administration.

#### CONFEREES' ACTION ON NUCLEAR NAVAL PROPULSION VESSELS

### HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity to commend the conferees on the fiscal year 1970 Defense appropriation conference for their prompt action on the bill. I want to take special note of the accomplishments of the conferees concerning the naval nuclear propulsion appropriations.

First, I was most pleased to see the \$20 million, which was deleted by the Senate, for the eighth submarine of the new high-speed SSN-688 class, restored. If the \$20 million had not been restored we would have had a significant delay in this important addition to our fleet. The \$20 million thus restored permits us to proceed in the way planned in the House-passed appropriation bill. Now we can proceed with the procurement of the long-lead items which control the delivery of these advanced type submarines.

I was also pleased to note that the conferees saw fit to go along with the Senate in the inclusion of \$10 million for the fifth nuclear-powered guided missile ship of the new DXGN class, which is to escort our nuclear aircraft carriers. The \$10 million permits us to get started with the procurement of controlling items for this ship in accordance with the authorization bill passed earlier—Public Law 91-121—which authorized the procurement of long lead-time items for the fifth DXGN.

The Senate and House Appropriations Committees and the Armed Service Committees, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and the Navy have strongly advocated nuclear escorts for all of our nuclear carriers. Only with such escorts is it possible to take full advantage of the outstanding superiority of nuclear propulsion for carrier task groups. The authorization of the fifth DXGN is especially important since this ship will be the first nuclear escort for the nuclear carrier CVAN69—our third nuclear carrier—which was included in the fiscal year 1970 appropriation bill.

I expect the Defense Department to proceed expeditiously on the procurements for both of these ships.

#### ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION

### HON. CHARLES H. PERCY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD four addresses recently delivered by four very prominent Americans. Each has addressed himself to the increasingly critical problems of environmental pollution. That these men would choose this as their common topic bespeaks both the critical state of environmental problems and the quality of leadership they are willing to exert in the struggle to find solutions.

This sort of involvement by members of the private sector in the important problems of our society is one of the hallmarks of American democracy. Some of this country's best heritage has grown out of the interest and involvement of the private citizens. Messrs. John Swearingen, Laurance S. Rockefeller, John L. Gillis, and Brooks McCormick fully typify this keen social consciousness.

To illustrate the community of concern they have expressed, I have joined statements made by each into the following single statement. In my judgment, it summarizes the nature of the problem and the commitment required if environmental quality is to be a reality.

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

"There is no denying the gravity of the problem. Individually and collectively, we have defied the laws of intelligent house-keeping for so long as to impair the quality of our environment to a serious degree." (Swearingen) "Like a well-known headache remedy, the strategy must be a combination of active ingredients. The ingredients include clearly-defined goals, regulations that are strong yet reasonable, a system of incentives to hasten the adoption of the proper treatment facilities." (Gillis) "There is no substitute for the dedicated desire of industry and government to understand the gravity of the total environmental problem and their earnest resolve to respond to it." (McCormick) "A little over six years from now we will celebrate our 200th birthday as a nation. There is no better birthday present we can give ourselves and our grandchildren than a redoubled effort to preserve, enhance, and redeem the basic building blocks of America's environment and indeed its greatness—our air, our land, and our water." (Rockefeller)

STATEMENT AT NATIONAL EXECUTIVES CONFERENCE  
ON WATER POLLUTION ABATEMENT  
WASHINGTON, D.C., OCTOBER 23, 1969

(By John E. Swearingen)

Before getting into the specific factors on which we have been invited to comment here, I would like to note some general considerations which are fundamental to any successful efforts to cope with pollution.

All of us have been exposed to a great deal of rhetoric about pollution in recent years. To the extent it has awakened the public to the existence of the problem, this is positive. To the extent that it has tended to concentrate mainly on industrial pollution, it has been misleading.

There is a danger that the public is coming to believe that most of the problem can be eliminated simply by imposing strict con-

trols on industry. Unfortunately, the problem is far too complex to be legislated out of existence, and crash programs aimed at symptoms rather than underlying causes are more likely to lead to economic waste than to environmental improvement.

In any event, we are not likely to make much headway in the fight against pollution unless we recognize that:

1. Environmental pollution is both a social and an economic problem.

2. It must be approached and solved on a practical basis—in terms of costs versus benefits.

3. In one manner or another, the costs must inevitably be borne by the consuming public—which means all of us.

4. A rational and effective approach to pollution control is impossible without a genuine understanding of what the problem is, why it has developed, and what the roles of industry, government, and the individual should be in meeting the problem. In short, there is urgent need for an overall perspective—a philosophy of pollution control.

The central question is not whether we should have cleaner water, but how clean, at what cost, and how long to take to do the job.

The fact that these considerations are frequently ignored in popular discussions of the problem does not diminish their validity. No one can argue with the premise that wherever pollution can be scientifically demonstrated to be a genuine hazard to human health, it should be eliminated immediately and regardless of expense. But when closely examined, many cases of environmental pollution prove to be esthetic in nature, rather than genuine health hazards.

Beyond question, pollution has increased hand in hand with growth and concentration of population and with the introduction of technology. Some degree of pollution is part of the cost involved in achieving the benefits made possible in a technological society. This is merely one more counter at which no free lunch is available. Our challenge is to identify the complex sources of pollution and keep them within socially and economically tolerable limits.

There are good number of people around who are convinced the curses of technology outweigh its blessings. My own view is closer to that expressed in the findings of a major study of the progress of technological societies, whose authors concluded: "Without its progress since the 19th Century, most men alive today would not have been born; those alive would have been sentenced to disease, filth, and even greater misery than exists in the world today. We are in better shape because of it."

While industry presents one easily identifiable source of pollution, the unhappy fact remains that a water pollution problem of national magnitude would still be with us if pollution were somehow completely eliminated from all industrial operations. As one leading government enforcement official has noted, an underlying cause of water pollution is that all over the country we have municipal sewage systems that are inadequate for the loads imposed on them in the last few years. Or let us consider agriculture. Agriculture withdraws twice as much water from streams and wells as public water utilities and manufacturing industry combined. A portion of this water finds its way back into rivers and streams, and we really don't know very much about the condition in which it is returned—although there are grounds for concern.

When it comes to paying the tremendous costs which are going to be involved in arresting and reversing pollution of our waters, the public can readily recognize its direct financial involvement when called upon to vote on a local bond issue to underwrite improved sewage treatment facilities. But the same principle applies when it comes

to pollution-control expenditures by industry. These are simply an additional cost of doing business, and—like all other costs—must ultimately be passed on to the consumer. As for government grants to control pollution, that bill will be rendered to us all by the Internal Service.

There is no denying the gravity of the problem. Individually and collectively, we have defied the laws of intelligent house-keeping for so long as to impair the quality of our environment to a serious degree. Before the situation is further compounded by the projected new waves of population about to crash down upon us, concerted action is necessary. But since all segments of society have created the problem, all will have to be parties to the solution.

Turning now specifically to petroleum operations, I should note that the industry's official recognition of its obligation to undertake pollution abatement dates back over 40 years. The first formal program in the industry was launched in the 1920's, with publication of the American Petroleum Institute's first "Manual on Disposal of Refinery Waste." Now grown to more than 500 pages and six volumes, the manual reflects in detail the state of air and water pollution abatement technology in oil refining. Two of its volumes deal with water pollution control, two with air pollution control, one with chemical wastes, and one with solid waste disposal. The manual covers all known sources of potential contamination, and its suggested treatment methods are systematically revised as industry research provides new information on which to base effective action.

Over the years, as the individual oil companies have carried on research into all aspects of pollution problems associated with petroleum operations, the industry has jointly sponsored additional research at leading universities and research institutions—frequently in conjunction with governmental bodies. Sharing of improved technology, along with heavy capital expenditures, has led to significant advances in water pollution abatement.

Let me cite just a few examples:

In production, the industry has worked for many years to solve a particularly difficult conservation problem—the disposal of brine. Brine is present in almost all petroleum-bearing underground formations, and comes to the surface with the oil—typically about two to three barrels of brine per barrel of crude. The newest practice is to return the brine to the underground formation from which it was produced, or to some other brine-bearing formation. Sometimes it is injected down exhausted wells. More often, new wells are drilled specifically for brine disposal. As a result of years of cooperative effort, the industry now safely disposes of nearly six billion barrels of oil-field brine each year.

As the search for oil and gas has moved offshore, new conditions have been met and new techniques developed, to minimize the chance of pollution. During offshore drilling operations, it is normal to use at least three and often four, blowout preventors and numerous control valves. Offshore wells are also equipped with a special automatic safety device, called a down-hole storm choke, which closes when there is a rupture in the system. On a typical offshore drilling rig, every precaution is taken to minimize any contamination. Nothing intentionally goes overboard—from soapy water to bathroom waste. The driller's bit never touches the ocean water, and all action takes place within steel pipes, which are sealed off from underground fresh water supplies.

In refining, large quantities of water are essential. Where 1,500 to 1,800 gallons were once used in the process of refining a barrel of crude oil, the fresh-water intake today

can be as low as 100 gallons per barrel. Recirculation of cooling water is the principal means by which this reduction has been possible, using the same water as many as 25 to 30 times.

In marketing and transportation, leaks and spills constitute potential pollution sources. On pipeline river crossings where the line would be vulnerable to accidental damage from shipping, and, consequently, to leaks, the pipe is usually wrapped in thick concrete and buried in a trench, well below the river bed. In various parts of the country, where petroleum installations are adjacent to harbors and inland waterways, the industry has joined with local governmental agencies to contain and clean up spillages of oil that may occur. In most instances, industry has agreed to purchase the needed materials, and the local fire department or the Coast Guard has agreed to store the materials until needed and to deploy the equipment should a spill occur. More than 40 of these programs are now in operation or under development, and they illustrate the effectiveness of local cooperative approaches to the solution of local problems.

The cost of these, and the many other steps taken to prevent water pollution, is considerable. To get some appraisal of the expenditures involved, the American Petroleum Institute's Committee for Air and Water Conservation directed a questionnaire to petroleum companies early last year asking for data on their 1966 and 1967 pollution control expenditures in the United States and for projections of 1968 expenditures. Since all companies do not record costs in exactly the same manner, instructions and formulas were provided to standardize reporting for the study. The participating companies, incidentally, process 97 per cent of all the crude oil refined in the United States.

The study found that expenditures for water conservation totaled \$145 million in 1966, \$190 million in 1967, and were estimated at over \$200 million for 1968. As might be expected, capital expenditures account for the largest single portion of costs, followed by operating and maintenance expenditures, and administrative and research and development costs. Within the various operating segments of the industry, the heaviest expenditures are being made in production and manufacturing, with marketing and transportation accounting for smaller shares. While these amounts are not precise, they represent a serious attempt to measure the sums being spent each year for the specific purpose of avoiding water pollution.

Despite the progress made, some difficult problems remain. Among those receiving intensive study are more efficient, lower-cost methods of removing contaminants from a refinery's waste effluent streams, and more effective methods of disposing of the sludge from both intake and effluent water treatment and from process operations.

Beyond this is the larger, and continuing, problem of human error and equipment failure. This will never be completely controlled, and accidents will continue to happen from time to time. Nevertheless, when you consider the scale of the petroleum industry's operations, I think the record of minimizing these occurrences is little short of remarkable.

The U.S. economy is currently consuming oil at a rate of over 13 million barrels a day. That is over half a billion gallons every 24 hours. To find, produce, process, transport, and market this tremendous volume is quite an undertaking—apart from the problem of occasional accidental contamination. At the same time, the petroleum industry recognizes its responsibility and will continue to do all it can to prevent contamination stemming from its activities.

I have already noted the cooperative—or volunteer fire department—approach to deal swiftly with smaller oil spills in harbors and

waterways. However, in the wake of the wreck and breakup of the Torrey Canyon off the British coast, and the blowout in the Pacific offshore waters near Santa Barbara, it has become recognized that new measures are needed to deal with spills wherever they occur.

One hopeful approach is contained in the present efforts of the United Nations Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization—or IMCO—to work out appropriate amendments to international conventions that will provide better safeguards against unpredictable marine disasters and establish the right of a nation to take swift action to defend its coastlines against the effects of accidents in international waters.

Meanwhile, the petroleum industry has taken a significant step to deal with some of the legal and insurance problems raised by accidents involving foreign flag vessels. This is the Tanker Owners' Voluntary Agreement Concerning Liability for Oil Pollution—or TOVALOP for short—which was initiated earlier this year.

TOVALOP is a plan under which tanker owners accept, as a contractual obligation, the responsibility for cleaning up oil spills their vessels cause, or for reimbursing any national government for its own cleanup costs. The plan provides up to \$10 million per incident per vessel for this purpose. However, this is not merely an insurance plan, but a voluntary assumption of responsibility on the part of participating tanker owners—who must enroll their entire fleets.

Because the plan is international, it solves the problem a government—including our own—would otherwise have in gaining jurisdiction over an offending vessel of foreign registry. Although TOVALOP was initiated only this year, more than 50 per cent of the Free World's tanker tonnage is already enrolled. In addition, a committee within the American Petroleum Institute is considering ways a similar plan might be devised to cover cleanup of spills from both offshore and onshore facilities here at home.

The Institute has also embarked on a major new program of research and development to help forge a new technology for coping with spills effectively and swiftly. Some \$600,000 has been appropriated for the remainder of 1969 for the first phase of this program, through which the industry hopes to learn how oil can be recovered from rough water, what treating agents are most effective, and how and where they can be used safely.

The Institute will also be co-sponsor, along with the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, of a four-day conference on oil spill prevention and control this December in New York City. The program will cover the whole gamut of issues raised by recent oil spills and explore the present state of the art in dealing with spills.

Because of the tremendous publicity given to the Santa Barbara blowout, let me say parenthetically that the threat of such occurrences has been greatly exaggerated, as have the consequences. To date, 8,000 wells have been drilled on Federal offshore lands, with only 16 blowouts. Twelve of these were gas wells, and caused no pollution. Of the remaining four, only one—at Santa Barbara—caused a significant amount of pollution, and the environmental effects were only temporary.

Despite early fears of damage to marine animals, there have been no fatalities due to oil among whales, sea lions, or seals. This has been confirmed by specialists from the Department of the Interior, the California Department of Fish and Game, and the U.S. Navy. Fishing in the Channel is as good as ever, and no serious effects on other marine life have been reported.

Tragically, several thousand birds were lost during the emergency. Fortunately, however, most of the victims were members of very

populous species, so that now—nine months after the blowout—bird counts appear to be back to normal. At the same time, cleaning up after the Santa Barbara spill was an extremely costly, back-breaking chore—and one that the industry devoutly hopes will never have to be repeated.

Turning briefly now to some of the broader considerations bearing on any efforts to make significant further strides toward the goal of cleaner water, I think it is clear that a number of practical obstacles remain to be overcome.

In arriving at decisions in this area, any corporate management faces a dual responsibility—to conserve not only natural resources, such as water, but also social and economic resources, such as capital. The state of the art in waste controls, for example, makes it feasible to design pollution control facilities into a new plant much more economically than they could be added onto an old plant. With a new facility, conservation objectives can be achieved as an integral part of a profitable investment—and can be factored into its cost.

Correction of undesirable situations in older plants is sometimes extremely difficult, both technologically and financially. In some cases it is impossible to bring an old facility up to new standards without such heavy expenditures that a currently profitable facility becomes marginal, or a marginal operation is forced into the red. Many older installations represent a major payroll in their communities, and to close them would constitute local economic disaster.

Even in designing a new facility, it usually becomes apparent at an early stage that, while significant improvements in pollution control can be made at reasonably modest cost, further additional investments will achieve smaller and smaller improvements. Finally one reaches a point beyond which prohibitive incremental investments are required for small incremental improvements. Some place along the line, economic penalties outweigh social benefits, and management—along with society at large—must determine where that occurs in evaluating the cost and benefit involved in a given project.

In arriving at proper solutions to water-control problems, it is essential that decisions be based on facts, not on suppositions or suspicion. Urgent situations create a responsibility to develop facts speedily, but not the responsibility to act before facts are determined. In its planning for conservation, industry needs reasonable assurance that a proposed solution is not motivated solely by a desire to solve the problem, but is backed up by enough facts to insure that it is the best available solution.

When it comes to appraising the attitudes of stockholders and customers, it would appear that while both groups are in favor of cleaner water, the former are also interested in maintenance of dividends, and the latter in low product prices. There is nothing surprising in this, and it runs parallel to the views of the public at large. Opinion surveys have found that the public is increasingly concerned about pollution in general, considers industry the major culprit, and favors control measures. However the surveys also suggest that public enthusiasm for pollution control is matched by reluctance to pay even a modest share of the cost.

This attitude will have to change. As I noted earlier, the benefits of cleaner water will be achieved only by facing the inevitable costs, which promise to be very large. Leaving industrial contamination aside, the cost of providing adequate municipal sewage treatment facilities has, by itself, been estimated at over \$30 billion through the year 2000.

The range of cost-versus-benefit choices is already extremely wide, and will grow wider as federal, state, and municipal programs for pollution control are put into effect. Only if the economic facts are widely understood

can the public make an informed decision in each case, based on willingness to pay for a stated degree of water cleanliness.

The cost-versus-benefit approach will not result in a Utopia, with an environment as pure as our first pioneers found it; rather, it will result in water quality that is acceptable, and compatible with the multiple needs of a technology-centered society.

It is clear that the responsibility to act in defense of our essential natural resources, such as water, extends across the entire social structure of the nation—individuals, industry, and local, state, and federal governments. As an extension of its internal planning, the petroleum industry recognizes that it should cooperate actively with government. The widespread, yet localized, nature of water pollution has tended to create a situation in which different levels of government—acting more or less independently—have endeavored to cope with problems by applying widely varying forms of legislation and regulation.

It is our belief that scientific knowledge and a sense of social responsibility are the only sound bases for legislation and regulation. Having developed control programs requiring large-scale expenditures to meet varying governmental requirements and being subject to future regulatory activity, we are acutely aware of the need for definite goals. Without clear objectives, crash programs rather than planned ones are likely to result. This leads to a situation in which everyone is sure to lose, but not at all certain to win.

Pollution problems are not monolithic; they vary widely according to geographical conditions. In reference to regulatory responsibility, the petroleum industry supports the principle that the level of government best able to cope with a specific conservation problem has the responsibility to take necessary action.

Such action should be tailored to local conditions. Mere copying of regulations adopted by other governmental units fails to recognize the diversity of local needs. It is part of industry's responsibility to work to help clarify these local needs.

So far as the petroleum industry is concerned, I think we have made commendable progress in trying to work out realistic and attainable timetables for water pollution abatement, in conjunction with the various governmental agencies involved. In nearly every instance of which I am aware, our operations have been scheduled to exceed the established and projected requirements, and we expect to continue on this course.

I might note that this task is not being made any easier for us by recent efforts to increase the level of federal taxation on petroleum operations. In appraising the future, the central long-term problem facing the petroleum industry is how to meet its huge demands for capital.

Total capital and exploration expenditures by the domestic oil industry last year rose to an estimated \$9 billion, over half of which was called for in exploration and production. The total represents an increase of 50 per cent since 1963, and the problem of generating funds of this magnitude year after year is acute—especially in an era of inflation compounded by a relentless cost-price squeeze. With rising demand for both oil and gas, it is clear that capital needs are going to accelerate even faster, on the basis of the recent record.

This means that appropriation requests for pollution-control activities will have to compete for a share of increasingly hard-come-by capital funds needed to carry out our basic business of fueling the economy.

If the expenditures called for are based on factual evidence indicating that demonstrable social benefits will outweigh economic costs, and that the timetables are realistic, I have no doubt that the petroleum

industry will accomplish its share of the job. We are committed to do no less.

#### WATER POLLUTION: COORDINATION FOR CONTROL

(By John L. Gillis)

It is a pleasure to be at your very important Convention. But I have a confession to make . . .

I am a "non-expert" in a field in which you people are the acknowledged experts—the control of water pollution. But, like yourselves, I am involved in the quest for practical solutions. And I do have some pretty definite and, hopefully, not-too-uninformed opinions on the subject. So, I thank you for inviting me to share them with you.

My opinions regarding water pollution are tempered largely by two things. First, I spend many leisure hours out of doors—in the meadows, in the woods, or on some lake or stream. I've seen what human negligence does to the environment. But at the same time, as an executive of a large corporation, I know that responsible pollution abatement involves both triumphs and frustrations.

I do not intend to belabor the fact that each of us—whatever our station in the scheme of things—has a responsibility to help improve the quality of our surroundings. We all know that. Rather, I would like to suggest a line of attack—a strategy, if you will—to help bring the problem to manageable proportions by 1980.

Let me start by referring to my home base. To a degree, Monsanto's approach to pollution control summarizes the line of attack I shall discuss in a few moments . . .

First, we cooperate with pollution control officials and agencies at all our location communities. In the past two years, with guidance from those agencies, we have spent roughly 15-million dollars to curb pollution at our locations. We also coordinate our efforts within the company, through seminars, workshops and other exchanges of ideas and experience.

Second, many of our key people are directly involved in a range of pollution abatement activities. The company's president, Ed Bock, for instance, is former chairman of the Manufacturing Chemists' Association's advisory council on environmental health. We are also proud of our Ron Sadow. Two years ago, your organization awarded him your William Rudolfs Award for his outstanding contribution to industrial pollution control.

And third, as you all know, Monsanto recently took an even more dynamic stance by moving into pollution control as a full-fledged business venture.

In short, we believe there is only one rational way to manage pollution problems—and that is through an all-out, fully-coordinated, head-on attack.

A moment ago, I suggested 1980 as a target year to bring water pollution under control. When you consider what we Americans have achieved in the conquest of outer space in the past decade, a ten-year program to cleanse inner space seems to me an altogether reasonable proposition.

It may be that the same idea will be expressed later this month, when the Department of the Interior convenes the National Executives' Conference on Water Pollution Abatement. Assistant Secretary Carl Klein spoke of it in his keynote remarks.

An objective of the Executives' Conference is to bring the environmental program of businesses and government into closer alignment. And I, for one, applaud that objective. Without the fullest cooperation of all concerned, the nation's water pollution will never be truly resolved.

For that reason, I expect the Interior Department might want to consider following through with other Conferences, that are even wider in scope. One such Conference might even represent the widest practical

range of interests, both public and private. Its purpose could be to unify the nation's many abatement efforts in a common attack on water pollution.

Your own Federation, for one, could contribute in many ways to an ecumenical conference of that sort. To give it a descriptive name, it might be called the National Conference to Coordinate Water Pollution Control Activities.

And there are a number of fairly obvious topics I believe such a Coordination Conference would need to cover . . .

The matter of goals, for instance. How much pollution control can we reasonably attain by 1980? By that year, according to one leading scientist, our output of sewage and related waterborne wastes will be sufficient, in dry seasons, to consume all the oxygen in all our river systems. And to magnify the problem, the American requirement for fresh water is expected to about double between now and 1980.

Of course, most of this demand will have to be met by reuse. And that makes the quality requirements of the local water supply even more critical.

Then, I imagine the Conference will want to assess our technological ability to meet those goals. Again and again, we Americans have shown a remarkable facility, where problem-solving is concerned. Witness our space programs. Furthermore, as the American Chemical Society observes in their recent study, a lot of our existing water pollution control technology is being utilized too little—if at all.

To make efficient use of our present technology, though, the Conference would need to ask some pretty basic questions—such as, How pure does the water need to be? . . . and, Can we actually afford to attain that degree of purity?

In other words, whatever standards are established, they should be reasonable. Water of pristine purity is attainable—if we are willing to pay the price.

That, in turn, raises another question for the Conference. Namely, are we, as American citizens, willing to pay our share for an improved environment? According to a recent Gallup survey, the answer is, Yes. Nearly three-fourths of the respondents said they would be willing to pay some additional taxes to improve our natural surroundings.

Of course, it is possible that some of Dr. Gallup's respondents did not realize the true cost of pollution control. Let's suppose, for example, that an all-out campaign, nationwide, were to be initiated tomorrow to build or correct the highest-priority waste water treatment facilities. That includes municipal and industrial treatment plants, plus the required sewers. Over the next five years, the cost would be an estimated 29-billion dollars.

That's a lot of money. It's equal to about 150 dollars per year per American. Still, it's less than the total federal expenditures on space programs in the past five years. Whatever the price, however, it will eventually have to be borne by all of us.

Such expenditures will be money down the drain, so to speak, unless there is a strong, clearly defined working relationship among all parties involved. Remarkably enough, this is not always the case. The respective responsibilities among various local, state and federal agencies are sometimes poorly coordinated.

As a case in point, I read recently of a company that has been dumping tons of solid waste into a nearby lake. So far, the complaints of the local citizenry have been to no avail. Last year, the Department of the Interior called upon that company to stop the dumping. Whereupon, the company produced a dumping permit, issued by the Army Corps of Engineers.

Last I heard, Interior had abandoned its insistence, and dropped the problem in the

laps of the states bordering the lake. So far as I know, that's how the matter stands today—unresolved.

Take another example. Interior has required each state to guarantee that municipalities will have secondary treatment in operation within the next five years. As you know, many states have already raised their matching share. Some have even prefinanced the federal portion.

Yet, as former Undersecretary of the Interior, David S. Black, recently observed, "The federal government—which imposed this requirement—has not kept its side of the bargain." Dollars sufficient to the task have simply not been appropriated.

In contrast, let's consider an example of well-coordinated environmental control. Not long ago, a large mining company decided to open a new operation in Colorado. Hopefully, the company could carry out the operation with minimum damage to the area. So, it sought—and got—the advice of a number of organizations, both public and private.

With the advice of those groups, the company built two reservoirs, several-thousand feet of underground pipeline and other facilities. As a result, two lovely mountain streams were protected that might otherwise have been virtually destroyed. I understand the company has recently stocked one of the reservoirs with trout, and opened it to fishermen.

A good question to ask at this point might be: Why don't more industries follow the example of that mining company and invest in a clean environment? One reason is that most companies must be able to justify a major capital investment to their stockholders. Pollution control installations are usually costly and non-profit producing, and are, therefore, difficult to justify.

That being so, a sensible idea would be to offer economic incentives—such as tax credits—to businesses that take swift, decisive action to control pollution.

In addition, federal legislators may want to enact laws—stricter than those now on the books—compelling industrial pollution control by a specified time. I expect that approach could be highly successful—*provided*, the laws applied equally to all. Inequitable enforcement would give some companies an advantage over their competitors, and, therefore, the laws would be self-defeating.

Stronger pollution control laws would enable businesses to justify their expenditures for abatement equipment. After all, most of us are happy to obey the law—particularly, when there's a policeman watching us.

Based on past performance, however, I expect that some industries will vigorously oppose the enactment of stiffer pollution control laws. To do so, however, would be to oppose the trend of the times. The fact is, stiffer laws are being enacted right now—whether we like them, or not. California's new water quality act is an example. And some existing laws are being given sharper teeth.

In these circumstances, I believe a more constructive and enlightened stance for the business community would be one of co-operation and coordination. For example, business can—and should—participate directly in the framing of meaningful laws and local water quality standards. Otherwise, we may well find ourselves shackled with strictures we cannot live with.

One major contribution the Conference could make would be to explore a relatively new idea. This is the concept that many pollutants can be recovered and reused. Some people call it "recycling." A friend of mine calls it "cash from trash."

Whatever you call it, there are often business opportunities to be found in the stuff people throw away. When we, at Monsanto, first considered going into environmental control systems as a business, we started by making a checklist of substances that are

commonly cast off—to become pollutants of air, water or land.

The resulting list was a long one. Eventually, we had to turn it over to a computer. But that list revealed some interesting facts about pollutants . . .

Aluminum beer and soda cans are an example. You see them every day, cluttering our highways and waterways. Chances are, most of those cans will be around for years, because—unlike some other substances—aluminum does not rust or corrode.

But, if people knew the money they could get for them, I'll bet you'd see the cans picked up in a hurry. According to Reynolds Aluminum, the scrap value of those cans is now about 200 dollars a ton.

Likewise, considerable treasure is going up in smoke—literally. From the stacks of coal-burning power stations and factories, some 300 million dollars' worth of sulfur oxides are lost to the atmosphere each year. Yet those sulfur oxides could be recovered as marketable sulfuric acid.

Fly-ash, from those same stacks, contains potentially recoverable amounts of rare and costly metals—such as beryllium and germanium. After these metals have been recovered, the fly-ash can be further used for construction, road building, or agricultural purposes.

Waste water, both industrial and municipal, makes for special problems, of course. Such pollutants as organics, nutrients, viruses, inorganic salts, and even heat, are difficult to process. And the magnitude of the problem grows with each passing year. Still, given the funds and the will to succeed, I see no reason why these pollutants, too, cannot be utilized—or eliminated altogether.

Heat, for example, is simply good energy going unused. But in Oregon, warm water from industries is being used experimentally to irrigate farmlands. Early reports indicate the extra warmth speeds the growth and increases the size of plants.

In some European industrial communities, factories share their steam and hot process-water, then pipe it to nearby housing developments for central heating.

Removal of biodegradable organics is a perpetual headache, of course. You people are familiar with the shortcomings of most of the conventional procedures. They are often variable in efficiency, and they usually require large tracts of valuable acreage to construct. In this regard, new and novel ideas are needed to reduce BOD more dependably, and with less expenditure of money and land.

My point is, that all of us—we in industry, in particular—can expect ourselves to become increasingly involved in this recover-or-eliminate concept of pollution control. It may even be that, before long, the manufacturer of a new product will be required to account for that product's ultimate disposal.

If it comes to that—and it probably will—the time to plan would be at the product's development stage. At that point, it would be relatively easy to determine:

- (1) whether the product can be used and reused, perpetually;
- (2) converted to some other useful form; or
- (3) neutralized entirely, in some non-polluting manner.

To put it bluntly, those three choices are the *only* alternatives to pollution of water, air or land. There are no other. Therefore, it is upon perpetual use, recovery or total neutralization of pollutants that an abatement strategy must focus.

Like a well-known headache remedy, the strategy must be a combination of active ingredients. The ingredients include clearly-defined goals . . . regulations that are strong yet reasonable . . . a system of incentives to hasten the adoption of the proper treatment facilities.

Most of all, the strategy requires the unswerving cooperation of all those involved—public and private sectors, alike.

I realize there is nothing particularly novel in suggesting that all sectors combine forces to do battle with pollution. The Department of the Interior, among others, has urged as much on many occasions.

The Department has never had a better opportunity than now, to translate that idea into action. For one thing, public sentiment is now inclined toward "doing something" about pollution.

Following the National Executives' Conference, the Interior Department could—and should—announce plans for a National Conference to Coordinate Water Pollution Control Activities. The scope of such a Conference ought to comprise the widest possible representation. And its object should be, to initiate an all-out, fully-coordinated, ten-year program against water pollution.

Arranging for a Conference of such magnitude will not be an easy task, to be sure. But the responses to such a Conference would more than compensate the effort involved.

The Coordination Conference should definitely set its sights high. But there should be no illusions that water pollution can be totally eliminated in a ten-year span. Still, given an all-out, adequately reinforced campaign, I firmly believe the problem can be reduced to manageable proportions in that time.

And if we can accomplish that much, I'm sure you agree, we will have accomplished a lot.

#### ONE COMPANY'S ATTACK ON WATER POLLUTION (By Brooks McCormick)

I welcome the undersecretary's invitation to participate in the first government-industry water pollution conference. Indeed, I am honored, along with my employer, International Harvester Company, for the privilege of kick-off position in this two-day symposium on water pollution abatement. It may well be true this nation and the world face no graver problems than those of environment. Almost everywhere we look we see the signs of environmental deterioration.

The history of man has been the history of his efforts to take command of his environment, to control those elements around him upon which he depends for his very life. His method throughout most of that period has been extremely primitive and shortsighted. He has been concerned only with the immediate effects of his actions, with solutions for imminent problems and answers to current questions.

He has been so impressed that his environment, out of control, could destroy him that he has been oblivious of the possibility that he might destroy it—and himself in the process. And he has become aware of that possibility only in the most recent history. It may be one of the most important lessons mankind can ever learn.

This year, we have been privileged and thrilled to witness the first landing of human beings on the moon. Many people have attempted to assess the significance of that feat, and it will probably be years before we will appreciate its full meaning. But if it does no more than offer us the experience of a completely hostile environment, it can be worth its enormous cost. If it helps only to awaken our appreciation of this life-supporting planet and quicken our resolve to preserve it, the money this nation has spent and will spend on lunar exploration will prove to have been a bargain.

So while water is the subject of our deliberations today, I believe we need to be aware that it is concern for total environment that has brought us together. There can be no question that we must end the pollution of water. But neither should we doubt for a moment that the measures we take for abate-

ment must be made in context with improving the quality of our total environment. We will be treating one element of something that, in essence, is indivisible. This, it seems to me, must be the underlying qualification of everything we say today.

I will, of course, be speaking for International Harvester Company and, therefore, in a sense, I will be representing the farm equipment industry as some of the advance literature for the conference has suggested. At the same time, I must point out that my Company is also a maker of trucks and construction equipment as well as internal combustion and gas turbine engines, aerospace components, and steel.

In short, I do not represent my assigned category in the same exclusive way some of my colleagues on this program represent theirs. A more pertinent category for us would be "automotive metalworking" because the majority of International Harvester products move on wheels or tracks and are self-propelled and because the bulk of our manufacturing operations are classified as metalworking.

Still, the attitude of my Company toward water pollution in particular, and human environment in general, gets its essential character from our origin as a farm equipment company and our long alliance with agriculture.

It takes little imagination to associate farm equipment companies with a consuming interest in the conservation of water and soil resources. You can go back as far as you like in the history of the industry and find documented evidence of efforts and accomplishments in promoting and teaching conservation.

And incidentally, this was not "conservation for conservation's sake" which, Time Magazine says, has been "freely scorned" by Secretary Hickel. It was conservation to enhance the life support elements for growing plants—conservation to maintain and improve the quality of the agricultural environment.

Now I'm not going to tell you it was sheer altruism that originally motivated farm equipment companies. Nor was it any clairvoyant vision of the day man would begin to realize he was seriously in danger of destroying his environment. It was just plain, good business. Water and soil conservation for the farmer was also market conservation for the Company.

But precisely for that reason, a highly favorable attitude toward the conservation of environmental resources became ingrained very early in the structure of our Company—and, I am sure, in that of other farm equipment firms. A natural feeling of responsibility for our corporate economic well-being became interchangeable with a feeling of responsibility for the quality of the agricultural environment. The relationship between them was as compelling as it was obvious.

Another strong influence on the present attitude of my Company toward environmental problems was the change that occurred nearly thirty years ago in our basic concept of the business. Like many other firms, ours had grown up with the belief that the affairs of our enterprise were largely private, that our major obligation to the public was to be law-abiding, ethical and constructive in our decisions and actions.

Then a former president of our Company introduced the concept that when a corporation reaches a certain size, it ceases to be a purely private business organization and becomes, in a sense, a social institution. He felt this was true because such size made the Company a tremendous influence, for good or bad, on the lives of thousands and thousands of people.

From this change of thinking evolved the concept of an enterprise operated not only in the interests of its owners but equally in those of its customers, its employees and the

communities in which its people live and conduct business.

The implication of this point of view are many and varied. But essentially it stands as a formalized statement of social responsibility, a statement made at least a quarter of a century before it became fashionable to charge business and industry with an utter lack of social consciousness.

The significance of this statement in the context of today's conference is readily apparent. For when we talk about water pollution specifically or about environment generally, we're actually talking about society—about people and the effects of environment upon them.

Then there is a third reason for International Harvester's sincere concern about environmental problems. It grows out of the first two, and it is shared by the entire farm equipment industry.

We are justifiably proud of the contribution our Company and this industry have made in lifting the burden of drudgery from the farmer and thereby helping to unlock the door to the highest standard of living in this nation that the world has ever known.

Had it not been for agricultural mechanization, 70 or 80 percent of our population would still be farming—and farming laboriously. The industries represented here today would be vastly different if they existed at all. The professions would have few practitioners. And the Department of the Interior's jurisdiction might still be limited to the general land office, the patent office, the bureau of Indian affairs and the pension office—as it was in 1849. This would still be an agrarian nation.

But we might also not have a water pollution problem or an air pollution problem, or a traffic safety problem, or an urban problem.

As a developing nation, ours needed food and fiber more than it needed almost anything else. We were not unlike many of the struggling new nations of the world today. The farm equipment industry provided the tools to meet the needs of development. As a result, farming eventually ceased to be the inevitable vocation of our people, and for the first time, they were free to choose among a myriad vocations essential to the country's continuing development.

They were also free to choose where they would live, to concentrate themselves in cities where the increasingly sophisticated problems of their advancing civilization could be solved more easily. And essentially it has been this concentration of lives and living that has revealed the problem of environment to which we address ourselves today.

Our industry, as a result of its heritage, is in a unique position to understand its responsibility and that of industry generally, to take the lead in ending pollution where we are directly responsible for it. And I believe the positive, cooperative action of industry and government can set an example that will motivate the kind of total action our very grave situation now demands.

The stated policy of International Harvester in the matter of industrial pollution has evolved from this kind of background. It very simply says in twenty-one words: Within the limits of technical and economic feasibility our Company intends to prevent pollution of water and air by its facilities.

I want to make it clear this is fully as much a description of past practices as a declaration of intentions. For example, we have—I almost said always, but at least for a very long time—collected our spent materials—such as soluble oils and cutting oils and disposed of them through scavenger services. And as long as 16 years ago, before the present level of concern about water pollution was even imagined, we installed a waste treatment plant at our largest truck

manufacturing operation to remove oils from storm sewers. At that time, we even had to establish our own standards for water quality. I think it is significant that we still believe that system is capable of performing within standards that will eventually be set by pollution control authorities.

As of the end of our 1968 fiscal year, we had spent more than \$14 million for installation of water and air pollution controls in the present decade.

A few moments ago, I used the generic term "metalworking" and "automotive" to define the essential nature of our manufacturing activities. Compared with many of those represented here today and with some others not represented, these activities do not involve a very large use of water. Therefore, I would be the first to admit that the water pollution problem we faced in most of our plants is considerably smaller than that of some of our other speakers.

We do operate a small steel mill in Chicago, however, which does consume water in significant quantities. There was a time when this plant—which has a capacity of about one million tons of steel a year—probably used as much process water as all our metal working operations combined.

I say "there was a time" this was true. It is not true today, because we have been making dramatic reductions in our requirement for input water in steel making. Perhaps a word about our accomplishment at this plant—IH Wisconsin Steel Works—is in order. For it does represent a type of industrial operation in which water pollution control is particularly difficult.

By the way, this mill is located some ten miles south of the Loop, and the origin of its name is now growing somewhat obscure.

We began earnestly to combat water pollution at Wisconsin Steel 25 years ago when we installed our first thickener for separating blast furnace flue dust from water. At that time we were drawing perhaps 120 million gallons of water per day from the Calumet River and were discharging virtually all of it directly into the river through thirteen outfalls.

Today, through the processes of cooling, cleaning, and recirculation, we have cut our demand for input water by one-half and have completely eliminated all but three outfalls.

This has cost our Company, along with air pollution control devices, \$11.5 million at this one installation. Our remaining plans call for expenditures of several millions more. When this program is completed it is contemplated that we will be drawing only five million gallons of water from the river and that there will be no outfalls to it.

Of course, in the process of accomplishing this, we have spent considerably larger sums literally to replace our traditional production method with an entirely new one. We switched from open hearth to basic oxygen steel making, built a new rolling mill, installed continuous casting, vacuum degassing and a new battery of coke ovens, to list just the major changes.

It is clear, I am sure, that the first cost of solving our pollution problem at Wisconsin Steel would have been considerably larger had we attempted it without making these alterations in our facilities. The economic advantage we achieved in modernizing the steelmaking process help to partially offset the cost of pollution control and certainly hastened our accomplishment of it.

No longer can there be any question that such measures as water pollution abatement must occupy the highest levels of priority in industry and government. But it is equally clear that only a profitable enterprise can afford the cost of what must be done. Just as government can spend nothing it does not first collect in taxes, industry can spend nothing it does not first earn in profit.

Any management today that does not understand its responsibility to society for the preservation of a living environment is derelict in its duty. But an even greater dereliction would be its failure to perceive and adopt a strategy of action that will provide income for maintaining the profitability of the enterprise as well as for meeting its pressing social obligations. Bankrupt businesses don't pollute streams. But they don't meet payrolls either. Neither do they pay taxes, manufacture products, patronize suppliers or contribute to education.

The principal industries my Company represents have not been high profit industries. Essentially, we make machine tools for the most cost-conscious professionals you'll find anywhere—the farmer, the truck operator and the construction contractor. In the present decade, our net income has averaged about 3.6 percent on the dollar of sales. We'd like it to be higher and we're doing everything we can think of to make it higher. Still we are not likely, in the near term, to achieve the income levels enjoyed by some other types of U.S. business firms.

On the other side of the picture, first costs of abatement equipment are high—particularly if it must be installed in operating plants not otherwise involved in sales- or income-producing physical changes. In addition, there is the cost (which some people tend to forget) of operating, maintaining and updating abatement systems. The finest equipment available is only as good as the care it receives in use.

Our particular plan of attack on both water and air pollution takes two forms. One is *correction*, the other *avoidance*. Corrective action involves the installation of physical facilities and normally is most practical when an operation is undergoing some extensive physical change or when we are undertaking new construction. Today in my Company, pollution abatement is a primary consideration in every plan for facility rearrangement and a part of every new construction contract.

For example, at our Louisville, Kentucky tractor factory we have just announced a \$3.5 million program to install wet scrubbers and two electric furnaces for air pollution abatement in our foundry there. While the wet scrubbers will clean the air, they in effect merely solve an air pollution problem by creating a water pollution problem. So our plans for Louisville also include a complete water filtration and recirculation system. In the case of the new electric furnaces, which will replace a pair of the old cupolas, they will virtually avoid pollution at the very outset.

This then leads to that other arm of our plan of attack—*avoidance*—which is equally important but somewhat less dramatic. It is required in our Company today that, before a new process or new material may be employed by any operation, prior approval must be secured from our Manufacturing Research department. The physical welfare of our employes and avoidance of pollution are principal considerations of this procedure. If water pollution proves to be the potential result of adopting a new process or material, our people seek alternatives that will avoid it. The success of this program has been impressive in many instances, and we have been able not only to avoid pollution but also the cost of abatement.

These two approaches to water pollution abatement, in my opinion, make it possible for business management to meet its responsibilities to society as well as to the enterprise, its owners, employes and customers. Management has no alternative but to meet both obligations to the best of its ability.

Such considerations as these simply have to be factors in setting the timetables of abatement. They have to be taken into account along with such other practical matters as adequate time for planning and engineering,

the ability of suppliers to deliver necessary hardware, contractor's schedules, and the adoption of definitive codes by control authorities.

In my view, there is no substitute for the dedicated desire of industry and government to understand the gravity of the total environmental problem and their earnest resolve to respond to it. There also is no substitute for a thorough understanding of the economic needs of business if we are to succeed in solving these problems of natural environment. Nothing could motivate industry to positive action like real improvement in the quality of our economic environment. The two are directly related, and it is not likely we will have one without the other.

What we have to do can be stated simply enough—as Professor Odum of the University of Georgia has expressed it: "We have got to stop thinking of ourselves as being in the growth stage of civilization and realize that we are in the mature stage. Up to now, we have been a consumptive, destructive civilization. We must learn to re-cycle and re-use."

Thank you indeed for your courteous attention. I look forward with keen interest to the views and remarks of others on what appears to be a most interesting panel.

REMARKS OF LAURANCE S. ROCKEFELLER, BEFORE THE FIFTH AVENUE ASSOCIATION, WALDORF ASTORIA HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY, OCTOBER 22, 1969

Thank you Mr. Cutler. I appreciate the honor the Association pays me today. I accept it gratefully, not only for myself, but also for those with whom I have been associated over the years.

I personally feel close to the work of the association. Not only was I born a few doors off Fifth, but I have lived and worked on the Avenue most of my life as have five generations of our family.

Thus, we as a family are particularly indebted to and pleased to be associated with the Fifth Avenue Association. Rockefeller Center has long been an active and enthusiastic member. Father's goals in the design of Rockefeller Center were very much in line with your goals.

As we now know, he was far ahead of his times in insisting that rentable space in the Center be sacrificed so that there would be open space and lower buildings as well as high rise towers. The fact that these buildings, some of them now almost forty years old, are competitive with the newest office space confirms his vision that good planning and aesthetic concern can be good business.

The great environment you have helped to create is testimony to your high regard for these same principles. I shall not dwell on achievements today, but rather I want to bring to your attention what I believe are urgent *new* problems which need your consideration.

The environmental quality of the Fifth Avenue area is closely linked with that of New York City as a whole. You cannot be an island of beauty amidst a sea of ugliness for very long.

Thus, the most pressing environmental threats to the greatness of the Fifth Avenue area are those which face the City generally. I would rank them as air pollution, water pollution, and the collection and disposal of garbage and other forms of solid waste.

Let's look at what air pollution alone means for the Fifth Avenue area.

As reported on the front page of the New York Times Sunday, the Federal Department of Health, Education, and Welfare says that New York's air pollution is the worst in the country.

This is understandable because New York is a complex mechanism.

There are 1.5 million autos, trucks, and busses in the City; 500,000 jets land and take off each year, some 12,000 apartment

house incinerators burn trash, and 150,000 multi-dwelling heating units burn oil or coal.

The City itself operates 47 furnaces burning rubbish, and almost all of these are still sub-standard. Con Edison operates 11 power generating stations within the City.

Together these sources send something like 3 million tons of pollutants a year into our air. For those fascinated with statistics or perhaps just interested in their health, this means that each New Yorker must cope with something like five times his own weight each year in noxious substances in the air.

What does all this stuff do to us?

In the first place, it hurts our health. The research on the medical effects of air pollution is not precise, but it doesn't require unusual perception to know that tons of carbon monoxide and hydrocarbons and sulphur can't do us any good.

We also know that air pollution is expensive. Things get dirty and cleaning costs go up. Chemicals in air pollution react with materials and shorten their lives. Tires, ladies nylons, brass door plates, and even limestone buildings are eaten away by the acids which air pollution creates.

One estimate says that air pollution costs each American some \$65 a year. If this is true across the country, the figure must be much higher in the Fifth Avenue area.

The hard fact is that we are not devoting enough of our resources to combating air pollution effectively. New York City spent about \$4 million last year. Across the country, the federal government spent \$88.7 million and most of this is on research rather than control.

We need particularly urgent efforts to overcome the pollution effects of automobiles. The industry itself is doing research, but we need a partnership effort of business, government, and citizens to accelerate progress dramatically. We, in New York, must join with our California friends in insisting upon and assisting in progress.

I personally believe that we must not only develop cleaner engines for the future, but we must also find a practical means of reducing pollution from cars now on the road. If we do not, cleaner air will indeed be a long way off.

This situation of a growing threat and too little money spent and too little action taken is also true of water pollution and solid waste management across the country and here in New York City.

We don't have time to detail facts and figures, but the significant point is that these threats to our overall environment are direct threats to Fifth Avenue also.

No matter how good a job you do, the air on Fifth Avenue still blows from Hackensack, and the water flows from Poughkeepsie.

The people of this country have decided that they want action to clean up their country. They have demanded action from their political leadership, but in a sense, they have been misled. In response to their concern, the Congress has enacted a number of bold new programs for environmental quality.

They look quite good on the books, but until now, the money to do the job promised in the legislation simply hasn't been forthcoming. For example, the Congress authorized \$1 billion for water pollution control this year, but only \$214 million appeared in the budget.

There has been a real citizens revolt over this, and it looks as though the Congress is going to appropriate substantially more.

What can you as an association and as corporate and individual citizens do about these general threats to environment?

The answers aren't as easy as they are when you are dealing with your immediate business area, but there are important contributions you can make.

First, make sure that the Fifth Avenue area itself is doing all it can do to minimize its contributions to air and water pollution and to excess solid waste.

Second, city, state, and federal programs need your support. From time to time bond issues appear on the ballot to provide funds for pollution abatement. The dramatic fact is that you and the people of this City voted a billion dollars for state pure water programs. We must continue this outstanding support and encourage all levels of government to become full partners.

Third, your elected officials should know how you feel about these matters. The problems of pollution are so vast that it takes government action to clean them up and government action only comes about when our political leaders know that the public wants it.

Finally, I hope that this association will not only continue its leadership in creating a better environment in which to do business, but I hope that it will expand its influence.

You have demonstrated that a quality environment is good business, that it can bring customers, and profit. But you have also shown that environmental quality can bring a special spirit, a special sense of place to an area which gives it excitement and meaning all of its own.

Fifth, Park, and Lexington are rather long avenues. They run all the way to 135th street and beyond. Perhaps some of you see the Abraham Lincoln Houses or the Rivington Houses on your way to Scarsdale on the New York Central.

Environmental quality is important there as well as further down the Avenue. Trees, flowers, and revitalized open space can bring dignity and pride and hope where only despair existed before.

For the past two years, in this very area, an aggressive group of Harlem businessmen and community leaders have been trying to raise funds to create planters and modern sidewalk kiosk facilities to enhance their street scenes. The City has agreed to match their money dollar for dollar. Yet, they have not been able to secure sufficient support, and the destructive rioting after Dr. King's murder has set them back further. This appears to be a project worthy of support, and I hope this association might help.

A little over six years from now we will celebrate our 200th birthday as a nation.

It has been suggested that a major theme of the celebration be a dedication to protecting and enhancing our environment for coming generations of Americans.

There is no better birthday present we can give ourselves and our grandchildren than a redoubled effort to preserve, enhance, and redeem the basic building blocks of America's environment and indeed its greatness—our air, our land, and our water.

I hope that your association will play a major role in marking this date of national rededication—by not only continuing its work of the past but also by expanding its efforts across this island and across this City and in doing so, setting an example for the nation.

#### WORKING MODELS FOR URBAN REDEVELOPMENT

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 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 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 control in the crucial effort of redeveloping urban America.

Mr. Grzywinski's timely remarks follow:

REMARKS BY MR. GRZYWINSKI

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 de-

mand account as any other bank, but apply a major portion of our earnings on their deposit against the extraordinary expense incurred in counseling, processing, and servicing a portion 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 totalling \$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 it 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 national 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 implementors, 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 Marenton 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 invest-

ments 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 possessing 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 affectively 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 1/2 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 exploitative 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."

#### AMENDMENT OF RAILWAY LABOR ACT—NATIONAL RAILROAD ADJUSTMENT BOARD

HON. HARLEY O. STAGGERS

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill to amend the Railway Labor Act to adjust the membership of the first division of the National Railroad Adjustment Board. As a result of the merger of four unions out of the five formerly represented on that division, it has been impossible for the strict requirements of the law with respect to the composition of the first division to be complied with. Legislation is necessary to adjust the law to the prevailing situation relating to the membership of the first division, but there has been disagreement among the parties as to the terms of that legislation.

Agreement has finally been reached between the two unions involved and representatives of all the carriers involved, and this bill reflects the exact terms of that agreement.

I anticipate expeditious action on this bill, so that it can become law early during the next session of the Congress, so that this first division can get back to work handling its backlog of claims.

## SENATE—Saturday, December 20, 1969

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a.m. and was called to order by Hon. WILLIAM B. SPONG, JR., a Senator from the State of Virginia.

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

As we approach the Christmas celebration, I shall offer as our convening prayer today the first prayer from space made by American astronauts as they orbited the moon in Apollo 8 on Christmas Eve, 1968.

Let us pray:

"Give us, O God, the vision which can see Thy love in the world in spite of human failure. Give us the faith to trust the goodness in spite of our ignorance and weakness. Give us the knowledge that we may continue to pray with understanding hearts, and show us what

each one of us can do to set forward the coming of the day of universal peace. Amen."

#### DESIGNATION OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will read a communication to the Senate.

The assistant legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,  
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,  
Washington, D.C., December 20, 1969.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. WILLIAM B. SPONG, JR., a Senator from the State of Virginia, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

RICHARD B. RUSSELL,  
President pro tempore.

Mr. SPONG thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

#### THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Friday, December 19, 1969, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amend-