

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

THE PROBLEM OF JUVENILE  
DELINQUENCY

HON. EDWARD G. BIESTER, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. BIESTER. Mr. Speaker, in recent testimony before the House of Representatives Select Committee on Crime, at its meeting in Miami, Fla., a respected juvenile judge, Frank A. Orlando, presiding judge of the juvenile court of Broward County, Fla., spoke of the problem of juvenile delinquency, of present legislation and of proposed legislation—including the bill H.R. 15124, and the following—introduced by Congressmen TOM RAILSBACK, Republican of Illinois, ABNER MIKVA, Democrat, of Illinois, and myself—to create the Institute for Continuing Studies of Juvenile Justice.

At this point I insert in the RECORD the text of Judge Orlando's remarks:

TESTIMONY OF FRANK A. ORLANDO, PRESIDING  
JUDGE, BROWARD COUNTY JUVENILE COURT

## THE PROBLEM

When the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1968 was enacted, the Congress committed the Federal Government to a program of financial assistance to State and local governments and voluntary agencies which are engaged in the prevention, control and treatment of this national social problem. While delinquent behavior is not a new problem in American society, its effects, added to increases in the population and the increasing complexity of our social structure, have focused attention on the need for a broader based effort in delinquency prevention and control.

Almost half of all persons charged with committing a major crime in 1968 was a juvenile. The number of juveniles arrested for all offenses (except traffic) has doubled since 1960 while the number of adults arrested has increased by only 4 percent. Furthermore, the number of juveniles charged with crimes of violence—murder, rape, robbery and assault—was up 125 percent since 1960. More juveniles than adults were arrested in 1968 for larceny, burglary or auto theft.

The rise in juvenile crimes is not just occurring in the slums and adjoining parts of big cities. Crime rates went up as much in the suburbs as they did in the cities in 1968 and the percentage of juveniles among those charged with serious crimes is somewhat higher in the suburbs than in the cities.

There has been relatively little sustained support of delinquency prevention and control programs. Furthermore, current methods of dealing with delinquents are often ineffective, limited in impact, and often, actually harmful. The process of being dealt with by the courts and correctional systems is often a factor contributing to the development of a criminal career. Mere involvement of a youth with the juvenile justice system increases the chances that he will return to that system; and commitment to correctional institutions may reinforce delinquent values and negative attitudes toward authority. The recidivism rate among youths who have been institutionalized runs as high as 50 percent. The ineffectiveness and expense of commitment to correctional institutions argue for a heavy emphasis on prevention at the com-

munity level and, if prevention fails, for alternatives to institutional commitment.

## OVERVIEW OF THE LEGISLATION

The Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act emphasizes treating the offender in the community in which he lives, not in an isolated institutional complex far from normal family life. The community ultimately must cope with the offender on his return and he must learn to live in that community as well. Treatment of youth apart from communities generally offers little more than a temporary disengagement for both youth and society. But community resources for working with problem youth are universally scarce. The legislation provides incentives to communities to plan and implement programs of delinquency prevention and correction that take into account the varied needs of today's youth. Through its provisions for training, the legislation helps to create new manpower resources and upgrade the competence of personnel working with delinquent youth. It supports experimentation to refine our knowledge, and provides for evaluation of programs. It provides technical and material assistance to States and communities seeking to develop comprehensive programs for prevention and control, and requires that the States play a major role in coordinating the range of programs directed at juvenile delinquency.

## PLANNING

One of the significant needs in the juvenile delinquency field is systematic planning. Many States have, within their boundaries, many different approaches to the problems of delinquency, ranging all the way from the most traditional to the most experimental. Some localities within the same State have more and better programs; some have competing and overlapping programs side-by-side. Unfortunately there has been little effort to compare experience or to adopt sound practices developed elsewhere. The Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act offers States and communities the much needed incentives to plan for a coordinated and comprehensive network of prevention and rehabilitation programs.

To date, the efforts of State and local governments to reduce the volume and rate of delinquency have been singularly unsuccessful. The extent to which the lack of success has been due to the failure of State and local governments to develop comprehensive juvenile delinquency plans was duly recognized by the Congress when it imposed under Title I of the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1968 planning as a condition to any grant under this Title. However, there are two problems inherent in this area. The first being, in my opinion, the professionals in the area of juvenile delinquency are not capable without extensive and comprehensive assistance from the Federal Government to develop the necessary comprehensive juvenile delinquency plans. The second problem is the fact that the Congress has not appropriated sufficient funds to encourage the States to develop the necessary comprehensive plans. As you are well aware, last year Congress appropriated only five million dollars for the implementation of the Juvenile Delinquency Act for fiscal year 1970, only five million dollars was again the figure appropriated. There is still a possibility that the Senate will increase the amount appropriated by the House, but at this point things do not look very encouraging.

The Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development was created by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare

for the purpose of implementing the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1968. This Office was placed within the Social and Rehabilitation Service Section of HEW.

In August of this year, some of you will recall, I appeared before your Committee with Secretary Finch at the time he made his presentations concerning the juvenile delinquency problem in this country. At that time, I was considering accepting the position of Director of the Office of Juvenile Delinquency. Since that time, I have decided not to accept this position and to remain in my judicial capacity. There were several reasons for this decision, both personal and professional, and the purpose of my appearance here today is to make some recommendations to you concerning this Office.

As most of you are well aware, F.B.I. statistics recently released indicate that during the last decade, arrest involving juveniles increased approximately 800 percent while federal spending in this area decreased. One could go on and on with reference to statistics dealing with delinquents but there is no need to do that before this Committee since you are all very well aware of the extensive problem relating to juvenile delinquency in this country. The single most important thing that I feel can be related to you is the fact that our approaches today are not working, and we are not even coming close to making any kind of successful effort in the area of prevention and control of delinquency.

The Office of Juvenile Delinquency has the responsibility of implementing the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act. However, since its creation, this Office has been understaffed and under-financed and the Congress has not provided sufficient funds to allow the Office to implement legislation. Furthermore, along with the small amounts of money available under the Act, the guidelines issued by the Office of Juvenile Delinquency which States must follow in order to have grants approved are so cumbersome that States have resisted the efforts of the Federal Government to encourage comprehensive planning and grant applications under Title I of the Act.

I am sure you are all aware that the Office of Juvenile Delinquency has been ineffective and has not been well received within the States. In fact, at the last National Governor's Conference, a Resolution was presented which called for the abolishment of the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and the transfer of its responsibilities to the Department of Justice. This Resolution received twenty three favorable votes and twenty seven unfavorable votes. Notwithstanding the facts that the Resolution failed to pass, it is unthinkable that an agency with such a monumental task and important objective has fallen into such disfavor that twenty three States called for its abolishment.

However, even though the Office of Juvenile Delinquency has been under-staffed and under-financed, and without a Director for more than two years, it has made some significant accomplishments and has the potential to be a productive and successful agency. It is my feeling however, that as long as the agency does not rate the same type of priority as the problem it attempts to solve, it will never be able to achieve any type of success or reach the objective set for it by Congress. Therefore, I would like to recommend the following:

1. That this Committee consider recommending to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, that the Office of Juvenile Delinquency be given the same status as the

Office of Education and placed at the same level within the HEW structure as is the Office of Education.

2. That all functions pertaining to the control, prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency within HEW be centered within this Office.

3. That the Congress back up the passage of the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act with a full funding for the programs for the fiscal year 1970-1971. That is, fifteen million dollars for 1970 and twenty million dollars for 1971. It should be noted here that the Congress authorized fifty million dollars for fiscal year 1970 and seventy five million dollars for fiscal year 1971. If the Office of Juvenile Delinquency was given the status necessary within HEW and properly staffed then, it is my opinion, the amount of dollars authorized by Congress could be properly generated to the States for comprehensive planning and innovative action programs.

With reference to my recommendations pertaining to the Office of Juvenile Delinquency, let me say I feel that this agency is absolutely necessary and that the 1968 Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act must be properly implemented. However, if the Office of Juvenile Delinquency is not properly funded and staffed and raised within the structure of HEW to the priority which it deserves, then it will never achieve its objectives and I would be the first to agree with those in the country today whose sentiments are that the Office should be abolished and its functions transferred to the Department of Justice.

With reference to the problem of juvenile delinquency, I would like to touch on several other subjects before closing and make recommendations pertaining to these subjects. Previously, I briefly touched on the fact that, in my opinion, States are not really capable of designing a comprehensive plan for the prevention and control of juvenile delinquency. The statement is based on my feeling that one of the major problems in the field of juvenile delinquency is the fact that many professionals within the field resist change and have not accepted the new and innovative approaches which are available. This resistance is due largely to the fact that many of the professionals in our field were improperly trained before they entered the field, and have not kept up with modern technology down through the years. By professionals I am not only speaking of the probation counselors and social workers, but I am including in this area the judges of the juvenile courts throughout this country. The National Council on Crime and Delinquency, in its publication, "Goals and Recommendations," states:

"Juvenile Judges are frequently under-trained. Some twenty percent are not even lawyers. Eighty percent of the juvenile courts do not have the diagnostic services—two-thirds of the probation services they need.

"Juvenile Court dispositions are often made with inadequate information. Without sufficient justification, too many children are adjudicated delinquent—a permanent stigma on their records—and too many children are detained and sent to training schools.

"Constitutional safeguards are not observed, both in formal court proceedings and informal handling."

This statement, in my opinion, is true and has resulted in the great hopes originally held for the juvenile court not being fulfilled.

One of your colleagues, Congressman Tom Rallsback of Illinois, has a proposed Bill which creates an Institute for the continuing studies in juvenile justice. A copy of this proposed Bill has been presented with my testimony for your consideration. It is my opinion that this legislation would create the vehicle by which we could provide, at a national level, the necessary training of pro-

fessionals who then could return to their States and fulfill their responsibilities of updating the training and performance of the professionals in the area of juvenile delinquency prevention, control and treatment. We do not have one single agency at a national level which has as its sole responsibility juvenile delinquency prevention, control and treatment. The Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development is primarily a funding agency and does not have the authority or the ability at this time to fulfill the functions which are encompassed in Congressman Rallsback's Bill. There is a distinct possibility that if a National Institute was created and made an independent Federal Agency, the juvenile delinquency responsibilities now being fulfilled by HEW and the Department of Justice could both be transferred to this agency so we would have a comprehensive Federal Agency dealing with the funding of State Programs, one which engaged in the continuing efforts to determine the causes of juvenile delinquency and developed methods to treat juvenile delinquency, and which had the resources to offer training programs for the professionals in the field.

The second additional area which I wish to touch on deals with the problem that all of you are very well aware of. This is the fact that in today's society, many adolescents are alienated from the adult American culture. Because they lack acceptable outlets to demonstrate their alienation, many teenagers violate the law. The adolescent culture views positively its dissatisfaction with the adult world and admires violation of adult norms, even when these norms are part of the criminal law.

Young people often feel the adult world uses the law as a weapon to stifle their energies and penalize their pleasures. Many do not understand the necessity for law.

I would like to recommend that this Committee consider recommending to State Governments, and more specifically to the educators in this country, that programs on Government conducted in the schools should be enriched to include material on the theory and practice of the American Government, the necessity for criminal laws, the content of our laws, and the rights of an individual confronting police in the courts. The overall purpose of such a program should be to give juveniles a sense of being a part of society, not just thwarted by it.

There is in existence today, in the City of Boston, a program which is very similar to the type which I am recommending. This program is a legal education course for secondary schools conducted by the Boston University Law School. The Director of the Program is Mr. William M. Gibson of the Law and Poverty Project of Boston University. I have here a packet of materials which outlines the program objectives and the method by which it is implemented in the secondary schools in the City of Boston. The program has recently been expanded to include course work for students in kindergarten to eighth grade, and I have been advised that Mr. Gibson has developed a program for legal education for youth detained in correctional institutions. The outlines for these two additional parts of the program are also included in these materials.

A third additional area which I wish to briefly touch on deals with the development of incentives to attract bright young people into the field of juvenile delinquency prevention, control and treatment. We have heard in recent years of recommendations which would provide tax incentives for industries who would locate their plants within ghetto areas in cities. By so doing, these industries would attract the persons within the ghetto areas as employees. The need to attract new, bright, young people to the field of juvenile delinquency prevention, control and treatment is at least as des-

perate as the need to attract industry to the ghetto areas. Many bright young people would like to enter this field but due to the unattractive financial conditions they enter other fields. During the last several years, I have taught in the Department of Criminology at Florida State University and have found that many of the bright young students who should have gone on into the field have accepted jobs in other areas simply because of the financial attractiveness of the other field and the brighter future within the field. Therefore, I would like to recommend that this Committee consider the possibility of recommending some type of tax incentive to attract qualified professionals into the field of juvenile delinquency. Along these same lines, I would like to request that the Committee consider the recommendations to improve the quality of juvenile courts by encouraging States to create family courts with their family-orientated approach toward dealing with juvenile delinquency and that these courts be placed within the highest general trial jurisdiction in the State System.

In conclusion, I would like to take this opportunity to thank you all very much for giving me the opportunity to express my views here today, and say that I will be glad to attempt to answer any question which you may wish to ask. Thank you very much.

RICHARD TUCKER, TENOR

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, a little over a week ago, my wife and I had the good fortune to attend an evening at the Great Neck Synagogue honoring the man who has been described as "the greatest tenor in the world," Richard Tucker, and his charming wife, Sarah.

The Tuckers, I am proud to say, are residents of Great Neck, which is part of the Third Congressional District.

The evening, a truly memorable one, was chaired by Sig Heller and inspired by Mac Mendor. As Rabbi Ephriam Wolff, the outstanding spiritual leader of the Great Neck Synagogue, noted, it was dedicated to Mr. Tucker in recognition of his contribution and help in building the North Shore Youth Center which is sponsored by the synagogue. It had additional meaning, I might add, since Mr. Tucker will soon mark his 25th anniversary—in January—of his now historic Metropolitan debut.

Richard Tucker began his singing career as a boy alto in the Allen Street Synagogue on New York's East Side. His Metropolitan Opera debut, in "La Gioconda," on January 25, 1945, marked the beginning of his rise to fame and world renown in a career which was truly inspirational.

Among other awards he has received is the honor of being the first American tenor to record in Milan's historic La Scala. In addition, he is the first person ever to be awarded the State of Israel's Artistic and Cultural Award.

Wherever he has gone, he has generated enthusiasm of vast proportions. At the Vienna Staatsoper, his presence literally caused a riot, necessitating Vi-

ennese police to clear his way through the mobs.

The testimonial dinner was as rewarding as the joys that he has brought to so many with his remarkable voice and warm personality.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to again express the gratitude of so many along with best wishes to Mr. Tucker and his wife, Sarah, for a future which continues to be as exciting and worthwhile as he has known in the past.

And I would also like to mention the names of some of the other persons who helped to make this dinner such an outstanding event. They are: Cochairmen: Harold Donnitch, Mrs. Selma Kon and Bernard Martin; program cochairman: Al Liederman and Shelley Goren; and Rabbi Bernard Jacobson.

## GREECE TODAY AND THE LIMITS OF COMPROMISE

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, the recent resignation of Greece from the Council of Europe underscores the need for close scrutiny of relations between the United States and Greece. Charges of political suppression and dictatorial rule are apparently not without foundation. Moreover, the prospect of continued violence in Greece at a level unseen since the 1946-49 civil war, should alert both Greeks and Americans to the need of restoring democratic rule in Greece.

One expert who has thoughtfully analyzed the situation in Greece and appropriate American action is Prof. George Anastaplo. In a briefing at the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, Professor Anastaplo presented a paper which I commend to my colleagues.

The paper follows:

### GREECE TODAY AND THE LIMITS OF COMPROMISE

(By George Anastaplo\*\*)

"It is not fit that you should sit here any longer! . . . You shall now give place to better men."—Oliver Cromwell.

I

The American scholar who has been perhaps the most respectable advisor to the

\*\*The author, who lives in Chicago, is Chairman of the Political Science Department at Rosary College, as well as Lecturer in the Liberal Arts at the University of Chicago and Professor of Politics and Literature at the University of Dallas. Other discussions by him of Greece today may be found in the current volume of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at pages 6023 (March 11, 1969), 8460 (April 2), 8461 (April 2), 16878 (June 23), 19732 (July 15) and 21018 (July 28).

See, also, Saville R. Davis, "Blow to NATO: Greek Armed Forces Disintegrating?" *Christian Science Monitor*, August 29, 1969, p. 1; Christopher Wren, "Greece: Government by Torture," *Look*, May 27, 1969.

This discussion has been prepared for use in a briefing to be given by Dr. Anastaplo at the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, September 15, 1969.

tyranny in Athens has recently returned to Washington from a visit to Greece. He offers us his current advice about Greek affairs in an article, "A Role for the U.S. in Greek Solution," published in the *Washington Post* of August 3, 1969.

The truly significant feature of this article, however, is not its advice but rather its admission that even Greeks who had been "disheartened by the pre-coup quarrels and political instability and therefore initially accepted the [present] regime with a sigh of relief" are now "cool if not downright hostile" toward it. The mood of this article is in marked contrast to its author's published defenses of the regime ever since its seizure of power, defenses which have been so generous as to be thought worthy of distribution in this country by the Greek government. (See, e.g., *Notes on World Events*, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, May, 1969, p. 5.)

There is, moreover, no discussion in the *Washington Post* article of why anyone should now be cool toward the regime in Athens. But the article does manage to condemn as "intransigent" the Greek opponents of the regime who have been cool and even hostile toward it from the very beginning. They are "intransigent," it seems, because they prefer to continue their determined opposition to this tyrannical regime rather than to accept the advice of those who have collaborated with it.

Advice which has evidently been spurned in Athens, at least by opponents of the regime there, is now offered to Americans and to their government in Washington. Let us see what the advice in this article amounts to and whether American critics of the Greek regime should be as "intransigent" as the Greeks who have already rejected it.

II

We are told in this article that there are two opinions in Athens about what is likely to happen in Greece if things continue as they are now: "Opponents of the regime are firmly convinced that in spite of his protestations, Premier Papadopoulos has no intention of allowing the return of free political life. On the other hand, government spokesmen assert that the regime is only temporary and that elections will be held as soon as 'the aims of the revolution are accomplished.'" "Whatever the truth," the article goes on to advise us, a "compromise" must be found between the opponents and the defenders of the current regime in Greece. But until one is prepared to decide which of these two opinions about what is likely to happen in Greece is correct, one is neither entitled nor equipped to offer responsible advice either to Americans or to Greeks on this vital matter.

Who is right here, the opponents of the regime or the government spokesmen? There is, of course, a sense in which both opinions are correct: there is a sense that is, in which both opinions come down to virtually the same thing. Elections will be held in Greece, if only for the sake of propaganda, as soon as the aims of the revolution are accomplished: that will be when the transformation (or, at least, the immobilization) of Greek institutions and of Greek public opinion has reached the point where purportedly free elections (but with the press still controlled, of course) can be held without jeopardizing the tight grip upon the country of its present rulers. After all, what do "the aims of the revolution" amount to now, if not primarily the personal advancement and welfare of the handful of junior officers (predominantly colonels) who betrayed in April 1967 their military oaths, their king, their comrades and their fellow-citizens with the deliberate intention of holding on to power long after the immediate political crisis which permitted them to seize power had passed?

The suggestion in the *Washington Post* article of a "compromise" rests upon the condition that things should be so arranged that "the constitutional reforms" that have already been achieved may be preserved. Precisely what reforms can the author be referring to? The Constitution of 1968 is hardly an improvement upon its predecessors, designed as it is to legitimate the colonels who imposed it upon their country. Indeed, the only permanent result of the 1968 Constitution may be to discredit the occasional worthwhile innovation included in it which will hereafter be identified with an oppressive regime.

One must consider, in order to assess properly "constitutional reforms," not only the Constitution itself but also how it has been imposed and what maintains it. We are dealing, after all, with a regime that is ruthless and, even worse, shameless in what it will do and say to perpetuate itself. It is a tyranny which has revealed itself as remarkably incompetent in everything but the tricks of conspiracy and of counter-conspiracy. No conscientious student of Greek affairs can ignore the evidence, available since the first year of the regime and now overwhelming, which displays the present regime as having easy recourse to extensive arrests and torture, to the most flagrant deceptions, to open contempt for constitutions and laws (including its own), to the harsh suppression of all independent opinion, and to an extravagant (and eventually ruinous) expenditure of funds on public works.

Who can doubt that all this is done by the colonels not in the interest of Greece but primarily in order to perpetuate themselves in power? It is no wonder that Greeks who know what is going on in their country are "cool if not downright hostile" toward this regime and its apologists. The wonder is that any responsible man can remain sincerely sympathetic to the regime once its character becomes apparent to him. Some responsible men did express sympathy for the regime at its beginning in the hope that they might thereby help induce the colonels to surrender power willingly—but it should have been evident by the end of the colonels' first year, if not before, that this approach would be of no use.

What informed man can continue to believe that there remain any serious "aims of the revolution" worth preserving, any coherent and defensible set of principles guiding the program of the Greek dictators? The serious problem is not how to preserve the legacy of the "revolution," but rather how long it will take to eliminate from Greek life the depredations of the present tyranny, and at what price. The corrupting influence of the colonels in Greece will remain long after they are gone, even if they should go tomorrow: they have done much that will be difficult to undo justly and harmoniously. Is not that usually the legacy of an army of occupation?

The more astute among the colonels must realize that if they go, their constitution and "reforms" will go with them, no matter what promises or deals or "compromises" should be made in advance of their departure. The concern of the colonels at that time is not going to be whether their "reforms" will survive their regime but whether they themselves will. The only compromise the colonels will ever take seriously will be one which seems to permit them to save their necks, not their "aims of the revolution," in the event they find themselves about to fall.

Both the colonels and their opponents are correct in recognizing each other as irreconcilable enemies. What each realistically seeks from the other is not compromise but surrender. The advocacy of compromise between the government and its opponents in 1969 (as distinguished from 1965, 1966 or 1967) is not only naive, it is also harmful

to the revival of genuine constitutional government in Greece. The only practical effect of a serious attempt at compromise at this time would be to demoralize, radicalize and divide the serious opposition to the present regime and thereby to gain for the colonels even more time.

Time is working against the interests of both Greece and her allies: the colonels' unprecedented purging and reshaping of the officer corps, of the civil service (including the courts), of the school system, of local councils (both public and private) and of the Church cannot but help them cling to power if they remain united. Once their extensive reorganization is complete—and it should be, except perhaps for the Church, the Navy and Air Force, and the Universities, virtually complete by the summer of 1970—Greece is likely to have to endure for a generation both the colonels' self-righteous tyranny and the sporadic armed resistance it will generate. There is already more violence in Greece today than there has been at any time since the 1946-1949 Civil War.

### III

Massive propaganda, reinforced by generous subsidies, will continue to be used at home and abroad by the present Greek government to magnify the virtues of the colonels and the vices of the politicians. We, on the other hand, are not obliged, in order to expose the colonels to be as bad for Greece as they are, to make the politicians of 1961-1967 better than they were. But the longer these colonels stay, the better those politicians look. In fact, it is difficult to name a single prominent Greek politician who would not be better for Greece and her allies today than the colonels now in power. Indeed, the most serious indictment one might make of Greek politicians before April 1967 is that such people as these colonels were permitted to remain in the Army, that they were given an opportunity to attempt to seize power, and that they could succeed in such an attempt. It is to be hoped that the legitimate political and military leaders of Greece, as well as her allies abroad, have learned the appropriate lessons from this disastrous experiment. One important lesson is that decent Greeks of all parties and allegiances have much more in common than any of them has in common with the kind of man who is apt to be tempted to seize power for himself if decent men are not moderate in their political differences.

It is to the credit of Greek politicians of all parties, as well as of Greek intellectuals, that almost all of them have stood firm since April 1967 against the threats, the sophistries and the enticements of the present Greek government and of its apologists abroad. The same tribute should be recorded on behalf of the King of Greece and most of the senior as well as many of the junior officers of the armed forces of that country. These Greeks, in their respect for the best in Greece, have been more perceptive and more principled about what has been happening to their country than have been certain American students of Greek affairs (in and out of the American government).

The Washington Post article suggests as the appropriate role for the United States today that we encourage the "compromise" it advocates. But if, as I have argued, any attempt at such compromise in these circumstances will help the colonels consolidate their power, then any American effort along that line can only weaken the legitimate influence of America in Greece. For the longer the colonels stay, the more independent they are likely to become of American influence and, indeed, of the influence of any moderate men at home or abroad. (One need only recall Shakespeare's Richard III.) We Americans could have discreetly helped the constitutional leaders of this NATO ally get rid of their usurpers any time between April and December 1967, a period during which the

colonels were relying mostly on bluff and maneuver to stay in power. Instead, we were duped by talk of "constitutional reforms" and "law and order" and hence did, or failed to do, various things in 1967, as well as in 1968, which permitted and even helped the colonels to dig in.

Measures are still available to us which can be used to help our true friends in Greece dislodge the colonels and restore their country to control by its people, measures which would be far more effective than are likely to be the timid ones our government now employs to indicate its tardy approval of so destructive a tyranny. Every serious student of Greek affairs knows what more can and should be done by the United States in the present circumstances. There is no need for me to spell out again on this occasion the measures available to us, measures which would emphasize the publicized withdrawal of vital American support rather than any explicit American interference in Greek domestic affairs. I need only add that I continue to believe, along with many in Greece, that Constantine Karamanlis is the best, though not the only, name around which effective opposition to the colonels can rally. I also continue to believe that it would be prudent for Mr. Karamanlis to offer to include in a coalition government, legitimated by the King and recognized by the United States, figures such as Andreas Papandreou. This is where genuine compromise would be good for Greece.

### IV

The colonels, by the end of their third year in power (in April 1970), will probably have immobilized, if not transformed, all institutions in Greece which might stand in their way: repression and propaganda and the lavish use of public monies will have done their work. When that happens, whether by 1970 or by 1971, responsible elements in Greece and abroad (including in the United States) will no longer have any significant influence in that country. If the colonels are dislodged thereafter, it will probably be (unless a serious international crisis erupts) only because of the use of armed force against them in Greece. If violent opposition should somehow be successful, the liberators of Greece—whoever they may be—are not likely to forget first our negligence and thereafter our impotence in the time of their desperate need. And then what will our long-term influence be in that allied country which we insist is of great "strategic importance" to us?

Whether there will be in Greece a generation of violent tyranny or an immediate return to constitutional government and the rule of law depends, in large part, on what the United States does in the months immediately ahead. We Americans had better use our power while some of it remains, rather than allow ourselves to be duped again (this time by talk of "compromise") into promoting a policy unworthy both of us and of the Greeks.

The peace and the prosperity, as well as the liberty and honor, of Greece require that the colonels go and with them everything they have come to represent. This is what informed and conscientious Greeks are certain of. This, it is to be hoped, is what the sadly misinformed American government is belatedly beginning to realize.

### LEST WE FORGET

**HON. BILL CHAPPELL, JR.**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. CHAPPELL. Mr. Speaker, the Christmas season is approaching and families throughout America are gather-

ing together for worship and gift giving and rejoicing in family reunions.

Today I ask all Americans to join with me as we celebrate this holiday, to remember those men who are missing in action and prisoners of war—

Lest we forget our own gladness in being free;

Lest we forget our own joy in being with our loved ones;

Lest we forget that over 1,300 families will be without a loved one—again this year;

Lest we forget that the reason these men are so cruelly held in prison is because they were fighting for us;

Lest we forget that it is our responsibility to bring these men home again;

Lest we forget the brotherhood of man and our reasons for celebrating Christmas.

Mr. Speaker, this is a time for each of us to take the families of these brave men especially to our hearts. Let us all renew our efforts for freedom so that these absences can be soon turned into rewarding reunions for all the Christmases to come.

### NEW U.S. LINE ON WITHDRAWAL A SEVERE BLOW TO ISRAEL

**HON. HUGH SCOTT**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an article entitled "New U.S. 'Line' on Withdrawal Deals Severe Blow to Israel," written by William S. White, and published in the Philadelphia Inquirer of December 16, 1969.

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

### NEW U.S. "LINE" ON WITHDRAWAL DEALS SEVERE BLOW TO ISRAEL

(By William S. White)

WASHINGTON.—The old year is drawing to its close on a somber note for Israel, whose whole position in her fight for survival has worsened markedly in these recent days. The newly enunciated American policy line calling for Israeli withdrawal from frontier security positions seized from the Arabs in the 1967 war, in return for Arab promises for peaceful coexistence, has hit the Israelis a cruel if unintentional blow.

For this well-meant effort to take up a purely even-handed attitude from Washington is in truth a revolutionary departure from the traditional American posture of candid friendliness to the Israeli side in the chronic crisis of the Middle East.

The difficulty is that the doctrine of ostensible even-handedness actually assists those extremist Arab states which are pro-Communist and publicly bent both upon Israel's literal destruction and the spread of Soviet power in the Middle East.

It ignores the immense reality that this is not a case where two adversaries are equally good or equally bad. One cannot equate aggressors patently embarked upon a Vietnam type of "war of liberation," urged on by the Soviet Union, with defenders motivated simply by the desire to stay alive—and defenders moreover who form a pro-Western outpost in the worldwide struggle that is the Cold War.

The logic of this approach comes to saying, in the old expression, that the rich and the poor have an equal right to sleep in the public parks.

It is not hard to see that the purpose of Secretary of State William Rogers in laying down his doctrine is the benign one of trying to avoid another major explosion in the Middle East. That there is no intention to put the Israelis on a thin diet does not, however, alter the fact that this is precisely what is being done.

How is Premier Golda Meir to accept from the more violent Arabs some pledge to end their ceaseless frontier assaults upon Israel when these same Arabs every day proclaim an unaltered determination to throw the Israelis into the sea? Who needs pledges of this kind?

Still, it is not really the Rogers doctrine that is the ultimate source of Israel's present peril; really this is more nearly symptom than cause.

At bottom, the Israelis are the victims of a climate of neutralism and isolationism and peace-at-any-priceism which the New Left has so long and so stridently promoted in this country. The spirit of this clamor is to reject the whole concept of collective security which has been the great rock of high American foreign policy through five Presidential administrations.

To be sure, it is actually a clamor only of a loud and tireless American minority—but that minority has nevertheless been able to bring into fretful and petulant question the absolutely indispensable and historic role of this nation to lead and protect the non-Communist world.

If it can be argued that the United States of America is free to abandon its solemn commitments to one small and tortured people in South Vietnam, it can be—and is being—argued that we owe nothing to the moral commitment for decades acknowledged to another small and tortured people in Israel. So it is that the seeds so sedulously sown in one part of the world have come to ugly harvest in another part of the world.

Too many of us have got into the habit of redefining our obligations to suit not the hard truth of our pledged word but rather our soft wishes. And, irony of ironies, Israel, the very nation that used to be the darling of the far-liberal American community, has now become the one nation to which, above all, that community is prepared to give less even than its tears.

#### MORE ON THE CHICAGO BLACK PANTHERS INCIDENT

### HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, on December 15, I expressed my concern in this Chamber over the recent series of police actions directed against members of the Black Panther organizations. I also wrote to Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, urging that the U.S. Civil Rights Commission undertake an investigation of the question surrounding the shooting of two Black Panther leaders by the Chicago police.

Today, I have received a response from Chairman Hesburgh, outlining the roll the Civil Rights Commission is taking in this matter vis-a-vis both the Department of Justice's investigation and the national investigation to be conducted jointly by 28 private organizations. To

keep my colleagues advised on this matter, I am submitting for insertion in the RECORD Reverend Hesburgh's letter:

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS,  
Washington, D.C., December 18, 1969.

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. KOCH: I am writing in response to your recommendation that the Commission on Civil Rights investigate the shooting of Mr. Fred Hampton and Mr. Mark Clark, Illinois leaders of the Black Panther Party, in Chicago on December 4.

On December 12, the Commission met with a high Administration official and this matter was taken up. Both on that date and subsequently, I have been in touch with top officials at the Department of Justice. These discussions are continuing.

I assure you that we are deeply concerned over the shooting of Mr. Hampton and Mr. Clark and by the shooting of other Black Panther Party leaders and members in other cities of the Nation. This concern was shared by the White House officials with whom we discussed the matter. We share your judgment that a reliable and completely credible report is essential to reduce the suspicion and distrust which has grown out of the incidents. I believe we are on the right track for both the short-range and the long-range approaches to the problem, and there should be some further information forthcoming shortly.

As you know, the Department of Justice has announced its intention to conduct a preliminary investigation into the Chicago killings, and 28 organizations have announced the formation of a national commission of inquiry to conduct a private investigation of the killings. The Commission, in addition to whatever else it may do, will establish contact with this national commission and determine areas of appropriate cooperation and assistance.

The members of the Commission appreciate your confidence in the Commission and its staff. I wish to assure you of our continued attention to the investigation of the killings of Black Panther Party members and the resulting racial distrust and polarization.

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE M. HESBURGH,  
Chairman.

#### L. A. BURDETTE RETIRES FROM FHA

### HON. ROBERT G. STEPHENS, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, an article in the News and Farmer and Wadley Herald has been brought to my attention by Mr. Ruel Morris, Jr., district supervisor, Farmers Home Administration, in Greensboro, Ga. This article is about my good friend and constituent, Mr. Lonnie A. Burdette of Stapleton, Ga., who has recently retired after 35 years of service with the Farmers Home Administration.

Mr. Burdette, a native of Ashburn, Ga., spent 17 of his 35 years with the Farmers Home Administration as supervisor of the Jefferson County office, which is in my congressional district. During this time Mr. Burdette has earned several citations for his rural farm program work.

In May 1969, the U.S. Department of Agriculture awarded Mr. Burdette its

highest individual award, the Superior Service Award, for his exceptional service to low-income rural families of Jefferson County in helping them to become owners of decent, safe, sanitary, and attractive homes. Under the Jefferson County homebuilding program some 275 houses were constructed in the area through the FHA home loan program. Many of these new residences were low-cost homes designed by Mr. Burdette himself.

I think this fine record of Government service will be of interest to all of the Members of Congress, and I commend it to their attention.

#### OIL SPILLAGE: CURE WORSE THAN DISEASE

### HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, an article which appeared in the New York Times just yesterday once again emphasizes the necessity for man to realize that there are many unexpected environmental results of many of his actions—even actions taken in an attempt to protect the environment.

The following article indicates once more how important it is to make certain we know the ecological effects of a course of action before we embark on it:

SCIENTISTS TERM THE CHEMICAL TREATMENT OF OIL SPILLAGE MORE HARMFUL THAN THE "DISEASE"

(By David Bird)

Scientists and engineers have expressed concern here that attempts to control oil spills with chemical dispersants is causing more harm than the oil itself and may be creating long-term ecologic damage, such as is now being attributed to DDT and other pesticides.

The concern is expressed in reports and discussion at a three-day Joint Conference on Prevention and Control of Oil Spills, ending today at the Americana Hotel. The meeting is sponsored by the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration and the American Petroleum Institute, an industry group.

When the conference was planned last summer, the sponsors expected about 300 persons to attend. More than 1,000 have registered.

Their interest reflects increased public concern after two disastrous oil spills.

#### TORREY CANYON DISASTER

The first occurred in March, 1967, when the supertanker *Torrey Canyon* struck a reef off the southern coast of England and sent 30 million gallons of crude oil oozing toward the Cornish coast and across the English Channel to the shores of Brittany.

The second oil spill occurred early this year, when 18 million gallons leaked to the surface of the Santa Barbara Channel in California during offshore drilling operations.

At least one million tons of oil are spilled every year from tankers, manufacturing plants and refineries. Much of the effort to control the spills has centered on chemical dispersants that dissolve the oil, spreading it out so thin that it is not noticeable.

Some scientists say that the dispersants are merely an attempt to hide the visible effect of the spills and that the chemicals pose an additional danger.

A. Oda, a researcher with the Ontario

Water Resources Commission, told the conference yesterday that studies of dispersants since the Torrey Canyon disaster have led to the conclusion that some of them "were far more deadly and far more damaging to marine life and ecology than the oil itself."

#### BEACH DAMAGE, TOO

In addition, he said, when the dispersants are applied to beaches, they cause the oil to penetrate more deeply into the beach and make the beach "more vulnerable to erosion by tidal and wave action."

Howard J. Lamp<sup>1</sup> of the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration said, "We firmly believe that the use of dispersants, emulsifiers and other chemicals is entirely unjustified in the cleanup of oil-polluted beaches."

He said Federal studies had shown that the oil, when "mixed with chemicals, caused penetration of the mixture into the sand at least three times the depth of the untreated oil. In oil-polluted water, Federal officials have recommended that the chemicals be used only as a last resort when it is impossible to soak up the oil with straw or similar material or to suck it up by mechanical means.

Perhaps the strongest attack on the present methods of controlling oil spills came from a biologist, Dr. Ira N. Gabrielson, who is president of the Wildlife Management Institute. He said: "The usual approach is to try to contain or isolate the floating oil—an attack that works rarely, if at all—or to remove it from the public eye by sweeping it under the ocean's surface by means of dispersants or detergents. More animal life was killed by chemicals in the Torrey Canyon accident than by the oil itself."

"Even if the detergents or dispersants are not toxic in themselves," Dr. Gabrielson continued, their action in breaking up the oil "apparently accelerates the exposure of marine life to the toxic hydrocarbons" in oil.

He noted that "some of the hydrocarbon fractions are suspected of having carcinogenic activity," that is, they are linked to cancers.

"These hydrocarbons are stable," Dr. Gabrielson said, "and they can be retained and concentrated in the marine food cycle as the lesser animals are consumed by those higher up the animal ladder. Some ultimately may end up in man."

#### CIVIL DEFENSE PROGRAM IN ILLINOIS

### HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, as my colleagues who are lawyers know, there is in law a mythical being known as "The Prudent Man." It is this imaginary individual who serves as a yardstick for the court in certain types of cases.

The "Prudent Man," as the term implies, is one who looks ahead; who acts on the basis of sound reason and good judgment. The Governor of my State of Illinois, the Honorable Richard B. Ogilvie, is highly deserving of this characterization.

Governor Ogilvie believes in the virtue of preparedness just as he believes in safeguarding our greatest treasure and richest resource, our children.

Recently, Governor Ogilvie issued a proclamation in which he declared that in the event of any disaster, our school children must receive maximum protec-

tion. At the same time he called for the inclusion of civil defense training "as an integral part of the education of faculty, administration, and students," in every Illinois school system.

I am happy to say that Governor Ogilvie's proclamation had the wholehearted endorsement of the Illinois superintendent of public instruction, Ray Page, and of Col. Donovan M. Vance, director of the Illinois State Civil Defense Agency.

Mr. Speaker, needless to say, I also, am in complete accord with Governor Ogilvie.

Although the term civil defense is associated in the minds of many only with the fear of nuclear attack, our State Civil Defense Agency has the responsibility for protecting the public in many other types of disasters or emergencies, whether man-made or nature-created. This is the case, I believe, with most, if not all, State civil defense agencies.

Industry and finance have gone to great expense to provide for the protection of their valuable records. Why should Government, whether State or Federal, do less for our people?

Mr. Speaker, Governor Ogilvie's message demands and deserves the thoughtful consideration of every Member of this body. I am including the Governor's proclamation as part of my remarks. It follows:

#### PROCLAMATION

The constantly changing conditions of the world, and the unpredictable elements of nature, dictate the continued preparations for emergencies and the threat of accidental disaster is an evergrowing fear, and

Each political subdivision of our state is authorized to establish—and shall establish—a local organization for civil defense in accordance with the state Civil Defense Plan and program, and

School children are the most valuable asset we possess, so in the event of unforeseen disaster, it is imperative that the school children receive maximum protection and be reunited with their families, when possible, and

Each school system should formulate workable written plans and policies for the protection of all school children,

Now, therefore, I, Richard B. Ogilvie, Governor of the State of Illinois, do hereby proclaim that Civil Defense education should be included as an integral part of the education of faculty, administration and students in accordance with recommendation of Col. Donovan M. Vance, director of the Illinois Civil Defense Agency and Superintendent of Public Instruction Ray Page.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of the State of Illinois to be affixed.

"Done at the Capitol, in the City of Springfield, this eighteenth day of November in the Year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty-nine, and of the State of Illinois the one hundred and fifty-first.

RICHARD B. OGILVIE,  
Governor.

#### "TO CONGRESS WITH LOVE"

### HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, with the year 1969, with all its

joys and sorrows, drawing to a close, and the U.S. Congress finishing the 12th month of the first session, we stop to consider.

We Congressmen all have our full share of criticism, adverse comments, and just plain pessimism, anger, and despair passed our way.

Then along comes a bright one, an appreciation, a thank you, that lifts our hearts and makes our public service so rewarding and worthwhile.

Let me share with you fellow Members a good pat on the back for the Congress, and a voluntary warmhearted encouragement for all Members.

To Congress—with Lord's prayers, and God's blessings, here's wishing that 1970 problems will be a lot easier, and here's thanking all of you for your hard work and understanding.

With love, from  
Mrs. ELIZABETH M. SHUBACK.

#### SCHOOL BOARD TRAINING AMENDMENT

### HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of myself and Mr. BINGHAM, Mr. BOLAND, Mr. BROWN, Mr. BURTON, Mr. BUTTON, Mrs. CHISHOLM, Mr. CLAY, Mr. EDWARDS, Mr. ESCH, Mr. HOWARD, Mr. KOCH, Mr. MATSUNAGA, Mr. MIKVA, Mr. OTTINGER, Mr. POWELL, Mr. THOMPSON, and Mr. TUNNEY, I am today introducing an amendment to the Education Professions Development Act which would authorize expenditure of funds for the training and preparation of elected or appointed school board members.

The Education Professions Development Act was a progressive measure passed in 1967 with bipartisan support which recognized the importance of training the people who operate the Nation's schools. Because of an omission, the act now denies the benefits of training to the thousands of school board members across the Nation who every year take up high responsibility to govern the Nation's 26,000 school districts.

New York City provides a dramatic example of the need for amendment of the act. Within the next few months, New York City will be divided into 30 school districts, with each district headed by a separate, locally elected school board. Unless there is some change in EPDA, hundreds of well-intentioned laymen will be called upon, without the benefit of briefing or training to govern the city's beleaguered education system. This situation, in less dramatic form, is repeated in communities across the Nation.

The success of these board members in making the new city district school board plan work may contribute to the difference between quality education and chaos for more than 1 million New York City schoolchildren. Therefore, to assist the new board members, and their thousands of colleagues across the Nation who accede to their responsibilities

without professional assistance, we are introducing this amendment.

It authorizes no new money. It simply extends the authority of EPDA under existing funding, and allows HEW to undertake this important assignment.

Whatever your constituency—rural, urban, or suburban—school boards form a backbone of your communities. I urge all my colleagues to support this amendment which will rectify an important oversight in the Education Professions Development Act.

#### YEAR-ROUND DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME: WHY NOT?

### HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year, I introduced a bill to amend the Uniform Time Act of 1966 to provide for daylight saving time on a year-round basis.

Public reaction to my proposal has been extremely encouraging. Residents of the urban and suburban areas of the Nation have been the most enthusiastic. In fact, the councils of five cities in California—Long Beach, Bellflower, Signal Hill, Huntington Beach, and Stanton—have sent me copies of resolutions they adopted endorsing the idea.

Regretfully, however, the Department of Transportation and the Bureau of the Budget have not looked with favor on the idea. I suspect their reluctance is more attributable to a lack of willingness to raise a potentially hot political issue than to any basic disagreement with the concept.

The basis for my proposal is that daylight saving time during the winter months would give most office workers in urban areas an extra hour of daylight during the peak evening commuting hours. This, I believe, would be a deterrent to crime—albeit a small one—and would reduce the hazards of driving after dark.

William Delaney of the Washington Evening Star yesterday had an excellent article on this subject. The conclusion of the article is that many urban workers and police officials feel the idea is worth a try. Delaney points out that Great Britain is now in the second winter of a 3-year experiment with year-round daylight saving time.

Because of its pertinence to the subject, the article follows:

#### IMPACT ON CRIME DEBATED: DAYLIGHT SAVING IN WINTER?

(By William Delaney)

On a darkened downtown sidewalk at 5:20 p.m., Mary Green anxiously scans the 12th Street traffic, hoping to see her husband's car.

"I just don't like going home in the dark," she says, shaking her head. "I think it's quite dangerous for most females."

Mrs. Green, a collector for Central Charge Service, is glad she had a direct ride home from work. If she took the bus, she'd have to walk three blocks from a 14th Street stop to her home on Missouri Avenue NW—past

an area where she says a rape occurred in the early evening darkness last winter.

But, like most office workers in America's crime plagued cities, Mrs. Green has no choice but to go home in the dark during these midwinter evenings, when the sun sets before 5 p.m.

She hopes America will adopt daylight saving time in the winter, too.

She would "feel better," she says, if tonight's sunset came an hour later, at 5:48, with twilight lingering 15 or 20 minutes longer.

Mary Green's hope seems to be shared by a big majority of downtown Washington pedestrians, both women and men, according to a random survey conducted during a recent evening rush hour.

#### DISCUSSED AT WORK

"They all talk about it," said Dorothy Page, referring to her colleagues at the Food and Drug Administration.

Miss Page, an FDA science aide whose home on Luzon Street NW is two blocks from her bus stop, is a firm advocate of winter daylight time. "As long as I have to walk those two blocks in the darkness," she said, "I'd rather do it in the morning."

The reason such a proposal hasn't surfaced as a major public topic is understandable to District Police Chief Jerry V. Wilson.

Outside the nation's urban areas Wilson notes, "daylight time is politically unpopular" with many Americans, even on the April-to-October basis prescribed by the Uniform Time Act of 1966.

Farmers and other outdoor workers generally don't like it, because it keeps them at their jobs until late in the summer evenings.

#### WOULD "FEEL SAFER"

Most of the Washington area residents questioned by The Star based their support of winter daylight time on the reason cited by Mrs. Green. People would "feel safer," they said, if they didn't have to be on the streets after dark.

But some offered other reasons for favoring the change.

C. C. Segers of Hyattsville, a Post Office Department worker, argued that "it would speed up traffic" in the evenings, when the rush-hour flow seems less staggered than in the mornings.

A few of those polled, like Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone employe Nancy Stacy of Arlington, simply want to see an end to the confusion about which way to turn the clocks each spring and fall.

For these reasons, and to smooth the time difference with Continental Europe, Great Britain is now in the second winter of a three-year experiment with year-around daylight time.

#### A LITTLE MORE SUN

Interestingly, this gives Londoners a few more minutes of evening sun than Washingtonians now have, though London is 782 miles closer to the arctic and thus has an hour and a half less of winter daylight.

In Congress, the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee has a handful of time-change bills, most of them from Midwestern congressmen who want to whittle down the present half year of daylight to only the midsummer months.

One bill—H.R. 7587—proposes year-round daylight time. Introduced in February by Republican Craig Hosmer in behalf of his sun-loving California constituents, it is a poor bet to make it out of committee.

#### POLICE SKEPTICAL

Several top District police officials say they doubt whether pushing daylight an hour later would have any significant effect on either crime or traffic problems. Some, however, wouldn't mind seeing the idea tried, if only to make citizens feel a little more secure.

Chief Wilson, who says he can't recall hearing any discussion of the proposal, points out that winter daylight time might simply transfer the problems of darkness to the morning rush hour.

Capt. Ralph Stines, head of the Robbery Squad, thinks it's worth a try.

"The thieves just wait for the dark," he says, and police statistics tend to bear him out.

Last December, for example, robberies rose from a level of 90 an hour at 5 p.m. to a daily peak of 166 by 6 p.m.

In July, the evening surge started at 8 o'clock and peaked by 10, while in October the graph goes up between 7 and 8.

#### "DOUBLE DAYLIGHT"

William Katzenstein, who heads the police department's Operational Planning Division, thinks one benefit of pushing back the darkness might be to make police saturation patrols easier, by concentrating robberies in a shorter period.

"Personally," he says, "My ideal would be daylight saving time in the summer and an additional hour—double daylight—in the winter."

#### OBJECTIONS DISCOUNTED

The British experiment with year-round daylight time has been blamed for some loss of productivity in the construction industry, according to a spokesman for the British Embassy here. But over-all, he says, the objections to the changeover "weren't as great as had been anticipated."

The questions of it and when America will ever make such a changeover were perhaps best answered by Sandra Hagen of the D.C. Congress of Parents and Teachers, who said her organization would probably favor year-round daylight time if the idea ever came up for formal discussion.

"I think the reason people don't discuss it," she said, "is that they feel uneasy tampering with time."

#### MINNESOTA GOOD ROADS

### HON. ODIN LANGEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, at the September 23, 1969, meeting of Minnesota Good Roads, Inc., the Honorable Harold LeVander, Governor of Minnesota, addressed the luncheon meeting. Governor LeVander pointed out that highways in America and in Minnesota are responsible for regional economic growth, are arteries of American trade, are opportunities for recreation and are vital safety factors when properly constructed. In his remarks, the Governor pointed out the need for building new highways, especially interstate highways, and repairing and improving old routes.

At the board of directors meeting of the same organization on November 7, 1969, a resolution was passed concerning the current highway construction fund freeze on the Federal level. I insert the resolution of the Minnesota Good Roads, Inc., in the RECORD:

#### RESOLUTION

Whereas, the Congress of the United States has seen fit to pass legislation designed to continue the national highway construction program, and

Whereas, the States generally depend on the Congress for appropriations which will permit long-range planning, and

Whereas, appropriations for the Interstate and ABC programs are made from estimated receipts for the Highway Trust Fund, and

Whereas, highway users have consistently contributed to the Trust Fund with the understanding that the extra taxes would be devoted to better roads, and

Whereas, the Minnesota highway construction program will fall behind schedule, adding to the congestion on our roads and highways, and

Whereas, statistics prove that lives will be saved on new, safely constructed highways, and

Whereas, Harold LeVander, Governor of the State of Minnesota, has stated that highway construction must continue for the economic development of Minnesota,

Now therefore be it resolved, that Minnesota Good Roads, Inc., at its Board of Directors Meeting in Saint Paul, Minnesota, this, the seventh day of November, 1969, cause this resolution to be passed and forwarded to the President of the United States, Minnesota's Congressional Delegation and the Federal Bureau of the Budget, urging that the Administration look to more beneficial means of controlling inflation than by the manipulation of a Trust Fund collected from highway users for the express purpose of providing safer and better streets, roads and highways.

Signed:

FRANK D. MARZITELLI,  
President.

Attest:

ROBERT A. TAMBORNINO,  
Secretary.

#### KEEP THEM RUNNING

### HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, the disappearance of passenger train service over the Nation is continuing. In my own State of Kansas, a number of communities are without passenger service and others are about to lose theirs. Various proposals are before the Congress designed to preserve long-distance passenger train service. The Interstate Commerce Commission also has made recommendations. It is obvious that this matter of passenger train service deserves serious consideration and action.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Hutchinson News which presents a case for preserving good rail passenger service. The editorial follows:

#### KEEP THEM RUNNING

It is interesting that our Congressmen are protesting the planned demise of Santa Fe's Nos. 23 and 24, familiarly known as the Grand Canyon, as they have protested—in vain—other passenger train losses.

It will be even more interesting to see if their convictions extend to a practical approach to the problem.

The test is offered in a bill now before the Senate Commerce Subcommittee on Surface Transportation. It is a composite of several Congressional proposals, designed either to help or to force the railroads to keep long distance passenger runs going.

This bill would force service. But it would help pay for it. The proposal is for \$60 mil-

lion a year for new cars, and \$50 million to handle two-thirds of any operating loss on the required runs.

It's a modest bid, by comparison with nearly \$1 billion to underwrite the supersonic jet transport, \$30 billions for super highways, and other billions for airport improvement and jet research.

Nor is it original. Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and the city of Philadelphia already subsidize commuter train service. Uncle Sam will pay \$12 million to Penn Central for the test of its high-speed trains from New York to Washington.

One new feature would require the Secretary of Transportation to study all lines as a single national network. This would be first step toward determining which trains would be required.

Good rail passenger service, particularly in metropolitan areas, is a far more practical target for subsidies than helping to create more jams at airports and on the highways.

#### BOB PRICE REPORTS TO THE 18TH DISTRICT

### HON. ROBERT PRICE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, it has been my practice during my tenure in the House of Representatives to report to the residents of the 18th Congressional District of Texas. The following is the text of the December 1969, issue of "Bob Price Reports to the 18th District":

#### THE 91ST CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION

The first session of the 91st Congress has moved at a snail's pace. Its accomplishments have been few in number.

The slow pace of the Congress has produced much debate and finger-pointing. Critics of the Nixon Administration have blamed the President for not producing a legislative program. These same critics conveniently ignore the fact that President Nixon submitted his first legislative message to Congress only 10 days after his inauguration. Since then he has sent over 30 additional messages to the Congress, with almost all of them accompanied by specific pieces of legislation.

The list of Presidential messages and reform legislation includes: Vietnam, inflation, organized crime, tax reform, revenue sharing with the states, job training, obscenity control, drug control, draft reform, postal reform, and electoral reform.

The truth of the matter is clear. The President's proposals will not receive the attention they should have until the same party controls Congress that controls the White House. The opposition party now controls the committees and has refused to hold hearings on many of the President's major proposals.

#### PRICE LEGISLATION

H.R. 205: To disapprove recommended congressional and federal pay raise.

H.J. Res. 612: To support President Nixon's peace program in Vietnam.

H.R. 165: To permit prayer in public schools.

H.R. 166: To exclude employment of communists in defense plants.

H.R. 438: To provide for the public expression of religious faith during space flights.

H.R. 50: To double personal income tax exemption of \$1,200.

H.R. 8628: To exempt ammunition from federal registration under Gun Control Act of 1968.

H.R. 9766: To repeal the Gun Control Act of 1968.

H.R. 10612: To prohibit mailing of obscene materials.

#### REAWAKENING OF THE GREAT AMERICAN MAJORITY

I feel very fortunate to be serving as your Representative in Congress at a time when our President has created a change of National Mood that is the direct result of a change of approach, a change of pace, and a change of men at the helm of the U.S. Government. We now have a President who is representative of the Great American majority.

#### CONGRESSMAN PRICE IN ACTION FOR YOU !! (Letters to Congressman PRICE)

Dear Mr. Price: Could you possibly help me find out what has happened to my request to the Civil Service Commission for payment of the annuities owing to the three minor children of my deceased brother?

Congressman Price contacted the Civil Service Commission and he was soon advised that a check was on the way plus an apology "for the concern caused your constituent by the delay in restoring payment of these benefits."

Dear Congressman Price: I am writing you to request your assistance in my current efforts to obtain a non-service connected pension from the Veterans Administration. I am unable to work because of an automobile accident.

Congressman Price contacted the Veterans Administration and arranged for new examinations for the gentleman who was subsequently determined to be eligible for VA benefits due to total and permanent disability.

Dear Mr. Price: We are requesting a hearing to protest the Social Security Administration's decision to terminate the agreement with our hospital to take care of Medicare patients.

Congressman Price contacted the Social Security Administration; and after several discussions, the hospital was reinstated to the Medicare program.

Dear Representative Price: I am writing on behalf of my husband. He has been unable to work since August of 1965. He first applied for Social Security disability in July, 1966. We believe the decision to deny this claim to be unjust.

Congressman Price exchanged numerous letters and telephone calls with the Social Security Administration before being notified that the constituent's claim had been approved.

Dear Congressman Price: Our son is in the Army and several times has had several examinations for bad hearing. All the doctors say he cannot hear certain high frequencies but none of them have done anything about it and they are now sending him to Vietnam.

Congressman Price made inquiries at the Defense Department and was advised that the soldier would be re-examined. It was subsequently determined that his hearing defect "would limit continuous participation in a combat area involving habitual or frequent exposure to loud noises. To help prevent further deterioration of his hearing he has been reassigned to a non-combat zone."

Dear Congressman Bob Price: My husband is presently in the Navy in Vietnam. He has become the victim of administrative error which has deprived him of the promotion to which he is entitled.

Congressman Price contacted the Department of the Navy which found upon investigation that an administrative error had been made and the sailor was given his promotion."

## YOUR TIME IS NOW

## HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me to include in the RECORD for the edification of my colleagues, an address by one of the great men of the Navy, and my very dear personal friend, Rear Adm. James W. Kelly, ChC, USN, on the occasion of Youth Night, State of Georgia Baptist Convention, November 12, 1969:

## YOUR TIME IS NOW

## INTRODUCTION

One of the common ways to describe our era is that this is the age in which time collapsed. The rate of change in every area of our life is astronomical in proportions. Every thing happens sooner and quicker. Whereas distance used to be measured in hours, days and months today it is measured in minutes, seconds and microseconds and whereas personal responsibility for religious, social and political affairs used to be thought appropriate for 21 year olds and beyond. It is obvious that more and more young people and teenagers are assuming a direct responsibility for the kind of nation and world that we have. It is only a sign of the times that the voting age of 18 for Federal elections was endorsed and actively sought by President Lyndon Johnson.

If this is the age of change, it is also the age of youth. Within the next 10 years 60% of our population will be under 19. I think this has very significant implications for both the Christian church and the youth of our church. Quite simply, as our culture becomes youth oriented so must the church, if it is to exist at all as an institution of any significance and influence. It must become a "youthful" institution. We can no longer think in terms of deferred responsibility. You young people can no longer think in terms of "when you grow up." The course of history has thrown you into a position of unique responsibility.

This evening I would like to underline this single observation. The time is now. You are now responsible Christians, and what you do now will determine the nature and future of the church, our Nation, and ultimately the world.

If you take what I have said seriously then I would think that you should feel a bit awed and fearful. But this responsibility which you have is not just your own. It is God given. Our Bibles tell us in no uncertain terms that God calls youth for his work in the world and it is precisely because you are young and have the specific characteristics of youth that He has a special place for you in carrying out His will in the world.

When the word of God came to Jeremiah and he was commissioned to be a prophet of God, he offered the excuse: "I do not know how to speak for I am only a youth." But the Lord said to Jeremiah: "Do not say I am only a youth . . . Do not be afraid for I am with you." When our Lord Himself began to confound the wisemen and leaders of Israel He was only 12 and when He began his public ministry He was at the ripe old age of 30. The favorite disciple was the youthful John and when Jesus wanted to describe the nature of the kingdom of heaven, you remember, He took a little child and placed him in the midst of the disciples.

The point is that you young people have certain natural characteristics which specially fit you to be God's servants in this age.

## I. THE SENSE OF URGENCY AND IMPATIENCE

One of the characteristics of youth which makes you so well fitted to serve the church

and the world is your impatience. Young people can't wait. But this is precisely one of the things that characterized the Christian movement from its beginning. It was a movement that couldn't wait which was carried out by men who couldn't wait.

When you read your gospel of Mark one word which crops up from the beginning to the end is the word "immediately" or "straightway".

When Jesus was baptized and came out of the water *immediately* He saw the heavens opened. When Jesus said to Simon and Andrew "Follow me," they *immediately* left their nets and followed Him. When Simon's mother-in-law was sick, Jesus was *immediately* informed. When the woman with the flow of blood was touched by Jesus, *immediately* her hemorrhage stopped.

The proclamation of John which was taken up by Jesus was that "The Kingdom of God is at hand." The simple truth is that Christianity is a religion of impatience for impatient people. Christians are impatient for the world to make a new beginning. They are impatient for men to take up new ways. They are, in short, impatient for the world to accept the promise for a God who promises new life for old.

And the clear promise of the Christian faith is that we need not wait. Just as Peter was so impatient that he leaped out of his boat into the water and waded to shore when he saw his risen Master on the beach—just as the disciples rushed back to Jerusalem to tell everyone that they had been with the resurrected Christ on the road to Emmaus, so too we are called to immediate action in the name of Jesus Christ.

The word is *now*. And you *now* can make the Christian Church the "place where the action is." Now is the "acceptable time of the Lord." God does not intend that goodness be deferred. God does not intend that social problems be placed on a postponed agenda. Christ does not intend that the abundant life be held up only as a distant goal. The word is *now*. There is not one problem in our world so great, there is no issue so complete that they cannot be conquered and solved by men who under Jesus Christ are committed to the *now*. Use your youthful impatience in the service of an impatient God.

## II. THE SENSE OF EXPECTANCY

There is another characteristic of young people, like yourselves, which suits you in a special way for service in our age, it is the sense of expectancy.

I think the greatest thing about being a young person is that there is absolutely nothing that you may not hope for—nothing that you cannot hope to be or do. Time whittles away at our hopes. Growing up, for some, means growing towards hopelessness. A young person has yet to fail. An adult already has. As Puskin wrote: "I've lived to bury my desires, and see my dreams corrode with rust, now all that's left are fruitless fires that burn my empty heart to dust."

Phillip Brooks, however, the great New England preacher, once said that going into his study on a Sunday morning was like going into a ripe apple orchard—he had only to decide which sermon was ripest.

Youth look to the future with a similar experience—a ripe orchard waiting to be gathered.

A young man's life is not cluttered by memories—he has mostly hopes. A teenager's life is not restricted by old habits and experiences—

Most of you here are continually projecting yourselves into the future: "When I grow up," "when I finish school," "when I marry," "when I become a doctor or scientist or teacher"—these are the words of youth.

Young people expect things to happen. I suspect that the word "happening" has vogue for precisely this reason. And the Christian faith is most assuredly a religion of expectancy. We believe in the God who continues

to enter the events of history. Many preachers and theologians have been struck by the number of action verbs which are connected with God in our Bibles. The God in whom we believe is supremely a God of action. He is the God of "happenings." And he is best served by people who live continually in expectation. The Christian cause today requires young men and women who are always looking ahead and throwing themselves into the cause of Jesus Christ whom they expect at any moment to bring his future into our present.

## III. A SENSE OF OPTIMISM

I have the feeling very often that Christian folk have lost their nerve. There was a time when we had a lot to say about a new heaven and a new earth. But for sometime the people who have taken a page out of Christian theology have been the Communists. They have nothing to say about a new heaven, but their appeal to the minds of men has been their forceful and confident promise of a new earth.

It seems to me to be the opportunity and special responsibility of young people to infuse the Christian Church again with that sense of optimism that comes so naturally to the church.

We so easily mistake a lost battle for a lost cause. The cross of Jesus Christ is not a sign of defeat, it is the signature of ownership. His cross is an "X," a cancellation sign which should "cross out" every temptation to despair, every tendency to give up, every feeling of inadequacy and personal futility.

A. J. Cronin, author of "Keys to the Kingdom" was one of the first men to return to Europe at the close of World War II. He records that he was traveling through the burned out hulk of a village and he came upon a church which stood in ruin. We went in and there on the remains of an altar was a cross lighted by a candle flickering in the darkness. Cronin recorded in his diary that he had the strangest feeling that so long as that cross and altar stood there was hope for the world.

The word is that the natural optimism of youth is real, and through Christ it becomes a supernatural optimism that confronts our world with complete confidence that there will be a "new earth."

## CONCLUSION

The time is now. The people best fitted by their natural sense of impatience, of expectancy, of optimism, are you? It used to be popular to tell young people that they were our future. The truth today is that you are our present.

A TRIBUTE TO CONGRESSMAN  
JOHN DENT

## HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, my distinguished colleague, JOHN DENT of Pennsylvania, has worked very hard and long to achieve passage of a much needed and revolutionary coal mine safety bill. It is a bill that is truly of a humanitarian nature. It graphically illustrates Mr. DENT's deep and genuine concern for his fellow man—in this instance, the coal miners of our Nation who have too often lost life and limb and suffered the perils of a sometimes fatal disease known as "black lung" because of the hazardous conditions in some of the mines where they must work.

Now word has reached the news media and some Members of this Congress that the President will veto the mine safety bill unless it is made less costly. I consider this a callous disregard for human life. Does not the President consider decent, hard-working coal miners a part of "the silent majority" which the administration has so thoroughly heralded in recent weeks?

As I examine some of the events that have taken place—and the coal mine safety bill is just one example—I am beginning to wonder whether the great "silent majority" is being taken for a ride. I have been reading and listening to the tremendous outpouring of words by this administration—and many of the words do not seem to mean very much.

Mr. DENT's bill is indeed landmark legislation which takes coal miners out of the dark ages. With all of my colleagues who do not put a price on human life, I want to assure Mr. DENT that I will do everything within my power to assist him in achieving his very worthy, noble, and humane objective.

#### FEDERAL AID TO PRIVATE SCHOOLS

### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the general Subcommittee on Education today concluded hearings on "Elementary and Secondary Education Needs of the Seventies." During 15 days of hearings the subcommittee examined the anticipated status of American elementary and secondary education and considered the merits of five different methods of expanded Federal aid.

A major issue facing American education in the 1970's will be whether private and parochial schools can financially survive. In testimony on the alarming financial condition of many parochial schools, the Reverend Monsignor James C. Donohue of the United States Catholic Conference cited the fact that there had been a decline in enrollment of a half-million students in these schools within the last 2 years alone. If this decline continues, our public school system, which in many areas is already financially strained, will be faced with a major crisis.

Mr. Speaker, since the issue of expanded Federal aid in private schools will undoubtedly be a major question before Congress in the next decade, I am inserting Monsignor Donohue's testimony in the RECORD:

STATEMENT OF REV. MSGR. JAMES C. DONOHUE, PH. D.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee:

I want first to express my gratitude and that of my colleagues, Dr. D'Alessio and Mr. Reed, for the opportunity to speak with you today about the important issues being considered by this committee. Although the primary concern of the Division of Elementary and Secondary Education of the United States Catholic Conference is the continued

welfare and improvement of Catholic schools, the Division, like other responsible agencies in American education, realizes that all American schools—public and private nonprofit, church-related as well as non-denominational—are united in the effort to provide better education for the country's children and young people, and that in a very real sense the well being of the total American educational enterprise depends on the health of each individual segment. If one sector of American education is weakened, to that extent all are weakened. They are interdependent, and what happens in one has an immediate impact on the others.

This is evident in regard to the issues which we are discussing today—the financial viability of American schools and the role of the federal government in this area. American education at all levels and in all sectors is currently facing grave economic problems. For instance, as an article in the October 20 U.S. News & World Report points out, at a time when the cost of public education has nearly doubled over what it was ten years ago, taxpayers are becoming more and more reluctant to approve new bond issues to support these soaring expenses. Thus, whereas in fiscal year 1965 voters rejected only about 25 percent of new school bond issues, in fiscal 1969 the rejection rate rose to a disturbing 43 percent.

Undoubtedly many factors have contributed to this situation, but the most fundamental is the simple reluctance of the already hard-pressed taxpayer to contribute substantially more for the support of public schools at this time. There is, it seems, a taxpayers' revolt abroad in the land, and, regrettably, public education is among the targets of this revolutionary wrath.

As I have said, the financial problems of the public schools cannot be separated from the financial problems of the private nonprofit schools—for the simple reason that they have a direct bearing on one another. Unfortunately, the argument is heard in some quarters that, at a time when public schools are feeling a financial pinch, it is out of the question to consider increased public support of private nonprofit schools. The plea is just so big, according to this line of thought, and when there are no longer enough slices to go around, it is the private nonprofit schools which will have to do without.

Apart from its insensitivity to the rights and interests of private nonprofit school students and their parents, however, this argument is a disservice to public education. It oversimplifies a complex issue and, if followed to its logical conclusion, would create a situation which would be disastrous to both public and private nonprofit schools. Let me explain why this is so.

I have had occasion to say before that the very existence of private nonprofit schools in the United States is threatened today. I do not expect to see the total disappearance of these schools in this country, but I do consider it entirely possible that financial pressures could force a drastic reduction in the number of Catholic school elementary and secondary students over the next five years. I do not wish to play the role of Cassandra, and so I do not say that this will necessarily happen. But I regard it as a real possibility which no one seriously concerned with the future of American education can afford to ignore.

The decline in enrollment in Catholic schools over the past several years—a decline brought about by financial pressures forcing cutbacks in the Catholic school effort—has, after all, already been substantial. Enrollment in Catholic elementary and secondary schools has dropped from 5.6 million in the 1964-65 school year to an estimated 4.86 million in the current school year—a decline of three-quarters of a million students in only five years. Furthermore, the process seems to have been accelerating, in that the

decline in enrollment in the two school years prior to this one was a full half-million.

But—and this is the heart of the point I am attempting to make—it would be a tragic error to suppose that these figures reflect a problem for Catholic schools only. On the contrary, as Catholic schools are an integral part of the total American educational enterprise, so the the enrollment decline they have suffered in recent years has had a direct and immediate impact on the public sector of American education.

The reason is obvious. When children leave a Catholic school which has closed or been forced to cut back its operations for financial reasons, they do not vanish. They go to school somewhere, and "somewhere else" means the local public school.

The dollars and cents implication for public schools are clear. The more former students of Catholic schools enroll in public schools, the more public schools will be obliged to provide additional teachers, classrooms, equipment, and materials—and this is at precisely the time when they are increasingly hard pressed for funds. Indeed, the conclusion seems inescapable that the present financial crisis in public education is made worse by the financial crisis in non-public education.

The available figures demonstrate that this is no fantasy. For instance, it is estimated that taxpayers in the Detroit area have paid some \$90 million over the past four years to accommodate in public schools some 50,000 former Catholic school students who have been forced out of Catholic schools which have closed, consolidated, or curtailed classes. This is, furthermore, a continuing expense, since these students will continue to be a drain on the taxpayers' pocketbook for as long as they remain in public school.

Nationwide, the pattern is the same. A recent report by the National Catholic Educational Association, pointing to the loss of 500,000 students in the past two years and an estimated future loss of 156,000 this fall as against last year, states: "Based on the latest national per-pupil cost figure for the public schools, which is \$638, the inability of the Catholic schools to provide education for the half-million pupils whom it turned over to the public school rolls during the past two years means a minimum increase in school taxes of \$315.8 million annually. Because most Catholic schools are in the large urban centers where public school costs are higher than the national average—for example, a figure of \$1100 per pupil was published recently for New York City—the actual tax increase is probably well over a third of a billion dollars per year. If the further drop in enrollment expected this fall stays at the relatively modest 156,000 pupils that seems possible now, the annual tax bill will still increase another \$100 million at a minimum."

Quite obviously, then, the present financial crisis in Catholic education is contributing—inadvertently but unavoidably—to the financial crisis of public education. From this point of view alone, it is sound public policy to extend increased public assistance to private nonprofit schools. Their supporters are, after all, not seeking 100 percent subsidy from public funds. Rather, they are asking for relatively modest assistance from the public sector—supplementing but not replacing their own voluntary support of these schools—assistance directed, furthermore, to the secular aspects of their educational programs which so clearly perform a public service function.

That private nonprofit church-related schools do perform such a function is, incidentally, no exclusive discovery of their supporters but is rather a point of view subscribed to by the United States Supreme Court in the 1968 *Allen* decision, which upheld the constitutionality of New York's program of lending textbooks to students in church-related schools. It is worthwhile in this context to recall the passage in which

Mr. Justice White, speaking for the Court's majority, wrote as follows:

Underlying these cases (previous cases involving government assistance to nonpublic education), and underlying also the legislative judgments that have preceded the Court decision, has been a recognition that private education has played and is playing a significant and valuable role in raising national levels of knowledge, competence, and experience. Americans care about the quality of the secular education available to their children. They have considered high quality education to be an indispensable ingredient for achieving the kind of nation, and the kind of citizenry, that they have desired to create. Considering this attitude, the continued willingness to rely on private school systems, including parochial systems, strongly suggests that a wide segment of informed opinion, legislative and otherwise, has found that those schools do an acceptable job of providing secular education to their students. This judgment is further evidence that parochial schools are performing, in addition to their sectarian function, the task of secular education.

Thus, we have seen two reasons why private nonprofit schools should survive, and why it is sound public policy to provide government assistance to help ensure their survival and, more than that, their continued existence as quality educational institutions. These reasons are the adverse impact that a large number of nonpublic school closings would have on the financial situation of public schools and on the American taxpayer, and the fact that private nonprofit schools do perform a public service function in the provision of secular education to their students. Beyond these considerations, however, there is a third reason for extending public support to private nonprofit schools—protection of the values of diversity, freedom of choice and healthy competition in American education.

I am sure this point scarcely needs to be labored. In a pluralistic society such as our own, it is essential that we have an equally pluralistic educational system reflecting the diversity of society itself. The emergence of a monolithic, monopolistic school system in this country would be a threat to the intellectual vitality and liberty we prize. Americans feel a special abhorrence toward monopoly, and we have passed many laws to counteract monopolistic tendencies in a variety of social and economic areas. But a monopoly in the field of education would be especially contrary to the American system. The continued existence and health of private nonprofit schools is the best hedge we have against an education monopoly.

Furthermore, only the existence of these schools makes a reality of our traditional commitment to free choice in education. Freedom which exists only in theory but cannot be exercised in fact, is scarcely freedom at all. If freedom of choice in education is to continue to be a reality in this country, it is obvious that private nonprofit and church-related schools must continue to exist as genuine, available options for parents and students who choose them. The preservation of this freedom is certainly a legitimate object of public and governmental concern.

Lastly, the existence of private nonprofit schools as effective dynamic institutions of education provides an element of healthy competition for public schools. This is, I should emphasize, not cut-throat competition, since public and nonpublic schools are partners in the total American educational enterprise. Rather, the presence on the scene of excellent nonpublic schools provides public schools with a continuing incentive to "try harder"—just as the existence of excellent public schools supplies the same incentive to nonpublic schools.

In making these comments, I wish at the same time to emphasize that the precise vehicle or mechanism by which aid is di-

rected to private nonprofit schools is of less importance now than recognition of the principle that such aid should be forthcoming, followed by implementation of the principle. Certain priorities do of course stand out among nonpublic school needs in the area of federal assistance—these needs are the same as those of the public schools—and I hope will be given legislative acknowledgement. Thus, the first need of the present time is for support of instructional personnel costs; the second is for financial assistance for teaching equipment, materials, and facilities in order to improve the quality of instructional services.

It is in these areas that rising expenses most seriously affect the ability of private nonprofit schools to continue, and federal assistance, if it is to be meaningful, must take this fact into consideration. There are imaginative ways by which substantial aid can go to nonpublic school children in these areas, such as where the assistance is directed to secular subjects and helps to achieve the public purposes of education. Such an approach has been successfully embodied in the purchase-of-services plans enacted within the last year and a half in several states. In any case, it is clear that for the federal government to furnish such aid for public school children and not to furnish it equally for nonpublic school children would contribute to the destruction of private nonprofit education, as we now know it. The federal government would make a major contribution to the improvement of American education by assistance directed to instructional personnel costs and equipment and supplies, since the quality of education is directly related to the quality of the teacher and to the effectiveness of the tools with which teachers and students must work.

With regard to equipment and facilities, Catholic schools are open to arrangements whereby title is vested in public officials, provided only that their students have fair and unimpeded access to such equipment and facilities. Again, Catholic schools are prepared to explore the possibilities of such things as shared-time plans for the utilization of new or existing facilities. I mention these things not to urge them upon the committee but simply to indicate the willingness of Catholic schools to consider a variety of approaches, unhampered by fixed ideas to the effect that only one legislative solution is possible or acceptable.

There can be no question of the urgent need for improved facilities of schools in many parts of the country, especially in low-income areas and large metropolitan areas. Our cities are burdened with school plants geared to 19th century requirements—when what is needed, particularly in low-income areas, are school facilities capable of providing the creative education needed by young people from disadvantaged backgrounds. What is true here of the public sector of education is equally true of the nonpublic sector.

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased and honored at the opportunity to appear before the committee today and comment on the important legislation it is considering. The holding of these hearings is testimony to Congress' commendable recognition of the federal government's role in education. Considering the financial problems of the schools—and of the states and localities from which they receive most of their funds—it is clear that in the years ahead the federal government will have to increase its support of education substantially in order to fulfill its responsibility.

Mr. Chairman, your committee has listed as subjects for comment five bills regarding federal assistance to education, four of which propose specific programs of financial assistance. I am pleased to note that each of these four bills attempts to make some provision for the participation of private nonprofit schools and their pupils in the benefits of the federal funds.

Before commenting on the individual bills, I would like to commend the authors and sponsors of all of them for their recognition that federal assistance to education should benefit all children, whether they attend public schools or private nonprofit schools, including church-related schools. It occurs to me that this recognition is the first step toward development of a truly adequate federal policy for education in the 1970's.

As I have noted earlier, the Supreme Court has recognized the public purpose of private nonprofit schools in our system of education. In addition, a growing number of states are adopting educational policies which utilize the private sector in education to serve the public purpose. I would urge your committee to take notice particularly of the actions of the legislatures in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Ohio.

It is now established policy in these states to provide state support for secular education in private nonprofit schools. The methods chosen by these legislatures vary somewhat from state to state, and include programs for purchase of services and salary supplements for teachers. An even larger number of states have adopted programs which involve state support of auxiliary services for children in private nonprofit schools.

The Congress itself, in recent years, has followed a policy of requiring the participation of children in private nonprofit schools as a condition for state and local public school agencies to qualify for federal financial assistance. I need not mention all of these actions since the members of this committee are the ones who have provided the leadership in the development of this emerging national policy. For the record, I would mention the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, the Migrant Education Act, the Bilingual Education program, the various acts for the education of the handicapped, the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Act and, of course, the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968 which originated with this committee under the leadership of the present Chairman. In all of these acts, Congress has made some provision for children in private nonprofit schools. The amount of participation and the means by which private nonprofit schools have been involved has varied with the educational needs of the children and the federal purpose to be achieved. This is as it should be, and I would suggest that the same flexibility should be maintained in the development of future federal assistance programs. Congress has the power, and the ability, to vary its actions to achieve the federal purpose, in the area of education, as well as in other areas of national concern. Thus, a program such as Title I, ESEA, to improve the educational opportunities of economically and educationally deprived children might adopt one approach for the private nonprofit schools and their children, while a program of improving library and instructional media services, such as Title II, ESEA, adopts another. In terms of the bills pending before this committee, my point is that the provisions of Title I, ESEA, might, or might not, be an appropriate method for achieving the public purpose of educational opportunity for children in both public and private nonprofit schools.

H.R. 10833 seeks to provide a system of federal grants to states and, ultimately, local education agencies for "improving elementary and secondary teachers' salaries, for meeting the urgent needs of elementary and secondary education, and for other purposes." All school-age children, those in private nonprofit schools as well as those in public schools, would be counted in determining the amount of federal funds which each state would receive. But there is no adequate requirement that all children would receive the benefits of the expenditure of the federal funds. Authorization is given for use of federal funds, in limited amount, to provide for

"shared-time" programs for children in the private nonprofit schools. While "shared-time" is one method by which private school children can participate in some federal programs, it doesn't seem appropriate for a program directed at improving teachers' salaries. I would suggest, if Congress is to provide federal supplements for teachers' salaries, that the Act require the states to provide equal supplements to the salaries of teachers in private nonprofit schools who are providing secular educational services. This is being done in some states and it would be a proper use of federal funds.

H.R. 11546 would provide a national program of assistance to the states for the stated purpose "of achieving equalized excellence in schools throughout the Nation over a ten-year period." As in H.R. 10833, all school-age children are counted in determining the amount of federal financial aid grants to the states, but the children in private nonprofit schools would not share equally in the benefits. Educational excellence and equalization of educational opportunity are desirable goals for a federal program. The inclusion of language adopted from Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (Section 7(a)(2), of the bill) that provision be made for children in private nonprofit schools through such programs as dual enrollment and mobile educational services would not achieve the stated purpose of the bill.

If our goal is excellence and equalization of opportunity, the federal act should include provision for equal sharing of federal funds to improve the educational opportunity available to children in private nonprofit schools. A requirement that states utilize the federal grants to purchase secular educational services, to provide salary supplements to teachers of secular subjects, or to provide facilities for secular education of children in private nonprofit schools could be included in any federal act along the lines of H.R. 11546.

H.R. 517 would provide federal grants for construction of elementary and secondary schools and supplemental educational centers. The program would be directed toward improving facilities for "areas with concentrations of children from low-income families" and federal funds could be used for construction, reconstruction, renovation, and improvement of elementary and secondary school facilities (including pre-school facilities) to meet the special educational needs of educationally deprived children. The same standards that would be applied for determining the needs of public school children could be applied to the needs of children attending private nonprofit schools. While H.R. 517 makes some provision for children in private nonprofit schools to participate in its benefits—by providing for special projects in which they may take part under shared-time or dual enrollment arrangements—the bill is deficient. I submit that in a construction program, Congress should provide in clear language for facilities for private nonprofit school children in the secular areas of education which have been recognized by some states and the courts.

Congressman Delaney in a singularly eloquent presentation of his bill, H.R. 776, has provided the committee special insights on parental rights in education and the abiding American dream for equity. He emphasized the need for diversity as a cardinal element of education in a pluralistic society. His suggested solution to the crisis in education is to authorize an annual financial grant to each child attending school—whether public or private nonprofit. His confidence is resided in parents to make a prudent choice for the educational welfare of their children. His method is a simple one; merely provide the parents with an educational grant to be made available to the school selected for the education of their children. He would limit payment to children attend-

ing private nonprofit schools to the endorsement of both the parent and an appropriate school official of that institution. Payments for public school children would be made directly to a school district. In this way the bill assures that the federal grant is in fact applied to education—a valid public purpose that the federal government is free to support. The bill prohibits federal interference. We believe the bill would be strengthened if provisions were adopted to make clear that private nonprofit schools were free to use payments only for the secular aspects of education provided the children in those institutions.

H.R. 9866 would set forth a Congressional statement on a national educational policy and direct the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to initiate a comprehensive study on the formulation of a plan to implement such a policy. Such a Congressional statement would seem to be needed and the one proposed by H.R. 9866 appears to be adequate. I would like to note that as formulated in H.R. 9866, the statement of national educational policy would recognize the role of both public and private nonprofit educational agencies and institutions. Thus, I would endorse the purpose of H.R. 9866.

Naturally, any future federal assistance to education programs should spell out clearly the recognized prohibition in use of public funds for "religious" instruction or worship. But such prohibition need not inhibit the federal government in its legitimate purpose of improving the "secular" education of all children, those in private nonprofit schools and public schools. This Nation has an educational system which recognizes and approves pluralism and parental rights. Any federal aid program should do the same.

In concluding, I would like to point out that Catholic schools, despite their present grave financial problems, are not seeking 100 percent subsidy—or anything approaching it—from public sources. Catholics remain committed to their schools and to their support. What they are seeking now is simply the rather minimal additional assistance—over and above their own continued voluntary support—which will make it possible for these schools to continue in business as quality educational institutions. The public policy considerations in favor of government aid to nonprofit private church-related schools are overwhelming. First, mass closings of these schools would result in financial—and educational—chaos in the public schools and a greater burden on taxpayers. Second, as the Supreme Court has pointed out, church-related schools give secular education to their students, and thus they perform a true public service function which can and should be aided by government in view of its concern for the quality education of all citizens, not just those who happen to attend public schools. Third, the continued existence and health of nonpublic schools are essential to educational pluralism in our pluralistic society, and to true freedom of choice in education and the maintenance of healthy competition in educational matters.

Mr. Chairman, I am grateful for the opportunity afforded me by the committee to speak on this important legislation. I stand ready now to answer any questions you may have.

#### TWO BALTIMORE GI'S KILLED IN ACTION

**HON. CLARENCE D. LONG**

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. Mark J. Preis and Pfc. Charles V.

Redding, two fine young men from Maryland, were killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to honor their memories by including the following article in the RECORD:

#### TWO BALTIMORE GI'S KILLED IN ACTION—PRIVATE DIED IN SEPARATE INCIDENTS IN VIETNAM

Two Army privates from Baltimore have been killed in separate incidents in Vietnam, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

PFC Mark J. Preis, 23, of 205 Aigburth road in Towson, was killed October 21 when his patrol was attacked by mortar fire.

PFC Charles V. Redding 3d, 22, of 1058 Arygle avenue, was killed October 23 by an enemy land mine.

#### MASS SET THURSDAY

A requiem mass will be offered at 9 A.M. Thursday for Private Preis at the Immaculate Conception Church, Ware avenue in Towson.

Private Preis enlisted in the Army July 18, 1968. He had been in Vietnam since October 3. Previously, he was stationed at Fort Benning, Ga.

He was a 1968 graduate of Loyola College, where he majored in mathematics.

At the time of his death, Private Preis was serving in Company C, 1st Battalion, 11th Infantry, 1st Brigade, 5th Infantry Division (mechanized). He had been stationed in Quang Tri province, which abuts the border buffer zone.

Private Preis is survived by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. John G. Preis, of Towson; three brothers, John G. Preis, Jr., of Annapolis; William Preis and Laurence Preis, both of Towson; and seven sisters, Mrs. Henry Dausch, of Chevy Chase, Md.; Julie Preis, of Madison, Wis.; Dorothea Preis, of Washington; Justine Preis, Gretchen Preis, Colette Preis and Janet Preis, all of Towson.

Private Redding, who was considering the Army as a career, enlisted November 22. He was sent to Vietnam May 23.

Private Redding was wounded in the right hip by enemy gunfire in July and was sent to Japan to recover. He was later shipped back to Vietnam.

At the time of his death, he was serving with Company B, 2d Battalion, 14th Infantry, 25th Infantry Division. He was stationed in Hau Nghia province, 30 miles west of Saigon.

Private Redding was born in Baltimore and attended Carver High School.

He is survived by his wife, the former Rhonda Craig; a daughter, Yolanda Redding; his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Charles V. Redding, Jr., of Baltimore; his grandfather, Charles V. Redding, of Baltimore; three brothers, Michael Redding, John Redding and Mark Redding, all of Baltimore; and three sisters, Edna Redding, Cheryl Redding and Deborah Redding, all of Baltimore.

#### SLANTED NEWS COVERAGE

**HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues in the House a recent letter I received from a constituent, Dr. Hugh B. McAdams of Lafayette, Ind. His letter concerns "slanted news coverage" and is particularly interesting and timely, not only for its thoughtful comments but also for the fact that it was written before Vice President AGNEW delivered his criticism of the television news media. The letter follows:

LAFAYETTE, IND.,  
November 7, 1969.

Representative EARL LANDGREBE,  
House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Recently I have become disturbed regarding the effect of propaganda presented by ABC, NBC and CBS television on the viewing public in this Country and elsewhere. One does not have to observe these proceedings very long before he reaches the obvious conclusion that it is not news that he is observing but calculated propaganda presented by individuals who represent the liberal or left wing element in our Country. Rarely does one see the conservative side of an issue presented by present day commentators. It is my firm conviction that the daily bombardment of the American people by this liberal propaganda is having a tremendous effect on public opinion. This effect, in my view, is not good for the Country. I am hopeful that, if you concur with my views, something may be done to stop this devious trend in the reporting of the news.

Examples of such biased reporting are quite numerous. On the evening of President Nixon's recent speech on NBC television, a film was presented showing alleged ill treatment of captured Viet Cong soldiers. Connected with it was film shown of a army officer briefing a group of newsmen in the manner in which Viet Cong soldiers should be treated. He explained, that according to the Geneva Convention, certain rules and regulations prevented ill treatment. At the same time the film purported to show exceptionally bad treatment of the Viet Cong prisoners. In my view this is bias and it was done primarily to embarrass the President. It was not pointed out that our soldiers and airmen have received exceptionally poor treatment in the hands of the North Vietnamese, as we know from captured film and documents otherwise. My point here, is that the television industry appears to be bent on presenting only one side of the picture, and that is the side which is embarrassing and detrimental to this Country. Last night on NBC television a report was presented on Okinawa on a program called "The First Tuesday." The commentator described the situation there and it was his conclusion that we are practicing "colonialism" while in fact we should be allowing a policy of "self determination." He did not explain the reason why we are on Okinawa in the first place. He did not relate the history of 25 years ago as to how the Island was acquired and the reasons therefore. He did not explain the cost in money, in lives and material, that it took to capture this Island. He did not explain the reason for maintaining a large military establishment with relation to our efforts in Viet Nam. He did not explain, that in essence, we acquired this Island 25 years ago as a result of the expansionist policy of the Japanese people.

It seems to me that this is a calculated effort to sway public opinion against the maintenance of this base at Okinawa, particularly in view of the fact that the Prime Minister of Japan is supposed to be in this Country in the near future to consult regarding the return of the Island to the Japanese. Further examples of this sort of behavior by the National Networks include the exposure of the defendants in the so-called trial of the Chicago "eight". It seems to me that these people are receiving much television exposure and therefore have a forum for the presentation of their ideas while the United States Government and the city of Chicago literally receive no coverage. Another example of this one-sided reporting is a program witnessed last night on "The First Tuesday Program" which had to do with the difficulties experienced by U.S. Marine Officers in recruiting on the College Campuses across the Country. This put the Ma-

rine Corps in a very bad light and placed the general recruitment program of all of the Services in jeopardy. Again there was no effort to present the other side of the problem. There was no effort to show, that on many campuses in the Country, these men are not received in the manner that they were at San Diego State. It did not show that ROTC programs are being maintained by many Universities across the Country. Again it shows only one side of the picture, and to me, it is calculated to disrupt our military effort.

A most glaring example of the above is the result of televising the activities of Congressional Committees. One gets the definite impression that these proceedings are "staged." How else can one account for the fact that most of the witnesses heard propagate the chairman's point of view on the issue being discussed? Rarely does one see a witness who is unfavorable to the chairman's position. Again, it seems to me that this is a calculated effort to influence public opinion.

The above named instances are certainly but a few of those that have appeared on the television in recent weeks and months. The effects of such presentations certainly cannot be underestimated in the formation of public opinion. It is my firm conviction that something should be done on the part of the administration to defend itself, against this propaganda. I have the strong feeling that at least part of the effect on the American people by this media could be negated by the President himself. If he could use television, as he did on November 3rd, to explain to the public the exact nature of his thoughts and his plans for our future well being, then the liberal propaganda presented by the television media could be counteracted. Furthermore, it seems to me, that it might be well to consider a proposition in which television could be monitored. Then, when information is presented in a manner which is untrue and which is detrimental, either to the Foreign Policy of this Country or to the management of its internal affairs, the other side of the picture could be presented. I have in mind something in the nature of the use of the truth squads which have operated in past political campaigns. I do not know whether these suggestions are practical. However, it seems to me that something will have to be done in order to blunt this malicious and misleading propaganda presented by the National Television media.

I am sure that you are quite aware of all of this. I am sure that the President is also aware of the adverse effect that National Television is having on his domestic and foreign policy. I have considered writing to Him personally, but I have the feeling that it would never reach His desk. I would appreciate hearing from you regarding this situation and if you agree at all, I would hope that you might convey my thoughts to the President, either personally or in the form of a letter with your recommendations.

Sincerely,

HUGH McADAMS, M.D.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S VIETNAM  
PLAN

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon announced on Monday a withdrawal of 50,000 more troops from Vietnam by April 15. Any reduction of U.S. forces is a welcome step in ending U.S. intervention in this tragic war which continues daily to take an unjustifiable

toll in human life and disfigurement. Only today the U.S. military command announced a loss of 85 killed and 836 wounded Americans. Even one death or one wounding is unacceptable. In addition, the war continues to divert essential money from our pressing problems at home, and to tear asunder this Nation's soul.

However welcome this step may be, it is inadequate; for the President's plan for Vietnamization of the war means the possibility of an indefinite American military presence and carries the threat of renewed escalation.

And as I warned on the floor of the House, the President considers the House passage, by a vote of 334 to 55, of H.R. 613 as an endorsement of his November 3 speech, just as he did when he addressed the Members of the House on November 13. Last Monday evening he made it clear that he interprets the House's passage of H.R. 613 as "supporting his plan for peace."

Mr. Speaker, I commend an editorial published in the New York Post on December 16, 1969, to my colleagues for its analysis of the President's announcement. It also correctly condemns Hanoi's intransigence in refusing to reveal the fate of American prisoners. The editorial follows:

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS, UNSPOKEN ISSUES

President Nixon has once again adroitly appealed to national patience and fortitude. By projecting the withdrawal of another 50,000 troops in the next four months, he appeared to reaffirm his resolve to lead us out of the Vietnam wasteland. By reiterating his readiness to negotiate anything "except the right of the people of South Vietnam to determine their own fate," he invoked the rhetoric of Wilsonian reasonableness so often employed by his predecessor.

As in his address on Nov. 3, Mr. Nixon's speech seemed primarily designed to mute dissent at home and thereby convince Hanoi that time is on our side.

On reflection, however, too many questions still remain unanswered or obscured. In announcing another troop cutback, Mr. Nixon conditioned the schedule on the good conduct of the enemy and warned that rising infiltration would mean a reescalation of our role. To that extent he once again made our course subject to the decisions of adversaries who have been fighting for 25 years without visible loss of will.

In restating the principle of self-determination, he implicitly renewed our commitment, to the present regime in Saigon, which he has repeatedly characterized as the legitimate voice of South Vietnam. Nowhere did he acknowledge that leading non-Communist opponents of Thieu remain in jail, that other supporters of a coalition solution have recently been threatened with new reprisals and that all optimistic calculations rest on the dubious ability of the Saigon cabal to assume the major burden of the fighting. Nor did he confront the question of whether a program to enable Asians to fight Asians on a larger scale would elicit wide popular favor among the South Vietnamese.

Mr. Nixon's use of the House resolution was predictably contrived. He interpreted the 334-55 vote as a declaration of support for his "plan." But he knows that the record of debate shows that many war critics reluctantly backed the resolution after assurances that it merely signified approval of his "effort" to end the war. The outcome was an expression of political entrapment, not a

vote of confidence in the strategy of "Vietnamization."

On one point there will be overwhelming endorsement of the President's stand. That was in his renewed appeal in behalf of the American prisoners whose relatives are cruelly denied knowledge of their fate. Disclosure of the late Ho Chi Minh's rebuff to Sen. Fulbright's plan can only undermine the position of those who believe we remain diplomatic captives of the Thieu regime. Hanoi's obduracy is crude blackmail; it can only strengthen the hand of U.S. hard-liners and smother the true issue of coalition so blandly and sadly ignored in the President's address.

#### U.S. POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

### HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I was greatly disturbed by recent newspaper articles indicating State Department intentions to ignore a vote by a large majority of the United Nations General Assembly's Political Committee interpreting the 1925 Geneva Protocol on poison gas and bacteriological warfare as banning use of all chemicals including tear gas and defoliants.

Particularly disturbing was the reported comment of Carl E. Bartch of the State Department that "the vote does not in our view represent international consensus" and that "we maintain that the United Nations General Assembly is not the proper forum to decide such disputed questions of international law."

While technically the International Court of Justice may be the more appropriate forum for strict legal interpretation of a protocol, the question raised obviously involves policy determinations that are the province of the Assembly and, at any rate, this technical distinction even if valid is no justification for the slap taken at the Assembly.

If the United Nations is not the proper forum to rally and determine an international consensus and to resolve international disputes, then what forum is appropriate? There really is none. We are left internationally in the caveman era with each nation pursuing its selfish ends without regard to the effects on other nations, and with the ultimate international sanction the threat and use of brute force.

The United States has a sorry record of undermining the international institutions it helped to establish to peaceably resolve international disputes. Our failure to place the Vietnam situation before the United Nations prior to taking unilateral military action there probably did more to undermine its credibility as a peacekeeping force than any other action by any nation in its history. Our insistence on the Connally reservation did more than anything else to emasculate the jurisdiction of the world court.

If we are to have any forum for settling international disputes in a civilized manner, the United States is going to have to be a leader in giving it efficacy. This requires a willingness to submit to

international tribunals issues even if they are embarrassing to us and a willingness to abide by decisions of such tribunals even if they appear to be against our interests. Our experience in the United Nations shows us that this will be only a small minority of cases—and, indeed, comparing our own democratic, free society with the much harsher realities of most of the rest of the world, we can be sure that these tribunals will help our causes far more than they will hurt them. We cannot continue to be in the position of balking every time a decision does not go our way, however, for to do so gives justification to all other nations to likewise ignore decisions inimical to them. This destroys the fabric of peaceful settlement of international disputes and is sure to be far more damaging to our interests than the effects of any isolated adverse decisions.

I fervently hope the State Department will reconsider its ill-conceived pronouncements in this regard.

#### BALFOUR DECLARATION

### HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the real meaning of the Balfour declaration of 1917 on Palestine has in recent years often been disputed.

Mrs. Lottie Greenberg of Rockaway Beach, N.Y., recently sent me a copy of an editorial from the Manchester Guardian of November 9, 1917, which I found most revealing. I share it herewith with my colleagues and other readers of the RECORD:

[From the Manchester, England, Guardian, Nov. 9, 1917]

#### SIGNPOST OF A DESTINY

We speak of Palestine as a country, but it is not a country; it is at present little more than a small district of the vast Ottoman tyranny. But it will be a country; it will be the country of the Jews. This is the meaning of the letter written by Mr. Balfour to Lord Rothschild.

It is at once the fulfillment of an aspiration, and the signpost of a destiny. Never, since the Dispersion, has this extraordinary people, scattered over the earth in every country of modern European and of the old Arabian civilization, surrendered the hope of an ultimate return to the historic seat of its national existence.

For fifty years the Jews have been slowly and painfully returning to their ancestral home, and even under the Ottoman yoke, have succeeded in the beginnings of a real civilization. Scattered and few, they have still brought with them schools and industry and scientific knowledge, and here and there have, in truth, made waste places blossom as the rose.

The declaration of policy the British government made to-day is the security for a new, perhaps a very wonderful, future for Zionism and the Jewish race. The government has indeed laid down a policy of great and far reaching importance, but it is only one that can bear fruit by the united efforts of Jews all over the world.

We recognize, and shall continue to recognize the Holy Land as the "national homeland of the Jewish People."

#### THE ADMINISTRATION AND MR. WHITTEN

### HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, for a long while a great deal of confusion was apparent on the part of Members on the other side of the aisle over the President's position on the Whitten amendments to the Labor-HEW appropriations bill.

At the time the bill was considered in the House, it seemed that the Attorney General indicated to the Republican leadership that the President did not oppose the Whitten amendment. Then, belatedly, Secretary Finch publicly did oppose the now famous amendments, apparently with the President's approval.

Yesterday, in acting on the measure, the Republican leaders in the Senate urged their side of the aisle to vote in accordance with the latest-announced Presidential position—against the Whitten amendments, and the cause of school desegregation received a boost.

I am pleased that those on both sides of the aisle in this House who believe in racial justice joined forces this afternoon to resoundingly defeat the Whitten amendments through instructions to the House conferees.

The Washington Post editorially this morning did clarify the issue. Reading it was helpful to me in attempting to understand the administration's ever-changing position on civil rights issues. The editorial follows:

#### THE ADMINISTRATION AND MR. WHITTEN

When we last looked in on the Whitten Amendments—some deceptively harmless-looking legislation that could in fact undermine both the Supreme Court's rulings on school desegregation and HEW's power to uphold them—the amendments perennially sponsored by the Mississippi congressman, Jamie Whitten were in process of being acted on by the House. That was midsummer. As usual, the whole seriatim drama had the aspect of a soap opera, and not just because it was a replay of cliff-hanging events from the session before. There were also the inevitable Ma Perkins-like questions: Would the House accept the Whitten amendments? Would the administration (which had been rolling around among itself on the matter all one day) take a stand against the amendments?

The answer to the first question turned out to be, Yes, and the answer to the second was, No. We were not aware at the time that for all the rolling around on the part of some people at the White House and at HEW, the Attorney General had already indicated to Republicans on the Hill that the administration most assuredly did not oppose the Whitten measures. There is little doubt that had it done so, the amendments (which were accepted by a very narrow margin) would have been stopped in the House.

Since then the administration has either changed its mind or changed its spokesman or changed both. Secretary Finch came out against the amendments a while back, and he informed the members of the Senate Appropriations Committee the other day that the administration opposed them. In a telegram, which he made public, Secretary Finch recommended first that the legislation be eliminated from the pending HEW-Labor appropriation bill and that—falling that—it be itself amended to include, at a critical point,

the words "except as required by the Constitution." As its wont, the Senate Appropriations Committee disregarded the first telegram. However, yesterday, on the advice of Secretary Finch and with the powerful assistance of Senate Republican Leader Hugh Scott, the Senate added the recommended language to the measure, which has the effect of defanging it.

Now we are more or less back to the familiar crisis of the conference, the conference report, and the final vote. Last time around an inordinate amount of mind-boggling parliamentary maneuver was required in this phase of the game to eliminate the obnoxious features of the amendments. Things are different this session—and in most ways worse. The time is late, the pressure to be done with the appropriations enormous, and the issue if anything muddled by the past months of administration equivocation on matters of race. That is why it is of the utmost importance that Secretary Finch make it plain to the relevant members of the House that when he spoke to the Senate he spoke for the White House and that the President in fact opposes the Whitten Amendments.

### THE FRESHENING WINDS OF CHANGE

HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, a short time ago Robert A. Sandberg, vice president of the Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp., posed to the members of the National Reclamation Association, convening in Spokane, Wash., the following question:

What, really are the dimensions of changes which are so violently and dramatically obvious to all of us today?

Then, Mr. Sandberg proceeded to discuss the reasons for and the consequences of the changes which we are witnessing today, not only in this Nation but throughout the world. With a broad background of public service as a Red Cross official and 17 years as an executive in an industry which has undertaken an outstanding leadership role in the quest for knowledge about our environment—physical, social, and political—Mr. Sandberg demonstrated his own deep personal understanding and concern for people.

His presentation was, without question, the finest discussion I have ever heard on what he refers to as "the freshening winds of change." May I urge my colleagues not only to take the time to read these remarks, which I share with you today, but also to take the time to stop and ponder them, as I have, for I am certain they will increase our perception of the difficult times in which we live. The remarks follow:

#### SOME DIMENSIONS OF CHANGE

Last week, while quietly sitting out a plane change in the Seattle-Tacoma Airport, your vice president, and my old friend, Lorin Markham, reached me by telephone. He was struggling with a problem of change so immense that it clearly showed in his voice. With discernible anxiety he explained that he had worked for weeks, and under pressure, to get this convention program together. Now it

was all ready and the final proofs of the program were on his desk; but the printer, as printers do, was demanding cleared copy—and now! The problem was that his banquet speaker had just withdrawn. Would I speak? The situation was desperate for him; but for me, at that moment, a matter of small concern. It wasn't the end of the world, of course, but he was dealing with a change of some magnitude, and it had a dimension.

I pled for time to consider, but Lorin had no time. His god was a printer who would not wait. So, I agreed. After all, Lorin has been a long and loyal friend, and he was only asking for a speech—a free one—not a good one.

Having received his answer and assured that he could satisfy the printer, Lorin now announced that he could go off on a weekend hunting trip to Moses Lake with a free and unfettered conscience.

The final click of the telephone left me slightly stunned. What had happened? One thing was certain; Mr. Markham knew how to cope with the problems of change. His problem was now my problem! While he was hunting pheasants, I'd be spending my weekend hunting ideas and writing a speech. I thought, what a swift transfer of energy this had been; what a total change this would make in my next few days. As a little microcosm of what is happening around all of us each day, that telephone call demonstrated both the dynamics of change and the magnitude and dimension of it.

I felt a little like old Uncle Ned who was celebrating his 102nd birthday. A young reporter from the local paper was sent to interview him and he asked, "Uncle Ned, you've lived 102 years. You must have seen a lot of changes in that time." To which Uncle Ned replied, "I shor have Sonny, and I've been again every gol blamed one of 'em."

I like the way Eric Sevareid of CBS stated it when he said:

"This generation hasn't had any rest. We've had two bad wars in 20 years with powerful inflationary tendencies as a result. We're in the middle of a racial revolution. We're in the middle of a scientific revolution that seems more fundamental than the industrial revolution of a hundred years ago. We're in the middle of a population revolution—the full consequences of which we have hardly begun to understand. And, we're in the middle of some kind of revolution in personal morals and in concepts of family and community life.

"All this has stirred and alienated a great many people in this country. They are hitting out and reaching out for some way to get this under control—some way to bring about an order of security with which they are familiar, with which they feel at ease and with which they feel safe."

What, really, are the dimensions of change which are so violently and dramatically obvious to all of us today? It isn't only that there is change. Change has been a part of the problem of living since man was first identified as man.

200 years ago Edmund Burke was saying, "To complain of the age we live in, to murmur at the present possessors of power, to lament the past, to conceive extravagant hopes of the future, are the common dispositions of the greatest part of mankind."

65 years ago, Teddy Roosevelt was saying at his inaugural, "Modern life is both complex and intense, and the tremendous changes wrought by the extraordinary industrial development of the last half century are felt in every fiber of our social and political being."

The newness and the prevalence of change as we are experiencing it today is where the difference lies. It's a change in scale and scope, unprecedented—a great upheaval! The change is relatively recent, perhaps measuring back no more than 20 or 30 years and caused almost entirely by the giant progress

of technology. We have in a short space of time moved:

From a predominantly agricultural society to a largely industrial one . . .

From a preponderantly rural and small town society to a largely urban and suburban one . . .

From an economy of scarcity, in which productivity was the primary goal, to an economy of abundance, in which consumption is the main goal and distribution the main problem . . .

From a geographically stable society to a highly mobile one . . .

From a relatively primitive communication system to a highly sophisticated one of instantaneity . . .

From a labor-and-job oriented society to one increasingly aimed toward the use of leisure time . . .

From an emphasis on manhour productivity to machine-investment productivity, with at least two concomitants; only the highly technically trained could participate in a meaningful and personally satisfying way to life in the economic system; many of the "small jobs" once available to the young or the poorly trained disappeared . . .

What has not changed during this period are our institutions, our schools, our government, our social forms, our ways of controlling, organizing and adjusting to the changing technological environment.

And here is where most of the unrest and unease in our society begins. Let's look at ourselves as separate groups influenced by our own personal histories and the inputs of our ages—in spans of 18-20 years.

Group I's were born about 1896. They are in their 70's. They were born into a population of 66 million, gross national product \$13 billion, no automobiles, no radio, no television, 5 telephones per 1,000 population. They will remember the Mexican Revolution, the sinking of the Titanic, prohibition, the flu epidemic that killed 20 million people, including 548,000 Americans, Sara Bernhardt, Ben Hur, The Birth of a Nation, The Katzenjammer Kids, "Cleanliness is next to godliness." The predominant thought of the time was that truth has been established . . . we must now transmit it to the young.

Group II's were born in 1914, now in their 50's. Population 114 million, gross national product \$87 billion, 7 million automobiles, 140 telephones per 1,000 people, 1 million radio sets, no television. The depression made the greatest imprint. Those of us in Group II will always remember that period. We'll follow the conservative path. We are now the Establishment, remembering *The Saturday Evening Post*, Will Rogers, Lindbergh, Franklin Roosevelt, Tugboat Annie and Fourth of July picnics. We believed America had the answers, the problem was to get others to listen.

Group III people were born between 1935 and 1942. They're now in their early 30's. Population 140 million, gross national product \$125 billion, 34 million automobiles, 175 telephones per 1,000 people, 29 million radios, no television. The inputs: Gene Autry, the Cisco Kid, John Dillinger, the Bomb and a push off of the farm and to the cities and the suburbs. The preoccupation of Group III was with jobs, money, and the acquisition of material things. The economy was booming. The wars were a great stimulant to business, and personal income, and unsurpassed luxuries for most people. Their problem as adults is how to keep it up and live comfortably with Group I and II and with the disturbing ideas and mores of Group IV.

Group IV born since 1950. In their span of life U.S. population jumped from 160 million to over 200 million, the gross national product went from \$365 billion to \$930 billion, 56 million automobiles to 90 million automobiles, a telephone in every home, 3 or 4 radios. Television, though first introduced in 1953, is now in practically every home. It's an age of instantaneousness, and afflu-

ence, and contrasts of rich and poor, white and black, power and no power.

But the institutions continue to be run by a generation that finds it increasingly difficult to be in tune with the technological environment in which it finds itself. Group IV, on the other hand, have never experienced any other world but the technological one in which they are living.

For them two highly significant things happened: time collapsed and the horizon disappeared.

It was, more than anything else, TV that did it in this country. The child who is raised with the television tube experiences events instantaneously. He is constantly barraged by a succession of new products (which burst forth full-blown); new services (which would be his could he but afford them) and news of political and military events, some of which have not been "re-structured" by The Establishment. He wonders why, then, it takes so long to get "anything done" in this society. His impatience with slow and "orderly" processes grows out of experience with the miraculous and the instantaneous.

Time collapsed—and the horizon disappeared. Unlike his forebears, whose horizon was the edge of the farm property, or end of a village street, the TV child saw events thousands of miles away as if they were only next door. In most cases he grew up knowing (by sight and sound) a presidential candidate better than the town mayor. Provincialism disappeared, his community became the world, and when this happened, he had no real reason to respect local authority or that of his parents.

He walked out of a living room filled with miracles and found himself in a world where antiquated bureaucracies slowly pushed pieces of paper around. He knows what he wants. He wants miracles. And he wants them now.

After all, man has walked on the moon—and he was there!

And, here we are—all four groups of us, living together someplace between placidity and revolution—struggling with overabundance and equity, some fighting to preserve our institutions in their traditional forms, and some fighting to change the form completely.

Already New Yorkers are beginning to get a taste of what happens when population and an affluent society of mixed inputs outgrow the capacity of their normal utilities and living space. The trains don't run, the phones don't work, the power is shut off, the traffic stalls, the planes can't land and it's no fun to go downtown on Saturday night.

In the next thirty-two years, in this country alone, we must build as many structures as have been built in this country since this nation was founded. And this is just to give people the same standard of buildings they live and work in today—it does not take into account the more sophisticated needs of better educated people with higher incomes, or those who will want two or more homes.

Nor is this our problem alone. Unless we are to face a global catastrophe, we must also be able to help meet the problems of food and shelter caused by the population increase all around the world. According to projections by Dr. Raymond Ewell of State University of New York, there will be a serious famine in India, Pakistan and Communist China within another five or six years. There will be serious famine in Indonesia, Iran, Turkey, Egypt and Brazil within the next decade. Most of the other countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America will be in a famine condition by 1980—just 11 years from now. These famines will affect hundreds of millions of people. We could not, even if we were ethically willing to do so, ignore their plight, nor refuse to try to alleviate their hunger, as we surely must do quickly

for our own poor and underprivileged millions.

This is perhaps the greatest challenge facing America today—whether we have within us the creativity to solve the problem of the nation's and the world's growing population in the time that we have. And, there is very, very little time.

Another major change that will require new responses is the change in the population's work load. It is predicted that within one generation in the United States, only 2 percent of Americans—as farmers and factory production workers—will be able to produce all the food and manufactured goods the whole U.S. population will want. What is even more astounding is that last year only 9 percent of the population produced all of the food and manufactured goods in this country.

What in the world are the other 91 percent of us doing today? What in the world will the 98 percent of us not engaged in producing food or manufacturing goods be doing in the next 30 years?

One of the inevitable consequences of this transfer of work load to fewer and fewer people is that we have—for the first time in any people's history—vast amounts of discretionary time. The concept of time as a commodity to be used in discretionary ways is still something quite new in the world. We are going to have to create new and satisfying and meaningful ways for people to use their leisure time. Sure, they can play more golf, do more fishing, read more books, listen to more music, watch more television, take more trips. But, in the end, this will not be enough, as most any energetic retired person can tell you today. A major challenge to business creativity will be to find what will give meaning to leisure time.

As a matter of fact, we should begin to take a whole new look at the total relationships of time and work and our modern society. The editor of our *Kaiser Aluminum News*, Don Fabun, reasons this way:

"When it comes to use of our time, we are like dirt farmers who have moved to the big city; we bring our farm hours with us. Thus we divide night and day, although, as Marshall McLuhan has pointed out, 'Electric light abolished the divisions of night and day, of inner and outer, and of the subterranean and the terrestrial.'

"Having brought day with us from the country (because, without lights, it was the only time we could work), we divided the daylight hours with three meal periods, because the work on the land was hard and it was good to rest the horses and refuel ourselves in the middle of the long days. It has not, in our urban areas, for some time been necessary to rest the horses, and it is doubtful that in the normal course of our labors, we expend enough energy to require refueling ourselves three times a day. But we continue to do so.

"The result of this farm-type, Colonial-Era thinking is to create the sort of problems that result when everyone goes to work at the same time, eats at the same time, has recreation in the same time, gets up and goes to bed at the same time. The way we solve the problem is to build generating capacity in our power plants for peak hours; to build highways three times as big as they need to be, to take care of peak traffic to and from work, and to overload our parks, resorts, beaches and other recreational areas to the saturation point two days a week and leave them virtually deserted all the rest of the time. As population increases, and becomes more highly congested in urban areas, the 'problems' compound, too, and we are forced into an insensate (an ultimately useless) frenzy of designing and building to take care of urban problems created by rural thinking.

"It may be that within the next twenty

years, driven to it by taxes and frustration, we will begin to run our lives around the clock, and stagger our days off, and thus reduce peak traffic loads by two-thirds, and use our shopping and recreational facilities the week-around. We have done this during war times; but does it take a war to make us do so?"

One of the things we most certainly will have to do is to become more involved in education—not only for ourselves, but for those who will want to participate in the world of the future, and for those who will otherwise find increased leisure time a burden.

"One thing at fault with our thinking," says Professor Neil W. Chamberlain, professor of economics at Yale, "lies in our persistent notion that a person can acquire in the first 20 years or so of his life all the formal education he will need to keep him on an ascending career line through the remaining 40 years or so of his working life."

There is one other aspect of our participation in this world of change that I want to touch on briefly. You won't need more than a reminder to have some apprehension about the growth of the role of government—all kinds of government—in our social and economic environment. The government—Federal, State and local—is the nation's biggest employer—and spender . . . but, more than that, it has an increasing role on our personal lives and in the conduct of business. And the only point that I want to make is that, among the changes in our business environment, the growth of government is to be reckoned with, and we'll simply have to learn to live with it and make the most of it. It isn't going to go away—and it's not going to get any smaller.

Another thought I would like to leave with you is that it is almost impossible for an American business not to become involved in the world market—even if it does not ship a single product overseas. You can bet its counterpart in some other country is shipping a similar product into the United States; and so you are involved internationally, whether you intended to be or not.

This shift from purely domestic considerations to global ones is one more big change that affects all of us. And we will become more deeply involved in the years immediately ahead. It is one in which most of us have had little experience.

Let me add to that this statement by David Sarnoff: "Through communication satellites, laser beams and ultraminiaturization, it will be possible by the end of the century to communicate with anyone, anywhere, at any time, by voice, sight or written message . . . Ultimately, individuals equipped with miniature TV transmitter-receivers will communicate with one another via radio, switchboard, and satellite, using personal channels similar to today's telephone number."

We have recently been asked to "think the unthinkable." Now I am asking you to "imagine the unimaginable." For the rising demand for goods and services by all the people of the world, once they have turned information wants, and wants into needs, is truly unimaginable to our minds today.

Here we will have a qualitative demand as all-encompassing, as insistent, as desperately in need of solution, as we have a quantitative demand resulting from the population increase. When the two of them are joined together, in that world of the immediate future—you and I and all our associates in the business world will be put to the test more severely than ever in our lives.

I am confident, and my business associates at Kaiser Aluminum are confident, that we—most of American business—will meet the challenge boldly and expertly. Our technology is giving us the tools—we have but to have the courage and intelligence to use them wisely.

A few months ago in our company maga-

zine, our editor wrote about change in this restless world in two paragraphs which he titled, "A Freshening Wind." He said, "There is a new wind abroad in the world. It sweeps through Africa, ruffling the waters of the Volta and the Nile—the beat of drums becomes the pulsing of machinery. It ruffles the trees that line the Ganges and the Rihand—the might giant that is India stirs with a new and vital restlessness. It touches the Rhine and the Elbe, the Rhone and the Po, the Amazon and the Rio de la Plata, skirts the Mediterranean and sifts the sands of Suez. Wherever it touches, there is new vitality, new hope, new striving.

"It is a wind that whispers that life does not need to be lived in a mud hut; that food does not have to be grubbed from fetid, crowded harbors; that loads do not forever and ever have to be carried on aching shoulders. It is a wind that carries the promise that what has always been does not always have to be; that in the minds and hearts of men—all men—lie the skills and understanding to erase, once and for all, the economic barriers that have so long divided the world.

"It is the wind of 20th Century technology. It carries the hope of better things to come and the adjuration they will have to be worked for and the challenge of economic competition such as Western economies have never faced before. How this challenge will be met—to ensure maximum progress with minimum commercial conflict—is the great problem facing the American people. That the challenge will be met—and successfully—there can be no doubt. And it will have to be met soon.

"For there is a wind—and it is freshening..."

#### HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 506

### HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I believe we should join in extending and renewing the interstate compact to conserve oil and gas. This is of paramount importance, if we are to expect to follow decent, conservation practices, and if we are to be assured of future, adequate supplies of oil and gas, which are being utilized at escalating rates, as well as suffering from wasteful practices and uncoordinated, unsound management practices, in a great many instances.

This is a very important incident of effective national conservation, and Congress must act in every way necessary to make sure that our supplies of oil and gas are safeguarded, and that our regulations require full respect and compliance with sound conservation principles.

Our wasteful practices of the past, which wrought so much loss and damage to the Nation cannot be tolerated in this day and age, if we expect to keep our oil and gas supplies at acceptable levels.

Gas and oil are mandatory for the continued success of our great economic system and for the convenience of the public in their homes and business.

The essential factor is that the responsibility for gas and oil is truly indisputable for the public's use and welfare and we must do everything we can to insure at all times an adequate supply of the oil and gas we need and fair distribution to the people at reasonable prices.

#### AMATEUR PHOTOGRAPHERS NEED FOURTH-CLASS MAILING RATES

### HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, over 40,000 amateur photographers in this country are adversely affected by the present language of the postal rate law and by its unequal interpretation.

Today, I am reintroducing H.R. 13907 to obtain fourth-class postal rates for photographic materials mailed by amateur photographers.

I am pleased to have the cosponsorship of my able colleagues: Congressmen JAMES G. FULTON, HENRY HELSTOSKI, PETER N. KYROS, RICHARD L. OTTINGER, HOWARD W. ROBISON, PETER W. RODINO, JR., WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, and LESTER L. WOLFF.

Amateur photographers are unjustly dealt with by the present law.

I am referring to that section of the postal statutes which describes materials allowed to be mailed under the "educational or book" postal rate. My bill would permit amateur photographers who send photographic prints or slides to and from nonprofit photographic exhibits, or to and from other amateur photographers for educational purposes, to send these materials under the "educational materials" rate.

This change would be consistent with the fact that many "educational materials" sold through the mails for profit now qualify for this privilege. The present provisions, as they apply to photographs mailed for educational purposes, are so confusing that they are unequally applied in post offices across the Nation. Each postmaster seems to have a different interpretation as to which rate applies to amateur photos.

This September the very able executive secretary of the Photographic Society of America, Mr. Frederic B. Shaw, testified on this problem before the Post Office and Civil Service Committee's Subcommittee on Rates, chaired by our able colleague, the gentleman from Montana (Mr. OLSEN).

I would like, at this point, to include a brief excerpt from Mr. Shaw's testimony which illustrates quite effectively the nature and extent of this inequity:

Prints move to these shows in standard sized cases of almost identical weights. Postage of these prints however may vary, in total postage charged, by from 9¢ to 95¢ even though they are posted in like postal zone areas. This variance is due simply to separate interpretations of the law by different postal officials.

For instance, print cases may be shipped from Houston, Shreveport, or St. Louis to Oklahoma City and be charged for at three separate and distinct rates though all fall within the same postal zone and weight class. Following the exhibition, these same cases of prints may have to be returned at still a fourth rate as the result of still another interpretation.

The experience, in recent years, of the salon committee in a major metropolis in Kansas has been that many print cases shipped to their exhibit may almost certainly be held up by local postal officials until a ran-

som in postage due is paid out of entry fees. The accepting post office, which has interpreted the regulations another way, may then be recipient of a sizzling letter from the receiving post office about "law violation."

A sad commentary is the fact that a case of prints as described above may be sent to Asia, Africa or Europe for a rate less costly than to a fourth postal zone in the United States, to say nothing of the fifth through eighth zones.

A monthly book selection, an album of records, or a TV commercial on movie film, which can weigh more than the above mentioned prints with case, is likely to move at a lower postal rate because post office officials have ruled that educational rates can apply only to materials moving to or from the office of a recognized agency. Apparently the office of an "educational division" of a watch company, selling phonograph records, or an advertising agency shipping TV commercials to a customer or a paying client, do qualify in this regard.

While this is not a problem of major proportions from the standpoint of national policy, I feel that as long as Congress is setting postal rate policies, those policies should be free from unfairness and confusion. The support of each colleague in clearing up this point of postal rate law would quickly alleviate the problems, Mr. Shaw points out.

#### STATEMENT ON VIETNAM

### HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the following statement on Vietnam was signed by a number of members of the clergy of Woburn, Mass. It is a most thoughtful and compelling document, calling upon every citizen to work together to reach the common goal, the goal on which all Americans agree—peace in Vietnam. I am honored to be able to share this statement with my colleagues in the House:

#### STATEMENT ON VIETNAM

We, the undersigned clergy, of the City of Woburn, Massachusetts, are acutely aware of the agonized struggle of our people regarding the painful war in Vietnam which so sorely divides our nation. We believe that the religious communities should support the cause of peace and work for the repudiation of war as an implement of foreign policy and as a way to settle international disputes. This leads us to support the goal of bringing our military involvement in Vietnam to an end.

While we are united in seeking an end to the war in Vietnam we differ among ourselves as to whether immediate withdrawal or a gradual, scheduled pullout of military forces is the best way to end the war.

We urge all citizens to work for the creation of a new moral climate directed toward the redefinition of our national goals and the reallocation of our national resources which give the highest priority on the use of our energies and resources to the solution of the critical social problems which beset our nation and the world.

John R. Wood, Fred J. Cartier, Jr., Emmanuel S. Hedgebeth, Bruce A. Young, John H. Kidder, Richard Swan, Daniel J. Cananough, H. John Murchie, Samuel G. Brown II, Willis S. Pollins, Thomas E. Barker, Robert H. Holmes, John S. Morris, Harold G. Ross, Jr.

## COMPARING U.S. POSTAL SYSTEM TO OTHER COUNTRIES NOT FAIR

**HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, we keep hearing about the great efficiency of postal systems in other countries. Perhaps it is something about the proverbial grass on the other side of the street.

If the U.S. system had to serve only an area of one State—instead of 50—it could beat any system in the world. That is all the systems of other countries have to do—in fact, most areas are smaller than our major States. None of them have the volume of mail and the geographic area to serve that is the responsibility of the U.S. system.

One of the latest to rap the U.S. system is, of all people, the U.S. Postmaster General when he talked to the Tokyo press club and lauded the Japanese system.

Bill Bayne, who writes the "Post Office Box" column in the Federal Times, has some pertinent comment on the general's observation and draws some interesting parallels between the United States and Japanese systems.

Following is the text of the column from the December 17 issue:

### THE POST OFFICE BOX (By Bill Bayne)

WASHINGTON.—Postmaster General Winston M. Blount has returned from a two-week visit to Far East military bases and Japan, where he attended the Universal Postal Union meeting.

While in Japan he had occasion to address the Tokyo press club where he paid tribute to the boom that is the hallmark of Japanese industry.

But he also reportedly said that Japanese mail sorters could work as fast as American machine sorters and that the "Japanese haven't forgotten how to work."

Many postal workers in America have taken this to mean that the PMG is implying that the U.S. postal workers "have" forgotten how to work. Department officials say nothing could be further from the truth.

But to get back to the Japanese and their mail system.

### EASIER TO SORT MAIL IN JAPAN

It is a far easier task in Japan to sort mail than it is in the United States. For example, there are no street addresses in Japan. There are only areas or ku's that are listed as the address. There are also cho's and chome's which give area breakdowns. Within the smallest area, there may be 10 blocks or so, depending on the density of the businesses or population.

So letter sorting, once the areas are learned, is merely a matter of sorting in the same fashion that cities are sorted in our post offices.

Further, in Japan, there is the matter of literacy. Japan claims the world's lowest illiteracy rate—less than one per cent.

This is not qualified by adding "technical literacy"—the ability to read or write one's name, but purely literacy. Given this aspect, it is understandable that the Japanese postal worker will not need to be the genius at deciphering some alien code in addresses for letter sorting that his American counterpart will.

Additionally, the Japanese made extensive use of zip codes and the use of preprinted envelopes with boxes for the zip digits, with the digits appearing in exactly the same lo-

cation on every envelope. This system easily adapts itself to the use of the Japanese high speed optical character scanner.

### BOXES FOR ZIP SPEED MAIL

The scanner used here in the United States will locate the zip code on the address of any envelope, regardless of its location. U.S. postal experts state flatly that if the Japanese boxes were used here for our optical character scanner, millions of dollars could be saved in letter sorting. And further, that the scanner could then be used for handwritten as well as typed address sorting, as the Japanese system is.

The question that comes to mind is: Why doesn't the Post Office ask Congress to write a law specifying the zip coded boxes? Or at least a law calling for standardization of envelope size?

Answers offered by post office spokesmen are that the general public would be up in arms if such restrictions were promulgated. A questionable argument.

To most individuals there are but three sizes of envelopes now—the business envelope, the short business envelope and the cordial note envelope.

It is true that the greeting card industry uses a tremendous variety of sizes of envelopes, but for general correspondence, the three sizes cover a huge percentage of the mail.

### MANY VARIATIONS OF ENVELOPES

The fact is that although this may seem to be true to most Americans, there actually are thousands of variations in the size and shape of our envelopes.

Not only is there wide variance in shape, but also in the colors and materials used.

Manufacturers claim there is a demand for the different sizes and shapes and for the colors. And that demand will be filled.

But if the department does not take it on itself to ask for these changes, which it claims could represent such a huge savings, it will never know whether the demand for the differences is created by the manufacturer or by the public.

It seems there is a tremendous need for some forthright educational work on the part of the department for the people it serves.

Pat Nilan, legislative director for the many sorters in the U.S. post offices can sort 3,000 letters an hour—the rate commented on by Blount in Tokyo.

Optical character scanners, on the other hand, can sort up to 43,000 letters an hour. Possibly at an even higher rate, if the scanner did not have to search for the digits.

The department owes the public at least the sweat involved in pushing for envelope standardization. And while it's at it, it should also ask for the manufacturers to block out or line out a standard area for the zip code.

The manufacturers could certainly meet that demand as well.

Blount proved a diplomat in complimenting the Japanese on their industriousness and their skill at letter sorting. It would be a great benefit to America if he were as able a student of the problems and the methods of solution found in the land of the rising sun.

## POWER TO CHANGE AND OBLIGATION TO PRESERVE AND ADVANCE

**HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, we must be very careful in the economies we seek in our social and economic areas as well as in overall military programs, because

we may be creating new, serious problems on which our security and the security of the world may depend, and which could set back many progressive, domestic programs. But there is always urgent need for selective economy.

To provide for the defense of the United States is our great responsibility in these days of danger. We must make sure that, until peace really comes to this troubled world, and as we strive vigorously, and in good faith, for peace in Vietnam and in the world, to keep our defenses at a high pitch of efficiency that will enable us to protect our country as well as it can be protected in this nuclear age.

There will be sharp differences of opinion and controversy surrounding our action to keep a strong posture that can defend the United States, and that will also firm up our world commitments in terms of necessary weapons systems, aircraft, and ships that many be necessary to modernize our Armed Forces, and provide instantaneous readiness in case of aggression against this country, and other dire emergencies that may affect this country at home. We must make sure that we are prepared and ready for any development that may threaten the peace, security and institutions of our local communities.

It is very easy to sit back in an armchair and pontificate about the items we can cut from our military requirements, and the reductions we can make in our social-economic programs.

We have made a good start in reducing military procurement, and there are some additional cuts we can and will make in the pursuit of peace, security and economy.

The point I am urging at the present time is that we cannot, and must not, cut below safe levels, adequate to meet all possible contingencies which may confront us, not only military, but social and economic and domestic. The home front must be kept secure at all times.

Above all, we must make sure as best we can, that whatever cuts we make do not endanger our defense, even though we cannot always be absolutely certain that we have left nothing undone to implement every necessary measure to provide us with the means of defending ourselves, and helping to sustain those who are identified with us in the cause of freedom in a world seething with violence and irrational, aggressive movements.

We must uphold freedom, personal liberty, and equality at all costs, if this country is to exist as a great, free democratic Nation, indeed if this great civilization, and the values that have made us what we are, shall exist at all.

Never let it be said that freedom was lost while we slept, and that the Nation failed to unite to save our freedom and the prosperity and well-being that the free way has made possible.

By the same token, never let it be said that we turned our backs on the poor, the helpless, and the deprived fellow citizens and residents who are struggling in the midst of poverty and want in urban compounds, where millions live below normal standards of health, education, and opportunity to feed, clothe,

educate, and advance themselves and their families.

This Government is not static and helpless in the face of need. It can under full democratic procedures provide every change in the law and method of this system that may be needed to solve every problem that confronts us.

This Government is a dynamically sparked organism equipped by law to make any change the people believe is necessary to maintain their rights to survive, and protect and sustain this Nation, and its free system to which we owe so much.

At the same time, we must recognize that we must utilize our governmental powers to any extent necessary, and by every change required to improve the health, resources, education, welfare, and happiness of the people. And we look to the executive arm to do its full part toward these ends. And we ask and urge fellow Americans to join hands to unite the country and tackle and solve our serious problems as we have always done, with a spirit of loyalty, dedication to freedom, and resolve to perfect and protect our great, free system.

#### RESERVISTS WIN NIXON'S PRAISE

### HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, on December 16, 1969, President Nixon signed a proclamation honoring nearly 37,000 Reservists who were called to active duty in Vietnam or because of the *Pueblo* incident.

At a special ceremony in the White House, attended by a representative from each of 115 separate Reserve units called up to active duty, the President noted that 32,000 had served overseas, and won more than 4,000 citations and more than 250 Purple Hearts.

At the signing, the President commented:

That is eloquent testimony of the service they rendered. The nation is grateful to you, grateful for the service you have rendered, grateful because you are still in the reserves.

Following is the text of the proclamation:

#### RESERVE RECOGNITION DAY

(A proclamation by the President of the United States of America)

In January and May of 1968, one hundred and fifteen units from the Reserve Components of the Army, Navy and Air Force were ordered to active duty to quickly augment the Active Forces. This action provided this country with armed strength capability with which to meet possible contingencies that might have arisen as a result of the threats and actions by the North Koreans and the need for additional troops in Vietnam caused by the TET offensive.

Many of these units have served in Vietnam while others have served in Korea, Japan, and the United States. Those units remaining in the United States were primarily used to strengthen the strategic reserve and participate in the Military Airlift Command operations.

By June 18th, Reserve units of the Naval Air Reserve, the Naval Reserve Mobile Con-

struction Battalions (Seabees), the Air National Guard, and the Air Force Reserve were demobilized and the units returned to inactive reserve status. The units of the Army National Guard and the Army Reserve have now been released.

All of these Reserve Component units responded to the Nation's call in time of need and established records of performance, both in and out of combat, which have demonstrated a level of readiness and training never been achieved by our reserve forces. In addition, many individual reservists volunteered for active duty during this period. They have truly upheld the heritage and tradition of the citizen soldier and have again proven that both the National Guard and the Reserves are a great resource for our country and one which is necessary to our national security.

Now, therefore, I, Richard Nixon, President of the United States of America, do hereby issue this proclamation in recognition of and appreciation for the patriotic, dedicated and professional service of our loyal members of the Reserve Components of the Armed Forces of the United States.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 16th day of December, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and sixty-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and ninety-fourth.

RICHARD NIXON.

#### JAMES S. KEMPER, JR., RECOMMENDS NATIONAL INSURANCE STANDARDS

### HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, my friend, James S. Kemper, Jr., president of the Kemper Insurance group, has given careful thought to the subject of improving standards guiding our Nation's automobile insurance companies.

In expressing support for national standards, without jeopardizing the traditional State role in the automobile insurance field, Mr. Kemper has provided a valuable and constructive approach.

Mr. Kemper's recommendations were contained in an address delivered recently to the National Association of Mutual Insurance Agents at its annual meeting in Washington, D.C.

I commend to my colleagues and to Americans throughout the Nation his thoughtful words which follow:

#### AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE: A NATIONAL APPROACH

(By James S. Kemper, Jr.)

The very subject matter of this panel, *Harnessing the NOW Revolution in Government*, presents a problem. Current emphasis in some quarters on Capitol Hill and in some Federal administrative agencies suggests that I might better discuss *Harnessing the NOW Revolution in the Automobile Insurance Industry*.

Our business is deep in the ferment of corporate and marketing revolution; and, as we struggle through the pain and disorder of rebirth into new forms and new systems in automobile insurance, we are vulnerable as never before to the harness of Federal regulation.

We cannot blame those who would so regulate us. At best, they see the harness as a needed restraint and guide which, with prudent use of the whip, will teach us docility and respect for the man in the driver's seat—

who is, of course, the consumer. At worst, they are simply acting out their frustrations over the very existence of a private mechanism for collecting money from and paying benefits to one hundred million people. Either way, they say and seem genuinely to feel that we should accept Federal regulation for our own good, as well as for the good of the consumer.

This thesis is rejected by most property and casualty insurers, but not by all. For reasons not too hard to figure out, there seems to be a leaning toward Federal regulation by those companies which, because of their own failure to serve the needs of the consumer, have lost both share of market and huge sums of money in recent years. They have turned a line of insurance, currently unprofitable for all of us, into a disaster area for themselves.

For such companies Federal regulation may appear, not as a harness, but as a haven. In a free enterprise economy regulation is a substitute for competition, a shield against aggressive competitors. Regulation guarantees uniformity in marketing systems and a reasonable profit to the least efficient units in the industry. I do not challenge the logic of the position of such companies, from their point of view; in fact, it is an inevitable position for inefficient companies losing share of market. But I do challenge the claim that somehow the consumer will also benefit from turning automobile insurance into a Federally regulated system. It is to this point that I would like to address my remarks.

First, as a generalization, the mainstream of American political thought, on the part of liberals and conservatives alike, now flows away from concentration of power in Washington and seeks to place power at the scene of the action. The reasons for this have been elaborated upon by legislators of both parties, by columnists, by academicians, by administrative officials.

The issue of Federal versus state or local regulation is no longer an issue of ideology, but of practicality. The people, i.e., the consumers, have been consistently voting against concentration of power at the Federal level for at least the past three years, not as a matter of theory but because it doesn't work. The consumer has been telling us that delivery systems—under Federal control are too expensive, and furthermore they don't deliver.

In the face of such mandates, the burden of proof now rests, not upon us, but upon those who advocate that we wear the harness of Federal regulation. Is the performance of the automobile insurance industry so inept that the welfare of our customers demands that we be so harnessed?

If this question had been asked 10 years ago, or even 5 years ago, it could well have been argued that we needed *something* to shake us up and force us to face the real and changing world. Most of us were slow to react to the changing demands of the marketplace, slow to respond to customer complaints, slow to recognize the need for improvement in the quality, availability and dependability of our services. And our lack of sensitivity to change, and our management responsibility to initiate and manage change, was shared by most of the state insurance regulatory apparatus. It, too, was asleep at the switch.

But I do not suppose we should be Federally regulated (i.e., punished) for past sins of omission which we are rectifying today. Nor should the state regulators be ousted from jurisdiction in the face of the rapid growth of professionalism and consumer consciousness which is taking place in state insurance departments throughout the nation.

Consider what has been achieved in the past five years—for the auto insurance consumer.

Policies non-cancellable except for loss of driver's license or failure to pay the premium.

Adoption on a massive scale of advance claim payments to accident victims.

Expansion of assigned risk plan coverages guaranteeing every licensed driver adequate liability and physical damage insurance.

Enactment of uninsured motorists coverage in 48 states, 34 of which have included insolvency protection (and others with such legislation now pending).

Introduction in several states of legislation calling for improvements in claim payment systems to pay more accident victims and to pay them faster.

Passage by several states, and pending legislation in many more, of open competition rating laws designed (and proved by experience) to broaden market availability and to give free play to competitive forces in rate-making. This is the one area which merits renewed attention and may call for Federal regulation, through an amendment to the McCarran-Ferguson Act making rating activity subject to the Federal anti-trust laws, with an appropriate information shield in the law to permit statistically necessary functions to be performed by bureaus.

Passage in several states, and pending legislation in several more, of post-insolvency assessment laws which—at minimum administrative expense and without creating bureaucratic empires—make it impossible for the public to lose money if an insurance company becomes insolvent.

Some of the legislative improvements for the consumer in this list have already been adopted in a majority of states; others have been passed in only a few states but will be enacted widely during the 1970 legislative sessions. All have had the strong support of most of the insurance industry, both companies and producers, and of the state regulators. And the tide of improvements, the result of a genuine effort to meet and satisfy consumer demands, continues to flow—both by legislative enactment and by competitive marketing developments within the industry.

I think we are fulfilling our responsibilities as auto insurers. The job is far from finished, but we're well on our way. And in moving to meet the needs of our customers, we are gambling on what ought to be a pretty good bet—that if we do the job, we will again become a profitable industry. We won't all make money, but the innovative, efficient companies and the professional producers will; and I personally do not care to see any system which protects the inefficient—whether they be companies or producers.

This is a proper point at which to pause and give credit to some of our critics for providing us with a little motivation, a touch of the whip without the harness. I don't agree with some of the proposals made by Senator Hart and Senator Magnuson in the regulatory area, and I feel many of the hearings conducted by the committees they chair have tended unduly to accentuate the negative. But they have certainly motivated us, and we needed it. They motivated us so thoroughly that we've done something about the consumer problems they spotlighted, and perhaps now, having motivated us, they will see that these problems can be solved without the anti-competitive consequences of broad Federal regulation.

Speaking now only for myself, and for the people in the group of companies I represent, I have also become motivated to believe that the automobile insurance industry and the National Association of Insurance Commissioners must seek a national solution for consumer problems. I do not mean Federal regulation, or Federal standards imposed upon the state regulators and the industry. I mean national standards in all of the areas in which so much progress has already been made, standards voluntarily accepted and supported by the industry, with legislative action where necessary in all 50 states.

As long as some states fail to enact post-insolvency assessment laws, there will be danger of a Federal bureaucracy to adminis-

ter the machinery of a Federal insolvency law. As long as some states fail to move in the areas of non-cancellable policies, broadening of coverages and realistic financial responsibility limits, there will be gaps into which the Federal government may be tempted to move.

There are other insurance areas in which national standards should be considered and debated: assigned risk plans and policy simplification, for example. Also, the whole field of judicial administration of automobile accident claims may well lend itself to the development of national standards, in cooperation with the bar and the judiciary. The lagging response of many states to Federal traffic safety standards suggests another fruitful area for a new approach.

The NAIC has already made a significant start in the direction of national standards through its work on a model holding company bill and a model post-insolvency assessment bill. An extension into other fields is logical and timely.

I suggest that we do not limit participation in this work to the NAIC and the insurance industry, but that we solicit the active cooperation of the Council of State Governments. For those not familiar with the council, it is a joint agency of all 50 state governments, to assist states in improving their legislative, judicial Federal-state relations. It maintains a competent research staff. It provides staff services for the National Governor's Conference, which a few months ago officially affirmed support of state insurance regulation and called for continued effort to draft model state laws. It cooperates with other organizations, including the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws.

The Council of State Governments, so far as I know, has never been called upon for help in insurance matters. But by its purposes, organization structure and inter-relationships with other agencies it is ideally suited to assist us in the difficult task of developing and obtaining widespread enactment of national standards in automobile insurance.

The Kemper companies will support the development of national standards in auto insurance by the NAIC, working in conjunction with the insurance industry and the Council of State Governments as needed and desired. We think this approach can produce all the benefits that have ever been claimed for Federal regulation or Federal standards, without the anti-competitive and expensive consequences which seem inherent in the concentration of power at the Federal level.

Much has been achieved, but we cannot afford a regulatory gap. Nor can our customers. Nor can the producers who market our services.

We can fill this gap by supporting the development of national standards for automobile insurance.

#### SPACE SHUTTLE ACCENTED

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the Christian Science Monitor of Tuesday, October 28, 1969, carried an informative article by Mr. Neal Stanford, staff correspondent, discussing the future of our national space program and the need to develop low cost transportation systems for space. Mr. Stanford discusses the development, in the years ahead, of a space station and the requirement that space transportation be treated much as airline transportation is treated today, by

reusing the flight vehicles numerous times. At a time when the Congress will soon approach decisions on the future and content of our national space program, Mr. Stanford's article outlines one of the paramount needs for an economic and effective space effort.

Under unanimous consent I submit the article for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

#### SPACE SHUTTLE ACCENTED

(By Neal Stanford)

WASHINGTON.—Space stations without a space-shuttle service would be like the Empire State Building without elevators. You could walk to the 102nd story. But who wants to? Think of the expenditure in time and energy!

That is why space officials today, both civilian and military, have made a space-shuttle system their No. 1 priority. Says Dr. George E. Mueller, associate administrator for manned space flight: "A low-cost shuttle system is the key to the economical operation of a space station."

Says Lt. Gen. Samuel Phillips (who recently left the national space agency as director of the Apollo program to head the Air Force's space and missile systems organization): "It is important to put a high priority on a space shuttle to allow us to exploit the space medium."

Last week, top officials in the civilian space agency, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), the Air Force (which is responsible for military manned space operations), and aerospace-industry concerns held a two-day meeting in Washington to crystallize thinking on space shuttles.

#### REUSABILITY REQUIRED

Two things were immediately obvious:

Space-shuttle vehicles have to be reusable. These requirements become obvious once you give the matter a little thought. What if everyone wanting to go to the Empire State Building, 102nd floor—or any floor—had to provide his own elevator? What if elevators weren't reusable?

General Phillips figures that reusable vehicles would bring the price of a space flight down from about \$1,000 to \$100 a pound—that is, cut the cost to one-tenth.

Space-shuttle vehicles have to be able to take off and land from regular jet airfields much as do airplanes. Here, too, the reason is obvious. You can't tie up the Kennedy space center at the cape with its expensive pads, rockets, etc., every time a shuttle car takes off.

#### AIRLINE-TYPE OPERATION?

Spacecraft shuttling back and forth from the earth to earth-orbiting space stations won't be so numerous that the shuttle craft will be stacking up over Dulles or O'Hara airports to land. But if shuttling men, materials, and equipment back and forth from earth to orbiting space stations is ever to become more than a stunt, it has to operate much as do airlines.

What these two basic requirements for space shuttle craft mean is that shuttle vehicles have to be different from the manned Gemini and Apollo spacecraft now used in space exploration.

To begin with these shuttle spacecraft may have to take off from special launch pads at airports, not just any runway. But those working on this shuttle problem don't rule out that in time these spacecraft will be able to take off and land at any major airport or air base.

The aerospace industry concerned with working on this problem of air-shuttle vehicles are busy at their drafting boards drawing and devising spacecraft that look more like the paper airplanes school children make when their teacher's back is turned than cone-shaped Apollo modules.

## GRAVITIES CONSIDERED

Dr. Mueller, in talking about his concept of a shuttle vehicle, says: "I am talking about payloads of the order of 25,000 pounds, which is about the payload capacity of a DC-3. This capacity could be for passengers or for cargo, or split between the two. Possibly I should add that these shuttles should have a relatively slow acceleration going into space and coming back.

It is all right to ask astronauts flying to the moon and back or riding atop a Saturn rocket to take between five and eight gravities. They are prepared for it. Their suits, chairs, and equipment are built and contoured to take it. But the most one should ask of nonastronauts on a space flight for business or pleasure via a space shuttle is not over three gravities.

NASA not long ago set down 10 characteristics for a viable space shuttle, goals that aerospace concerns wanting to get into the shuttle-construction business are aiming for in their designs:

1. Take off and land from air bases or major airports.
2. Refuel with ordinary cryogenic fuels.
3. Self-contained on-board checkout.
4. Continental and/or intercontinental traffic control.
5. Standardized ground-support equipment.
6. All-weather operation.
7. Passenger safety and comfort comparable to large-transport aircraft.
8. Standardized equipment and processes for refurbishment.
9. Progressive maintenance.
10. Carry 25,000 to 50,000 pounds payload at a cost approaching \$5 a pound.

Leroy Day, chief of NASA's space shuttle working group, who chairmanned last week's space-shuttle conference, says the agency hopes to award detailed design contracts for the shuttle around March, 1970. NASA hopes to get between \$200,000,000 and \$300,000,000 into its fiscal 1971 budget to finance detailed designs for the space shuttle. Says Mr. Day: "The shuttle is the cornerstone of our future plans for doing anything in space."

## THE ONE-ROOM SCHOOLHOUSE RETURNS—IN STYLE

## HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the most creative components of that historic educational institution, the one-room schoolhouse, have been revitalized by the Downers Grove, Ill., public school system. Children in its El Sierra School are enjoying the type of warm relationship with teachers that once characterized the one-room school, and they are developing intellectual skills and knowledge at their own rates of learning through independent study and small-group activity.

However, there are several important innovations. The children in this new school today have the benefit of the finest educational technology. Their classroom is skillfully engineered to absorb noise. And the teachers are considerably better educated than their counterparts in the earlier days of American education.

The El Sierra School represents a wedding of some of the best traditional and contemporary educational techniques. For the information of my colleagues, I include an article from the Chicago Sun-Times of Sunday, December 14, which describes the school in greater detail:

## THE ONE-ROOM SCHOOLHOUSE RETURNS—IN STYLE

(By Kingsley Wood)

A concept popular in the days of Abraham Lincoln is being tried by El Sierra School in suburban Downers Grove. It harks back to the old one-room schoolhouse, but with an ultra-modern look.

El Sierra School, 6835 Fairmont, has nothing but open space between classes. There are no interior walls. The 381 students cluster around large tables or sit in groups. Those who want it get individual instruction.

El Sierra is not unique. There are a growing number of such schools, particularly in California and Florida. But many have sliding partitions that allow teachers to close off areas at times. El Sierra does not.

El Sierra is one of two identical open-space schools opened by the Downers Grove Public Schools system this year. Educators say a major advantage is that that they allow major advantage is that they allow teachers to co-ordinate various learning activities more efficiently.

On a typical school day, this might be the scene at El Sierra:

One teacher reads to a group of first graders sprawled on the huge sound-deadening carpet while, about 25 feet away, a fourth-grade social studies class reads about the polar regions. Over in a corner, somebody is giving a science demonstration to two classes. A sixth grader at a table nearby is sketching animals; another boy at the same table is engrossed in a history book.

Team leaders, teachers, teacher aides and interns move from table to table, looking over the shoulders of the slow- and fast-reading groups and other specialized groups throughout the room.

And near the center, two long lines are forming and an aide is saying: "Please stand here if you are going to the public library. Stand there if you are going to the gym."

There are no heads popping up from the tables as the lines form.

In the learning center in the middle of the big room, a second grader is practicing word recognition on a "Flash X" machine. At another table, a first grader pronounces words into what is known as a Language-master. Elsewhere, older students work individually or view a film strip.

A 12-year-old blond named Rebecca Wingard, sits down to hear a musical recording. Then she checks out an engraved reproduction of a Picasso painting. She writes down the answers to several questions testing the student's knowledge of the artist and this particular painting. She then walks over to the south end of the room for her social studies class.

In an open school like El Sierra, it's not so obvious to the slow students that they are being separated from the brighter students.

"Here, everybody goes to the learning center, whether he is bright or slow," said teacher William Schubert. "The only ones who know what they are doing there are the students themselves, and the teachers."

"There's better camaraderie between teachers here," he continued. "Also, if a student doesn't get along with one teacher, we encourage him to go to another for help."

Rebecca's mother had been skeptical of the open school idea.

"I didn't think there could be any order in a school like this," Mrs. Raymond R. Wingard recalled.

"Also, I was worried that because the students would be working in specialized groups so much of the time, the teachers really wouldn't be able to keep track of each student's progress." However, she added, upon questioning the teachers she was pleasantly surprised to discover they "remembered details about every project my daughter was working on."

The open-school idea in Downers Grove evolved from a discussion among several

teachers and the architects, K-M Associates of Elkhart, Ind.

Teachers said they wanted their students to have easy access to a variety of learning materials and, after a number of discussions, the architects suggested the open school.

The teachers and some interested parents subsequently visited several open and partially open schools. They were told that the carpets and acoustical ceilings solve most noise problems. They also found that pupils were not distracted by the other classes going on around them.

Some teachers' fears were dispelled. They had thought they wouldn't be able to co-ordinate so many specialized activities with a basic learning program. And many were fearful that the principal would be looking over their shoulders.

But now, the teachers and team leaders are the most enthusiastic advocates of the open school.

## INDIANA GIVES VOLUNTEERISM A BOOST

## HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, application of private talent to public problems shows great possibilities for tackling some of the more difficult and complex matters at hand in our country. The following article in the Washington, D.C., Star of December 16, 1969, pays special tribute to three Hoosiers: Gov. Edgar Whitcomb, Mrs. Margaret Moore, and Mrs. Mattie Coney. As Mr. Bartlett states in his article, these examples could well be copied in other cities and States.

The article follows:

## 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 problems 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.

#### HEART-LUNG MACHINE

### HON. MARVIN L. ESCH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, while we often concentrate on dramatic, headline making advances in science such as the land on the moon or a heart transplant, we often ignore the major medical and technical advances which precede them and make them possible.

One such major advance was the development of the heart-lung machine. Its development is a prime example of the advances that can take place through cooperation between the research and medical communities and private industry.

I am proud that many of the major advances in the development of an effective heart-lung machine took place in Michigan's Second District. Mr. Richard

Sarns and Dr. Joe Morris have worked closely together, along with many people from St. Joseph's Hospital, the University Hospital, and Sarns, Inc., in developing the most modern and effective heart-lung machine in the Nation.

I am proud to have the opportunity to call this to the attention of the Congress and submit an article from the Ann Arbor News at this point in the Record:

[From the Ann Arbor News, Dec. 14, 1969]

#### NEW HEART-LUNG MACHINE A SYMBOL OF MANY THINGS

(By Larry Bush)

The new heart-lung machine on the surgery floor of St. Joseph Mercy Hospital is a symbol of medical progress, community progress, individual initiative, and the merger of medicine and engineering to save lives all wrapped up in one shiny instrument.

An improved model of equipment built by Ann Arbor's Sarns Inc., which was used by Dr. Christian N. Barnard in the world's first heart transplant and many others which followed, it attains even greater significance in its every day use in open heart surgery here and throughout the world.

There is little doubt that thousands are alive today because of two men—a dedicated surgeon with some revolutionary ideas and a young engineer with a flair for innovation who worked long hours in his basement to make those ideas a reality.

Not to take anything away from the many other physicians and engineers to whom so many owe so much for combining their skills to promote medical progress, this community and a lot of people everywhere owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Joe Morris, Richard N. Sarns, and Sarns, Inc.

The development of the Sarns heart-lung machine into a near perfect instrument over the past 10 years parallels the growth of the community. From a one-man basement workshop to a small business operation on N. Main, to a new modern plant on Jackson Rd., even now being expanded, the local firm is an outstanding example of area industrial progress.

On the other hand, although overshadowed by man's first landing on the moon and other space feats during the same period, the heart-lung machine is also a symbol of the phenomenal technical and scientific progress of the last decade.

In addition, it is an example of the triumph of individual initiative in an age when team work is given credit for most of our technical progress. Not that team work wasn't important in the development of this equipment. A Rackham grant, people at St. Joseph Hospital, at University Hospital, and others at Sarns, Inc., all had a hand in it. But the team was secondary to the individuals.

Dr. Morris, professor of thoracic surgery in the U-M Medical School and head of the St. Joseph Mercy Hospital heart station, gives Sarns all the credit. I probably wouldn't have gotten an interview if he had known I was going to bestow a share of it upon him. But a man's good works have a way of becoming known.

"Dick (Sarns) has made it on his own and is making some of the finest medical equipment in the world. He was working as a design engineer for Strand Engineering when he started work on the pump," Dr. Morris said.

"At the time he lived next door to Dr. Theodore Dietrich who was then a U-M medical student and is now working with Dr. DeBakey (Michael E. DeBakey, world famous heart surgeon at Baylor). Dietrich, who was then working with me, told Dick about our needs and problems.

"Sarns was amazed at the gap in what was

possible and what was available. We were then using equipment that was used in making cottage cheese and for pumping slurry. Dick was willing to gamble with his time and some of his money and he and I and Dietrich spent many hours in his home. He built a pump in his basement which was very successful."

Dr. Morris attributes much of Sarns' success to the fact he worked from the point of view of the physician. He also notes that the president of the successful young Ann Arbor industry is a perfectionist who has built "better" equipment through working at it until "fixtures are ultra polished," something of utmost importance in blood handling devices.

In 1960 St. Joseph Mercy Hospital bought the pump built by the Oslon Co. \* \* \* Mass., which also had Sarns' name on it to signify his part in rebuilding the original and the addition of the heat exchanger he had developed.

The original sits beside the six-month-old new Sarns heart-lung machine on the second floor of St. Joseph Mercy Hospital which the local firm has loaned to the medical facility until an identical model is purchased in the spring.

The new heart-lung machine has been around the world. It was exhibited at conventions in a number of countries, was shown at a world trade fair in Tokyo, at the meeting of the American College of Surgeons in San Francisco, and was left off in Hollywood where it was filmed for use in connection with TV medical shows before finally ending up at the local hospital.

"Some of the virtues of the new Sarns heart-lung machine is that we can adjust it to the thickness of blood in the tubing, can reverse the blood flow back to the patient, can dial pumping speed, control it manually if power fails, and it has more reserve power," Dr. Morris said.

The new heart-lung machine, with its fingertip control in color code which circulates a patient's blood while surgeons operate on his heart, and its predecessors, were made effective medical devices, however, through developments in the plastics field.

When glass or rubber tubing is used, much of that part of the blood in which the clotting element is contained breaks down as the blood moves through, making its use almost impossible if not fatal.

"The kind of plastic tubing used with heart-lung machines wasn't available until developed through research in the 1950's. All of a sudden the technology to contain blood outside the body and prevent clotting in the tubes was available," Dr. Morris explained. It has been a remarkable 10 years both in space and in medicine, and the space program, too, has played its part in new medical developments.

In conclusion, just a word about this better than average hospital where the new Sarns heart-lung machine is now in operation. St. Joseph Mercy Hospital, a 540-bed facility, appears now to be far too small for the number of patients it serves and the growing number it will be expected to provide services for in the future.

Last year, it had 21,000 admissions, almost as many as the larger University Hospital. There is need for a new 1,000-bed St. Joseph Mercy Hospital which will require considerable public support to bring to reality.

Considering the fact it draws on the U-M Medical Center, with many experts from the Medical School faculty serving part time on its staff to provide better than average service, that it has provided \$250,000 of its own money to pay for medical care of the poor and unfortunate of the community, it seems only logical that it should receive this support.

Also, knowing how some physicians feel

about other doctors who they think get "free advertising" through newspaper articles, I hope I haven't damaged Dr. Morris' reputation with his colleagues by writing about his part in development of the heart-lung machine.

#### BILL OF RIGHTS BIRTHDAY

### HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, the Bill of Rights is treasured by all Americans as one of the cornerstones of a free society. It is only to our detriment that we forget the central place of this document in insuring the fundamental freedoms of our republic.

It is noteworthy that the American Civil Liberties Union celebrated the 178th birthday of the Bill of Rights. This outstanding organization has been a leader in safeguarding the freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

I commend to the attention of my colleagues, an article by Bob Cromie from the Chicago Tribune, which illustrates some of the important activities of the ACLU.

The article follows:

#### BILL OF RIGHTS BIRTHDAY

(By Bob Cromie)

The 178th birthday of the Bill of Rights will be celebrated tomorrow evening with supper and dancing at the Playboy mansion on North State parkway. Sponsor of the event is the American Civil Liberties union, an organization formed 50 years ago next January to battle for the rights of all United States citizens [or anyone else] regardless of race, color, religion, political persuasion, social position, or ideology.

The A.C.L.U. has defended both Communists and members of the American Nazi party. It has succeeded in having declared unconstitutional many laws which it—and most thinking people—regarded as repressive. It has persuaded high school administrations to cancel rules against the wearing of slogan-buttons by students, and to wipe out "dress-code" and hair-length regulations.

It has been called, of course, Communist-controlled or red-tinged—a charge emanating, usually, from the ultra-right wing or from those who don't take the time to acquaint themselves with what the A.C.L.U. stands for. In view of this it is interesting to observe that among past or present national officers or committee members are August Heckscher, Michael Harrington, Walter Millis, Elmer Rice, Norman Thomas, Francis Biddle, Lloyd K. Garrison, Karl Menninger, Thurman Arnold, Catherine Drinker Bowen, John Mason Brown, Pearl Buck, Stuart Chase, Irving Dillard, Quincy Howe, Robert M. Hutchins, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., William L. White, and Thornton Wilder.

Earlier this year, to give a specific example of how the A.C.L.U. operates, Atty. Kermit Coleman was successful in having charges dismissed against eight young blacks, arrested while trying to prevent two Chicago policemen from beating a deaf mute who had angered the officers by refusing to answer their questions. When the others protested and tried to explain to the two policemen—according to the testimony of the defendants and other witnesses—they were arrested and beaten. Atty. Coleman says he himself was threatened at the trial by one of the officers who made the arrests.

Among scores of other actions instituted or

decided in 1969, the A.C.L.U. forced integration of five Waukegan elementary schools, overturned the conviction of Dick Gregory and others for "disorderly conduct" while picketing Mayor Daley's home, and forced the city of Chicago to change its ordinance governing the granting of parade permits.

The party tomorrow, at which Bill Mauldin, Pulitzer prize winning cartoonist, is to be guest of honor, will be attended by a number of Chicago business executives whose firms have purchased space in a book of Mauldin's cartoons published by the A.C.L.U.

Here is a quotation from the Houston Chronicle which sums it all up in capsule form:

"The rights of an American citizen are not chance tidbits, to be given or seized. These rights are fundamental. Deny them to one citizen and they are denied to all citizens. The A.C.L.U. upholds that proposition when it defends a communist or a General Walker. . . ."

Illinois division headquarters of the A.C.L.U. is at 6 S. Clark st.

#### EX-COLLEAGUE W. E. MILLER IS LEADING HAPPY LIFE

### HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, when I came to the House in 1959, the incumbent in the neighboring 40th District of New York was William E. Miller. He was an able representative of his district and had not yet shown the national political flair which was to become apparent the following year.

That was when his colleagues on the other side of the aisle named him to head the Republican congressional campaign committee. From there, he subsequently was promoted to national chairman and then gave up his congressional seat in 1964 to be his party's candidate for Vice President.

Bill Miller is no longer active in politics, but he is quite active in community affairs and has handled some chores for the Governor.

A columnist for the Buffalo, N.Y., Evening News talked with Mr. Miller the other day about several matters, including the vice-presidential candidate who was elected last year. Following is his December 11 column:

#### REMEMBER THE 1964 TICKET? THE LOSER IS A HAPPY MAN

(By Bob Curran)

If you like trivia, as I do, ask someone who was the candidate for vice president on the Republican ticket in 1964. Maybe the smart guy in the crowd will know that the name was William E. Miller from Lockport, New York.

Now when Bill Miller was placed on the ticket—after Gov. Scranton talked his way off it—there were some jokes about the unknown man.

This was a wrongo, because inside the party Bill, who had been chairman of the National Republican Committee for four years was well known. Certainly better known than the gent that the Republicans put into that spot in 1968—a fellow named Spiro Agnew.

Of course the names make a difference.

You can picture a chap saying "Which Bill Miller do you mean?" Can you imagine anyone asking, "Which Spiro Agnew are you talking about?" That name is a grabber.

#### ASKED ABOUT AGNEW

So the other did I decided I'd ask Bill Miller what he thought about the other "unknown" who has suddenly become a household word.

"I don't know Agnew too well," Bill Miller said, "but I know him well enough to say he is a forceful guy. And the word on him with the people close to the situation is that he is a man of great integrity.

"I know one thing. You have to be some sort of man to take on the communications media. This certainly shows that he has no ambitions about being President or continuing his career in any way in politics.

"You don't tackle the media, as he has, if you are looking at the long road. You just try to maintain a posture that will perpetuate your political tenure.

"Now a vice president can be a nonentity—especially one who wants to be President some day. But it is obvious that Mr. Agnew has no such designs. He seems to just want to make a contribution instead of being a nothing, and he is certainly making a contribution. He is saying out loud in public what a lot of people—in and out of public life—have been saying for years."

#### IS HE HATCHET MAN?

Is he being the hatchet man for Mr. Nixon?

"I don't think so," Bill Miller said. "I am sure that he has the tacit approval of the President when he makes his speeches. But I don't believe that the President or his speechwriters decide on the content of the speeches.

"I believe that he decides what he is going to say. Then he lets the White House staff know what he is going to talk about. After that, he and his speech writers—his own, not Mr. Nixon's—get together and draft the speech.

"This man believes deeply in what he is doing. And he believes that he is making a genuine contribution to the administration. And I feel he is."

Did he get a tough time from the news media when he was running with Barry Goldwater? Bill Miller laughed and said:

"You don't have enough time to write what happened. Remember the picture of Barry on the cover of a news magazine that looked just like a picture of Hitler in Nazi Germany at the height of his power?"

"Then I recall one day I spoke in Vermont. There were about 1000 people at the affair. The photographer from a major news magazine took the picture of me from the angle that showed nothing but empty seats. There were empty seats at the side of the hall but the rest of it was filled. You would never have known it from the picture they ran.

"If you complain about it, people say it's sour grapes. So just let's repeat that Spiro is saying in public what all the other politicians complain about in private."

#### PRESIDENTIAL OUTLOOK

Does he believe Mr. Nixon will be re-elected?

"Yes—unless something goes really wrong. He has captured the mood of the people. He is appealing to the silent majority, and in the long run they will elect the Presidents.

"If Nixon can end the war the right way—and I believe he knows how to do it—and if he can do a tolerable job of controlling inflation, he should be voted in again."

How about the threat of Ted Kennedy?

"No threat, really. Because you're from Massachusetts you know that he will probably win his seat in the Senate again by a large margin. But I can't believe that the people around the country could accept him as a candidate for the Presidency in 1972."

## LIFE "NEVER BEEN BETTER"

And how is life treating Bill since he left the ring?

"Never been better. I find myself involved in matters that are very important now, but would have seemed unimportant then. Like Little League baseball. Cookouts. Golf. And it's so great to be home almost every night for dinner.

"I enjoy the work at my law firm in Buffalo, and I like being a spectator on the political scene. I am pleased with what I see of what Mr. Agnew is doing. But I am just as happy that he, not I, is in the middle of that struggle. I'm quite content to be the forgotten vice presidential candidate."

## A TOUGH ASSIGNMENT

## HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, our former colleague, Donald Rumsfeld, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, has chosen well in appointing John Crutcher, former Lieutenant Governor of Kansas, as Director of the State and Local Government Division in OEO.

It was my privilege to serve with John Crutcher in the Kansas State Senate. He is a public servant who will provide excellent leadership in this challenging assignment.

Following his service in the Kansas Senate, Mr. Crutcher was elected Lieutenant Governor in 1964 and 1966. He comes from Hutchinson, Kans., which is in my Fourth Congressional District of Kansas.

I take this opportunity to offer congratulations to John Crutcher and under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an appropriate editorial from the Wichita, Kans., Eagle:

## A TOUGH ASSIGNMENT

A well-known Kansan has accepted one of the tougher assignments in Washington. John Crutcher, former lieutenant governor, is going to be director of the state and local government division in the Office of Economic Opportunity.

As columnists Robert S. Allen and John Goldsmith pointed out on this page Tuesday, things with OEO are far from being smooth, and it is quite possible that it stands to undergo considerable review and revision, perhaps both by Congress and the Nixon administration.

Crutcher's appointment may, in fact, be a part of that change. He told The Eagle there is a re-orientation of policy in OEO that will for the first time give the states genuine power and responsibility to improve OEO programs.

This would mean that Crutcher would be working with mayors and governors to help them to solve their problems in connection with the various anti-poverty programs under the OEO organization.

He doubtless will be as effective as anyone could be in this somewhat dubious undertaking. The theory of it is excellent, but in far too many cases there has been evidence that the politicians at the local level really aren't terribly concerned with abolishing poverty.

Crutcher, however, is experienced in politics and knows its problems and its quirks at the state level. He is, moreover, energetic and resourceful.

If he succeeds in the difficult task of getting the local officials to assume this responsibility and to do a good job with it, he will have proved himself equal to almost any task.

And he just might. He will have Kansas' best wishes, anyway.

## LEGISLATION ON TEACHING ETHICAL AND MORAL VALUES

## HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, there is a great need in America today for broad instruction in the development of man's moral and ethical values. Such a program can be developed in the elementary and secondary schools of our Nation and the Federal Government can give stimulus to this through the grant procedure.

Today, I am introducing a bill to accomplish this with 23 more cosponsors, a companion bill to H.R. 12339, introduced by nine members of the Florida congressional delegation.

The teaching of ethics and instruction in moral values are a proper function of our schools, especially in view of recent Supreme Court rulings prohibiting prayer and Bible reading in public schools. Educational programs of this nature and textbooks for such have already been developed in some school systems in the Nation.

The curriculum and academic instruction in morals and ethics could take the form of assembly programs or individual classes. Lessons on courage, heroism, and good works developed from actual stories and biographies of great men and women could be the teaching avenue.

Programs on the growth of the freedom of worship—how it became part of our Constitution; on patriotism—how brave men fought to preserve our freedom; on good citizenship—why is it important to obey the law and on the objective history of religion, which the Supreme Court has approved, could all be topics of classroom discussion.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover has said that we have as a society failed our youth by failing "to teach them the meaning of discipline, restraint, self-respect, and respect for law and order and the rights of others." The teaching of moral and ethical standards belongs in the home, church, and school.

The juvenile crime rate is growing at a much faster rate than the overall crime rate and this is an indication of failure to teach our children the difference between good and bad. The latest figures show that arrests of juveniles for serious crimes increased 50 percent in 1967 over 1960, while the population in the juvenile age group, 10 to 17, increased only 22 percent.

If we are to reverse the rising crime rate, costing the Nation \$27 billion annually, then we must concentrate on the problem where it hurts the most: our young people.

The legislation we have introduced will attack the problem at the root and

through strong classroom teaching of moral and ethical values our young people will be better able to cope with the challenge of right and wrong.

H.R. 15336

A bill to provide federal grants to assist elementary and secondary schools to carry on programs to teach moral and ethical principles

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That title VIII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

## "GRANTS FOR TEACHING MORAL AND ETHICAL PRINCIPLES"

"Sec. 807 (a) The Commissioner shall make grants to State educational agencies to assist them in establishing and carrying out programs under which students attending public elementary and secondary schools will be provided instruction in moral and ethical principles. The content and nature of such instruction shall conform to general standards prescribed by such State agencies.

"(b) For the purpose of carrying out this section, there is authorized to be appropriated \$5,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and each of the two succeeding fiscal years."

SEC. 2. Section 804 of such Act is amended by inserting after "this Act" the following: "(other than section 807)".

## GREAT GREY ICE GATHERING

## HON. NICK GALIFIANAKIS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. GALIFIANAKIS. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted that young people from my congressional district in North Carolina are planning to participate in a Richmond, Va., event called the Great Grey Ice Gathering.

The Great Grey Ice Gathering, scheduled for December 30, is a project to involve young people in the struggle to stop destroying our environment.

Since the district I represent—North Carolina's Fourth—is so thoroughly antipollution oriented as evidenced by the unique Research Triangle Institute, I take pride in endorsing the concept of the Great Grey Ice Gathering, and inserting the following self-explanatory news release into the RECORD.

[From the Charlottesville (Va.) Clean Water News, Dec. 9, 1969]

Richmond has a Great Grey Ice Gathering in its future, according to area students and the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration.

The Great Grey Ice Gathering, to be held Tuesday, December 30, in the Richmond Arena blends hard rock music, movies, speeches, young people from the Mid-Atlantic States and Federal Water Pollution Control Administration officials as a first step by FWPCA's boss, Interior Secretary Walter J. Hickel, to involve young people in what is turning out to be a life-or-death struggle to quit destroying our environment.

Jointly sponsored by the FWPCA and the Mid-Atlantic Student Council on Pollution in the Environment (SCOPE), the Great Grey Ice Gathering will begin "about 1 p.m. December 30 and last until the music and words no longer stir the gathering," ac-

cording to Patti Collins, SCOPE co-chairman and University of Richmond co-ed.

Collins said the "Gathering" would provide students "with the kind of information they need to react intelligently to the apathy of Government officials and business and industrial leaders to the awesome environmental crises now blooming in the United States."

Eugene Jensen, Director of FWPCA's Mid-Atlantic Region said it was evident that young people were growing concerned about the kind of planet they will inherit from older generations.

His office, he said, would provide any assistance it could to student efforts to reverse the long-continuing debasement of the environment in the United States.

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

Jensen encouraged students from all States in the Mid-Atlantic Region to attend the Great Grey Ice Gathering in Richmond. Those States are Pennsylvania, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and the District of Columbia, in addition to Virginia. Events similar to the Great Grey Ice Gathering are also planned for the cities of Boston, Cincinnati, Chicago, Atlanta, Dallas, and San Francisco on December 29 and in Kansas City and Portland on December 30.

SCOPE Co-chairman Randall Simmons, graduate student from the University of Virginia, stressed that the December 30 meeting was simply the first of SCOPE's activities.

"In addition to organizing the Gathering," Simmons said, "the twelve-member SCOPE intends to meet regularly and provide Mr. Jensen and Secretary Hickel with the thinking of young people, and to serve as a focal point for organizing student environmental activities."

### THE AMERICAN FLAG IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, I took time in the House on Thursday, November 20, to raise a question as to the official policy on display of the American flag at public places in the Nation's Capital—specifically, at the Washington Monument.

My inquiry then was prompted by my understanding that the 50 American flags customarily flown from staffs circling the Washington Monument were not displayed on Saturday, November 15, when the assembly of the national Vietnam moratorium was held on the monument grounds.

I expressed then the opinion that, if a decision had been taken not to fly the American flag at that time and place, out of fear of an attempt by some of the persons assembled to desecrate it, it was an unwise decision.

I now have received a reply to the request for information on the matter which I had directed to the Secretary of the Interior and to the Director of the National Park Service, and I append it to these remarks for the information of the House.

With due credit to the explanation given, I continue to believe that the de-

cision was unwarranted and unwise. I hope it may not be taken as a precedent for policy with respect to the flying of the American flag at shrines and other public places in the Nation's Capital in similar future circumstances.

As I stated here on November 20, the proper response to any indication of possible interference with normal flying of the American flag at a shrine, monument, or public building, or park under jurisdiction of the United States would seem to be measures for the protection of the national emblem against such interference, rather than striking the colors.

The reply to my inquiry follows:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,  
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE,  
Washington, D.C., December 16, 1969.

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MARSH: Secretary Hickel has asked me to reply to your letter of November 20. He and I appreciate very much your courtesy in sending us copies of the remarks you made on the floor of the House of Representatives concerning display of the American flag at the Washington Monument on November 15. I am pleased to respond to your letters to us by giving you the circumstances surrounding this matter.

The planning for the National Vietnam Moratorium on November 15 was coordinated by an intergovernmental group under the leadership of the Department of Justice. As part of the planning it was decided that the Washington Monument would be closed since the grounds around it were destined to be the site of the principal concentration of demonstrators estimated at 250,000.

On the morning of November 15, National Park Service employees proceeded to raise the fifty flags around the base of the monument. At 8:30 a.m., when the last flag was being raised, an attempt was made by one of the demonstrators to drive off with the Government vehicle used by the flag detail. The offender was arrested and taken to Park Police headquarters.

Unlike flags that usually fly over Federal property from the tops of buildings, the fifty flags which fly at the base of the monument are located at ground level where they may be easily reached.

In view of the attempted theft of the vehicle used by the flag detail and numerous incidents involving militant groups on November 14, together with the disruptive activity expected to continue on November 15, it was decided that the flags at the base of the monument should be lowered. They were lowered between 9:30 and 10:00 a.m. This decision was also prompted by the improbability of simultaneously protecting fifty flags against possible attempts of desecration in the midst of a milling crowd estimated at 250,000 persons, some of whom were known to be inclined toward disruptive activities.

You also inquired as to our policy with respect to the display of the flag. The applicable policy of this Department is contained in Chapter 5 of its Departmental Manual. The pertinent part, 310.5.1, provides as follows:

"United States of America Flag.

"A. Policy. The display and use of the flag of the United States of America by the Department of the Interior will be in accordance with the Joint Resolution of June 1942 (PL 623) as amended by the Joint Resolution of Dec. 22, 1942 (PL 829) and Presidential Proclamation 3044 dated March 1, 1954. (36 U.S.C. 175).

"C. Outside Use.

(1) The flag should be displayed daily, weather permitting, on or near the main administration building of every Interior activity."

Please be assured that consistent with the resources available to this Department, every effort will be made by it to comply with the foregoing policy which embodies the applicable Congressional enactments.

Thank you for the opportunity to provide our comments on this facet of the recent Moratorium observances.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE B. HARTZOG, JR.,  
Director.

### STUDENT LOANS FLUNKING OUT

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, among the most serious victims of our spiraling inflationary economy are the Nation's young college students, struggling to meet rising costs of education. The mounting enrollments of our higher educational institutions have created competition for financial aid—particularly student loans—at the same time that banks are tightening their belts and raising interest rates. This Congress passed the Emergency Insured Student Loan Act of 1969 to help alleviate this need, but apparently this has made little difference to many of our Nation's lending institutions. I believe this situation demands our immediate attention, and I am including an article from the Chicago Sun-Times of Sunday, December 14, which makes specific recommendations for remedies in the present system:

#### STUDENT LOANS FLUNKING OUT

(By Dennis V. Waite)

Quiet panic appears to be seizing tens of thousands of college students as one college term ends and another looms not far around the New Year corner.

The students' desperation is triggered by one simple word—rejected—on their applications for loans.

An all-time high of 4,156,268 full-time students at 1,145 of the nation's colleges and universities are facing an all-time high in expenses and an apparent all-time high rejection rate by institutions that generally loan money to them.

"Now you see it, now you don't" is the sad name of the money game American college students and their parents watch as loan funds seem to shrink despite recently passed emergency legislation.

On Oct. 22, 1969, President Nixon signed a bill which subsidized insured student loans up to 3 per cent beyond their 7 per cent interest ceiling.

The Emergency Insured Student Loan Act of 1969 was made retroactive to Aug. 1 and provided that the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, each three months would pay a subsidy to lenders on their outstanding student loans of up to 3 per cent. The current allowance is 2 per cent, affording lenders a yield of 9 per cent.

The legislation apparently has made little difference to larger, money-center banks and to many students in need of money to carry on their education. Schools are also short of funds.

The University of Illinois at Chicago Circle isn't even bothering to reject new loan applications. It is sending out a notice to all new student applicants that no financial aid can be given by the school for the rest of the school year.

Arthur J. Falls, director of financial aid at Illinois, says he is rejecting about two out

of every three loan requests from students already enrolled.

A University of Chicago spokesman said the legislation did help many of the hundreds of thousands of students stranded this summer after federal loan and grant funds were sharply cut. "But we're pretty much back in the same old pot," he adds. Robert L. Franklin, director of student aid, Roosevelt University, agrees.

An official at a large Chicago bank that is considered a leading lender of student loans in Illinois says: "Our bank may not give out a nickel in new student loan requests after Dec. 31."

Another banker says even the granting of additional loans to present student customers may be curtailed.

#### CREDIT CRUNCH

Money-center banks in urban areas like Chicago say the subsidy is not helping much. "Right now we're turning down many of our own creditworthy customers for loans of 12 and 13 per cent. We often have to pay more than 9 per cent to borrow money from smaller banks ourselves," one bank officer recently said.

One loan official commented "Banks are licking their wounds. Bearded wonders and irate mothers are demanding the banks cough up money.

"Even schools blame banks, saying banks have the money, the interest rates are high and the loans are insured. But many people don't realize that the larger banks are severely squeezed by record money costs, dwindling deposits and a continued knocking on their doors for loans by almost all of their customers."

Nevertheless, banks in Illinois continue to put more money into student loans than ever before, Dr. Lee Noel, assistant executive director of the Illinois State Scholarship Commission, said last week.

"Since August, 1966, we've guaranteed \$110,000,000 in student loans, or 103,000 loans to 80,000 students," Noel said. The ISSC (which coordinates loans made by private lenders through federal insurance programs to individual students) projects \$50,000,000 in loans in Illinois under the guaranteed program for 1969-70, according to Noel. In 1968-69, the amount was \$40,000,000 and in 1967-68, \$26,000,000, he said.

#### QUESTIONS OPTIMISM

Noel's 25 per cent increase projection seems optimistic given the very slight increase in loans already made this year over last, according to some experts on educational finance. Loans made through the commission for July, August, and September for 1969 show a 2.5 per cent increase over comparable 1968 figures.

And the small rise also reflects the fact that money availability from schools and federal sources is down, one administrator said. Total federal grant assistance to Illinois Circle Campus, for instance, has fallen 67 per cent. National Defense student loan funds at the campus for the current school year have dropped by some 50 per cent.

At the University of Chicago, National Defense funds were slashed from \$1,800,000 to \$1,300,000.

And the record number of college students, the increasing amount of schools becoming eligible for federal and state funds, and the continuing money anemia in the U.S. economy mean the answers so far have not proven big enough to solve the problems.

#### SUGGESTIONS OFFERED

Suggestions made by school administrators, state officials and financial executives include:

—Allow other financial lenders to participate more in the guaranteed loan program.

—Invest part of school endowment funds in the program, allowing high yields to add to the student loan fund pool.

—Allow freer interchange of federal aid at the discretion of each school's needs.

—Create a super corporation similar to the Federal National Mortgage Assn. that could buy large blocks of student loan paper and permit banks and corporations to borrow on the paper.

—Pressure Congress and the administration for more federal loan, grant and scholarship funds.

Meanwhile, state officials, bankers and student loan officers wait for an explanation from the HEW Secretary about a regulation concerning lenders which deny "a substantial number of eligible students . . . a fair opportunity to obtain an insured student loan because of practices . . . which limit student participation."

The law states that the secretary should adopt or amend regulations, "to prevent, where practicable, any practices which he finds have denied loans to a substantial number of students."

#### BEN COLE'S CHRISTMAS POEM

### HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, for some years a feature at Christmastime by Ben Cole, long-time Washington correspondent for the Indianapolis Star, has been a special Christmas poem concerning Indiana Members of the House and Senate. Following is Ben's verse for this Christmas, 1969:

It's time again for Christmas songs and lights and fun and mirth,  
For holly wreaths and tinsel trees and peace o'er all the earth.

It's time for hanging stockings up, for buying presents, too,  
'Cause almost any moment, now, old Santa Claus is due.

Out, standing on the busy street, old Santa's hung a pot.  
He calls a "Merry Christmas!" e're you drop a coin or not.

It's a money-raising method Vance Hartke keeps in mind  
In case next year campaign funds become too hard to find.

Reindeer skim the rooftops as snowflakes softly fall  
While the spell of winter magic captivates us one and all.

Such is this Christmas wonder which filters from the sky  
That even Clement Haynsworth got a card from Birch E. Bayh.

By the twinkling light of candles the carolers make their way—  
Their voices fill the wintry air to tell of Christmas Day.

As he listens at his window, Ray Madden's sad to know  
The bill reforming taxes left them all out in the snow.

What really makes it Christmas is Santa's annual trip.  
The way he drives those reindeer is enough to make you flip.

But if they should ever falter and Santa's out of luck,  
Earl Landgrebe's right there, waiting, to take over with a truck.

Now deck the halls with holly, and let's trim the Christmas tree;  
And rest ye, merry everyone, as jolly as can be.

John Brademas is busy, his researches took a week  
To prove that Claus, no Eskimo, is actually a Greek.

Icicles fringing every roof mean winter time is here—

Each household brims with laughter, and with gifts and Christmas cheer.

Ross Adair has sent a letter asking Santa if he'll trade—

Ross will drive his reindeer while Santa battles foreign aid.

Dolls, trains and gleaming ice skates left beneath the Christmas tree

Are evidence that Santa Claus can fill young hearts with glee.

As he greets the Christmas season, Dick Roudebush debates

The phrasing of his greeting to the Senate candidates.

Deck the Halls of Montezuma with wreaths and mistletoe.

Keep those Yuletide caissons rolling—the Army's on the go.

Santa's in the wild blue yonder with anchors all aweigh

For a military Christmas with Congressman Bill Bray.

Johnny Myers is very busy with his Christmas shopping chores—

He's bought a bunch of presents and he's looking for more stores.

As he rushes through the city at such a hectic pace,

You would think that he's in training to run a Senate race.

Now Roger Zion's window's bright with Christmas candle light

That spreads its cheer across the snow to guide old Santa's flight.

In his home so warm and cozy, safe from the winter cold

Zion hopes to reform Congress before he gets too old.

Lee H. Hamilton's young children are gathered at his knee

To hear him read a Christmas poem beneath the Christmas tree.

And if the coming New Year ends the war in Vietnam,

Perhaps the folks in Brookville, then, will get to build their dam.

David W. Dennis puts on a jaunty Christmas tie

And shouts a merry greeting with a twinkle in his eye.

If we ever hold elections to choose our Santa Claus,

Dave says he's sure the District Plan would have the fewest flaws.

Santa likes to drive his reindeer and Mrs. Santa keeps a cat.

There are people who tame tigers and scary things like that.

But Andrew Jacobs Junior makes his choice of pets quite plain—

He has fitted out his office in wall-to-wall Great Dane.

There! That's the Season's roll call of Hoosiers on the Hill

Where snow encrusts the great iron dome, and everything is still.

May Christmas bring you happiness, wherever you may be—

That is the wish we're sending you from Washington, D.C.

#### THE NADER REPORT ON AIR SAFETY

### HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, aviation safety has long been a matter of serious concern to me. It has been the

subject of countless hours of work by my staff and me, resulting in comprehensive proposals to the Department of Transportation, to the Federal Aviation Administration, and to my colleagues in Congress. It is unfortunate that in all three arenas, progress is sadly lacking.

Illustrative of my contention are the facts developed by Ralph Nader and Reuben Robertson in a study of the regulation of air-carrier maintenance and inspection practices and procedures by the FAA. The report concludes that the FAA's approach to regulation has permitted an increasing laxness by the airlines in this area. This can be expected to become more serious as the carriers search for new ways to cut costs and maintain profitability during the period of severe financial strain that appears on the horizon.

In my view, it is urgent that the downgrading of maintenance and inspection procedures and the FAA's abandonment of its regulatory responsibilities be stopped now, before the loss of more lives, and before the introduction of the jumbo jets into widespread service.

I am pleased to present for the serious consideration of my colleagues and the public, the text of this latest Nader report and a copy of a covering letter to the chairman of the National Transportation Safety Board further pursuing the issues the report covers:

**A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON REGULATION OF AIR SAFETY, DECEMBER 10, 1969**

(Prepared by Reuben B. Robertson)

One of the most important responsibilities of the Federal Aviation Administration is to assure the safety of the American public through diligent regulation, supervision and inspection of airline equipment and operations. In charging the FAA with these duties, Congress clearly understood the need for an independent watchdog agency, responsive only to the public interest, to prevent safety from ever being comprised by considerations of financial expediency, scheduling demands or other economic pressures that are inevitably part of the airline business, like any other profit-oriented enterprise. In the Federal Aviation Act of 1958, Congress unequivocally set air safety as the first priority in air regulation, specifically referring to "the duty resting upon air carriers to perform their services with the highest possible degree of safety," and requiring the FAA Administrator to "exercise and perform his powers and duties under this Act in such manner as will best tend to reduce or eliminate the possibility of, or recurrence of accidents."

Today many of the multibillion dollar airlines are suffering severe financial repercussions from overexpansion and mismanagement. At a time when they can barely fill half the available seats, the airlines are anticipating the delivery of a whole new generation of commercial albatrosses—the jumbo-jets, airbuses and, not too far away, the SST's. It is therefore appropriate to take a look at the quality of safety and maintenance practices in the industry and to assess the performance of the FAA in protecting our safety. The picture that emerges from even a cursory glance is, in a word, shocking.

Airline maintenance and inspection functions have been allowed to deteriorate to an alarming degree, so much that the safety of the travelling public as well as people on the ground is being seriously jeopardized every day. The FAA has been totally captured by the airline lobby so that today, instead of performing the rigorous inspection and policing job that the taxpayers have a right to expect, the FAA has degraded itself to the role of providing free management consult-

ing services to the industry and serving as a recruiting base and a training ground for middle level airline management. Instead of taking serious enforcement actions to prevent the safety violations that are regularly being committed by the airlines, the FAA relies on quivering and apologetic "recommendations," "verbal agreements" and "requests" as the primary mechanisms of enforcement to halt unsafe practices. Let me be more specific.

It is well known throughout the industry that many carriers have seriously undermanned and undertrained maintenance and inspection crews. Often two men are put on jobs for which a minimum of three are needed. For example, one mechanic employed by a carrier at San Juan was responsible alone for the routine ground handling, servicing and non-routine maintenance problems of three jet aircraft, all of different types, at the same time. He had training experience for only one of these types, by a previous employer, but as to the other two he was left to his own devices.

Although the Federal Aviation Regulations, known as FAR's, do formally require each airline to have training programs for their maintenance personnel, in practice the training programs of many carriers are virtually nonexistent. Several major studies of this problem for the federal government in the past few years have recommended massive programs to alleviate the critical deficiencies in the training of air maintenance personnel. The FAA is fully aware of this problem and has even admitted in an internal handbook that "inspections have revealed operators having excellent training programs laid down in their manuals, who, in fact, had no training program at all and which existed only on paper." Yet the FAA has taken no firm enforcement actions in this area and has not even set minimum time or course content standards for maintenance personnel training. Even worse, the FAA does nothing to crack down on the uncertified schools, such as Georgia Flyers, which are undermining legitimate training efforts by "guaranteeing" that students will be able to pass FAA mechanic certification examinations after only three days of study. (Exhibit 1)

The pattern of undermanning maintenance crews is becoming increasingly severe as the airlines seek to reduce costs through personnel layoffs. A recent article in the Washington Post reported on "very drastic" economy moves and personnel cutbacks by several carriers. (Exhibit 2) A recent issue of the Pan Am house organ noted substantial layoffs resulting from a \$38.4 million dollar earnings crash this year alone. (Exhibit 3) For any employees who might have missed the point, the same issue contains an article outlining the kinds of attitudes Pan Am management wants to instill in its personnel. This article states that the company is organizing management efforts to find employees who "think efficiently," "face change with enthusiasm" and "take risks to achieve a goal." (Exhibit 4)

And as far as taking risks is concerned, National Airlines must have set some kind of record by summarily firing over a thousand employees, mostly maintenance personnel, in a dispute over whether a two man crew is adequate for taxiing aircraft. The facts are pretty well set forth in an article from the Miami Herald of February 2, 1969. (Exhibit 5) The mechanics claimed that a third man is needed to monitor gauges, watch the wings and cut the power in an emergency. The firing of its maintenance force, however, has not resulted in significant curtailments in National's service. The airline's claimed ability to suddenly find and hire hundreds of experts and skilled mechanics off the street, despite the critical industry-wide shortage of such technicians, is something of a minor miracle. The major miracle is that National has been able to get through so far without a catastrophic accident—and without strong FAA actions

strictly enforcing the FAR's. On one recent flight into Washington a wheel fell completely off the plane and rolled into the Potomac River; in another incident at National Airport, the aircraft filled with thick, acrid smoke from a defective auxiliary power unit, resulting in monumental confusion and fright.

The concern over maintenance practices and the lack of effective surveillance and policing of air safety by the FAA is by no means confined to persons outside the industry. On the contrary, while the problems are almost totally unrecognized by the general public, they are of great concern to high airline management officials in discussions in the inner circles of industry. Yet these officials, with few exceptions, almost never speak out in conscience about what they know or should know is happening. One Eastern Airlines vice president did speak out in a 1966 internal company memorandum with the following shocking conclusions he had drawn about Eastern's engineering and maintenance departments:

"Eastern Airlines today enjoys a reputation for reliability, passenger service, and general competence that it has not approached in many, many months if, in fact, ever.

Some of our recent experiences could be construed as the first symptoms of localized reversion to the lax practices and habits of by-gone days!"

Elaborating on the last point, he went on, in part, to describe specific incidents:

"Last November 25, a TRC DC-8F aircraft was destroyed by fire in our hangar at Miami.

"At the CAB hearing on Aircraft 218 (our Constellation involved in a mid-air collision with a TWA 707 on December 4) it was brought out that Maintenance and Inspection personnel had released an airplane at Boston without performing a required post-maintenance function check.

"B-727 Aircraft 101 landed at Miami on March 5 with the gear retracted because maintenance, performed improperly prior to that flight, prevented extension of the right main gear." (Exhibit 6)

There is tremendous pressure within the companies to downgrade the maintenance and inspection functions. For one thing, it looks good for the organization men who head the carriers' maintenance departments if they can save money for the company by successfully absorbing personnel shortages in their departments. In reality, the maintenance managers see their primary function as minimizing the number of flight delays arising from maintenance problems. At Eastern Airlines, for example, the maintenance managers are required to report on and justify in detail any delays resulting from maintenance work in a daily conference call with top management. It is not hard to understand why maintenance items discovered in transit are deferred as long as possible until scheduled maintenance downtime. The FAA, if it does not know about these practices, must be blind. If it does know, it is failing to diligently protect the public.

The flight crews are also under intense management pressure not to ground aircraft for maintenance items which can possibly be deferred until later. As a result, instead of writing up maintenance problems in the log book enroute, as required by the FAR's, it is the practice of many flight crews to note the problems on loose scraps of paper which are written up in the log book just before scheduled maintenance. Again, the FAA does nothing, although even the slightest investigation would reveal these practices.

Theoretically, the aircraft mechanic has authority to ground an aircraft by refusing to sign the airworthiness release after the performance of maintenance work, and the airlines make much of this in their publicity. For example, a preposterous bit of American Airlines promotional foolishness sets forth the imagined powers and virtues of the aircraft mechanic as follows:

"He thinks nothing of keeping a 7 million-

dollar airplane in the hangar because a 10-cent part needs replacing.

Or checking the burbling air in a fan-jet 20 times—until he's satisfied it's burbling just right." (Exhibit 7)

In fact, the likelihood of a mechanic actually grounding a plane without reprisals is only slightly less improbable than recurrence of the Immaculate Conception. The real message to be gleaned from the American Airlines ad, which demonstrates the actual differentials between maintenance and scheduling, comes at the end:

"We built this airline with the professional traveller in mind—the man who rates an airline on the service it gives, not how glamorous it looks.

"And if his plane is late on Sunday, we know his Travel Agency won't be calling us for tickets on Monday."

The fact of the matter is that maintenance and inspection functions are by and large invisible to the customer, except insofar as they inconvenience him by schedule disruption. In transit and on-line maintenance work does not directly reduce costs or increase revenues for the carrier, and it is accordingly treated at best as a necessary evil, to be reduced to the minimum possible level. The airlines vigorously struggle among themselves for image superiority in theme songs, paint jobs, crew couture, cuisine delights and other items of snob appeal, but excellence of ground maintenance unfortunately is not a factor in the equation of non-price competition. The critical concept that ambitious employees in airline operations must grasp to get ahead in the company is "on-time departure." This means that, unless an item is of an absolutely critical nature, the carriers' general policy is to defer in-transit maintenance repairs which involve possible substantial delays, and to rely on built-in redundancies of jet aircraft systems to get the flight to its destination.

Dispatching planes in these circumstances does mean increased hazards, of which the airline personnel are aware but the passengers are not. Since the carriers' equipment is generally heavily insured, the only real risk they are exposed to is the adverse publicity of an accident, and this is the primary restraint on the practices of the carriers today. It is common knowledge in the industry, for example, that the first order of business after a crash has traditionally been to paint out the name and insignia of the airline on the wreckage. The FAA, of course, couldn't care less.

One hair raising incident was recently related to me by an experienced aircraft mechanic. While travelling as a passenger on a major western airline DC-6 flight, he was looking out of a window during a fueling stop in Las Vegas. He noticed a greenish fluid streaming out a vent in the left wing near the engine. Feeling somewhat concerned he got off the plane and went over to check the fluid, which he knew from the smell to be fuel. A serious explosion and fire situation exists any time that fuel is vented overboard, especially in the vicinity of the engine's hot exhaust, so he immediately notified the flight engineer and the captain of the problem. The captain's response, even after a lengthy discussion, was to go ahead anyway, and "we can get it fixed in Los Angeles." It was not until the passenger announced that he would not reboard the plane unless the situation were corrected, and that he would call the FAA if the flight departed, that the flight crew had the problem corrected.

Such problems are not uncommon and the technical personnel working in the maintenance crews are by no means unaware of them. One flight line mechanic with over fifteen years experience with a wide variety of aircraft types recently estimated that he sees two to three flights a day leaving his station at Washington National Airport in defective condition. They are leaving with items he believes should be corrected then

and there but are not, such as leaking brakes, leaking hydraulic systems, out-of-rig flight controls, broken seats and safety belts, and defective escape chutes. The FAA, which is supposed to make inspections of aircraft to assure that they are in safe flying condition, in fact does not make such inspections and is never around to catch these kinds of defects before flight.

All of these could be serious safety hazards in certain circumstances. Yet an aircraft mechanic is subjected to brutal company pressures if he should dare refuse to sign the required certification that the plane is properly maintained and ready to fly. If the mechanic signs, he is held personally responsible in case of trouble and is subjected to summary punishment by the company and the FAA. If he refuses because he does not feel he can in good conscience attest to the adequacy of the job that is done, the maintenance foreman, who may know nothing about the particular work, will very likely sign off on the aircraft and the mechanic may be subjected to harassment, reprimands and reprisals on the job. The FAA stands idly by.

This trend was articulately exposed in a letter written to the FAA in 1967 by a group of concerned airline maintenance employees. They stated as follows:

"This letter is written by a representative group of United Airlines maintenance employees who believe that a situation is developing at some of our line maintenance stations which in our opinion has a detrimental reflection on our duty as government licensed "A & P" mechanics. The situation we refer to is a growing trend to coerce or intimidate line and terminal mechanics into signing log book maintenance releases that we feel are not always in the best interest of aircraft safety."

The letter continues by describing some specific incidents:

"In recent weeks we have had several instances at Denver, that we are personally aware of where, had it not been for the alertness and insistence of the A and P mechanics, the aircraft would have been released in a condition that was known to be unsafe and unairworthy. In at least two of these instances, despite the mechanics protest, the supervisors insisted that the mechanic sign the maintenance release. The mechanic in one instance had to notify the flight crew of doubtful deferred item AFTER the supervisor had signed the maintenance release, because the mechanic had refused to do so. The flight crew then refused to accept the aircraft until the condition was thoroughly corrected.

"In the second instance a mechanic refused to sign the maintenance release because of a reported unsafe item on an enroute plane. It was not investigated to find the probable cause of the reported malfunction, because it "apparently righted itself." The supervisor signed the maintenance release and later the mechanic and all other mechanics were warned that they would face dismissal for insubordination if they refused to sign future maintenance releases. There have been other instances since. Please note the copy of the letter of warning contained here." (Exhibit 8)

The FAA refused to take action in the matter.

Even in writing such a letter to the federal government, these mechanics were taking a serious personal risk. If a maintenance employee should dare to communicate with the FAA, which is directly responsible for regulating air safety, he may be subjected to incredible harassment and retaliation by the airlines, including actual and threatened termination of his livelihood. In fact, the problem is apparently so severe that I was recently informed by Chairman John Crocker and Executive Director Charles Kiefer of the Civil Aeronautics Board, which itself also receives complaints of safety vio-

lations from airline employees, that the Board could not release the names of complainants because the airlines would take retaliatory actions against them. While I at first considered this reasoning totally specious and incredible, I have now had to make somewhat of a reevaluation in light of what I have subsequently learned about the industry's practices.

The silencing of maintenance employees has even been incorporated in formal airline rules and regulations. An Eastern Airlines employee astutely noted this in a letter to the editor of the Miami News after an accident involving a 727 at Miami International Airport in 1966. In defending the actions of two Eastern mechanics in refusing comment on the accident (which Eastern management attributed to improper maintenance), the writer pointed out that, "according to Eastern Airlines' employee rules and regulations they would have been in danger of additional disciplinary action had they made any remarks in their defense which supervision considered damaging to the public image of Eastern Airlines." (Exhibit 9)

Surely the FAA should have regulations prohibiting company practices like this, but it does not.

The intimidation and retaliation practiced by many airlines is clearly demonstrated in the experience of a courageous aircraft inspector employed by Air West in Phoenix, Arizona. The inspector was first threatened with disciplinary action for refusing to sign off on certain aircraft maintenance work. Later he was called to task for writing up several critical structural and mechanical items which in his opinion needed immediate maintenance attention. The inspector then pointed out to the Air West supervisory personnel that the items in question, including cracked rivets in a structural element of the wing seriously deteriorated tracks for the plane's flaps, in fact were in need of repair, and he reported this safety problem to the FAA as an example of deteriorating maintenance at Air West. This action immediately provoked the following response from his supervisors:

"In regard to your last statement that you had referred this matter to the FAA and the CAB was in poor judgment. If you felt that strongly about it, you could have come to me personally, and then if you were still not satisfied, there were other channels you could have followed in accordance with company policies and procedures. . . . This indicates very little regard for the Company for failure to recognize supervision of constructive criticism and to follow the chain of command, and further, to submit your letter to the FAA and CAB without prior discussion with your supervisor or other company channels."

In view of the foregoing, disciplinary action will be taken. A second memorandum from the company arrived shortly afterward. There could be no doubt whatever as to the company's attitude toward communicating with the federal government or anyone else about safety related maintenance shortcomings:

"For Air West, this is a critical time in many respects, including the establishment of new relationships with the FAA. The actions you took in contacting the FAA rather than your supervisors was beyond the scope of your responsibilities, and contrary to the best interests of the company.

"An overall appraisal of your recent actions can be viewed only as insubordination. Insubordination cannot, and will not, be tolerated. In view of your actions, I am left with no alternative but to suspend you for one week without pay effective May 17, 1968.

"Any further actions of this sort will merit your termination." (Exhibit 10)

The FAA is fully familiar with this Air West case. But when I asked what they had done about it, an FAA official responded that the FAA did nothing. "Officially, we have no concern with any actions between the

company and the employee," he told me. "I guess the Department of Labor would be the ones to get involved in that."

The shocking picture that emerges from these incidents indicates a pattern of industry suppression of American citizens in the exercise of their fundamental rights, and the direct violation of the Federal Aviation Act which guarantees the right to notify the FAA and the CAB of safety violations. As Judge J. Skelly Wright of the United States Court of Appeals has eloquently stated:

"It is not seriously questioned that every citizen has the right, if not the duty, of informing his government of violations of the law, and that a court of equity, on a proper showing, may enjoin any interference with that right. . . . Indeed, an interference with such a right may be punishable under the criminal statutes of the United States." [Edwards v. Habib, 366 F. 2d 628 (D.C. Cir. 1965)]

That such corporate assaults on the rights of citizens could be experienced on a widespread basis in this country is a national disgrace. That the FAA, which is well aware of these practices, could permit them to continue and do nothing about them is even more shocking and inexcusable—especially in light of the urgent need for the agency to maintain free channels of communication about safety matters that affect the public. (Exhibit 11) However, this dereliction of responsibility is part of a larger pattern that involves a complete sell-out by the FAA of the public interest.

The duties that have been imposed by Congress on the FAA are crystal clear. The Federal Aviation Act of 1958 explicitly states as follows:

"Sec. 601.(a). The Administrator is empowered and it shall be his duty to promote safety of flight of civil aircraft in air commerce by prescribing and revising from time to time:

"(3) Reasonable rules and regulations and minimum standards governing in the interest of safety, (A) the inspection, servicing, and overhaul of aircraft, aircraft engine, propellers, and appliances; and (B) the equipment and facilities for such inspection, servicing, and overhaul."

The Act further explicitly requires the FAA to actually inspect aircraft and equipment used in civil aviation to assure their safe condition and maintenance:

"Sec. 605 (b). The Administrator shall employ inspectors who shall be charged with the duty . . . of making such inspections of aircraft, aircraft engines, propellers, and appliances designed for use in air transportation . . . while used by an air carrier in air transportation, as may be necessary to enable the Administrator to determine that such aircraft, aircraft engines, propeller, and appliances are in safe condition and are properly maintained for operation in air transportation."

This section says the FAA must actually inspect the equipment itself and check the maintenance. It does not say that the FAA can accomplish its job merely by going over the airlines' records once or twice a year, and it does not say that the FAA should inspect only after a crash or reported maintenance problems. Yet this is precisely the approach that the spineless FAA has been cajoled into taking by the high-pressure airline lobbyists.

In 1966, the FAA first introduced its new conception of the regulation of airline maintenance and operations that, in effect, turned over the surveillance, inspection and policing of the companies to the companies themselves. Simultaneously, the agency sought to downgrade the experience requirements for applicants for the FAA aircraft mechanic examination and agreed with the almighty Air Transport Association to treat safety violations that might be discovered with friendly discussions and "correction letters" instead of firm enforcement. The FAA's new approach was articulated in its "System-

worthiness Analysis Program," affectionately known in the industry as "SWAP." (Exhibit 12) The FAA itself ingeniously concedes that one of the primary objectives of SWAP was to "eliminate to the maximum extent practicable inspections by resident inspectors assigned to the operator. . . ."

The SWAP program is principally based on a system of periodic audits of the maintenance and performance procedures, records and operations of the carriers, performed by teams of FAA inspectors and auditors on a 12 to 16 month cycle. The program also provides for "special" after the fact visitations "whenever there are valid indications that the performance of a particular operator is falling below a particular level." Among the triggering conditions for special examinations listed in the SWAP handbook are "accidents and incidents," and "high percentage of complaints concerning safety items," although it is not indicated what the FAA thinks the source of many complaints might be.

The SWAP visits are announced to the carriers well in advance, and the airlines have plenty of time to clean up any aspect of their operations that is likely to be reviewed, in order to minimize the likelihood that any of the problems or violations will be found. The airlines have kept each other closely informed of the intimate details of one another's SWAP experiences and areas that are subject to examination, and the airline lobby has also been very active in assuring that the FAA remains toothless, as demonstrated by a recent American Airlines maintenance department memorandum. (Exhibit 13) Some carriers, including American, have even prepared and distributed elaborate instructions to their employees to clean house before the SWAP team's arrival, including a detailed script of questions to be asked by the FAA and answers which are to be given by the company's personnel. (Exhibit 14) One American memorandum ambiguously instructs maintenance supervisors to assure that the company's deficiencies "are not allowed to become part of our filed aircraft records." (Exhibit 15)

With such a carefully choreographed performance by the airlines' personnel virtually assured for the benefit of every SWAP team, one wonders why we should waste any money at all on such FAA inspections. Indeed, the FAA SWAP instruction manual reads much more like a handbook for marriage counselling than the hard-hitting enforcement directive that is needed at FAA. For example, the SWAP program calls for one inspector to "call for and chair the initial meeting of the inspection team and the operator," and states as follows:

"He will explain the purpose and scope of the inspection and identify the areas to be inspected. In cases where a problem area is suspected to exist, it should be frankly discussed with the operator. This straight-forward approach will help to foster a feeling of mutual trust and respect that is beneficial, if not essential, to the analysis."

To allay any unwarranted airline fears that the FAA might suddenly be overcome with a burst of regulatory zeal, the manual continues with the following:

"The operator should also be advised that experience has shown that rumors relating to FAA findings while the inspection is in process are not unusual and should be disregarded. Such rumors usually stem from the searching nature of the questions posed by members of the team."

The FAA's feeble "SWAP" program and its failure to have a real inspection and enforcement mechanism have opened the door to the current massive downgrading of maintenance by the airlines. In handing over its on-line nuts-and-bolts inspection responsibilities to the operators, the SWAP program violates the cardinal principle of separation of maintenance and inspection functions. The rationale of this principle was

articulately expressed in an airline industry management manual:

"If left to their own devices, most people feel that they do a pretty good job. Ask a mechanic if he repaired your auto and he will usually assure you that it is in top running condition. After you drive the auto a few miles you may find that the mechanic didn't really do the job he said he did. Self-inspection of work usually requires more self-discipline than most people are willing to exercise.

"Whenever possible the work of an employee should be checked and reviewed by a person who is objectively interested in the proper performance of the job. This is the best way to assure that quality standards are maintained."

In conclusion, the FAA's current practices and procedures in regulating airline maintenance are grossly inadequate. This situation must be corrected now, before more serious accidents occur and human lives are destroyed. I believe that a full-scale Congressional investigation into the practices of the FAA and the airlines industry is needed. Such an inquiry should also look into the FAA's regulation of maintenance in the field of general aviation (as opposed to commercial aviation), and also should cover the extremely serious situation which exists today with respect to foreign registered aircraft and airlines operating in this country. We do not permit such seriously lax inspection and maintenance procedures to jeopardize the safety of astronauts on an Apollo mission, and I think it is completely reasonable to ask why we should tolerate these hazards where the lives of thousands of American citizens are involved.

#### EXHIBITS

1. Advertisement for "guaranteed" 3 day training for FAA airframe and powerplant examinations.
2. News article from the Washington Post concerning announced airline personnel cut-backs.
3. Article from Pan American Clipper Magazine regarding Pan Am employee lay-offs.
4. Article from Pan American Clipper Magazine regarding "proper" employee attitudes.
5. Article from the Miami Herald discussing the dispute between National Airlines and its mechanics.
6. Eastern Airlines company memorandum regarding Eastern maintenance problems.
7. Advertisement of American Airlines.
8. Letter from United Air Lines mechanics to the FAA regarding maintenance problems.
9. Letter to the editor of Miami News regarding Eastern Air Lines' employee rules and regulations.
10. Correspondence concerning maintenance problems and reprisals against employee of Air West.
11. Letter to FAA from labor organization concerning problem of reprisals against mechanics for filing complaints with FAA.
12. FAA swap handbook 8000.3B.
13. American Airlines memoranda concerning swap program.
14. American Airlines instructions and questions and answers for swap visit.
15. American Airlines maintenance memorandum on swap findings and procedures.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,  
December 12, 1969.

Mr. JOHN H. REED,  
Chairman, National Transportation Safety Board, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CHAIRMAN REED: We have for some time been engaged in a study of aircraft safety and the FAA's regulatory performance in this area. Enclosed is a copy of a preliminary report on some of the problems in the maintenance practices of the airlines and deficiencies of the FAA in its surveillance and inspection duties.

An unidentified FAA spokesman was quoted by the Wall Street Journal of December 11 to the effect that "the portion of

airline accidents that relate to maintenance deficiencies has fallen from 31% in 1966 to 12% last year and so far this year." Since the NTSB has primary responsibility for ascertaining the "causes" of airline accidents, we would appreciate any comment you might have on this statement by the FAA.

Specifically, we would like to know:

1. What is the source of the statistics referred to by the FAA? What are the precise figures, the total airline accidents and the total number attributed to or "related to" maintenance deficiencies for each year since 1959?

2. Does NTSB regard the FAA's figures as accurate and meaningful?

3. Do the FAA figures take into account the improved safety characteristics of jet aircraft, which have many elements of built-in redundancies, over piston aircraft, which have increasingly been retired from service (through accidents and otherwise) since 1966?

4. What kind of occurrences are included in the FAA's definition of "airline accidents," and what percentage of fatal crashes, and of the numbers of fatalities, are attributable to maintenance, if these figures are known?

5. What is meant by the language "relate to" in the FAA's statement? Does this imply a determination of capability?

6. How is the FAA able to give such precise figures for "last year and so far this year" when the NTSB investigations have not been completed and reports as to the causes have not been determined yet for several important accidents?

7. Do the FAA figures include the fatalities resulting from the following accidents, and if so to which categories are they deemed related?

a. The June, 1969, Dominicana crash at Miami International Airport;

b. The June, 1967, Mohawk crash of a BAC 1-11 in Pennsylvania;

c. The Braniff Lockheed electra crash near Dawson, Texas in May, 1968, in which there was some possibility of prior damage (cracks in the aircraft's wing induced by stress corrosion) that could not be completely ruled out as a causal factor, as well as "unrelated" findings of contaminated hydraulic fluid and corrosion of hydraulic components;

d. The Los Angeles Airways helicopter crash on August 14, 1968;

e. The crash of the Air South Beech 99 near Monroe, Georgia in July, 1969;

f. The United Airlines crash into Santa Monica Bay at Los Angeles on January 18, 1969, which involved an inoperative generator on which repairs had been deferred through 42 hours of flight time prior to the accident;

g. The fatal crash of a Trans World Airlines Boeing 707 in July, 1969, near Pomona, New Jersey, in which the flight crew experienced a malfunction of the utility hydraulic system at a critical juncture in final landing approach;

h. The two recent Allegheny Airlines crashes on approach into Bradford, Pennsylvania; and

i. The recent Mohawk Airlines accident in New York State in which the aircraft collided with the top of a mountain.

In each of the above accidents, have maintenance deficiencies been either established or positively ruled out as a primary or contributing causal factor?

8. Even if the FAA figures are accepted as accurate and meaningful, does the NTSB consider 12% of airline accidents caused by or "relating to" maintenance deficiencies an acceptable low figure?

9. The NTSB has been highly critical of certain areas of FAA regulation regarding air safety operations and procedures. Do you share our concern that there may also be increasing problems in the area of airline maintenance? Does NTSB feel that the FAA's surveillance of the operations and maintenance of foreign air carriers in the United

States is adequate to protect the safety of the public?

10. Has NTSB made any inquiries or studies concerning maintenance practices and procedures in the airlines and their relation to air safety? Has NTSB sent questionnaires or reporting forms to the airlines, and if so, what responses have been received?

Since the increasingly deficient maintenance and inspection functions of the airlines are well known throughout the industry, and the FAA has taken a "hands-off" attitude toward the carriers in these areas, we believe these problems should be of substantial concern to you, especially as the stakes become so much larger with the introduction of the jumbojets into service.

If it is not possible for you to provide full responses to all of these questions immediately, we would appreciate your giving us whatever answers may be made available within a week or two, together with some estimate of when the other points can be covered.

We will look forward to receiving your views on the above questions and to any other points or observations you may have about these problems.

Yours sincerely,

RALPH NADER.

REUBEN ROBERTSON.

#### PERFORMANCE CONTRACTS—THE NEW TREND IN FINANCING EDUCATION

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last year the Office of Education funded a project in Texarkana which hopefully will have implications for American education throughout the next decade. In this project a school awarded a performance contract to a private company for the purpose of bringing certain children up to specified achievement levels. The company is paid according to its success in this upgrading. I believe that this project has great implications not only for school-business cooperation, but also for holding the schools accountable for their educational output.

Dr. Leon Lessinger, Associate Commissioner for Elementary and Secondary Education, is to be commended for his outstanding leadership in funding this project. His vision in this endeavor is only another instance of his laudatory administration of the Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education in the Office of Education.

Mr. Speaker, I include the article from the December 1969 issue of Nation's Schools in the RECORD at this point:

ACCOUNTABILITY AND PERFORMANCE CONTRACTS: AFTER TEXARKANA, WHAT?

(By Leon M. Lessinger)

(NOTE.—What's going on in Texarkana schools today may be going on all across the country in the next decade. Tied up with the idea of schools being accountable for their educational output, the Texarkana plan revolves around a performance contract in which a special teaching group will be reimbursed according to how well the students in its program do on a set of standardized tests.

(Texarkana's implications are vast. If funds for education depend on educational output, not input, then schools will be concerned with learning, not teaching, and the

development of a science of performance measurement may create a new type of educational planning in this country.

(The article that follows discusses the problems and promises of accountability and performance contracts and reveals some of the thinking that is going on about them at the most influential educational and political levels.)

As major federal financial support for schools broadens, people increasingly ask, "What are we getting for our money?" Traditional answers in terms of money spent, number of teachers on the staff, and buildings in use are no longer sufficient. The public wants to know if young people can read, can get and hold a job, and can successfully compete at a higher level of education. This calls for accountability of results is a demand for changes in education of such size and influence that the results can only be characterized as revolutionary.

If schools are to be held accountable for results, a new approach to the basic mission of the schools is necessary. First, the focus must shift from teaching to learning. Second, a technology of instruction based on specific learning objectives will start to build. Finally, a rational relationship may be established between costs and benefits.

While the idea of accountability is seemingly simple, its implementation is not.

Performance contracts: The August 13, 1969, *Congressional Record* includes remarks by Roman C. Pucinski (D., Ill.), the chairman of the House Subcommittee on General Education, about a description of the experiment then about to be launched in Texarkana, Ark., appearing in an article by Jonathan Spivak of the *Wall Street Journal*. Under the heading "The Coming Revolution in American Education," Pucinski stated, "The unique aspect of the Texarkana experiment is 'guaranteed performance.'" The contractors must promise to bring backward Texarkana students up to normal grades for their age levels at a given cost and in a given time—or else pay a money penalty.<sup>1</sup>

This notion of someone guaranteeing educational performance embodies generally the concept of accountability and illustrates specifically an approach to achieving accountability through performance contracts with private enterprise. Such a concept may have far-reaching implications toward efficiency of education in years to come. A description of the project and its ramifications can demonstrate the use of performance contracts.

The Texarkana model: A local education agency, the Texarkana, Ark., school district, applied to the U.S. Office of Education for funds to conduct a dropout prevention program under a proper Title of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. It proposed to translate its compensatory training objectives, e.g. reading, arithmetic and study skills for disadvantaged students in six junior and senior high schools, into performance criteria for competitive bid by private contractors.

The school district then employed an "actor's agent," in the form of outside technical assistance from a nonprofit firm, to help them translate their objectives into an evidence framework and to develop a Request for Performance (RFP), the specification document for bidders. The firm also

<sup>1</sup> Readers of Nation's Schools news columns have been kept up to date on the Texarkana performance contract right along. Announcement of the bidding by some 90 private companies was made in our August issue (p. 66). Last month (p. 96), a story was published on the winner—Dorsett Educational Systems, a medium-sized developer of teaching machines based in Norman, Oklahoma. In bagging the contract, Dorsett beat out such corporate giants as RCA, McGraw-Hill, Westinghouse, IBM and Singer.

supervised the bidding, developed the performance contract with the successful bidder, and served as liaison to school staff and community.

Terms of agreement of the Texarkana program are:

1. Students who are two or more grade levels below standard in basic skills, and whose family income is \$2,000 per year or less, are to receive a training program for up to three hours per day in a portion of the school plant. The students remain in the total school program to receive other school benefits.

2. The contractor agrees to use school personnel so that the school system can carry on successful practice after the project is terminated.

3. The contractor agrees to be paid only on the basis of a stipulated amount of money for each student who successfully completes the training program.

4. A penalty is assessed for those students who do not achieve specified performance levels.

5. Six months after the termination of the project, school officials have a right to reassess student performance. If it is less than the specified level achieved, a penalty may be assessed.

6. The school system, not the contractor, selects the students.

7. The training program of the successful bidder must be cost effective, and not labor intensive.

The assumption behind the program is that a private contractor, in concert with regular school personnel in the overall school setting, will have greater freedom to innovate and may be more successful in motivating students than the regular school system.

Performance objectives: Performance contracts are not new to education. Elements of the notion can be seen in a variety of experiments during the 1920s and even earlier. But the concept of holding an educational agency *accountable for results* is new. This hardnosed approach has grown out of careful study of current reports on the various programs administered through the U.S. Office of Education.

These reports—evaluations of the various titles of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act—raise questions as to whether such funds are flowing into the most appropriate channels or whether a good part is drained off in poorly conceived, improperly managed programs. Much loss might be avoided if those seeking funds submitted proposals based upon specific performance objectives, including a clear statement of the conditions, evidence and standards used to show the degree to which objectives had been met. Such proposals could be solicited in response to a Request for Performance (RFP). The agreement arrived at through bid or through other arrangements could then take the form of a performance contract.

When a student is able to demonstrate in concrete terms what he has or has not learned, educators and the funding agencies will be in a better position to judge where and why a program succeeds or fails and to make the changes needed for success.

Thus a proposal for funds to back a reading program might stipulate that 90 per cent of the participating students would be able to achieve a particular grade level increase within a specified time. In requesting funds for teacher training, the agency might be able to prescribe the teaching skills to be imparted and the criteria for measuring the "proficiency level" of participants in the program. In both cases, the funded agency would then be prepared to explain any failure—to achieve the performance levels on which such a contract is based—preferably in terms of suggested changes in the program that might be expected to guarantee results.

Many programs have been funded, and are now underway, which at no point describe what students are expected to gain from their

educational experiences. Instead of vague promises to provide "an opportunity to learn, to communicate effectively," instructional program objectives should be stated in terms as specific as these:

"Given three days and the resources of the library, the student completing this program will be able to write a 300 to 500 word set of specifications for constructing a model airplane that another student could follow and build."

There are, of course, larger objectives in education that are difficult to define, and impossible to measure as the consequence of any given program. The training components of education, illustrated in the basic skills of reading, arithmetic and the like, are most amenable to performance contracts, and it would be tragic to go beyond the training component at this time. Only those aspects of education that can be operationally defined and for which acceptable methods of assessment can be used are eligible for inclusion in a performance contract.

A performance contract approach to federal resource allocations promises greater economy in the use of federal funds and in the allocation of general education resources as well. Educational objectives pinned to predictable, measurable student performance, which are necessary arts of these contracts, would offer a much needed basis for measuring program cost against program effectiveness.

#### SPECIFICATIONS OF PERFORMANCE CONTRACT

Have you ever thought how you might frame a performance contract? The model Request for Performance (RFP) below, will show you the type of considerations that might go into such a contract when it is to be carried out by an outside agency.—L.M.L.

#### REQUEST FOR PERFORMANCE

##### I. General

*Educational service to be provided:* You are invited to submit a proposal to provide educational services to remove math, reading and other directly related educational deficiencies of potential dropouts at the secondary school level.

*Payment:* A fixed fee contract with incentives for successfully providing student achievement in math, reading and related skills in the most effective and efficient manner will be granted to the successful bidder. The contractor will be paid on the basis of prenegotiated standards of performance.

##### II. Population to be served

The population will be students designated by the local school district as potential dropouts due to specified educational deficiencies.

##### III. Educational process to be used

A general description of the process is detailed here, e.g. students will be released from normal school classroom time for three hours per day to participate in the program as described with free access to the regular school program.

##### IV. Standards of performance

For math and reading, pretests and post-tests will be utilized as the basis for determining student achievement. Preferred test to be utilized will be a designated test of educational development. The contractor may wish to propose another testing instrument or combination (e.g. at different grade levels) in which case a rationale and justification for doing so should be made. If the designated test is used, or if another test or combination is proposed, the proposal should indicate which subcomponents of the tests (e.g. reading, math, study skills) constitute the "reading" and "math" on which achievement will be based.

##### V. Method of cost reimbursement

To achieve the over-all objectives, incentives will be allowed for the contractor to assist the student to achieve designated per-

formance levels in the most efficient manner. In proposing the method of reimbursement, the contractor might want to consider one or a combination of these methods:

An all or nothing fixed fee on a grade level achievement basis in math and/or reading per maximum hours of instruction (e.g. one grade level in math and reading for \$250 in not more than 200 instructional hours; if the student does not achieve at the prescribed levels, then the contractor is not reimbursed).

Fixed fee based on a grade level achievement basis in math and reading per maximum hours of instruction or achievement normalized to the maximum hours of instruction with penalty clauses (e.g. if the student achieves only 0.8 grade level increase in 120 hours, when 100 hours is the maximum stipulated time, then with a penalty clause of 60 per cent between .5 and .7 grade levels of achievement, the contractor would be paid 40 per cent of the stipulated fixed fee).

Fixed fee basis per "cluster" of study skills with maximum hours not more than one third of total hours of instruction in math or reading. Behavioral objectives and pre- and post-tests to be used will be stated explicitly.

The bidder may choose to propose an approach other than those above. Such approaches will not be considered when submitted alone, but are encouraged when submitted as supplemental to the basic response to this RFP. In the supplemental proposal for cost reimbursement, the rationale and justification must be made quite explicit.

##### VI. Other provisions

The contractor will agree to the following specific provisions or stipulate reasons to the contrary and provide descriptive information as described below:

To hire and train local personnel, most of whom are to be used as paraprofessionals. Minimal qualifications will be stipulated for each job slot which would be filled by same. At least 50 per cent of personnel involved in the instructional program will be local; approval must be given by the school board on the personnel recommendations of an executive committee (to be specified).

To utilize teachers and administrators (in a number specified) from the participating school chosen by the executive committee as "consultants" who will work part-time and will be involved in over-all design, curriculum redesign and modification, instructional systems development, instruction evaluation, and other areas in which their first-hand knowledge of the nature and extent of academic problems unique to the schools will be useful to the contractor. The contractor will be reimbursed for the costs of hiring these consultants. Specific areas in which these local consultants could be used part-time must be stipulated by the bidder.

To submit a list and specifications of all nonexpendable equipment, materials, as well as consumable instructional materials which will be used. Suggested equipment, sales representatives, and addresses should be made available; equipment available through "surplus programs" should be noted. All equipment marketed by the contractor should be noted and if same equipment amounts to over 50 per cent of total equipment and materials costs, then suggested lease-purchase arrangements should be explained in detail. Estimated delivery dates for both initiation and expansion of program should be noted.

##### VII. Detail of bidder proposal

The proposal to be submitted to the fiscal agent of the school should include the above conditions and provisions, performance requirements, and other information related to the above in the following format:

(a) statement of the problem, (b) approach taken, (c) schedule of performance, (d) subcontracting, (e) copyrights and patents, (f) personnel to be used, (g) costs and pricing, (h) equipment costs and specs.

The contractor will also submit a proposed space requirement per optimal student body size (e.g. 30 students per "classroom"). Also included will be refurbishing cost estimates of an existing facility.

#### HOW TO DETERMINE PERFORMANCE FEES

Financial incentives are what make performances contracts tick. Although the Texarkana plan relates remuneration to advances in student grade level abilities, that is only one type of performance measurement that can be used, among other measurements that might be appropriate. Here are some others:

A fixed amount per student for achievement on a General Education Development Equivalency Test Certification, demonstrating that the agreed-upon students have completed all five subtests (administered by a certified administrator) and received a standard score of not less than 40 on any one subtest or achieved an average of 45 on all five subtests.

A fixed amount per school for each student for demonstrating at least N per cent per month increase in agreed-upon behaviors, as recorded by the use of a behavior checklist.

A fixed amount per student who successfully passes such situational performance tests as shall be developed and agreed to by all parties to the contract.

A fixed amount per student who demonstrates no anti-social activities, such activities being defined as those that would/should result in a written report on them within existing administrative and management regulations.

A fixed amount per student for each student who achieves a high school diploma—defined as a verification that 16 credits have been attained in the following areas with proportional allocations: English, 3 credits; social studies, 2 credits; mathematics, 1 credit; science, 1 credit; electives, 9 credits. A credit is defined as 72 hours of successful classroom study.

A fixed amount per student who enters and participates in VISTA or the Peace Corps, when such entry in these programs takes place within N months of his departure from the school.

A fixed amount per student who is gainfully employed within N days of his departure from the institution, meaning that the employer must be a state, federal or governmental political subdivision or a bona fide representative of the private sector of the economy, including privately financed non-profit organizations.

A fixed amount per student (first year only) who is gainfully employed in the first year after departure from the school, such employment to have been continuous with the employer of record at the end of 12 calendar months for at least N months.

A fixed amount per student who, while gainfully employed receives payment for his services that is 20 per cent over the minimum wage required by any or all applicable state, local or federal regulations and statutes.—L.M.L.

#### UNUSUAL LETTER FROM CONSTITUENT

### HON. GRAHAM PURCELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, several days ago I received a most unusual letter from one of my constituents in Richardson, Tex. It is unusual in the sense that few Americans are willing to openly express themselves these days, and this

letter represents the opinions of many members of what we are today calling the silent majority. I would like to insert this letter in the RECORD at this point, Mr. Speaker, in order for my colleagues to recognize and consider what, as I have said, represents a number of widespread viewpoints on several major issues before us—but which have not received the attention they should have.

RICHARDSON, TEX.,

December 12, 1969.

To the Congressmen and the President:

We are still a free country, I hope—so here at Christmas I must speak my mind which represents so many feelings of so very many true blooded Americans.

I cannot believe a group of men supposed to be so intelligent as all of you, do not know why we are undergoing the worst inflation I have known in my 64 years.

Bacon I paid 69 cents per pound for last week is 99 cents today. That's the *cheapest*.

Let me point out a few things to all of you brilliant men we all were really so dumb to elect!

When Mr. Nixon came in as President he got a 100% raise in salary. Congressmen all voted them a 42% raise.

From there the real inflation began. Unions then began to ask for higher wages for their members. Why shouldn't they? Prices were going up on everything and they wanted to live too.

We've never been union and we've had no raise to help us meet the inflationary prices. We have a modest living, have tried to save a little to help us in retirement but if we make any interest on our savings you've voted to take that away from us too.

You give, give, give to foreign countries when we have millions of hungry people at home—poor housing conditions—and so many places needing help at home it is pitiful.

It makes a big splash to give while they spit in the face of Americans. We've lost all respect for our country by trying to have other countries be like us! Aren't we good examples? You can't even solve the problems at home—the other countries don't need to be like us and all they want is our money.

Mr. Nixon, you want \$40 billion, the paper stated last night for arts and better music! That makes me sick at my stomach. It has to come from our taxes and we are taxed slap dabbed to death. While you give to other countries and you live like kings and queens because you like that kind of living—remember others would like a comfortable living at home.

As for welfare—that is fine so long as those physically able to work, earn that check which comes from what our husbands work like a dog to help pay for.

The White House wasn't good enough for the President to live in—so he spends fabulous fortunes for homes here and yonder to rest in. Our taxes pay for the plane trips—and that trip to Paris by many of you, paid for with our taxes, so you could see an air show!

You have no idea how many people are waiting for next election time—and you want to know something, if Mr. Nixon vetoes that \$800.00 deduction and that 10% surcharge isn't taken off—there are Republicans and Democrats ready to vote for one Mr. Wallace who believes in the common people—and there are more common—white collared College grads—who have taken just about all they can stand.

You are bleeding us to death and we're sick of it.

Did it ever enter any of your cotton picking minds that relief on federal income tax would stop inflation! We'd like a chance

to save that to live on in retirement wouldn't be much more than bare existence but it would be what we had earned not welfare.

You all might have to take a cut in your high and mighty living but what if you were in our shoes—\$200,000—plus Congress 42 or what ever it is now—compared to people who don't even make \$3,000.00 a year and those of us with college educations—if we earn from \$10,000 to \$20,000 a year—by the time you've bled us with income tax and state taxes and food so high—yes—and because of your raises you started it all spiraling worse than ever.

Oh, what's the use? But Mr. Nixon, if you veto the help on Federal income tax—your chest won't stick out so far next election time. People who have remained silent because we'd elected men we thought would be in Washington to help our people—are ready to get on the stump next election time and really clean out the selfish, greedy and high and mighty.

Too bad public churches aren't even good enough any more.

I've used my paper on you and it probably will go into the trash can.

This Christmas people are thinking more than they've ever thought before.

Higher living costs—more crime than I've known in my lifetime—What a bloody mess America is in.

Think on that and have yourselves an expensive Christmas at the expense of all of us while you line your pockets and protect the wealthy who've never paid their way.

Mrs. WALKER.

#### AN ANSWER TO WATER POLLUTION

### HON. GUY VANDER JAGT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, an article in today's Wall Street Journal most effectively points out the almost catastrophic difficulties which face this Nation in its efforts to bring about solutions to water pollution problems. Excerpts from the excellent article by John Barnett entitled "Hudson River Cleanup Turns Out To Be Slow and Frustrating Task" follow:

The pollution of the Hudson is so gross, in fact, that it has made the river something of a symbol to pollution fighters—and it has inspired one of the most ambitious river cleanup efforts ever launched in this country. But it has also raised some troubling questions among conservationists, scientists and public officials who wonder if even the most ambitious of cleanup campaigns can restore the purity of a river whose ecology has been so drastically altered for so long.

Still, conservationists and scientists who study the river say they are less worried about the delays in the timetable than about the possibility that the technical knowledge needed to clean up the river simply doesn't exist. They point, for instance, to the inability of even "modern" sewage treatment techniques to remove such nutrient materials as phosphorous and nitrogen from waste water. The nutrients could eventually cause the river to become so choked with algae that it might be far less attractive and far less able to support marine life than it is now.

Removal of nutrients might be accomplished by so-called tertiary treatment of

waste—another step beyond the customary primary and secondary methods of treatment that are included in the sewage plants now being built. But New York State Health Department scientists say no economical and efficient method of tertiary treatment has yet been devised, though the department's research staff is working on what is described as a promising method of chemical treatment of waste water.

Similarly, officials say they are determined to force industrial concerns to clean up their waste. Dwight F. Metzler, the Health Department's deputy commissioner for environmental health services, says: "Industry is told, 'We don't care how you get rid of this. You can have your employees drink it, you can put it into a tank car and ship it to Canada, you can incinerate it—that's up to you. All we care about is what comes out the discharge pipe.'"

As a practical matter, however, solutions aren't likely to be forthcoming quickly. Paper companies say, for instance, that much of the technology for treatment of their wastes is so new that extensive engineering work is necessary before they can determine what equipment is needed.

Mr. Speaker, there are answers to these questions. They do not lie in the traditional applications of waste water treatment technology. I believe that we have proven that point in the past in the ineffectiveness of our efforts. What we must turn to now are the applications of present technology in new ways. And there is a system of waste water treatment that proposes to do exactly that. A discussion of that system was presented on Tuesday of this week to the Government Operations Subcommittee on Conservation and Natural Resources during hearings on phosphates in detergents.

Following is part of that presentation:  
A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH TO THE MANAGEMENT OF PHOSPHATES

(By John R. Sheaffer, Fred Roland, and Wayne Cowlshaw)

#### THE NEED FOR A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH

The effects of phosphate-based detergents on water quality can be best assessed within a comprehensive framework. The adoption of such an approach will help to avoid the results of incomplete analyses (failure to consider external effects) and short range planning which have characterized current water pollution abatement efforts. Disjointed incrementalism is a graphic description of the effort. Water pollution abatement is generally promoted by the entire range of governmental bodies so that it tends to be decentralized or disjointed. Also, the effort seeks to extend or enlarge upon existing technology thereby producing only incremental changes in water quality. A continuation of disjointed incrementalism will tend to avoid the development and application of comprehensive global planning which can produce the programs necessary to bring about dramatic changes in water quality.

The need to abandon disjointed incrementalism is illustrated by the report entitled "Examination into the Effectiveness of a Construction Grant Program for Abating, Controlling and Preventing Water Pollution." This report, which has been prepared by the Controller General of the United States observed that the benefits from the construction of more than 9,400 projects having an estimated cost of about \$5.4 billion have not been as great as they could have been. A case study presented in the report contained an analysis of water quality, treatment, and standards on the Merrimack River. The apparent ineffectiveness of many of the expenditures leads one to conclude that per-

haps the technology being applied is inadequate and that the answer is not one of seeking to meet minimum standards with a programmed expenditure for selected treatment plants, but rather to adopt a new technology which could provide a solution and at less cost.

A resume of the present pollution effort is necessary to provide a framework for our statement regarding the effects of phosphate-based detergents on water quality. As we view the national effort, it is characterized by reaction to problems as they become apparent, e.g., biodegradable detergents, phosphates. As such, it is a defensive battle which provides no vision or leadership. It is truly myopic.

If the phosphorus is to be replaced in detergents, the question of what is to take its place must also be considered. Based on past experience, the replacement may turn out to be just as serious a pollutant as the phosphorus. What effect will 600 million pounds of starch derivatives per year have on water quality? Methods of phosphorus removed from waste water effluent generally involve some type of chemical replacement. For example, the use of ferric chloride to precipitate phosphates will add 20 mg/l chlorides and 4 mg/l iron. Would widespread use of this method lead to problems of chlorides and iron in water?

Many water pollution abatement efforts simply transfer pollutants to another location or another media, e.g., from water to the air or the land. If phosphorus is precipitated out into the sludge of a sewage treatment plant and the sludge is then incinerated, it is likely that some of the phosphorus will be discharged into the atmosphere and will be brought back to the land and water with the rain.

The concentration of phosphorus in rain is estimated to be from two to seventeen million pounds per year—without the removal of phosphorus. If phosphorus is removed at sewage treatment plants and the sludge incinerated, the amount of phosphorus in rainfall will greatly increase.

There is increasing evidence to suggest that viruses are the cause of many of the most serious diseases plaguing the United States. Yet, it is startling to discover that such health-related organisms as viruses are not covered in any of the water quality standards now in effect in the United States. In fact, few measurements are made of viruses.

Many viruses are found in waste water and should be considered in any waste water management program. Viruses certainly warrant as much attention as dissolved oxygen in our water quality standard. We need to assign priorities to pollutants in terms of their potential effects rather than in terms of our ability to remove them.

The most widely used method of secondary treatment, activated sludge, has been shown to be totally ineffective in removing viruses. An analysis of alternative treatment methods in terms of virus removal was carried out by P. H. McGauhey<sup>1</sup> of the Sanitary Engineering Research Laboratory at Berkeley, California. He obtained the following results:

(1) Samples of raw sewage, primary effluent, and activated sludge effluent were 100 per cent positive. (Thirteen different viruses were identified.)

(2) Effluent from oxidation pond (30 days detention) showed 30 per cent of samples positive.

(3) Recreational pond effluent, after 2,500 ft. in soil system, was 100 per cent negative.

The results show no removal of viruses by activated sludge treatment plants. Nevertheless, this process is being advocated as the

<sup>1</sup> P. H. McGauhey, *Engineering Management of Water Quality* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1968).

answer to the water quality problems which are plaguing the nation.

#### A NEW APPROACH TO WASTE WATER MANAGEMENT

An appraisal of the effectiveness of the current pollution abatement efforts need to formulate a new approach to waste water management. Such an approach would provide an offense or a vision. As stated in Proverbs, "Where there is no vision, the people perish." This new approach or vision is undervalued by three concepts. They are:

- (1) Pollutants are resources out of place,
- (2) Waste water management systems must be designed as closed systems, and
- (3) The environment is a total entity.

Viewing pollutants as resources out of place is analogous to a botanist's viewing a weed as a plant out of place. It is not difficult to see how this concept applies to waste water management, for the primary elements which create the problem of excess algal growth in water—nitrogen, phosphorus and potassium—are the principal elements in fertilizer. If these elements were on the land they would be considered as resources, but when they are discharged into the water they are pollutants—resources out of place. The second concept calls for the design of closed systems. Historically, waste water management systems have been designed as open-ended systems, which can function only if they discharge into some receiving body of water. The reason for the design of such systems was the belief that wastes could be carried away by streams which could purify themselves.

However, urban sprawl and population explosions have shown that it is no longer possible to throw things away because there is no longer an away. Waste water management requires a closed system. Systems can be closed by recycling pollutants (resources out of place) back into the productive cycle, thereby avoiding direct discharges.

The final concept is that the environment exists as a unit and all of the elements relate and interact with one another. The relationships tend to be in balance but are constantly changing; hence the environment is described as a "dynamic equilibrium."

#### A NEW WASTE WATER MANAGEMENT PLAN

The three concepts presented above underlie the waste water management programs that have been developed for Muskegon and Ottawa Counties in Michigan. These plans offer total solutions to the total phosphorus problem including that of detergent-based phosphorus. The waste water management systems outlined in these plans constitute solutions to the water quality problems. The systems are made up of the following components. A pipeline is used to transport all of the wastes from an urban area to a site which environmental geologic studies have shown to be safe for the operation of a waste water management program. A series of treatment lagoons are constructed at the site which provide for aeration to satisfy biological oxygen demand, settling to remove settleable solids, aerobic bacteria to consume soluble organic wastes, and photosynthetic cells to convert nitrates and phosphates into algal cell material that can be retained by the soil. The lagoon treatment facility produces an effluent superior to that of a secondary sewage treatment plant. In addition, the lagoon facility offers several distinct advantages. First, large amounts of storage can be provided in the treatment lagoon to hold and treat unusually large flows of water generally associated with stormwater runoff and combined sewer overflow. Second, because of the large volume of water held in the lagoon treatment facility, it has the capacity to assimilate toxic shock loads associated with industrial spills. Even if the bacterial colony is killed off by the toxic material, the incoming wastes are stored until another colony can be established. This is quite different from an activated sludge, where a colony kill results in the discharge of par-

tially treated wastes for seven to ten days until a new colony is established. An analysis of a large activated sludge plant in the mid-west showed that such colony kills are likely to occur as frequently as six times per year.

Another advantage is the effect of lagoons in terms of virus removal. Research has shown that thirty days retention in a lagoon removed seventy per cent of the viruses in comparison to the zero per cent removal obtained by secondary treatment plants.

After the waste water is treated in the lagoon system, it is applied to geologically suited land areas. In the Muskegon-Ottawa County plans, these areas tend to be glacial outwash plains which are unproductive because they lack water-holding capabilities and nutrients. By spraying the treated waste water on these sites, both of the missing ingredients are provided and the barren land will become productive. The waste water is applied to the land by large automated rotating spray irrigation rigs which cover 160 acres from a central point. These rigs require low labor inputs to operate and will produce little, if any, aerosol or drift effect. Because the pipe rotates around the field, the water does not have to be projected high into the air to gain coverage. The harvesting of crops from the irrigation site completes the treatment process and essentially closes the systems. To illustrate, nutrient may be looked upon as moving in the following cycle. Corn is grown to feed animals which are slaughtered and sent to the city as a food supply. The meat is eaten and the waste is discharged to the water treatment system as sewage. The sewage is pumped out to the lagoon treatment facilities where the nitrates, phosphates and potassium are treated. After treatment, they are applied to the land where they are taken up by the corn crop planted on the site, thus completing the cycle. Another example of a closed system relates to the water. Drinking water is taken from Lake Michigan and, after treatment, is piped through the city where it is used and discharged into the waste water treatment system. When the waste water enters the lagoon treatment facility, suspended solids, heavy metals, and other materials settle to the bottom, seventy per cent of the viruses are removed, and those materials which are dissolved in the water (the remainder of the viruses, the nitrates, the phosphates, the potassium and the soluble heavy metals) are applied to the land. The living filter, which is the biological zone of the soil, treats these wastes. Research has shown no viruses present after the waste water has moved through a biological zone. In addition, heavy metals are held by the organic matter in the soil, clay particles, and some are taken up as trace elements in the plants. The waste water, after purification in the lagoons and treatment by the living filter, moves to the ground water table where it either flows as base flow or is pumped from wells to a river and then back into the Lake.

Waste water management programs of this nature appear to be feasible in virtually every urban area in the United States. Such programs would render the direct discharge of wastes into the water resource unnecessary. In addition, there is strong evidence that suggests that a synergistic effect would result. The total effect will be greater than the sum of the two programs—waste water management and agricultural production—if they were taken independently.

The availability of land will not be a deterrent to the adoption of such programs. As a rule of thumb, if waste water were to be sprayed at a rate of two inches per acre per week, approximately 130 acres of land would be required to accommodate a million gallons of water a day. Using simple mathematics, if 100 million gallons of water were to be disposed of, 13,000 acres of land would be required; if a billion gallons of water per day were to be disposed of (the largest water system in the country) 130,000 acres of land would be required. A preliminary evaluation

of the major metropolitan areas in the United States strongly suggests that such land areas exist within one hundred miles of most major metropolitan areas. Furthermore, these land areas are generally unproductive and add little return to the economic base of the region.

#### THE EVALUATION OF THE MUSKEGON COUNTY AND OTTAWA COUNTY WASTE WATER MANAGEMENT PLAN

Muskegon and Ottawa Counties, in Michigan, are striving to provide a vision for our waste water management effort. With respect to phosphorus, these plans regard it as a resource out of place. It becomes obvious that an alternative to the replacement of phosphorus in detergents with some other substance (i.e., starch derivatives) should be pursued. Your subcommittee could be instrumental in bringing about waste water management systems which would view phosphorus as a resource out of place rather than an element to be replaced. The beneficial use of phosphorus in the manner proposed in Muskegon and Ottawa Counties will avoid the direct discharge of any pollutants into the water resources.

Soil systems are capable of removing certain forms of soluble nitrogen compounds, soluble phosphorus compounds and various other pollutants from percolating waste water. These removed materials become available as nutrients for plants.

The principal mechanisms of removing and holding these nutrient materials are: (1) adsorption, and (2) chemical replacement.

Adsorption is the process whereby ions are chemically or physically attracted to and held by molecular complexes existing in the soil medium. Clays and organic materials are the principal complexes present. Nitrogen and phosphorus compounds can become part of the intricate lattice structure of these complexes at the surface and sub-surface layers. Ion exchange and satisfaction of lattice bond deficiencies are the mechanisms of retention. Electrical potential influence fields are also responsible for the retention of ions present in the percolating water.

Progressing from sand to clay, the soil increases in its retention capabilities. The effect of soil type has a greater influence on nitrogen retention than phosphorus retention. Nitrogen in the ammonia or ammonium form will be readily retained in clay and organic soils. Nitrate nitrogen appears to be leached readily out of most soils. Considerable amounts of ammonia will likely be converted rapidly to nitrates by the bacteria in the soil. These would also be readily leached. The chemical replacement mechanism is one by which ions bound to the soil molecular structure are replaced by ions in the percolating water.

Studies in a number of areas have shown that even with high application rates of phosphorus, only negligible amounts will be leached by most soil systems. Certain soil-phosphorus bonds can be broken by the nutrient uptake processes of plant roots and the phosphorus utilized for plant cell structure. The growth of plants utilized in man's food chain would in effect produce a closed system which would utilize phosphorus and other compounds that now are disposed of as useless pollutants.

The economic and technical potential of soil systems results from their ability to virtually eliminate a host of difficult pollutants in one single process. In addition to phosphorus removal, soil systems provide advanced treatment for biological and suspended matter, for nitrogen compounds, detergents, toxic heavy metals and for bacteria and viruses.

Reduction of only phosphorus in waste water by changing the compounds used for detergents would reduce the combined economic benefits of the soil treatment system. The net result of such an incremental approach to the long-range needs of water

quality management could be the elimination of land application as a feasible alternative.

For the proposed Muskegon system, benefits of the land application approach extend beyond the direct benefits of waste water reclamation. One important resulting benefit is the prospective expansion of employment opportunities due to the ability of the system to handle the solids problems of important industries. A waste management system such as this, that effectively deals with present and anticipated waste treatment needs of industry, constitutes a potent incentive for industrial expansion and influx. The following table summarizes the quantified benefits of the Muskegon County Waste Water Management Plan. Investment in waste water management becomes an economic endeavor yielding a 69 per cent yearly return on the investment.

The approach we have outlined not only deals with the effects of phosphate-base detergents on water quality but also provides a total solution to the water quality problems. It can provide a vision for our efforts. As Solomon stated "Where there is no vision, the people perish." We are faced with the same dilemma, for without a vision, our water resource will perish.

#### Economic analysis of Muskegon County waste water management plan

[Average annual benefits]

Benefits from Muskegon County waste water management plan:	
Revenue from crop production in excess of costs (corn yield 120 bu/acre x \$1.20/bu, \$70 production cost x 10,000 acres) -----	\$740,000
Equivalent value of fertilizer contained in waste water (\$17./acre x 10,000 acres) ----	170,000
Appreciation of land (\$100./acre value as wasteland; \$400./acre value as fertile land with buildup of humus, tilth, and nutrients. \$300/acre appreciation x 10,000 acres = \$3,000,000) 20 years-----	150,000
Agricultural subtotal-----	1,060,000
Employment opportunities generated by plan Agriculture (100 jobs x \$10,000 with 100 percent credit)-----	1,000,000
Paper mill sanitation division (500 jobs x \$10,000 with 20 percent credit)-----	1,000,000
Shoreline development (600 jobs x \$10,000 with 33 1/3 percent credit) -----	2,000,000
Employment subtotal-----	4,000,000
Recreation benefits through enhancement of water quality for boating, fishing, and esthetic purposes through the removal of all direct discharges into the lakes (Mona, Muskegon, and White Lakes = 7,361 acres), increased use benefit estimated at \$120/acre/year -----	883,000
200-boat marina made possible by waste water plan-----	30,500
Recreation subtotal-----	913,500
Total benefits-----	5,973,500
Costs of Muskegon County waste water management plan:	
Capital costs of \$23,728,000 (annual debt service, 30 years at 6 percent—.07265) -----	2,623,839
Operating costs-----	900,000
Total-----	3,523,839
Benefit/cost=1.69.	

Mr. Speaker, this system of waste water treatment may well be the answer to the problems of the Hudson River. It may well be the answer to the problems of waste water disposal by most of our cities and towns. I would hope that Federal and State agencies responsible for cleaning up our lakes and rivers would give this system the most serious attention which it deserves. It is truly the "vision" which may well save man on this earth.

#### THE ISSUE OF "BAD HEREDITY"

### HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, in recent months I have placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD material furnished me by Dr. William Shockley and Dr. Joshua Lederberg, both of Stanford University, relative to the question of whether the National Academy of Sciences should conduct a scientific study of the hereditary aspects of our national human quality problems. I have done this in the interest of objectivity, and in no case have I taken a position with respect to the issues involved.

Dr. Shockley has now presented additional material for the RECORD, and it is inserted herewith:

[From the Stanford M.D., October 1966]

#### THE ISSUE OF "BAD HEREDITY"

In the last issue of *Stanford M.D.* you printed an interview with Dr. William Shockley which appeared originally in *U.S. News and World Report*. This kind of pseudo-scientific justification for class and race prejudice is so hackneyed that we would not ordinarily have cared to react to it. However, Professor Shockley's standing as a Nobel Laureate and as a colleague at Stanford, and now the appearance of his article with a label of Stanford medicine, creates a situation where our silence could leave the false impression that we share or even acquiesce in his outlook, which we certainly do not.

Professor Shockley has made some constructive suggestions—the essentiality of more research on genetic factors in social maladjustment, and certainly the need for more creative imagination than we now observe in planning social welfare and in education. However, we deplore his innuendos about the hereditary basis of the purported intellectual and social deficits of Negroes, and the tone of his entire discussion about "bad heredity." Why did he not trot out the "scientific documentation" of the Jukes and the Kallikaks? Whatever good might come from his constructive suggestions is outweighed by the mischief of a pseudo-scientific basis for evading or distorting our social responsibilities; too many people will seize any excuse for these purposes. The plain fact is that we do not know the answers to his provocative questions, and in our present-day context it falls between mischief and malice to make such a prejudgment in his terms.

There is also a common fallacy about genetic defect—that it is fundamentally irremediable. The whole concept of "bad heredity" is in any case a myopic one, since the high values of one social milieu are the vices of another one, and our milieu is constantly changing. The quantitative importance of hereditary variation for our social problems is, we repeat, quite unknown, nor will it be as easy as Professor Shockley implies to find out. As long as any racial preju-

dice or prejudgment lingers, would a Negro child adopted into a white family have the same effective environment as a white baby? Howbeit we can be sure of two things: (1) that under any circumstances the rate of genetic change of the population is very slow compared to the changes in our social institutions, and (2) even if we adopted a totalitarian answer on Shockley's premises, there would be plenty of residual variability to contend with. In these circumstances we can hardly neglect another prescription that Shockley overlooks—to work out the techniques of medical care, education and industrial and economic organization that can create incentives and useful careers for the whole wonderful variety of human beings.

WALTER F. BODMER,  
A. T. GANESAN,  
L. A. HERZENBERG,  
JOSHUA LEDERBERG,  
ELLIOTT C. LEVINTHAL,  
ERIC M. SHOOTER,  
SILVIO VARON,

*The Faculty of the Department of Genetics.*

#### DR. SHOCKLEY REPLIES

In commenting on my interview, "Is Quality of U.S. Population Declining?," *U.S. News and World Report*, November 22, 1965, and "We Have Reason to Worry . . ." *Stanford M.D.*, January 1966, the members of the faculty of the Department of Genetics agree that I make constructive suggestions regarding "the essentiality of more research on genetic factors on social maladjustment" and that they "do not know the answers to his provocative questions." These sentences seem to me to contradict their conclusion: "The whole concept of 'bad heredity' is in any case a myopic one, . . ." because of varying "milieu."

In appraising the interview they refer to "a totalitarian answer on Shockley's premises" and "deplore his innuendos about the hereditary . . . deficits of Negroes" and employ the words "malice," "mischief," "pseudo-science," and "hackneyed." In selecting these expressions and in signing en masse is the faculty of the Department of Genetics contributing to objective and constructive thought or assuming a totalitarian and dogmatic posture to dictate permissible channels of thinking? I refer the *Stanford M.D.* reader to my interview as a whole and specifically to my answer to an opening query, and again, my concluding paragraph, i.e., ". . . when I try to pin professional geneticists down on this point, the reaction is often: 'We don't really know anything about this, and you shouldn't raise these possibilities.' This withdrawn attitude does not fit my idea that progress is made by open-minded exploration." The Genetics faculty's letter documents this observation. The interview's concluding paragraph stated: "My program for continued progress is: Let's ask the questions, do the necessary research, get the facts, discuss them widely—then either worries will evaporate, or plans for action will develop."

I disagree seriously with the members of the Genetics faculty on three main points:

1. *My article is objective, not racially slanted.* Regardless of race or color, I admire intellect (even when I disagree with it) and deplore feeble-mindedness (especially an I.Q. of 55 with 17 children). Here I disagree with the Genetics faculty; I cannot in good conscience apply the word "wonderful" to the feeble-minded "variety" of humanity. My article's proposals on scientific data from controlled adoption programs were not focused on Negroes. The members of the Genetics faculty criticize my proposals but their constructive suggestions include none regarding the interaction of environment and heredity. They might have noted that Negro orphans do have available superior, prejudice-free home environments with eminent, successful Negro families.

2. *What the Stanford geneticists label "the*

*whole concept of 'bad heredity' and dismiss as 'myopic' does exist and is important for our nation to understand.* In preparing a reply to the Genetics faculty letter I encountered the following references: (A) "Mental Retardation" (W. B. Saunders, Philadelphia, 1965) by Mrs. E. C. Reed and her husband, S. C. Reed, Director of the Dight Institute of Human Genetics, University of Minnesota. (B) *U.S. News and World Report*, March 7, 1966, "The Unfit: Denmark's Solution," an article provoked by my interview. (C) Reports of a 1957 study by Dr. T. Kemp related to (B). (D) Dr. Ralph W. Gerard refers me to Kallman on genetic factors in schizophrenia and on manic depressive psychosis and also on the latter to Winokur and Pitts (*J. Psych. Res.*, Vol. 3, p. 113, 1965). (E) Terman and Odin, "The Gifted Group in Midlife" (Stanford University Press, 1959). (F) Testimony of James A. Shannon, Director of National Institutes of Health, March 2, 1966, released by House sub-committee on appropriations, also *Washington Star*, p. 1, March 25, 1966. Is all this "hackneyed" "pseudoscience"?

The title and first paragraph of the news story of item (F) reads: "Dissuade Genetic Defects as Parents, Doctors Urged" . . . "Dr. James A. Shannon, Director of the National Institutes of Health, has warned that physicians must equip themselves to discourage men and women carrying genetic disabilities from having children." Are the National Institutes of Health "myopic" in their "whole concept of 'bad heredity' "? Is the Genetics faculty so equipping Stanford M.D.'s?

My conclusion from these references is that mental traits, both admirable and deplorable in my personal set of values, are significantly affected by heredity much as are the biochemical ones Shannon emphasizes. For example, reference (E) reports that "gifted" parents have 30 times the average probability of producing 150 plus I.Q. children Items (B) and (C) are in accord with the Reeds' conclusions stated in (A) as follows:

"When voluntary sterilization for the retarded becomes part of the culture of the United States, we should expect a decrease of about 50 percent per generation in the number of retarded persons, as a result of all methods of reducing retardation." They also write ". . . instead of the 6,000,000 retarded persons now in the United States there would only be 500,000 of them, if only normal persons with normal siblings and married to normal persons, had reproduced in the previous generation." They also comment that "the transmission of mental retardation" is "a subject which has been rather carefully ignored in recent years."

Why do the members of the Genetics faculty appear carefully to ignore and even to obscure the subject of transmission of mental retardation?

If the editor will allow me space here to deviate from my response and to plead for a cause, I would like to mention findings reported by the Society for Humane Abortion. They quote social workers who find that many pregnant mothers of poor economic and marital status do not, as often alleged, irresponsibly seek to increase their income by having more dependent children. They would choose abortion if available. I urge the members of the faculty of the Department of Genetics to add their prestige to my support of the Society for Humane Abortion in San Francisco and the Association for the Study of Abortion in New York. They can do so with a clear conscience without taking a position on Point (2)—bad environment is enough reason for abortion in these cases.

I favor all environmental improvements possible for all humanity. On this obvious matter the Genetics faculty and I agree. The means are another subject for research.

- 3) *The Stanford geneticists give the lay public (and that includes scientists in other*

fields) credit for very little intelligence and integrity. They tell us in effect: "Mind your own business and do not talk about this: the public can't be trusted." Happily, we have encouragement from some thoughtful medical-social scientists to do otherwise. Dr. Alan F. Guttmacher, National President of Planned Parenthood, states "that in matters of social progress the people have always been ahead of their leaders, whether politicians, churchmen, physicians, etc."

It is my personal opinion that the discussion of human genetics is a sorry mess lacking objectivity and candor and that this situation may threaten the future of our nation. To quote Shannon's testimony: to "... put it bluntly, Mr. Chairman ... we are gradually weakening our genetic inheritance" of biochemical and physiological functional traits. The correspondence I have from geneticists and other scientists who insist on not being quoted is evidence enough for this judgment of lack of candor and objectivity as is the content of their letters. I commend Stanford M.D. for the courage to publish on such provocative questions and I hope that its influential readership will thoughtfully consider and appropriately discuss such questions privately and publicly.

WILLIAM B. SHOCKLEY,  
Poniatoff Professor of Engineering Science.

**A PROPOSAL THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT QUERY THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES REGARDING POSSIBLE UPDATING OF THE ACADEMY'S 1967 STATEMENT ON HUMAN GENETICS AND URBAN SLUMS**

(Proposed by W. Shockley as an experiment in research on methodology to reduce the environment-heredity uncertainty, including ethnic and racial aspects)

My proposal amounts in essence to asking the National Academy of Sciences:

Is or is not your 1967 Statement on Human Genetics and Urban Slums now clearly out of date and unsound as a result of the analysis published in the Winter 1969 issue of the Harvard Educational Review by Dr. Jensen and its subsequent review by Dr. Crow?

If the 1967 Statement (see Enclosure (1)) is out of date, then a restatement of it is urgently needed.

Evidence that a response to my proposed questions, as formulated in detail below, would not require extensive research is furnished by the history of the 1967 Statement as described in part in the Academy's story in the News Report of June-July 1969.

"As a response to the issues he raised [i.e., Shockley prior to October 1967], the Council of the Academy, with the help of several eminent geneticists, in 1967 prepared a 1600-word statement on human genetics and urban slums."

The eminent geneticists were identified as reported in Enclosures (1) and (2) as Professor James F. Crow of the University of Wisconsin (now at the California Institute of Technology), Professor James V. Neel of the University of Michigan and Professor Curt Stern of the University of California at Berkeley.

It is my understanding that the preparation of the 1600-word Statement did not require new research or extensive review of old research; it did represent the prevailing current thinking. Its review for approval by the Council, I recall being told by telephone, took place in the course of one weekend meeting of the Council. My purpose in making these observations is to support my opinion that my proposed questions would provoke a review that would require relatively small effort; in fact, in the light of the evidence given in detail below, the suggested review might be accomplished with very much less effort than went into preparing the 1967 Statement. The consequence might be a drastic revision of what I appraise as the "unsearch" posture of the Statement (exemplified by the two sentences that, as taken from

the 1967 Statement, I shall discuss below and refer to as the 1967 Quotation).

Here is a proposed format of the three questions that I urge be transmitted by government to the Academy:

An appraisal is requested of the validity of two items reported in the recent Harvard Educational Review article by Arthur R. Jensen and of a third statement presented by W. Shockley at the Autumn 1966 Academy meeting and of the relationship of all three to the Academy's statement on human genetics and urban slums:

(1) On pages 62-63 of the Jensen article, a 1968 study is cited. The incidence of mental retardation (IQ below 75) for children is quoted here as being very much greater if the mother's IQ is below 80 than if it is above 80. Furthermore, at one to three years of age both groups of children had an average IQ of 95 so that the IQ deficit of both groups was very small at 1 to 3 years of age.

Question (1) pertaining to the validity and significance of this reported research is divided into three parts:

(1A) Are these 1968 results statistically valid? If not, can they be rejected or do they call urgently for more research in order to establish the facts?

(1B) If the 1968 results are valid, is it correct to conclude that prenatal and birth problems were unimportant in the subsequent drop of intelligence test performance of the children of lower IQ mothers to an average of about 63 IQ at age 14? Does this mean that the low average IQ at 14 was caused inevitably by hereditary factors? Do the social implications of this question call urgently for more research?

(1C) Were similar studies available prior to the National Academy of Sciences' 1967 position statement on human genetics and urban slums? If so, could the references be cited and an evaluation in respect to the 1968 study be furnished?

(2) Is it indeed a soundly established fact that the probability of incidence of mental retardation (IQ below 75) for Negro children is between 6 and 16 times higher than it is for white children of families matched with the Negro children's families, both being of relatively high socioeconomic status? (This question is based on Table 3 on p. 83 of the Jensen article.)

(3) Is it valid to express one aspect of the relative importance of environment and heredity in determining intelligence as measured by standard IQ tests by the following sentence: "Heredity controls intelligence more than twice as much as environment in families that adopt one of a pair of white identical twins." (The preceding quoted sentence was correctly reported in a New York Times news story of Dr. Shockley's contributed paper at the Autumn 1966 National Academy of Sciences meeting.)

The purpose of these questions is to focus on several specific items so as to ascertain the current validity of the 1967 statement. For this purpose partial answers to some of the questions might suffice.

The significance of the proposed questions in respect to the Academy's 1967 Statement is obvious. So is their potential impact on recent Legislative hearings concerned with the effects of malnutrition and remedial education. I shall single out the third question as one for which a recent change of position by one of the authors of the 1967 Statement is most important.

For this purpose I shall refer to three different appraisals, expressed respectively in 1966, 1967 and 1969, of the importance of hereditary factors in determining intelligence. All of these appraisals involve the same three eminent geneticists and Academy members: James F. Crow, James V. Neel and Curt Stern. These scientists authored the Academy's 1967 Statement according to Enclosure (1), which, as does Enclosure (2), suggests that the Statement was an answer to questions that I had raised prior to the Autumn of 1967.

The first appraisal, referred to as the 1967 Quotation, is quoted from the Academy's Statement:

The problem of disentangling hereditary and environmental factors for complex intellectual and emotional traits where many genes may participate, where measurements are often not reproducible, where it is not certain what is being measured and where subtle environmental factors are involved, is extremely difficult. It is unrealistic to expect much progress unless new methods appear.

The 1966 Responses that I shall next discuss show that in 1966 two of the authors held views in keeping with the preceding 1967 Quotation. The 1966 Responses were expressed by Dr. Neel and Dr. Stern and resulted from my efforts to produce a clear and relevant presentation of a quantitative appraisal of the importance of heredity in controlling the development of intelligence. "Clear and relevant" I interpreted to mean comprehensible to the non-expert but adequately qualified to satisfy the expert.

My inquiries proceeded from Dr. Stern to Dr. Neel. Dr. Neel referred me to his former Ph. D. student Steven Vandenberg as the best available expert. My statement in question (3) was based on Dr. Vandenberg's letter of Enclosure (4). (This frank and objective letter tells almost the whole story in itself except for the new methods that have appeared since 1967 as discussed in Jensen's article.)

It was my impression that Dr. Stern and Dr. Neel would concur in a statement that would be acceptable to Dr. Vandenberg. Prior to quoting their concurrence with the relevant sentence in my contributed paper at the Autumn 1966 Academy meeting, I sent the following telegram to all three:

"This telegram confirms my verbal understanding with Stern, Neel and Vandenberg that they concur heredity controls intelligence more than twice as much as does environment in families that adopt one of a pair of white identical twins."

My reason for qualifying by "white identical twins" will become clear from the reference to identical twins in London in Dr. Crow's 1969 Position discussed below. Dr. Stern's response to my telegram was:

"Sorry, I do not concur in any estimate such as 'twice as much' concerning heredity versus environment."

Dr. Neel sent me a telegram reading: "Prefer not to be quoted in that context." He followed this with a second telegram delivered via Professor Handler (now President of the National Academy of Sciences) who was present at the Academy meeting reading:

"Do not quote me as concurring." I telephoned Dr. Vandenberg, informed him of these non-concurrences and obtained his (courageous!) authorization to state: "This statement [i.e., the quote of question (3)] was acceptable to identical-twin expert Steven Vandenberg to whom I was referred by human geneticist James Neel."

The 1966 Responses of Dr. Neel and Dr. Stern quoted above are consistent with the 1967 Quotation cited from the Academy's 1967 Statement above.

The 1966 Responses of Dr. Neel and Dr. Stern (and quoted at the end of the next paragraph) in his evaluation of the Jensen paper appears to be clearly inconsistent with both the 1966 Responses and the 1967 Quotation. Jensen (page 47, Table I) shows that 77.1% of the variance of IQ (for the school population of London studied by Sir Cyril Burt) arises from genetic components and 16.5% from environmental factors and 6.4% from test unreliability. These figures unambiguously support my 1966 "more than twice as much" statement of question (3) starting on page 2.

My assertion that Dr. Crow's 1969 Position does not agree with the 1966 Responses of Dr. Neel and Dr. Stern and thus probably not with the 1967 Quotation is based on the evidence of his published review of Jensen's

estimates. (See the Spring 1969 issue of the Harvard Educational Review.) Dr. Crow writes: "I agree for the most part with Jensen's analysis." He also supports Jensen's numbers in detail. In the following quotation,  $H^2$  values of 0.75 and 0.86 correspond to 75% and 86% in the same sense that I used 77.1% above. I make this observation to point out that you need not be concerned with the definitions of the symbols  $E^2$  and  $H^2$  that occur in order to interpret the following direct quotation from Crow's review:

"As Jensen mentions, the Burt study appears closest to the ideal of placing the separated identical twins into random environments at an early age. There is some reassurance to the skeptic (such as I have been) [emphasis mine] in that  $H^2$ , as estimated by the correlation of the one-egg twins reared apart [i.e., by families that adopt one of a pair of white identical twins], and  $E^2$ , estimated by the correlation between unrelated children reared together, add up to approximately 1 [i.e., unity]—as they should if everything is simple ( $0.75 + 0.24 = 0.99$  in Jensen's Table 2;  $0.86 + 0.25 = 1.11$  in Burt's individual measurements.) Other cross checks are also in reasonable agreement.

"If we take the results from many investigations at face value, there is a great deal of consistency, as Jensen points out, and  $H^2$  averages 0.8 . . . I agree with Jensen in deploring an uncritical assumption that only environmental factors are important and that genetic differences are negligible."

To sum up, I believe Crow's 1969 Position strongly supports my 1966 statement that was at that time rejected by the 1966 Response of two of the authors of the 1967 Academy Statement. Dr. Crow's position has apparently changed upon reading Jensen's article—indeed his clause "skeptical (such as I have been)" suggests a recent change of view on his part.

I submit that this analysis is adequate evidence for my case that a "plain and relevant presentation" has not been produced by "the scientific community" on the influence of heredity in controlling the development of intelligence.

My reason for urging the transmittal of my proposed questions to the Academy is that, in keeping with the wisdom that gave the Academy its charter in the first place, such an outside inquiry from the government might contribute as much in a few months to increase the awareness of the need for a "plain and relevant presentation" of facts pertinent to our human quality problems as have my own efforts over the last several years. I doubt if such an inquiry would be tabled before discussion as was my proposed resolution. For example, if now asked in 1969 what science can assert in regard to my three questions, the three authors of the 1967 Statement might all be found to concur in the 1969 Position expressed by my quotations from Dr. Crow's review.

The facts reported above regarding the appraisals expressed in 1966, 1967 and 1969 and their differences and changes are a matter of record that may be readily verified. These facts raise questions about the scientific (versus popular) soundness of the Academy maintaining its 1967 Position in April of 1969 as expressed by President Seitz.

"The strong feeling among the great majority of members," Dr. Seitz told newsmen, "is that it is essentially impossible to do good research in this field as long as there are such great social inequities. And such research is so easily misunderstood in these times."

President Seitz' views here appear to me to be frighteningly subservient to a popular majority opinion rather than to one tested by adequate study and debated and thus, as I have expressed for the record several times,

not appropriate to a position of leadership in science.

In closing, I shall emphasize the importance of my conclusion that the 1967 Statement needs revision by expressing my general appraisal of the significance of the current situation:

I regard the Academy's Position as being the most serious and obvious dereliction of intellectual responsibility in the history of science. This appraisal was underlined to me in mid-May by the statement of a fellow Laureate to the effect that the answers to my questions were "so obvious." I do not believe he would be willing to state his convictions publicly. I believe that an important contribution to man's future can be made by documenting this irresponsibility on the part of American science as has occurred for Lysenkoism in Russia. The greater seriousness of our irresponsibility is underlined by the following quotation from Jensen's article: "Is there a danger that current welfare policies, unaided by eugenic foresight, could lead to the genetic enslavement of a substantial segment of our population? The possible consequences of our failure seriously to study these questions may well be viewed by future generations as our society's greatest injustice to Negro Americans."

My own worry, expressed at the last meeting of the Academy and quoted by the AP story of Enclosure (5), is that during the next 20 years our well-intentioned welfare programs may unwittingly lead to the birth of more than a million illegitimate slum babies destined to lives of agonized frustration by being mentally retarded as a result of low values of their genetically controlled components of intelligence.

These are the problems about which Enclosure (2) says the National Academy of Sciences has voted not to encourage scientific study. I propose that transmitting my questions to President Handler of the National Academy of Sciences might put these vital questions on an appropriate agenda.

#### THE BATTLE OVER AMERICA'S ENVIRONMENT

### HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to place in the RECORD two articles describing the campaign to improve the American environment. The articles, one from the winter 1969-70 issue of *University: A Princeton Quarterly* and the other from the December 22, 1969 issue of *Newsweek*, point to the growing militancy of conservation groups dedicated to the cause of a better environment.

Mr. Speaker, clearly there is increasing concern in the Nation that Congress must provide more meaningful legislation in this field. For that reason, together with my distinguished colleagues, the gentlemen from New York (Mr. SCHEUER and Mr. REID) and the gentleman from Idaho (Mr. HANSEN), I introduced on November 12, 1969, H.R. 14753, the Environmental Quality Education Act, which would authorize support for developing and providing programs of environmental education in our elementary and secondary schools and in local communities. The subcommittee which I chair hopes to conduct hearings on this legislation during the next session of Congress.

At this point, I would like to insert the text of the two articles in the RECORD:

[From *University: A Princeton Quarterly*, Winter, 1969-70]

REPORT FROM MANY FRONTS ON THE BATTLE OVER AMERICA'S ENVIRONMENT

(By Thomas C. Southerland, Jr.)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The campaigns to destroy, and defend, America's earth, air and waters move forward so briskly and on so many fronts at once that the average person has a hard time keeping up. Thomas C. Southerland Jr. keeps up. We asked him to share his information with our readers in what might be called *The Story Up To Now*.)

Many Americans are aware of pollution problems, a fact substantiated by a 1969 Gallup Public Opinion Poll in which 73 per cent of those polled said they were even willing to pay additional taxes in order to improve their natural surrounding and combat pollution.

Dr. Jacques Picard warns us that "This technology we enjoy today is little else but a widespread suicidal pollution. . . . Technology is working against man. Man is working against nature and instead of natural selection only technology remains." Admiral Hyman G. Rickover has said he was "troubled by the ease with which purveyors of technology pressured the general public into letting 'so-called progress' alter their lives." The biologist Dr. Barry Commoner says population and new technology threaten "to destroy the web of life on which our civilization depends." C. P. Snow charges us with "letting technology ride us as though we had no judgment of our own." Conservationist Wesley Marx, writing in the magazine *Audubon*, says "The Conquest of the Land gives me a high standard of living—and a cheapened environment in which to enjoy it."

A rapidly increasing population is obviously one cause of all our problems, but until recently this subject was generally avoided, causing Robert S. McNamara, President of the World Bank, to observe that "There is an understandable tendency simply to avoid argument, turn one's attention to less complicated matters and hope that the problem will somehow disappear." (But a new candor about that problem is emerging. Kingsley Davis, Director of International Population and Urban Research at the University of California at Berkeley, told the *New York Times* in October that "family planning" was a hopelessly futile means of controlling the population explosion and advocated a government ban on early marriage, taxing married persons more heavily than single ones, free abortions, a tax on children, equal job and education opportunities for women.)

Not all agree, however, that we are in danger. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission and Nobel Prize laureate, is less concerned. He says, "There is a certain hysteria in the country about environmental problems. 'Environment' has become an emotionally charged word today, almost on a par with 'crime in the streets' or 'student revolts.' It is obvious that enough is not being done in controlling and regulating the environments. But much more is being done than the public is aware of and more than ever before."

It would be surprising if Dr. Seaborg were not aware of a certain "hysteria," for his AEC is the target of conservationists, biologists, and Howard Hughes. Conservationists opposed the AEC nuclear blast in a wildlife refuge on Amchitka Island in Alaska. Biologists are generally against AEC's "Operation Plowshare," an operation using atomic energy for construction purposes, including a new harbor at Keraudren Bay in Australia and another Atlantic-Pacific inter-ocean canal in Central America. Unlike the Panama Canal, there would be no locks (too complicated and/or too expensive) and this absence could result in grave ecological

problems, such as radiation damage and temperature imbalances. Certain fish would then be able to enter one ocean from the other and this migration could cause large-scale extinctions. (Many will remember the devastating consequences of the sea lamprey's entrance via the Welland Canal into Lake Erie; gradually spreading into the other Great Lakes, it destroyed the lake trout and whitefish as commercial fish.)

Howard Hughes, a relative newcomer to Nevada, has expressed strong concern, as a land-owner and developer, over the AEC's megaton-range underground detonations and their related seismic shocks. (Testing has already triggered minor earthquakes in Nevada.) He is also concerned over the accidental release of radiation into the air and the possible contamination of ground water.

As a people, we Americans incline toward the short view of technological problems. Many who criticize deficit spending by the government, seeing it as obligating their grandchildren to pay a bill not of their own contracting, see no wrong in greedily leveling redwoods, spilling hillsides with strip-mining, or using additional power equipment which adds to air and water pollution. Expenditure of unrecoverable resources is a far greater loss to our descendants than deficit spending. It can be terminal. David R. Brower of the conservationist Sierra Club calls ours "a chain-letter economy, where we pick up the early dividends and our children find the mail box empty."

The conservationist trying to protect some landmark or wildlife area often hears from would-be exploiters the argument that "this is the price we have to pay for progress." But who knows what the actual price may be in terms of our future well-being? Greece is an example of a nation that sentenced its ancestors to a poor standard of living by failing to understand ecology. At one time, Greece was lush with greenery. Even lions were plentiful and were often depicted in early Greek art, the most notable being the lions of Delos. Then the Greeks leveled great forests to build houses and ships, and the winds and rains washed the bared soil away, exposing rock and limestone. Overgrazing by sheep contributed to the erosion.

There are man-made deserts scattered throughout the world today, including sections of India and the Middle East. Remember the Okies in this country? It will take generations for certain over- or wrongly-cultivated land areas of Oklahoma to become productive again. But we seem never to learn: in the Mississippi delta, eastern Arkansas farmers are now clearing 150,000 acres of forest a year for soybean crops. In just eight years, forests there have been depleted by one million acres. This is the sort of "progress" Lamont C. Cole, Professor of Ecology at Cornell, had in mind when he said, "We hear a lot today about 'underdeveloped' and 'developing' nations, but many of them might more accurately be called 'overdeveloped.'"

Some hope the world's expanding population can be fed one day by exploiting the world's oceans. But not if we continue to dump oil, sewage, gases, herbicides, insecticides, and nuclear wastes into them to the detriment of fish, plankton, and other marine life. (The world's oceans produce over twice as much of our life-sustaining oxygen supply as do trees and other plants.) Off California, marine life has steadily decreased over the years, and across the Pacific insecticides—along with radioactive fallout—are suspected of killing the triton. Since this fish is a predator of starfish, the unchecked population of coral-eating starfish is now destroying Australia's Great Barrier Reef and other coral islands, the breeding ground of oysters, mussels, clams, and many other fish. We gain land by filling in marshes and wetlands, the spawning grounds of many fish. We have even dammed up some of the

rivers in Oregon so that the salmon are prevented from reaching their spawning areas.

In Biscayne Bay, south of Miami, shellfish and crabs have been killed in large quantities by generator-heated water dumped into it by the Florida Power and Light Company—which now plans to replace these generators with two nuclear ones which would produce even hotter water. Nuclear generators are projected for other places throughout the country. Of course this pollution can be prevented by cooling the water before releasing it, but this would cost so much money that the nuclear plants might be unable to compete as an economical energy source.

#### EARLY LEGISLATION

Among the many problems of our deteriorating environment, air and water pollution make the most headlines. In 1952 the deaths of some 4,000 persons were blamed on London smog and in 1966 a Thanksgiving weekend inversion in the New York area claimed about 80 lives—not to mention those whose deaths are hastened every week by bad air. And air pollution is harmful not only to our health but to our crops and livestock. It eats away at rubber, steel, and stone. Some of the buildings it damages are historic and irreplaceable.

Air pollution has been found to affect local weather patterns, the notable example being the dramatic increase in rainfall over La Porte, Indiana, downwind from the steel mills of Chicago and Gary, Indiana. The rain is produced by the combination of smog and moisture in phase with the hazy days in those industrial areas. Just outside this smoke plume is South Bend, whose rainfall pattern is unaffected. There is much speculation as to what long-term effect air pollution will have on the earth's atmosphere. One theory is that a "greenhouse effect" might occur, holding in the sun's heat and warming the earth unnaturally; another theory holds that the earth might be turned unnaturally cold by certain pollutants' screening out the sun's energy. It is estimated that each year air pollution costs the nation over 12 billion dollars (in the Northeast, about 18 million dollars a year to farmers alone). But that, after all, is only money; the final price may well be final.

In 1965 Congress amended the Clean Air Act of 1963 to establish controls over emission from automobiles, the prime source of air pollution in this country. Next the Air Pollution Act of 1967 was passed to set up regional air-quality-control regions, and in 1968 the National Air Pollution Control Administration was established. It would appear that something is being done and air pollution is on the way out, right? Wrong. Industrial plants are increasing in number, automobiles are doubling, airplanes are doubling (with each jet dumping 2½ tons of carbon dioxide pollutants into the atmosphere every ten minutes). There are no national standards for other than automobile pollution, the present laws are too cursory, and are seldom if ever enforced.

In Philadelphia (America's third city in air pollution) from January 1969 through June 1969 not one violator was prosecuted or fined. In other years many polluters have been brought in to court time and again, paid their small fines and resumed their activities. Several large firms have had four convictions each. One of these companies—which paid the exorbitant fine of \$25—annually puts out some 650 tons of sulfur oxide, 160 tons of nitrogen oxide, and 40 tons of dust and soot. New Jersey's record is much better; it now has a Division of Clean Air and Water. New Jersey, unfortunately, is the exception.

#### THE AUTOMOBILE AND POLLUTION

The automobile contributes 60 per cent of our air pollution but only a little over 3 per cent of the National Air Pollution Control Administration budget has been spent

on motor vehicle research. The NAPCA has awarded the Thermo Electron Corporation a contract (\$174,173) to design a steam car and the Marquardt Corporation a contract (\$96,683) to study ways of minimizing steam engine pollutants. The Department of Transportation has contracted for a prototype steam-powered bus. Some research is being conducted on an electric car, but there is no all-out effort by government or industry. The most notable entirely private effort is by William Lear (of Lear Jet fame) who has undertaken to perfect a commercially feasible steam auto.

In July 1969 the California Senate cleared a bill that would outlaw internal combustion automobiles, starting in 1975, in the hope of forcing auto makers to develop other types of cars. The manufacturers, apparently caught by surprise, recovered in time to lobby a narrow defeat of the proposal (by one vote) in a state assembly committee. A victory for industry, but nevertheless a straw in the smoggy wind. In September 1969 the U.S. House of Representatives defeated 99 to 22 an amendment to limit the manufacture and sale of those internal combustion engines whose exhaust emission after 1978 exceeds a certain standard. Again, the fact that the issue was even brought to vote is noteworthy and it is almost certain to be brought up again.

#### WATER POLLUTION

Water pollution made big news when oil from the sinking S.S. Torrey Canyon washed onto England beaches in March 1967, though that ship was small compared to supertankers being built today. When drilling off the California coast produced the Santa Barbara oil leak, the impact on Americans was even greater because the spill was on our own shores. (Incidentally, Union Oil, the company that did the Santa Barbara drilling—though other companies were indirectly involved, is the same firm for which the Torrey Canyon sailed.)

There has been much publicity about the expiration of Lake Erie (America's Dead Sea), and the pollution of the Hudson, Connecticut and Potomac Rivers, but nearly every American river and stream is affected to some degree. Some rivers are open sewers. There have been infamous fish kills from pollution in, among others, the Mississippi, and the Raritan of New Jersey.

Partly because of the technological revolution and partly because of the population increase, our water usage since 1900 has increased by a factor of nine (900 per cent), yet pollution renders most of our water supply unusable. Water resources have long been a concern of the federal government but with a few exceptions pollution has received proper attention only since 1961. Though a national Clean Water Act has been enacted and there is a Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, water pollution continues to increase.

A tougher Congressional water pollution bill is now in joint conference that will make oil polluters liable, set standards for DDT spillage, aid states in controlling thermal pollution, perform research in acid mine drainage, provide aid for pollution control in the Great Lakes and remove hazardous debris in navigable waters. This is certainly a step in the right direction, but many feel that the funds authorized will just cover the annual increases in pollution.

The drop of subsurface water levels is another element in our water crisis, and in the Southwest the use of water without replenishment has become so bad that the water table has lowered to the point where fossil water from the last ice age is being used.

Civic boosterism impels a mayor to advertise, "Settle in beautiful Arizona," say, without regard to water table or drainage capability of the area. If successful, he ends up appealing to the "federal" for funding to stop

pollution or for more irrigation. Irrigation water, by the way, picks up natural ground salts and drains them back into local rivers and streams. The Mexican government has long been irritated over the high salt content of the Colorado River and President Nixon and President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz discussed this at the dedication of the Amistad Dam in September 1969. Salinization occurs in arid regions such as the Southwest U.S. because evaporation is greater than precipitation. Rain dissolves the natural salts and through capillary action the resulting salt water is raised upward. When this water is evaporated salt is left on the ground. Irrigation drainage now has even more salt to empty back into the river. Still, mayors go right on trying to attract more residents.

The mayor of Miami wants a jetport so that his city can become another New York City, but would any mayor in his right mind want New York's problems? Other city boosters want more people, more industry. And why not? After all, although a large city's problems today are a small town's tomorrow, the present mayor won't be in office for the expansion's aftermath.

#### OVERCROWDEDNESS

Overcrowdedness is blamed for most of our nation's ills, and it is true that our highways, schools, and cities seem unable to keep up with the population increase. But pollution is more the product of technology: The U.S., with only 6 per cent of the world's population, uses between one-fourth and one-half of the world's resources.

Garbage and junk are becoming major pollutants. The dumping of solid waste into streams or the ocean leads to water pollution, and burning it adds to air pollution, and no one has an answer to this problem, though various study programs were called for in the 1965 Solid Waste Disposal Act. America produces over five pounds of trash per person per day for an annual U.S. total of 3.5 billion pounds.

Other interesting statistics: we throw away 26 billion jars and bottles, and 48 billion metal cans per year. This output has led Prof. Lucien Brush, formerly of Princeton's School of Engineering, to speculate half-jokingly that future archeologists specializing in our culture will divide the twentieth century into two groups called Beercan Cultures I (tin) and II (aluminum). Tin cans slowly rust away but not aluminum cans. (Reynolds Metals Company, fearing future legislation against aluminum cans, now offers a return on used ones in the Los Angeles and Miami areas, where one-third of the nation's beer cans end up.)

We are a nation of litterbugs. Cans, cartons, bottles, cigarette wrappers are strewn along our highways by the billions. It has been estimated that we spend \$500 million a year to remove litter from American highways. Nevada estimates that it spends ten cents collecting just one item from a highway. Supported by a \$54,291 grant from the Bureau of Solid Waste Management, Dr. Samuel F. Hulbert, of Clemson University, is developing—with encouraging results, a water soluble glass container to dissolve in the atmosphere or water after being opened.

#### NOISE

Noise is a particularly difficult pollutant to deal with. Doctors at the Sixth American Medical Association Congress on Environmental Health in Chicago in May 1969 called noise as great a hazard to mankind's environment as air and water pollution. Noise can cause hearing loss by injuring the inner ear, and many cities recognize this by having (largely unenforced) ordinances forbidding the honking of auto horns.

Airplane noise is even harder to deal with, and there are few ordinances against it, but airport authorities are finding it increasingly difficult to negotiate for new airports. Most everyone is now familiar with the controversial supersonic transport (SST) and its ac-

companying sonic boom. Public feeling against the sonic boom continues to mount. People ask why the government should help subsidize a plan to benefit a select few (those who can afford it) at the expense of the vast majority. The expense is not only measured in dollars but in terms of mental peace.

The boom of a plane flying at supersonic speeds can be as loud as a moderate-size explosion a block away, and is continuous throughout the plane's flight, and can cover a 50-mile-wide bang-zone. Sonic booms have already caused a number of minor disasters. To name a few: by 1967 thirteen deaths had been attributable to sonic booms in France and in August of that year three persons were killed in Mauran, France, when a sonic boom caused the collapse of a barn; Ottawa and Oklahoma City have each experienced sonic boom damages estimated at \$500,000. Possibly the SST, when built, will be barred from flying over land because of the hazard to health and to buildings—and the propensity it has for triggering snow slides when flying over vulnerable slopes. There is also speculation as to what effect flights over the oceans will have on the fishing industry.

A measure proposed by Senators Clifford P. Case (R, N.J.) and William Proxmire (D, Wis.) to ban supersonic flights over U.S. territory was defeated but authorization was passed for the Federal Aviation Administration to set limits on general airplane noise and on booms. Case likened this to "setting the fox to guard the chickens." Despite public pressure to ban SST flights over land there will be great counter-pressure from those who stand to make large profits from the SST. And conservationists have discovered that when the profit motive conflicts with the environment, the latter usually loses. Look for overland SST flights to be defended in the name of increased employment or as a means of improving our balance-of-payments.

The Department of the Interior has complained of the irreparable damage to Canyon de Chelly National Monument, the Mesa Verde Cliff dwellings, and other archeological treasures in the Southwest caused by booms from Air Force planes. Rock slides have poured on some of the ruins and structural cracks have formed on others.

Of course, not all high decibel noises are produced by sonic booms. In the home we hear kitchen appliance noises, air conditioners (our own or the neighbors'), washing machines, and vacuum cleaners. All of us at one time have been awakened by the lawnmower (107 decibels), the motor cycle (111 decibels), trucks on the highway, and the hand-powered saw. Many enjoy the quiet solitude of the woods in winter, but now even this is threatened: The snowmobile with its deafening roar is increasing in popularity. There are 700,000 now in use, with sales of 350,000 predicted for the 1969-70 season. Bad news for hibernating wild life.

Our legislators are just beginning to show an awareness of noise as a pollutant.

But the big conservation fights of recent years have been over land use: The fight to save the redwoods (about 1 to 2 per cent of the original forests still stand), to defeat the Grand Canyon dams, to protect the Point Reyes National Seashore, to save New Jersey's Great Swamp, to preserve the Texas Big Thicket (home of the ivory-billed woodpecker), are just a few of the more famous national issues.

#### DESPOILING THE LAND

The Sierra Club, best known of the so-called militant conservationist organizations, is often accused of putting nature's rights before human rights. But the club's policy on national forests, surprisingly enough, identifies twelve appropriate land uses in addition to recreation and protection; these include timber production, mineral excavation, and water resource development. What the Sierra Club and other conservation organizations try to do is prevent unreasonable

exploitation of finite resources and combat ecological ignorance and apathy. These organizations, staffed largely by volunteers working part-time on a small budget, are usually pitted against industries employing full-time publicists or lobbyists, their salaries charged off as business expense.

Such industries are well represented in Congress. Lumbering is typical. Many congressmen represent districts where lumbering is big business, and the industry-sponsored National Timber Supply Act was proposed jointly by many members of both the House Committee on Agriculture and the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry. This fall that proposed Act was altered slightly and its name was changed to the National Forest Conservation and Management Act of 1969 in an apparent attempt to appease the conservationists who called it a "timber grab." In the past there have been numerous congressional standing committees representing the exploiters of natural resources, but even today there is no committee concerned with our environment as a whole.

That unspoiled land needs to be set aside is obvious. National park land has potential for economic development or it would not have had to be "preserved" in the first place. Unused land supports wildlife, protects watersheds, provides outdoor science laboratories (the pituitary gland of a bird threatened with extinction may be found to cure leukemia; the root of a rare New Jersey Pine Barren orchid to cure another disease) and provides a recreational retreat for millions of persons, generation after generation.

The nation's dam builders—the Bureau of Reclamation and the Army Corps of Engineers—have long been targets of the preservationists. Federal dams for flood control or cheap power are often popular locally and as a consequence there are cases of too many dams being placed on the same river and too close to one another. Some of the most controversial dams—such as Northern Arizona's Glen Canyon Dam, now called the Eisenhower Dam—are in the Southwest. The proposed Grand Canyon dams—Marbled Canyon and Hualapai—were defeated in an emotional struggle inside and outside Congress, but had they been approved they would have caused the flooding of part of the canyon floor, destroying one of the world's most extraordinary geological and ecological entities. The living Colorado would no longer have been able to perform its ageless task of sculpturing the canyon.

Hetch Hetchy was a valley similar to Yosemite, and when a controversial dam was placed there in 1913 the power advocates promised that the resultant lake would attract thousands of visitors each year. Today Yosemite Valley has thousands of visitors each day, Hetch Hetchy has one or two. Nothing grows around the artificial lake as it rises and lowers daily with changes in the demand for power in the San Francisco area it serves.

The proposed Hooker Dam in southwestern New Mexico along the Gila River would back water into the Gila Wilderness. The proposed High Mountain Sheep Dam on the Snake River in Idaho threatens the nation's deepest gorge, Hell's Canyon. The proposed Dos Rios Dam along the Eel River in northern California would inundate lush Round Valley. The Rampart Dam along the Yukon River in Alaska would diminish 2,400,000 acres of duck breeding habitat, and the Red River Gorge Dam threatens the scenic Red River Gorge in Kentucky. In New Jersey the projected Tock's Island Dam on the Delaware, approved by the U.S. Senate in July 1969, poses a threat to future shad runs.

Conservationists argue that the best and most logical spots to place dams have long since been occupied. Furthermore, most dams are temporary (between 60 and 160 years) because silt, or mud, gradually fills the artificial lakes formed by dams. Also, since lakes

evaporate at a faster rate than moving water, a decrease in water results, something a thirsty region can ill afford. Canyon walls, because of their "sponge effect," absorb a lot of the water and also contribute to the water loss. Lake Powell, formed by the Eisenhower Dam, is far behind in its predicted rate of rise. One hundred or so years from now our descendants will see not Glen Canyon but the remnants of a dead lake surrounded by rocks and filled with desert sand. Finally, from an ecological standpoint, flood control is best served by protection of our flood plains and forests.

#### NATIONAL PARKS

New national parks have been established over the last few years, notably Canyonlands in Utah, Redwoods in California, Guadalupe Mountains in Texas, and North Cascades in Oregon, but still the parks cannot keep up with the visitors (7 per cent increase per year). In 1968, over 150 million people, approaching our nation's total population of 200 million, visited the National Park system. Obviously many of these were repeaters. The estimate for 1969 is 162 million. This deluge of mankind is not surprising when one observes the increased sales of birding, camping, and fishing equipment. This trend may reflect a new appreciation of nature, but the crowds mean that the natural beauty of many parks is threatened by construction of highways and parking facilities and lodges—and by litter. Some camp grounds have been turned into virtual slums. In some ways we are defeating the very purpose of having such parks, which was stated by Congress as to preserve intact all "flora and fauna."

The Gallup Poll cited earlier disclosed that most Americans (75 per cent) favored setting aside public lands for conservation. A *Christian Science Monitor* readers' poll (on the subject of our national parks) further showed that the majority favored the placing of some type of limitation on visitors, that new roads should be of the primitive scenic type, that U.S. highways should be removed, and all present wilderness areas preserved. In spite of the notoriety of the two 1967 deaths caused by grizzly bears, readers also favored the protection of all animals. Although swimming, mountain-climbing and the automobile cause far more park fatalities than grizzlies, such animals will have to be removed to lands designated as wilderness if present trends continue.

To reduce crowds at peak seasons, a plan is being considered by the present administration to suggest that school and industrial vacations be spread through the year instead of being concentrated in the summer. Oregon has stopped advertising itself as a tourist attraction, and has diverted those funds to combating litter. There are also plans to seek recreational facilities closer to urban areas.

The case of the Everglades National Park in Florida is typical of our losing battle for park protection. At one time the Everglades was sustained by fresh water from its major natural source, Lake Okeechobee, but for flood control purposes the Army Corps of Engineers diverted that water to reclamation project canals and sent it out to sea. The Everglades was threatened with water strangulation. This was partly resolved when the administrators of the Central and Southern Florida Flood Control District, in response to public pressure, allowed the Everglades National Park to receive the bare minimum of water, making it the only national park supported by artificial means.

Now the Everglades faces a new threat. The Dade County (Miami) Port Authority, backed by the Federal Aviation Administration, local merchants, and land speculators (and no doubt the major airlines), decided to build a major supersonic jetport. Construction has started on a training site—part of the projected total complex—whose pollution, noise, and land-fill pose a deadly

threat to this sawgrass region with its rare animal and plant life. It seems incredible, in the words of Gary Soucie, Eastern Representative of the Sierra Club, that "the U.S. public is unwittingly subsidizing the destruction of Everglades National Park."

Secretary of the Interior Hickel, Governor Kirk of Florida, and Transportation Secretary Volpe disclosed at a joint press conference in September 1969 that federal funds would not support the jetport but the government would continue to back the jet training site. (Some skeptical conservationists suggest that Hickel is going all out to save the Everglades in order to cover up his support of the exploitation of resources in his own state.) Since that time an Interior Department study has shown that even training flights would endanger the Everglades. Talk and study continue—but so does construction.

In discussing the intense competition for land use, it is almost impossible not to discuss population growth. The following statistics from the AFL-CIO are revealing: "In 1900 each American had the equivalent resources of 25 acres of land; by 1950 this was down by one half to 12.5 acres; in 1966 there were 9.7 acres of land per capita. When the year 2000 rolls around there will be less than 6 acres of land per capita."

Nothing has changed or scarred the American landscape more than has the highway. Urban areas, suburban trails, parks, open space, wildlife refuges—none has been safe. There are federal funds to build new roads, but little to widen existing roads. Secretary Volpe was against proposed regulations designed to give equal weight to local goals and objectives when highway locations were being considered, because he was against construction delays that would be caused by the inevitable hearings. Engineering criteria would continue to dominate the method of choosing location. Nevertheless, Volpe rejected a highway through New Orleans' historic French quarter—perhaps the beginning of a new trend.

President Nixon has asked the Congress for 10 billion dollars to be spent over a 12-year period for a mass transit system, to relieve highway congestion and reduce the pressure for more highway building. But many believe the rate of expenditure is too small. It also remains to be seen if the transit system, even though it would benefit more people, will get the support and attention that highways have in the past, since the automobile is a power and status and sex symbol.

#### CHEMICALS

In many other ways man flirts with upsetting the balance of nature. In March 1968 winds carrying "nerve gas" from the Dugway Proving Grounds in Utah killed thousands of sheep, and alerted the public to the dangers in chemical and biological warfare research. In summer 1969 when 27,000 tons of deadly chemical weapons were to be shipped in box cars from Colorado and dumped in the Atlantic, the public outcry was loud and emphatic: The interstate shipment would not be tolerated. The public outcry was loud, but not loud enough: A train derailment in September 1969 caused the evacuation of 30,000 residents of the Mississippi Delta when four cars containing vinyl chloride caught fire and the heat combined with the chemical to release deadly phosgene gas. Are sufficient precautions being taken to insure that a deadly strain of germ warfare virus does not escape somewhere?

Our domestic animals are continually treated with antibiotics and in eating the meat we accelerate the rate at which we become immune to the healing qualities of those antibiotics. Some of the problems associated with DDT and the other "hard" chlorinated hydrocarbon insecticides are becoming increasingly well known. DDT pollutes our soil and our water and kills beneficial insects. It threatens those species at ends

of long food chains, including the bald eagle: perhaps the possible loss of our nation's symbol is in itself symbolic. Man himself is threatened by DDT as there now appears to be a definite link to certain types of cancer and liver disorders. At the very least it has become "a remedy worse than the disease."

Oversaturation of the soil with fertilizers in order to increase production and profits has led Dr. Barry Commoner to say that "we are on a fertilizer kick." At Delano and McFarland, California, in 1967 intensive irrigation mixed with nitrate fertilizers caused the local water from the city's wells to become excessively contaminated with nitrates.

In general, industry's reaction to pollution seems to be, "Too bad, the government will have to clean it up. We can't afford the expense." It will be interesting, if unnerving to see what the oil industries' (and the government's) attitude will be toward new pollution threats in Alaska.

Estimates of the huge oil deposits discovered in 1968 on Alaska's North Slope (and claimed by the Eskimos) range from five billion barrels to 50 billion barrels. The problem is how the oil will be transported to market, a problem of concern to the oil industry and to conservationists. It could be trucked out over the new Walter J. Hickel Ice Highway which extends from Livingston to the oil fields, a distance of 400 miles; but although the highway will be used again this winter—in summer it is unusable because of melting conditions—last winter's original use did almost as much damage to the trucks as to the landscape. The tundra with its permafrost is not self-healing and even small gashes into the ground will last a decade. Its roughness is enough to jolt trucks and drivers into early retirement.

The industry now plans to lay a 48-inch-diameter pipe a distance of 800 miles (about the distance from New York to Jacksonville, Florida) between the oil fields and Valdez near Anchorage, a Pacific port. But if the pipe were to lie on the surface, it would create a hot barrier to migrating caribou and other arctic animals, since the oil to be carried will approach temperatures of 180° F. Should the pipe be buried and insufficiently insulated, the heat would probably cause it to sink deeper and deeper, melting the surrounding ice so as to create a melting river. Proper insulation might be prohibitively expensive. Breaks in the pipe due to earthquakes and other causes would be a grave problem. Should pollution occur, it would linger much longer than in warmer climates where bacterial action to counter the effects would be greater.

The method of transportation least threatening to the environment would seem to be via ice-breaking oil tankers through the Northwest Passage. The hazards on such a route would be greater than those along the charted route of the Torrey Canyon. There is also the risk that oil spills might occur at the loading facilities.

#### NEW CONSERVATION MOVES

At this point in history our environment is being attacked more aggressively than it is being defended (one recalls James Thurber's statement of the score: "Strontium 90—Civilization 0")—but some defensive measures are being taken. Both houses of Congress this year passed bills giving added protection to 89 American species of endangered wildlife. (Whenever extinction of a species occurs, a relationship extending throughout the millennium is broken. We are all part of the world's ecological system. It was the naturalist John Muir who said that "when we try to pick out anything by itself, we find it hitched to everything else in the universe." Perhaps the ecologist and the naturalist realize how fragile we all are, "riders on the earth together.")

A nationwide system of trails, a wild and scenic river system, a number of additional national parks and monuments and land-

use provisions were established during Stewart L. Udall's tenure as Interior Secretary in the Johnson administration. (He is now Adjunct Professor in Environmental Humanism at Yale.) Attention was given to designating wilderness areas but unfortunately wetlands, so vital to both the fishing and tourist industries, did not receive the same priority. Wetlands provide food and shelter for more wildlife than any other habitat, act as safety valves during floods, recharge our water tables, and produce oxygen. Why, then, has San Francisco Bay been partially filled? Why did Dade County, Florida, urge a jetport in the Everglades? Why is this type of habitat being permitted to disappear throughout the United States at an alarming rate? Presumably too few people understand the value of soggy, swampy, "unimproved" marsh land.

Inspired by oil slicks, smog, and mud slides, the California legislature in 1968 passed a bill (SB-1) making ecology and conservation required subjects of instruction in the state school system.

David R. Brower, former Executive Director of the Sierra Club, has established a new organization, Friends of the Earth, to make the environment a political issue. Contributions to the organization will not be tax deductible—unless our tax laws are changed to include conservation-lobbying under education.

In New Jersey, local conservation commissions have been established to set aside open spaces for recreation, wildlife, and esthetics and insure that conservation considerations are given to all city-planning decisions.

When heavy snows from the northern Midwest plains melted in April, 1969, many rivers to the south overran their banks. One such river was the Souris (Mouse) and as a consequence 12,000 homes in Minot, North Dakota, were flooded. During the same period, Mankato, Minnesota, was also hit by flood waters from the Minnesota River. Flood damage continues to accelerate as man continues to build within flood plains and in Mankato six out of every seven houses are located in the flood plain. Too few towns and municipalities situated near streams or rivers have flood-plain zoning ordinances to protect the integrity of the flood plain. When we substitute asphalt and concrete for trees and vegetation, we reduce the earth's "sponge" effect.

A New York State Conservation Bill of Rights was approved 5-to-1 in November at the general election. The bill states that "the right of the people to clean air, pure water, freedom from excessive and unnecessary noise, and the natural, scenic, historic and esthetic qualities of the environment should not be abridged." Maryland, Virginia and California have similar bills pending and presumably other states will follow. Some state enforcement regulations will be handled by the legislatures, other states will give public enforcement to the courts. There is also a bill in Congress (HJ 1321) to enact a National Conservation Bill of Rights. Howard W. Johnson, President of M.I.T., has said, "We are beginning to suspect that free speech and free press might become irrelevant if we were slowly strangled by the air we breathe or slowly poisoned by our drinking water."

#### LACK OF COORDINATION

Up to now there has been no single agency in the federal government organized to maintain an overall view of the problem. Agencies like the Soil Conservation Service, the Bureau of Reclamation, the Army Corps of Engineers, the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, the Forestry Service, the Federal Highway Administration, the National Park Service tend to become special-interest-serving and bureaucratic and too often one agency is pitted against another. There are now many who favor the creation of a Department of Conservation. A 17-member National Acad-

emy of Sciences panel in August 1969 recommended to the House Committee on Science and Astronautics that the federal government establish a single agency to alert the nation to the perils of uncontrolled technology. A bill is now pending which was introduced by Senator Case, proposing the creation of such an agency, a federal Department of Conservation and Environment.

A collective and coordinated approach by the federal government is finally emerging. The President has established an Environment Quality Council with himself as Chairman and made up of six Cabinet members, Vice-President Spiro T. Agnew as Vice-Chairman, and Dr. Lee A. DuBridge, the President's science adviser, as Executive Secretary. The criticism so far has been that some of our more qualified ecologists and biologists are not represented.

In July 1969 the Senate passed an Environmental Quality bill, declaring that "each person has a fundamental and inalienable right to a healthful environment." It authorized \$500,000 each for 1971 and 1972 and \$1,000,000 annually thereafter. The bill grants new authority to diverse federal agencies to conduct research on ecological systems and environmental quality. This modest fund would cover research and training grants. Basically, it directs the federal agencies to use a "systematic, interdisciplinary" approach in all goals that may possibly have an impact on the quality of the environment. In September 1969 the House in a record vote of 372 to 15 passed a similar bill but with amendments, and the bill is now in joint conference.

Some organizations are not waiting for a Bill of Rights but are using court action to protect our environment. The Environment Defense Fund (supported in part by the Rachel Carson Fund of the National Audubon Society), using mathematical system analysis and a multitude of scientific witnesses, brought court action against the use of DDT in Wisconsin. As I write, a final decision has not been reached, but the Wisconsin Assembly (lower house) voted 99 to 0 to ban DDT. Other legal actions have been initiated by the EDF: against a large pulp mill polluting the air in Missoula, Montana; against the Corps of Engineers for building the Trans-Florida Canal, which in turn is creating great ecological destruction in northern Florida; and against land developers in Colorado who are trying to obtain an area rich in fossil beds.

In Chicago two aldermen have sued the three major automobile producers for 3 billion dollars, charging them with conspiracy to delay the research and development of air pollution control devices on automobiles. That suit is one of several filed by individuals, as well as the state of California, against the industry.

The Civil Liberties Union in California, contending that the oil damage to beaches had deprived the people of Santa Barbara of a personal right as well as of property without due process, has filed suit against the government for allowing the off-shore drilling. The Sierra Club has obtained five injunctions against the government, the most notable being an order to restrain any further action to develop a Disney-sponsored "Alpine Village" at Mineral King National Forest pending full litigation of the suit.

Many colleges and universities without agricultural or forestry connections are showing concern over man's relation to his environment. Princeton University and its Center of International Studies, for example, recognizing that most of our problems are hindered by political problems more than a lack of technical knowledge and expertise, are sponsoring a conference of representatives with governmental, civic, business, and academic backgrounds in March 1970 to examine ways of coping most effectively with our ecological crisis. (The Alumni Association of Princeton is sponsoring a three-day Faculty-Alumni Seminar in June 1970 on the general theme of human ecology.)

The fight for survival is subtle. The poisons are increasing. Dr. Jerome Frank of Johns Hopkins said descriptively of the deep fear of all who are concerned over our crisis:

"Humans may be in the same plight as a frog placed in a pan of cold water which is very slowly heated. If the rise in temperature is gradual enough he will be boiled without ever without knowing what happened to him."

Pollution and population problems are like a giant ship coming into port. To stop such a ship from ramming the pier, the order to back engines full has to be made early in the ship's approach stage. It cannot be done at the last minute. Survival depends on foresight—and on a healthy amount of morbid imagination.

#### ADDENDUM 1. NERVOUS-MAKING STATISTICS

The Nixon Administration has cut \$70 million from the Johnson Administration's budgetary request for Land and Water Conservation Fund, used for parkland acquisition. It has recommended to Congress no additions to the National Park System or the Wilderness System. As a result such areas as Point Reyes, Cape Cod, Padres Island, Assateague, previously set aside as national seashore areas, are threatened by developers for lack of funds, as of mid-November.

A U.S. Forest Service Study released in October shows that about 1.3 million trees in Southern California are dying from smog effects. The damage has increased by a factor of four in just one year.

According to the Department of the Interior, in 1968 more than 15 million fish in U.S. waters were killed by water pollution.

Driving an automobile 25 miles at moderate speed uses up more air than would be breathed by 7 million people during the same time.

School children are not allowed to play outdoors in the Los Angeles area on those days when the smog reaches the point where the ozone content goes over .35. From July 3, to October 31, 1969, the school playgrounds were closed 39 times.

The death rate from bronchitis and emphysema in the U.S. is nine times as high as it was in 1949.

#### ADDENDUM 2. RAYS OF HOPE

Senator Gaylord Nelson, worried about the future we are offering to the young, is organizing environmental teach-ins on campuses across the nation on April 22, 1970.

The U.S. Government appears to be enforcing for the first time water-quality standards. In October it told Iowa to stop dumping raw sewage into the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. It also told Illinois, Missouri, and Kansas to hurry up and install water clean-up facilities. Iowa is resisting.

DDT has been banned by Michigan, Arizona, and Sweden. Canada in November announced that DDT will be reduced by 90% in 1970. The U.S. has announced plans to phase out all but "essential" uses of DDT in the next two years.

#### Believe It or Not

President Nixon approved continuing the SST project despite his own Ad Hoc Review Committee's recommendation against it. That committee questioned its economic feasibility and doubted Americans would ever tolerate the jarring sonic boom.

The Everglades jet training site was completed in November. The site will accommodate about 150,000 flights per year on a round-the-clock basis. In effect, Dade County Port Authority already has its jetport. The future of the Everglades National Park is in doubt, unless legal and other moves now contemplated are successful.

A Justice Department suit against automobile manufacturers, alleging that they had conspired to prevent the development of smog control devices, was dropped by the Attorney General.

Conservationists estimate that by 1984 the

algae in Lake Tahoe will turn it from blue to green.

## ADDENDUM 3

Thomas C. Southerland Jr.—U.S. Naval Academy graduate and former submariner—is Assistant Director of Princeton's Office of Research and Project Administration. He is a dedicated amateur ornithologist (has identified over 500 species of American birds) and a deeply committed conservationist. He is Vice-chairman of the Princeton Township Open Space Commission, Chairman of the Trustees of the Stony Brook-Millstone Watersheds Association, and Chairman of the Southern New Jersey Group of the Sierra Club.

[From Newsweek magazine, Dec. 22, 1969]

## NEW BAG ON CAMPUS

At the University of Washington, some 200 students recently planted 300 saplings in a swampy garbage dump just off campus; at Champaign-Urbana, 150 University of Illinois students scooped 60 tons of garbage from a creek flowing through the campus, and in Boston a group of local residents and young people from Harvard, MIT and Brandeis marched on the Statehouse to ask for stricter air-pollution controls. While front pages still report that the major student protests are centered on the war and the draft, concerned college students are enlisting increasingly in the fight for a cleaner, purer, less ravished environment. "We're just starting to get into this," explained a junior coed at the University of Minnesota during the mock burial of a gasoline engine. "We're objecting to the deterioration of our land, of the quality of our lives. Just look around—the air, the water, the roadsides, everything stinks."

Joined by former antiwar activists, young Democrats, crew-cut fraternity members and so-called hippies, the environment movement on campus is a response to alarms as varied as pesticides, oil slicks, logging of the redwoods and a host of consumer controversies—over such issues as cyclamates, meat-packing and car-exhaust pollution.

## OFFICIAL

Last week Ralph Nader, the consumer crusader and an idol to many undergraduates, launched a "nationwide student protest against polluters" by leading a small band—mostly students—in a march on the General Motors headquarters in New York. On an official level, leaders of the Interior Department met last week with 150 students as part of the Nixon Administration's first student seminar on protecting environmental quality. The atmosphere was warm but hardly cordial. "We want to make damn sure this Administration's interest is more than tokenism," announced a skeptical George Washington University law student at the start of the session. To show its good faith, the Interior Department plans nine more seminars during the Christmas holidays. President Nixon himself is preparing a State of the Union Message emphasizing the environment—including, possibly, a proposal to fund antipollution research and work-study programs at a dozen universities.

For its part, the U.S. Student Press Association hopes to broaden interest in the politics of pollution by devoting its annual college editors' conference in February to ecology and environment. And Wisconsin's Democratic Sen. Gaylord Nelson and California Rep. Paul McCloskey, a Republican, are organizing an April 22 teach-in on the environment at colleges across the country. Activists at the University of Wisconsin predict that more students will take part in the teach-in than observed the Vietnam Moratorium last Oct. 15.

Student protests against pollution have been strongest on the West Coast. More than half a dozen environmental-action groups have sprung up at Stanford itself, with programs ranging from dorm rap sessions to

legal aid for court fights against logging companies. (The largest of these bodies, the Stanford Conservation Group, started three years ago with twelve students—and now has 400.) Even at Stanford's graduate business school last month, ten students established a consulting service that performs feasibility studies for conservation groups seeking alternatives to projects they oppose.

## TACTICS

Students at Hastings law school in San Francisco have formed a group to study diesel bus exhaust and to investigate local water- and air-pollution agencies. Not everyone, of course, is pleased with such activism. "It's just like when the students got involved in the race issue," complained an official of the Bay Area Pollution Control District. "They want results right now."

Impatience triggered direct action at UCLA last month. In a demonstration against DDT and air pollution, about 100 students blocked recruiters from the Olin Corp., Monsanto, and Ford Motor Co. from holding job interviews on campus. But later many students had second thoughts about applying the tactics of the antiwar movement to environmental protests. Said Frank Steen, president of UCLA's Ecology Action Council, "Given the type of people we're attracting, largely life-science and environmental-science students, I don't think radical tactics are productive." Still, the tone of the antiwar movement has influenced the fight against pollution. "Many students," says Wayne Miyao, a social-science major, "view environmental problems and Vietnam as manifestations of the same political and economic situation."

Elsewhere as well, the movement cuts across political lines. Half the members of the month-old Ecology Action organization at Columbia are former members of SDS. But the other half, said a radical, "are unpolitical freaks who are into camping, hiking and mountain climbing."

At the University of Texas in Austin, a small group of students have formed the Legal Organization for Protection of Environment (known locally as the Chlorophyll Conspiracy) to save some trees that happened to be in the way of a planned expansion of the football stadium. Needless to say, football won in the end, but not until the police, under orders from Frank Erwin, chairman of the university board of regents, arrested 26 students—climbing ladders to pluck some from the upper branches. At a faculty meeting, Texas' professors voted 242 to 197 urging Erwin's impeachment.

## ACTION

Many schools have formalized student concern about ecology by establishing the study of environment as a part of the curriculum. The University of Illinois, for example, created a new course, General Engineering 293, to study pollution in the campus creek at the same time that students cleaned it up. The engineering department of LSU has just opened a new survey course dealing strictly with the problems of conservation and pollution. And last week Michigan State officials announced plans for a new Center for Environmental Quality. John Nellor, the professor of physiology who will direct the center, says he hopes it will produce "an action team, not just a lot of talk." MSU already has 345 research projects dealing with environmental problems.

Perhaps the nation's most active campus in ecology, as in other social and political areas, is the University of Wisconsin at Madison. There the Ecology Students Association is lobbying against air and water pollution in Madison, waste disposal and the use of defoliants in Vietnam. Madison even boasts a Whole Earth Cooperative specializing in macrobiotic health foods as "the raw materials for healthy living within a polluted environment."

Indeed, the strength and promise of the

burgeoning interest in the integrity of the American landscape is its appeal to students of all political leanings, from conservatives worried about preserving resources to hippies on a diet trip. "The new awareness," says Dennis Sustare, a zoology grad student and a leader of Wisconsin's Ecology Students Association, "is a combination of things. Some see it as a question of the survival of mankind. Some see it as a way of attacking our economic and social system, and others just don't see songbirds in their yards any more and they are wondering why."

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION  
ON THE LOOSE

HON. PAUL J. FANNIN

OF ARIZONA

AND

HON. GORDON ALLOTT

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, since there has been an abundance of criticism of the electronic media particularly, in the sometimes unobservable division of news from opinion, I think when a particularly good job is done it should be called to our attention.

WMAL, in Washington, D.C., has done an excellent job, in my view, of setting forth in perspective some of the realities behind the issue of having a Nativity scene on the Ellipse near the White House. Their editorial writer has done a most perceptive service in pinpointing the double standard employed by the American Civil Liberties Union in advocating a particular ideological viewpoint. The ACLU characterizes itself as a defender of those who cannot defend themselves, particularly in questions of civil liberties. However, it seems to me they have taken unto themselves a rather outspoken "antimajority" attitude whence comes the unspoken principle, "If the majority wants it, it must be wrong."

Mr. President, such an attitude carried to its ultimate conclusion results in a minority effecting control over the majority, which to me is a simple definition of an oligarchy, or more likely an autocracy or dictatorship.

Mr. President, I do not think such efforts should go forward under the guise of "tolerance." I, for one, am quite tired of those who, in the espousal of "tolerance" of all faiths, wind up by imposing their standard of "no faith at all." Over and over I have maintained that to force the religious beliefs of the atheist or agnostic upon the rest of us by law is as great a wrong as demanding one faith by all as a rule of law.

Let us not be mistaken; the object of the ACLU, and those who stand with it in contesting the right of a private organization to stage a Nativity scene on Government property at Christmastime, is not to maintain the traditional American separation of church and state; neither, I believe, does their action stem from a concern that one group of a certain religious persuasion is dominating or oppressing another group of a different persuasion. Scratch these ACLU

types a little below the surface, and you most likely will find either an unknown anarchist, a tunnel-vision "dupe," or a head-in-the-sand Marxist.

Mr. President, I commend the WMAL editorial of Wednesday, December 17, to the attention of the Senate and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, an effort is being made to prevent the display of a manger scene on the Ellipse for the annual Christmas pageant in Washington on the ground that the religious part of the pageant constitutes recognition of the church by the state.

Nothing, of course, could be further from the truth, as is plainly set out in an outstanding editorial by WMAL radio and television which was broadcast on Wednesday, December 17, 1969.

The editorial concludes with this thought:

Tolerance in America should be measured by how great a freedom we give all pluralistic institutions—not by how we relentlessly suppress the majority.

This is an excellent thought, particularly during this holiday season.

It should be understood that the opponents of religion—those who have fought voluntary prayers in public schools, those who would ban the astronauts from reciting prayer in space, those who are fighting Christmas programs in public schools, those who want the words "under God" removed from our pledge of allegiance—do not seek equal recognition of one set of ideas and values with another; they do seek the suppression of all acts and symbols of worship, no matter how insignificant, from public places.

Let us remember that while our Founding Fathers did want to separate for all time church and state, it is very clear that they never intended a separation of religion or God from the state.

I hope and pray, Mr. President, that this effort to ban the manger scene from the Ellipse and the many other attempts to eliminate God from public life will not succeed.

The Pilgrim Fathers came to this land to seek freedom of worship. It would be more than ironic if citizens should now be denied such a right in this Nation.

I join the Senator from Arizona (Mr. FANNIN) in asking unanimous consent that the WMAL editorial be printed in the RECORD.

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

#### A MATTER OF TOLERANCE

This may be the last year that the nativity scene will be displayed on the Ellipse for the traditional Christmas pageant. The American Civil Liberties Union has gone to court, arguing that display of the manger scene on public property amounts to an unconstitutional establishment of religion. It is important to stress that the pageant is staged by a non-profit private corporation which obtains a permit from the Interior Department. Many private groups, such as the anti-Vietnam War protest groups with their Viet Cong flags, have obtained similar permits.

While the ACLU is challenging display of the manger scene on public property, the New Jersey ACLU is attacking the right of military authorities to ban anti-Vietnam demonstrators from handing out leaflets on

the Ft. Dix, New Jersey, military reservation.

The Oregon ACLU has succeeded in having a cross taken out of a public park in Eugene, Oregon. The Iowa ACLU is defending eight Grinnell College students who undressed at a public meeting, on grounds that not allowing them to disrobe violates free speech.

The Pittsburgh ACLU is charging that a Pennsylvania School District violated the Supreme Court ban on prayer in public schools. The national ACLU is opposing Administration efforts to curb obscene mail.

The national ACLU wants church property taxed even if used for religious purposes. The national organization is, however, defending private foundations that indulge in political activity on grounds that foundations have made "an enormous contribution to our national well-being"—a compliment the ACLU apparently feels does not extend to churches.

Experience indicates that ACLU lawyers will argue fine points of law in each of these cases with admirable skill.

We believe, however, that some matters are better decided by common sense tempered with tolerance.

It would not have been fair to argue that the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King could not speak at the Lincoln Memorial because he was an ordained minister and his appearance constituted establishment of religion. The granting of march permits to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference certainly did not violate the Constitution.

Tolerance in America should be measured by how great a freedom we give all our pluralistic institutions—not by how we relentlessly suppress the majority.

#### THE STRATEGY OF RETREAT

### HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, as most know there was more than the debating involved in the voting that took place last week on voting rights legislation.

It has not gone unnoticed by the press. One of the newspapers which clearly pointed out the intent of the administration's bill was the Record of Hackensack, N.J. Editorially, the Record said on December 16, 1969:

#### THE STRATEGY OF RETREAT

The Administration's bill wrecking the Voting Rights Act of 1965, now passed 208-203 by the House of Representatives, is a cynical sellout of both principle and the progressive forces in the South that have been working toward final elimination of apartheid.

It is cynical because the Administration bill was represented by its sponsors as a way of substituting a nationwide approach for a sectional approach to discrimination against voters on the ground of race.

It was no such thing. The 1965 act has worked so well that today 800,000 more Southern Negroes are registered to vote than were before it was passed.

And that is exactly why the Southern bloc in Congress wanted it killed and the Nixon bill substituted for it.

The substitute transfers from the federal government to the individual states the initiative for reform of voter registration. The 1965 act requires that states which are subject to it submit proposed changes to the federal government for approval. The Nixon substitute would let the Justice Department keep track of such changes and then bring suit, if it wished.

It is deducible from the way the Nixon administration has dealt with school segregation that nothing will happen if the Nixon bill becomes law. The Supreme Court itself had to tell the Justice Department it could no longer delay integration in Mississippi. If a department so manned is ceded the initiative in cases involving discrimination against voters it will have at its disposal all kinds of techniques of indefinite delay, including the delays of litigation even supposing litigation is started.

Mr. Nixon is plainly running against George Wallace for the support of Southern reactionaries. In view of the excellence of so much of his first year in office it is beneath his dignity.

It would be good to get a two-party South, but the way toward it is not slavish adherence to white supremacists. The Senate can preserve the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and kill Mr. Nixon's step into the past. It should do so.

As one who voted against the administration bill I say amen to the Record's comments.

#### LYNN STONE NAMED NINTH PRESIDENT OF CHURCHILL DOWNS, HOME OF THE KENTUCKY DERBY

### HON. MARLOW W. COOK

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. COOK. Mr. President, on December 16, 1969, Mr. Lynn Stone was named the ninth president of Churchill Downs, home of the Kentucky Derby in Louisville.

Stone is the youngest president in the track's 96 year history. He is only 44 years old. The well-known and respected Wathen Knebelkamp retired as president of Churchill Downs after more than 10 years of distinguished service.

The new president, who was born in New Orleans, but moved to California when he was only 4 years old, has been extremely active in sports all of his life. As an outstanding athlete in high school, Stone won an athletic scholarship to attend the University of San Francisco.

He left the university to enlist in the U.S. Coast Guard, serving for 3 years, including time in the Pacific theater of war. After discharge, he signed a professional baseball contract with the New York Yankees where he played for 3 years in minor league baseball with the Yankees and the old Brooklyn Dodger organizations—at the same time attending classes at Long Beach City College. Stone left baseball to teach at Southern California Military Academy.

After 2 years of teaching he returned to baseball, this time as general manager of the Ventura, Calif., club in the California Baseball League. He moved to Evansville, Ind., as general manager of that Three I League team from 1952 to 1955.

The next step up the baseball ladder was as general manager of Wichita, in the American Association, for the 1956-58 seasons. Stone moved to Kentucky when the Wichita franchise moved to Louisville in 1950.

His association with Churchill Downs

began in September 1961, when he was hired by Mr. Knebelkamp as resident manager. He was named vice president and general manager in June 1966.

In addition to Stone's keen interest in racing, he finds time to play golf, around the 80 mark, and to fish.

Mrs. Stone, the former Rebecca Snyder of Owensboro, Ky., was Miss Kentucky in 1965.

Knebelkamp said:

As my 10½ year tenure as president is ending, I consider it one of my highest compliments that a man of Lynn Stone's stature will be the new president of Churchill Downs.

He is competent in every regard and will carry on the high tradition of the track.

Stone promises that his energies will be devoted to keeping the derby the greatest horse race in the world.

All of us in Kentucky are thrilled to have Lynn Stone as the new Mr. Kentucky Derby.

#### A JUDGMENT ON THE NIXON "PLAN"

### HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an editorial entitled "A Judgment on the Nixon 'Plan'," published in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of December 12, 1969.

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

#### A JUDGMENT ON THE NIXON "PLAN"

Senator Fulbright has been patient and forbearing beyond the call of duty in giving the Nixon Administration a chance to demonstrate the validity of its alleged plan for ending the Vietnam war. His admirable address at Washington University, a point-by-point refutation of President Nixon's speech of Nov. 3, is a polite announcement that the honeymoon is over.

The chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has concluded that the Administration policy of "Vietnamization" will not end the war but perpetuate it. He rejects Mr. Nixon's claim that we have only two alternatives—to withdraw precipitately or to Vietnamize the war. The Senator identifies a third option. We can, as he says, negotiate a phased withdrawal of all our troops—not only the ground combat troops—on the basis of agreement on a coalition government to rule South Vietnam until the withdrawal is complete and elections are held.

Assuming that the Administration is sincere in believing that Vietnamization will end the war, the difference between Mr. Nixon and Senator Fulbright may be said to be one of judgment. Will the Administration policy work, or won't it?

We think experience, present realities and future probabilities overwhelmingly support the Senator's judgment. We simply do not believe the optimistic appraisals advanced to show what a great success Vietnamization already is, and how Saigon's troops are rapidly proving their ability to win by themselves a war they could not win alongside 550,000 American troops. These rosy promises are only a new version of the periodic forecasts of imminent victory with which the Johnson Administration beguiled the nation into ever

deeper entanglement. They fly in the face of the history of our intervention.

Nor are we persuaded by the Administration's contrived rationale that as South Vietnam takes over the war Hanoi and the National Liberation Front will be under greater and greater pressure to accept a settlement on Saigon's terms. This again, in our opinion, flies in the face of the history of the war. The Communist nationalists do not fear Saigon, and after a generation of civil war we cannot imagine their capitulating.

We believe Hanoi is ready to negotiate, not a capitulation, but a compromise political settlement in return for complete withdrawal of American forces. Withdrawing half of our troops while supporting the Saigon regime with the other half will not increase the pressure on Hanoi to negotiate, but just the contrary. Without a complete withdrawal, it seems to us Hanoi will be less rather than more willing to accept a settlement.

What if Mr. Nixon is right and Senator Fulbright wrong on the workability of Vietnamization? One may say that time will tell, let us wait and see. The trouble is that while waiting five or ten years to see, thousands more young men will die, the Vietnamese people will be further debauched and degraded, and the brutalizing poison already at work in American society will bring us closer and closer to moral disintegration. Whatever the practicalities of Vietnamization, it is morally reprehensible to transform an unjustifiable war of our own into a proxy war, in which we hire others to fight for our pride, our "honor," our self-esteem.

Notwithstanding all the optimistic propaganda about the forthcoming success of Vietnamization, the Administration has never committed itself to withdraw more than some 250,000 ground combat troops, which would leave between 200,000 and 300,000 air, artillery and support forces in Vietnam for the indefinite future. In its own statements there is much evidence that this is indeed "the plan"—to mollify opinion at home by withdrawing draftees from ground combat, but to support a war of indefinite duration with career servicemen, weapons and money. If this is the case, then the Administration policy is not to end the war, as Mr. Nixon promised in order to win election, but to make it politically tolerable.

Senator Fulbright evidently has reached this conclusion. Just as he fought the Johnson Administration for waging war while promising peace, evidently he has decided to fight the Nixon version of the same policy. We are confident that many other Americans, as they come to understand the Nixon policy, will reach the same decision.

#### NCDC—FIRST IN CHARITABLE FUND RAISING ETHICS CODE

### HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, it has been brought to my attention that the National Catholic Development Conference, established in 1968, has adopted a code of ethics called "Precepts of Stewardship." The NCDC is a professional association of Catholic organizations which are engaged in raising funds to support their charitable, educational, and welfare activities, and the Precepts of Stewardship constitute the first ethical code applicable to religious fund raising in this country. I believe they are worthy of study, and am pleased to cite them:

#### PRECEPTS OF STEWARDSHIP

##### PREAMBLE

Conscious of our responsibility to God and to the People of God; respectful of the directives of the Holy Father, the laws of the Church as well as the laws of the land; acknowledging the changeless principles of good stewardship in this ever-changing apostolate; anxious to elevate fund raising to the sacramentality of true charity; and mindful that our common purpose is one of uncommon service to our fellow man; WE, as members of the National Catholic Development Conference, do affirm our adherence to the following precepts:

##### I

That member organizations shall have approval of the appropriate religious authority for all fund-raising and promotional activities.

##### II

That sound business practice is fundamental to good stewardship. Particularly WE, as receivers of monies given in trust, have the binding obligation of full accountability in accordance with the most stringent ethical, legal, and fiscal standards.

##### III

Appeals should be marked by a dignity of nature, a clarity of language, and a validity of purpose in harmony with the highest Christian principles, stressing the Love of God as the motivation for giving.

##### IV

That consideration should always be given to avoid undue conflict with other approved appeals.

##### V

That in the event items of piety, religious cards or other promotional pieces are incorporated in any appeal, they shall be in good taste, presented as gifts without obligation or constraint of payment.

##### VI

That enrollments in Mass Associations, and Purgatorial Societies, and the use of Spiritual Bouquet cards are in keeping with Catholic tradition. However, numerical emphasis on Masses and other spiritual benefits is to be avoided.

##### VII

That great prudence should be exercised with regard to obtaining, maintaining and utilizing lists of names and addresses of present, prospective and past benefactors. Such lists should at all times be within the full ownership and control of the member organization.

##### VIII

That no member shall enter into any arrangement or contract involving payment in the form of a percentage or commission on funds raised.

##### IX

That similarity of copy, art work, and general presentation is unavoidable in our closely related field of endeavor; however, the exact reproduction or evident imitation of the material of another organization by a member is reprehensible.

#### THE AFTERTASTE OF THE HAYNSWORTH VOTE

### HON. ALBERT W. WATSON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, just after the Senate voted to reject the nomination of Judge Clement Haynsworth to serve on the Supreme Court, the editorial

board of WBT radio and WBT television in Charlotte, N.C., broadcast an outstanding editorial which I believe speaks for the majority of the American people. I would like to include this editorial as a part of my remarks as follows:

**THE AFTERTASTE OF THE HAYNSWORTH VOTE**

The U.S. Senate acted within its rights in rejecting Judge Clement Haynsworth as a member of the Supreme Court, but the aftertaste of the whole matter is anything but pleasant.

From reports that have filtered out of Washington, the vote by the Senate would seem to be less a determination of whether Judge Haynsworth was qualified for the job than the result of a political tug of war. The extreme pressure that was exerted on the Senators by labor and racial groups on one side and by the administration on the other, makes it questionable whether at least some of the Senators voted their true convictions or were reacting to external forces. It gives a queasy feeling that the whole business was handled with something less than statesmanship.

In contrast is the notable and forgiving manner in which Judge Haynsworth accepted this bitter decision. Listen to his words:

"... For our country's sake, I hope the debate will prove to have been a cleansing agent which will smooth the way for the President's next and later nominees. . . . I hope my friends and supporters will recognize that the greatness of the Senate as an institution is not diminished by individual disagreement with it."

The Supreme Court could have used a mind of such lofty proportions.

But the sad deed is done, and President Nixon must now submit a nomination for someone else. There is still reason to doubt those senators who stoutly maintained that Judge Haynsworth's being a Southerner and moderately conservative had nothing to do with their rejection of him. To lay this doubt to rest, or to prove that it is justified, this station urges the President to select another qualified Southerner and conservative. There are plenty of fine ones from which to choose; the Court needs such a person to put it back in balance; and it would be interesting to see how he would fare at the hands of the Senate.

**DO NOT FORGET CONG ATROCITIES,  
REPRESENTATIVE ANDREWS RE-  
MINDS UNITED STATES**

**HON. BILL NICHOLS**

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, there has been an overwhelming amount of publicity lately concerning the alleged incident at Mylai. Somehow, the press of this country seems to relish publicizing the incidents involving American soldiers in Vietnam, but they forget that the other side has continuously carried out barbaric raids against Vietnam civilians. Our colleague, Congressman GEORGE ANDREWS, has pointed out these Vietcong atrocities in his weekly newspaper column. His recent column was picked up by the Birmingham News, and I would like to have the News' story printed in the RECORD following my remarks. I would hope that more of our colleagues would remind their constituents that the other side in this war has committed far more acts of terror than Americans and

our allies have even been accused of. The column follows:

**DO NOT FORGET CONG ATROCITIES, REPRESENTATIVE ANDREWS REMINDS UNITED STATES**

WASHINGTON.—U.S. Rep. George Andrews of Alabama's Third District has warned that the U.S. must "not get carried away by the emotional spasms and fantasies of this country's naive war critics, who viciously attack their own countrymen and close their eyes to the real barbarians in this war—the Communists."

The congressman from Union Springs commented in his weekly column "Capital Views" concerning the alleged massacre of the village of My Lai in Vietnam.

Here is the text of Rep. Andrews' column, which he writes primarily for newspapers in his district but which this week particularly is of general interest:

Reaction to the alleged massacre of Vietnamese civilians by American soldiers in the village of My Lai has generally been one of shock. Yet, shock is one thing; hysteria is quite another.

Because we Americans consider ourselves civilized and humane, we do not expect our soldiers to kill innocent men, women, and children—in war or peace—and our government prohibits this as a matter of policy.

If the My Lai reports prove true, the guilty should and will be punished. To demand more than this and to condemn more than those guilty would be unfair and dangerous.

Despite the "trial" being conducted by the television networks and a few newspapers, the incident at this point has not been fully substantiated. The matter is being investigated and courtmartial proceedings have been set.

Neither the entire military establishment nor the nation will be tried in the courtroom. Likewise, there is no need to do so in the halls of Congress, but just such an attempt is being made.

Anti-war critics who are now so horrified at the My Lai episode have for years been sitting in silence as report after report of Viet Cong atrocities has flowed from the battlefield. Where has this new-found "concern" for the innocent civilians in South Vietnam been hiding?

One U.S. senator said, the My Lai massacre will take its place along with Lidice, Katyn Forest, and Malmédy. If true, it may indeed. But the senator might logically have included the Hue massacre, where over 2,000 old men and women, young girls and boys, priests, nuns, and doctors were systematically executed by the Viet Cong. Mass graves are still being opened in and around Hue.

Following the My Lai revelations, Sen Edward Kennedy felt moved to announce his own Vietnamese civilian death toll figure of 300,000 since 1965, adding that "the majority . . . have been stimulated by ARVN (South Vietnamese) and U.S. forces."

His statistics are highly questionable, and his notion that we are doing a better job of killing our allies than the Viet Cong is idiotic. His statement, as pure nonsense, ranks well with one that appeared in a New York Times editorial which called Ho Chi Minh a "formidable foe who might have been a friend if this country had been more consistently faithful to some of its noblest principles which he admired."

In discussing the matter of war atrocities, it might be well to remember a little Vietnamese history. Following Ho Chi Minh's victory over the French, he turned on his own people to give them a little Communist "party discipline," and estimates are that between 50,000 and 100,000 died during these bloodbaths.

He had some more problems during the 1950's—while the rest of the world was watching the rape of Hungary by the "peacefully coexisting" Soviet Union—and butchered some 6,000 more unarmed villagers in

Nghe An province. They had objected to unreasonable taxation.

By the end of 1967, the Communists had committed at least 100,000 acts of terror against the people of South Vietnam, and they have not slowed down. Department of Defense reports show that during the first eight months of 1969, 4,621 civilians were killed in these documented incidents of terrorism. This compares with 5,389 deaths by the same terror tactics during all of 1968, which was the previous peak year for terrorism in South Vietnam.

I do not present these facts as justification for any slaughter of civilians that some Americans might have been involved in during this war. Yet, the actions of a few soldiers must not be used to condemn the valor and humanity of the rest of our forces in Vietnam, or to discredit our role in freeing South Vietnam from Communist aggression.

And above all, let's not get carried away by the emotional spasms and fantasies of this country's naive war critics, who viciously attack their own countrymen and close their eyes to the real barbarians in this war—the Communists.

**HELP PRISONERS OF WAR**

**HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I know there has been a lot of interest in the prisoners of war now held in North Vietnam. I have written my newsletter this week on that matter. In view of the interest and inquiries that have been made by various Members of the Congress, I thought my colleagues would be interested in what I said on this matter to the good people who reside in my congressional district. The newsletter follows:

**NEWSLETTER OF HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER**

Is there anything you can do, at this Christmas season, to help the hundreds of American families who don't know whether their fathers, sons or brothers are dead—or alive in a prison camp in North Vietnam?

Yes, there is. You can join the "Write Hanol" campaign of the American Red Cross.

The Government of North Vietnam signed the 1949 Geneva Convention which prescribes humanitarian standards for the treatment of captured military personnel in time of conflict. This convention calls for—

Prompt release of the names of all prisoners.

Adequate diet and medical care.

Prisoners allowed to receive and send mail.

Repatriation of seriously sick or wounded prisoners.

Protection from abuse or reprisals.

Free access to prisoners by such a neutral intermediary as the all-Swiss International Committee of the Red Cross.

The North Vietnamese have failed to live up to the promises they made in signing the Geneva Convention. They are holding an estimated thirteen hundred Americans under conditions that are in direct violation of the Geneva Convention. They won't give us the names of their prisoners. The American families of these men know only that they are missing. Definite knowledge that they are alive—even in captivity—would relieve a lot of the heartbreak for their folks at home.

Last September a resolution calling upon all nations to honor the Geneva Convention was adopted unanimously by delegates to the International Conference of the Red Cross held in Istanbul, Turkey. At that conference,

most of the nations of the world, including the Communist block, were represented. Since that time national Red Cross societies in eighteen countries have made direct appeals to North Vietnam, urging compliance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention. A resolution backing the Red Cross in its effort to gain proper treatment for American prisoners is now pending in the Congress of the United States. I am one of the sponsors of this resolution.

Now for your part. The Red Cross is sponsoring a nationwide "Write Hanoi" campaign. Individuals and groups are being urged to join in an appeal for humane treatment of American prisoners of war. North Vietnam has shown an awareness of public opinion in the United States. The Red Cross campaign aims to show Hanoi that on this humanitarian issue, Americans are not divided.

You don't need a form letter for this campaign. Your message should come from the heart. It costs only a quarter to send a letter to Hanoi by airmail. Your letter should be addressed to:

Office of the President  
Democratic Republic of Vietnam  
Hanoi, North Vietnam

I hope that every person who receives this letter will join this appeal of the American Red Cross.

#### MONEY WILL NOT BUY PEACE FROM THE "VIOLENT" MOVEMENT

### HON. MASTON O'NEAL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, nothing is more obvious than the truism "money will not buy peace from the 'violent' element."

Such was the heading the Thomasville, (Ga.), Times-Enterprise placed on its great editorial in the issue of December 16.

It never stopped a blackmailer from blackmailing nor a robber from robbing. As Lord Chamberlain learned, appeasement never appeased anyone.

This editorial and its central theme as expressed in the headline should be shared with our colleagues and others who read the RECORD. It follows:

#### MONEY WON'T BUY PEACE FROM THE VIOLENT ELEMENT

The National Violence Commission report, a voluminous 338-page document, plus nine separate reports on various angles of the violence problem, has been made public.

Notable features of the report is a recommendation for the spending of \$20 billions a year with five years as a test period, in an effort to solve the major problem of violence.

Notable also is the fact that the emphasis is on more and more money with the matter of law enforcement as a means for ending violence, apparently relegated to a secondary position.

It doesn't take a National Violence Commission composed of distinguished Americans to understand and appreciate the fact that the present wave of violence is due primarily to the fact that the highest court in the land and the White House, for the past several years have not only condoned, but by their failure to take firm action promptly have allowed conditions to get out of hand. Failure to act unquestionably has encouraged those bent on violence to defy the laws of the land, resulting in the destruction of millions of dollars worth of property, the

taking of human life, including that of men charged with law enforcement.

Officers have been made to submit to all kinds of indignities and in court trials of trouble-makers they have found themselves at serious disadvantage because of technicalities in the law, and by reason of higher court rulings which have tied the hands of those who have had to defend themselves against charges of brutality and abuse of authority. In a sense they have been made the laughing stock of the country, because the criminal element which is the violent element, knows the courts have leaned over backwards to favor them, giving them the advantage of every loophole in the law.

And as in a case in California a few years ago where eleven men had been convicted as dangerous, revolutionary-minded Communists, the Supreme Court of the United States set them free, notwithstanding the government and state of California had spent hundreds of thousands of dollars running them down and brining them into court.

With knowledge that the "violent" element has no respect for law, but intend to break down the law and the civil constitutional institutions of the land, the courts have ignored to a great extent the rights of the "silent Americans" in order to favor the criminals.

There was a time when the violence could have been controlled, but it has been allowed to get out of control, both the JFK and LBJ administrations adopting a "go easy attitude" on them, thus encouraging them to become bolder and more determined to have their way.

It has happened in various colleges and universities, where a vacillating policy has resulted in open defiance of the law, with a small group in each case attempting to take over, thus overlooking the rights of the great majority of students who are there to get an education. They are the "silent majority."

What is happening in the U.S.A. has happened in other lands, with bloody revolution often the end result. Don't forget that Dictator Fidel Castro and his Communist friends in Moscow and Peking are serving as "Advisers" in this campaign to overturn the government of this nation.

Trying to buy law observance by the "violent" group won't work. We tried to buy friendship the world over, but it doesn't work. Experience should be our guide in this matter.

#### JAMES D'ANDREA—MICROELECTRONICS "MAN OF THE YEAR"

### HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I was very pleased to learn that one of my constituents, Mr. James B. D'Andrea of Metuchen, N.J., has recently been presented with the first annual award of the International Society for Hybrid Microelectronics. The award honors that individual who the society feels has contributed most during the year to thick film technology.

In making the presentation, Mr. Wayne Martin, president of the society, said:

Mr. D'Andrea is a very unique individual—the "common man"—who was the catalysis that started this entire thick film industry. In the late 1950's while an employee of the Du Pont Company's Perth Amboy Ceramics Laboratory and working on his own, he developed the first stable thick film resistor compositions.

In 1960 U.S. Patent No. 2,924,540 was granted in Mr. D'Andrea's name for the new material. However, commercial breakthrough did not come until 1961 when, persevering as a technical salesman, he brought the product to the attention of International Business Machines Corp. and many other firms. At that time IBM was interested in the material for printed electronic resistors. This led to their use in the company's system/360 computer line.

Acceptance of the resistor material spurred D'Andrea's own company, Du Pont, and other firms in developing broad lines of thick film compositions for a wide variety of electronic applications.

Mr. Williams stated:

As in the case of all new products, success can be laid to talented men, working diligently to bring a highly creative idea to commercial success. Too often their work is not seen or publicized but the entire economy is richer for their contribution. Therefore, it is a great pleasure for the society to honor Mr. D'Andrea as the recipient of its first award.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to add my own congratulations to such a distinguished constituent. And I would also like to include at this point the following article from the Perth Amboy News Tribune:

"MAN OF YEAR" AWARD WON BY D'ANDREA

The International Society for Hybrid Microelectronics presented its "Man of the Year" award to James B. D'Andrea of Metuchen at ceremonies in Dallas, Texas.

D'Andrea, a native of Perth Amboy and a graduate of Perth Amboy schools and the Newark College of Engineering, began his research for the Electronics Products Division of DuPont, Wilmington, Delaware.

His work has led to several patents, among which is one on resistor composition.

It was for this work, as well as other contributions, that D'Andrea was honored in Dallas. The work of D'Andrea was cited as a major contributing factor in the birth of a new technology based on the marriage of chemistry and electronics adopted by many companies in the computer field.

This is the first such award ever given in the history of the society.

#### RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE GOVERNING BOARD OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE GOVERNMENTS

### HON. J. GLENN BEALL, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. BEALL of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the governing board of the Council of State Governments has recently adopted nine resolutions stating policy positions on a like number of significant issues. While I do not necessarily agree with the positions taken on all of these matters, I do believe that the Members of Congress should be aware of them. I am, therefore, including them in the RECORD for the information of my colleagues. They are as follows:

#### RESOLUTIONS OF THE GOVERNING BOARD OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE GOVERNORS

##### REVENUE SHARING

The Council of State Governments recommends that a federal revenue sharing plan be formulated on the following basis:

(1) Congressional appropriations for revenue sharing should be made on the basis of the federal individual income tax base.

(2) Congressional appropriations for revenue sharing should be made to a trust fund established in the Treasury of the United States.

(3) The sums appropriated should be allocated among the States, based primarily on population adjusted by relative state and local tax effort. The relationship between the taxing ability and the percentage of federally-held and administered land acreage in each State should also be considered. Local units of government should share appropriately in the funds allocated to the States.

(4) The federal pass-through formula should provide for sharing revenue only with general purpose units of government.

(5) No functions should be excluded from expenditures made from shared funds.

#### TAXATION OF STATE AND LOCAL BONDS

Be it resolved by the Governing Board of the Council of State Governments that:

(1) We affirm the basic constitutional principle that neither the federal nor state governments without mutual agreement have the authority to tax the other.

(2) We assert that state and local bonds issued for general governmental purposes must remain tax exempt.

(3) We strongly oppose those aspects of the House-passed Tax Reform Act of 1969 (H.R. 13270) which would adversely affect the marketability of state and local securities and thus the provision of needed public services and facilities.

#### MULTISTATE TAXATION

For many years the Council of State Governments has opposed federal legislation which would restrict the taxing jurisdiction of the States and provide preferential tax immunity to some businesses, and has expressed full support for state participation in the Multistate Tax Compact.

The Council also supports an expanded version of a congressional consent bill for the Multistate Tax Compact to allay concern in the Congress that the States are seeking a blank check in the area of multistate taxation.

The Council of State Governments therefore urges Congress to enact legislation, drafted by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations in collaboration with the Council, which incorporates the Multistate Tax Compact and expresses congressional consent to enactment thereof by the States, plus the following additional provisions:

(1) The three-factor formula (Uniform Division of Income for Tax Purposes Act) developed by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws is made mandatory for net income taxes upon States which have not enacted the Compact by July 1, 1971; and

(2) States are given jurisdiction to require collection of sales tax by sellers making interstate deliveries into a State if the seller makes regular household deliveries there.

#### WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION AND RADIATION EXPOSURE

Resolved, that the Council of State Governments supports the proposition that all workmen's compensation acts should provide full coverage for medical services reasonably necessary in the treatment of injuries resulting from ionizing radiation.

Resolved, that the Council of State Governments supports the proposition that all workmen's compensation acts should provide coverage for all employees who sustain injuries as a result of exposure to ionizing radiation in their employment.

Resolved, that the Council of State Governments favors in principle the efforts of the Atomic Energy Commission in urging States to require employers to keep records as to employees' exposure to radiation and

to provide for a central repository of occupational radiation exposure information.

#### JURISDICTION OVER LABOR RELATIONS

Whereas, it has been the consistent policy of the National Labor Relations Board since 1935 to leave to the States labor relations matters which affect colleges and universities; and

Whereas, in 1947, the Congress determined that there was no need expressly to exclude educational institutions from federal coverage in view of the National Labor Relations Board's definitive practice of declining jurisdiction in this area:

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Governing Board of the Council of State Governments that the National Labor Relations Board be urged to adhere to its long established policy of not asserting jurisdiction over matters affecting colleges and universities and to take no action which would preempt the States in this area.

#### CURTAILMENT OF FUNDS FOR FEDERAL CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS

Whereas, the National Administration has initiated a policy of curtailing the expenditure of funds for federal public works projects; and

Whereas, since such a policy affects only minor portions of the expenditures of the total economy which are contributing to inflation, there is a serious question whether the planned cutbacks can have more than a token effect in combating inflation; and

Whereas, the cutback policy unfairly hits some parts of the country much harder than others, since the economy of some areas are dependent to a large extent on federal construction projects, while the economy of other areas is but little affected; and

Whereas, the curtailment will unnecessarily cause the loss of hundreds of lives which otherwise would be saved by the construction on schedule of the safe multi-lane federal interstate highway system:

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Governing Board of the Council of State Governments that the National Administration be and is hereby requested to review and reevaluate its program of combating inflation by curtailing the expenditure of funds for federal public works projects with the view of replacing it with a program which is both fair and effective.

#### FEDERAL RESEARCH GRANTS

Whereas, within the federal executive branch and its constituent departments, there is an uneven policy with regard to the eligibility of state legislative agencies for federal research grants; and

Whereas, such policy creates discrimination between state legislative agencies and state executive and administrative agencies; and

Whereas, the Intergovernmental Relations Committee of the National Legislative Conference recommended that this policy be reversed, and that the Bureau of the Budget and the Vice President clarify the eligibility of legislative agencies for such grants:

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Governing Board of the Council of State Government that:

1. State legislative agencies should be eligible to receive federal research grants on the same basis and conditions as state executive and administrative agencies;

2. The Bureau of the Budget and the Vice President be urged to issue an appropriate communication clarifying the eligibility of state legislative agencies for such grants; and

3. Copies of this resolution be transmitted to the Office of the Vice President and the Bureau of the Budget.

#### LEGISLATIVE MODERNIZATION

Whereas, the Committee on Legislative Modernization has now completed its second year of operation; and

Whereas, the committee has explored

means of encouraging States to adopt the recommendations contained in the report of this committee submitted to the Governing Board a year ago; and

Whereas, the committee recommends that the Council continue work in the field of legislative modernization:

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Governing Board of the Council of State Governments that the Executive Committee be requested to authorize promptly staff augmentation for increased activity in areas of legislative services, procedures and modernization, as set forth in the report on Council staffing and financial needs; and

Be it further resolved that the National Legislative Conference be requested to serve in an advisory capacity to Council staff operations in these described areas and to cooperate with other national organizations, public and private, which have an interest in improving the American legislation structure.

#### VOCATIONAL-TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Be it resolved by the Governing Board of the Council of State Governments that recognition be given to the importance of vocational-technical education and the need for prompt action to establish program and institution accreditation of vocational-technical education; and

Be it further resolved that national and regional accrediting associations be requested to reconsider their denial of intention to accredit programs within vocational-technical schools; and

Be it further resolved that the Education Commission of the States be requested to lend its good offices toward solution of the current impasse which is blocking meaningful accreditation programs for vocational-technical education; and

Be it further resolved that the Committee of State Officials on Suggested State Legislation give consideration to model legislation which would provide for accreditation programs under state auspices and interstate compacts.

#### COMMISSIONER JAMES ALLEN ON COMMUNITY COLLEGES

#### HON. JOHN DELLENBACK

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Speaker, today more than ever our Nation needs a well-educated populace. As our society and our problems become increasingly complex, more and more people have come to realize that we cannot afford to make higher education a luxury to be enjoyed by only a small sector of the population.

I believe the community college will be in the vanguard of making post-secondary educational opportunities available on a wide scale. Throughout the entire field of education, the community college holds out probably the greatest promise of innovation and progress. The Nation is going to be asking a great deal of community colleges in the future, and I believe there must be significant Federal support to help these institutions meet this challenge.

U.S. Commissioner of Education James E. Allen, Jr., recently spoke to the National Council of State Directors of Community-Junior Colleges, and indicated that the present administration is prepared to give that support. I commend the Commissioner's address to my colleagues' attention as a comprehensive

report on how community colleges can both expand and improve educational opportunity in America. His address follows:

THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE AND THE OFFICE OF EDUCATION'S GOALS

(Address by James E. Allen, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Education and U.S. Commissioner of Education)

I am sure you all recognize yourselves as part of the largest growth industry in American education today. Statistics on the schools you represent are never up to date—you are always moving ahead of the predictions about numbers of institutions, numbers of enrollments, numbers and kinds of projects undertaken.

Today, two-year colleges serve about two million students—three times the 1960 count. This year, almost as many freshmen entered junior colleges as entered four-year institutions.

These figures are heavy with implications of power and responsibility for you. As the president of one junior college has said, the Nation has gone from knowing little about community colleges and caring less to expecting them to solve all the problems of society.

Even if we temper enthusiasm with realism, however, the opportunities and challenges confronting the community college are extraordinary. As relative newcomers to the educational scene, most of you are struggling with the problems of beginning. You are doing things for the first time, organizing your resources, and creating the organizational framework in which you will operate.

The pressures for swift action make these processes all the harder. Yet, the very newness of the average community college is among its strong points. As yet uncluttered by tradition, you have the freedom to strike out in new directions. With the flexibility of youth, you can try unproven strategies without having to disentangle yourselves from "the way things have always been done."

It is because of your newness, your freedom from the weight of tradition, that you can make the community college a prime instrument in the realization of the goals my office hopes to pursue. To begin with, just about every attribute of the community college fits in with recognized needs for making American education more relevant to the actual needs of the individual community.

One of these goals is to make the improvement of education a continuing process. This means we must have research about what works and doesn't work in facilitating the learning process. Then we need ways of translating research discoveries into teacher training and curriculum materials, and, finally, of making such appropriate people in the educational system have access to them.

Your community colleges, with their occupational education and manpower training programs, have special links with the economic life of the community. You are not locked into an exclusively academic frame of reference. You can avail yourself of the creativity of business and industry as it relates to teaching and learning.

Because so many of your students are from low-income groups, you are also within reach of other centers of creativity in education—the community action programs—programs where disadvantaged people are exploring unorthodox approaches to self-help and where they are developing new patterns of mutual help in education. Receptivity to work-study arrangements and to community service projects is characteristic of the community college, and here, too, new avenues for the discovery of needs and possibilities in education open up, particularly the rec-

ognition of variations in learning style as well as variations in background and experience.

The community college with its capacity for accommodating many kinds of programs at the same time—everything from adult education to vocational training to straight academic preparation—can try many novel patterns. It can make the promising arrangements an official part of its operations—for example, making a neighborhood reading clinic a part of a formalized literacy program, or bringing together teacher training projects and local day care centers for young children.

The role of the community college in institutionalizing experiment and evaluation in education is a natural adjunct of what it can do toward another essential goal of redressing the educational handicaps of the disadvantaged. The particularly large representation of ethnic minorities, as well as of low-income people, in community colleges presents the challenge squarely; the opportunity for finding out how to surmount the special problems of such people looms equally large.

Still another goal of particular concern to us in the Office of Education has to do with ways and means. We are groping for new patterns of support for education—new channels for bringing Federal dollars into the educational process, and also fresh approaches to non-Federal governmental resources.

Here again, the community college is in the vanguard. As the crossroads institution, tying in with the public school system and with public and private institutions of higher education, as well as with industry and other private revenue sources, the community college is the natural proving ground for experiments in educational financing. We are already seeing novel forms of collaboration between business and government in this area. The community college is already beginning to perform unique liaison functions between education and the surrounding society. I expect there will be many more as the urgency of the work community colleges are doing is more widely acknowledged.

Federal recognition of the importance of the community college to the national effort at revitalization of the entire educational system can be seen in the fact that I have a newly appointed special assistant for community college affairs. It is also apparent in the new legislation now being prepared.

The new legislation is being designed to help community colleges in two major ways: first, by direct aid to colleges improving their career education programs, particularly as they expand opportunities for the disadvantaged, and, second, by aid to the States in improving their management of career education.

Beginning with Fiscal Year 1971, under plans now being discussed, States would be eligible for grants to develop plans for expanded post-secondary career education systems. Depending on the individual State situation, such a plan might call for augmentation of the number of institutions offering career education—new community colleges, for example—or it might provide for further development of existing institutions and programs along these lines.

Acceptable State plans might also include provision for corporate colleges (colleges of continuing education for those now employed in industry) and colleges for craftsmen—by which we mean courses on or off campus, which build on technical skills in preparing workers for posts in management and advanced technology.

Among the criteria for State plans would be their effectiveness as coordinating mechanisms. One objective would be to use the plans to make the diverse activities of manpower, poverty and education agencies on all levels of government part of a coherent program. In this way each agency's program would be supportive of the other. This would

avoid the confusion of overlapping and competitive activities that all too often diminish rather than enhance each agency's effectiveness.

In the coordinating effort, there would be conscious use of the community college as a stabilizing and correlating mechanism. To receive a grant, a State would have to maintain an appropriately representative body to take on this work of coordination. Such a body should include the representation of all State agencies concerned with post-secondary career education, including the State vocational education agency, the State agency or agencies responsible for higher education, public education and other human resource development agencies, both public and private. Where there is a separate body dealing with community college affairs, representation from such an agency should, of course, also be included. The principal State officer charged with operating or planning responsibilities for community college affairs might possibly be chairman. Such decisions should be the province of the States.

These plans are all very much in the making as yet. My staff and I have been meeting with State community college officials to make the legislation more responsive to local realities. I have already had talks with some of you, and my assistant will be meeting with you tomorrow to discuss the special problems of your individual States. It is obvious that we must look to you for detailed information about the community college situation before we can arrive at an appropriate relationship. I hope you will be candid in your reactions and suggestions.

In approaching the problem through the States in this way, we at the Federal level are trying to get past one of our greatest difficulties, which has been to find a support formula that is equally useful for the many very different situations that exist in different parts of the country. The most difficult task has been to devise for the delivery of the Federal dollar to community colleges a system flexible enough to accommodate the multiplicity of demands to be met.

I should hasten to add, however, that our problems in arriving at such mechanisms are no temptation to us to try to standardize the educational picture in the interests of simplified management. Everywhere in American education, diversity has been the source of strength. In the world of community colleges, sensitivity to critical local needs and the inventiveness that communities exercise in meeting these needs are basic to their role.

To go on with what we want the proposed legislation to do: We want to institute a system of grants to individual institutions to start, develop, or improve any activities affecting career education. Activities eligible for support would include new curriculum development, hiring and training of staff for career guidance and counseling, hiring and training and retraining of faculty (including those for career education programs), cooperative arrangements with industry for work opportunities and for using corporate employees as teachers and similar projects.

Support will be provided for special efforts made by the community college to work closely with its own feeder secondary schools to develop new modes of college preparatory curriculum. Joint guidance for the secondary school and the community college systems and new curriculum relationships with senior colleges would further integrate the system for maximum career growth.

To qualify, a community college would, first of all, have to guarantee a policy of open admission to all students capable of benefiting from its programs. This is a key criterion which must be interpreted from broad perspectives. One of the great virtues of the community college lies in its open door—open to the poor, to the person of limited educational background and limited capacity

for performance on standardized tests, as well as to the person of conventional qualifications.

This open door is one of our greatest hopes of using the community college as a primary vehicle for service to the disadvantaged. Already, your institutions are bringing unprecedented numbers of minority group people into post-secondary education. In virtually every large American city, for example, more blacks study at public community colleges than all nearby institutions combined. A quarter of all black collegians are enrolled in public two-year colleges in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles.

It is our hope that Indians, Mexican-Americans, and rural whites will be represented in community colleges in appropriate proportions. As we continue to expand the financial and academic accessibility of the community colleges, we must also extend the geographical accessibility. Community colleges are now within reach of all but 30 large American cities. However, for many Indians and other rural people the supply is still not as great as we want it to be to reach our objective of practical opportunities for higher education for all.

Besides the open door, Federal criteria for aid to individual community colleges would include a policy for facilitating student transfer between occupational and academic programs and between vocational and career education programs. We want community college education to stay open-ended. We think it not only should but can deal with the immediacies of job training without closing off the options for further academic work. This concept is particularly relevant in working with programs directed toward the disadvantaged who need the reality of career education to reconnect with learning and the option of professional development when such reconstructions succeed. Many of you have already developed close ties with secondary vocational education and recognize the validity of such programs for continued technical training.

Many of your schools are already pioneering in the use of work-study programs for the mutual reinforcement of practical skills with theoretical knowledge, and of theoretical knowledge with its on-the-job applicability. This approach is consistent with the aims of vocational education, preserving also the possibility of opportunity for further academic education.

Applications for grants will also be judged in terms of their awareness of the possibilities for dovetailing with other relevant education programs and facilities. In all our contemporary efforts at social change, we have found ourselves handicapped by failures of connection among people and programs directed at the same objectives but all too often working at cross purposes. Sometimes it represents failures of communication—organizations do not know what is going on outside their own areas of activity; they are not aware of resources they could use. Sometimes, it is a matter of empire-building and rivalries between institutions.

As I am sure you are aware, community colleges are by no means invulnerable to these forms of corporate myopia. Because we feel so strongly that the liaison function of the community college is among its highest potentialities, we want to set up a system of incentives to encourage coordination with Government manpower development and education programs, with feeder secondary schools on the one hand and with full-scale universities on the other.

You are all undoubtedly asking yourselves how much money the Administration is ready to allocate to community colleges under the proposed legislation.

I am afraid I cannot give you a very precise answer. The new funds which would be provided by this legislation would be chiefly "glue money" to tie together the host of existing State, Federal and private activi-

ties concerned with human resource development.

However, let me make it clear that the intent is not to strengthen one part of education by weakening another. The intent is to redirect funds—much of it now outside the Office of Education—to the community college.

Even though final formulas of support have yet to be worked out, the national will to give your institutions the backing they need, is, I think, firm. Your contributions to the central social efforts of our time—contributions you are already making, and contributions within your power to make in the future—are so great that it can scarcely be otherwise.

Continuing education for adults—new careers for the retired, and for women either returning to the labor force or entering it for the first time after years of homemaking—the development of vocational skills for people of all ages, from the householder learning to make home repairs on a do-it-yourself basis to the grandmother taking up French—these, too, are educational assignments for the community college.

Veterans' education is another area of challenge and opportunity for the community college. Most separation centers are within reach of community college facilities for the returning serviceman ready for realistic counseling about his own community college. Work-study programs which involve earning as well as learning, are likely to attract the veteran whose age and family responsibilities make him hesitate to undertake formal study under other circumstances. And here again, variations in educational background need not keep the ex-serviceman out of the community college as they might from other educational institutions.

We in the Office of Education appreciate the kind of problems you face in trying to organize for the obligations society has heaped upon you. We know that along with the money problems there are the problems of organizational instability to hinder your efforts—tendencies in both staff and student body to leave as fast as they arrive, uncertainties in relationships with government and industry, and all the rest. Yet there is, I believe, in your enterprise a momentum so great as to surmount all these difficulties.

The community college of today and tomorrow, going beyond its specific educational role, can be one of our most valuable resources for helping to solve the larger problems of our society. It can help to reinstitute the sense of community so often lost in the development of megalopolis, to redefine our values in matters of work, career, and social service, to break down the artificial barriers that have grown up between institutions, which so often separate the academic, economic, and social worlds from each other in artificial ways that hamper the productivity of all.

This is indeed a large order. The progress already made augurs well for filling it and I pledge my full cooperation in the tasks in which you are engaged. The potential of the community college for the improvement of educational opportunity and for the advancement of our Nation is so great that nothing must be allowed to hinder its realization.

#### TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

**HON. ALPHONZO BELL**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. BELL of California. Mr. Speaker, this year at the national convention of the Jewish War Veterans of the United

States, a tribute was paid to President Dwight David Eisenhower in special memorial services. The eulogy delivered by Gen. Frank McCarthy, retired, was, I believe, particularly impressive in its warmth and personal touch.

General McCarthy was a friend of General Eisenhower and enjoyed a warm relationship with our great and beloved President during the years of World War II. His tribute to General Eisenhower at the Jewish War Veterans convention conveys the respect and admiration which we share for the late President and I would like to commend his remarks to the attention of my colleagues: leagues:

REMARKS BY FRANK MCCARTHY AT ANNUAL NATIONAL CONVENTION, JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Thank you, General Klein. I am honored to receive such a generous introduction from a soldier and a gentleman of your attainments, which have been known to me for many years.

General Feuerisen, Mr. Madison, veterans and your ladies, and distinguished guests:

If my remarks about General Eisenhower involve primarily his relationship with the Chief of Staff of the Army, General George C. Marshall, it is because during World War II I served as Assistant Secretary, later as Secretary, of the War Department General Staff, and thus as General Marshall's principal executive officer.

The General had no aide at that time. In fact, he seldom even used the word "aide" alone, but almost invariably referred to such officers as "gol-dern-coat-holding-aides," as though that were all one word, much in the manner that damn-Yankee was one word when I was growing up in Virginia. Fortunately the aide-type duties, the little personal attentions to the General and the very gracious Mrs. Marshall, fell to me, and I had opportunity to accompany the Chief of Staff to Casablanca, Cairo, Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam, and most of the other great international conferences, as well as to his headquarters and battlefield inspections at home and in the various theatres of operation. So when General Marshall saw General Eisenhower, I saw him also. I came to look at him pretty much through General Marshall's eyes and to admire him without reservation, just as General Marshall did.

I have never known of a more cordial relationship between two men, a greater mutual admiration society, than that which existed between the two Generals. In his fine book, "The Bitter Woods," John Eisenhower says of his father's associations:

"At the government level, the staunchness of two men shone through . . . One of these was General Marshall, whose support of the Supreme Commander never faltered, no matter what the pressure. The other was Prime Minister Churchill . . ."

General Eisenhower himself frequently referred to General Marshall as a true American patriot, as the most selfless man he had ever known in public life, and as one of the two most outstanding men of World War II.

As an aside on John, General Eisenhower came to the United States for final strategy conferences shortly before D-Day. The visit was secret since, if the General's presence in this country were known, the Germans would realize that the invasion was not immediately imminent and would be enabled to take a breather. He was of course eager to see his son, a cadet at West Point, but if John should show up in Washington, all sorts of suspicions would be aroused, both there and at the military academy. So I was assigned the job of smuggling General and Mrs. Eisenhower in a private railroad car to a siding at West Point.

For the purpose of surprise, I went unannounced to the Commandant and told him General Marshall had ordered that Cadet Eisenhower be assigned to me for several hours for a most important, top-secret Counterintelligence mission, and that we were not, under any circumstances, to be followed. John had lunch and a good visit with his parents aboard the private car, and I was able to accomplish my mission without prevarication, since Counterintelligence is defined as "an activity designed to deceive the enemy and to block his source of information."

General Marshall's reciprocation of General Eisenhower's high regard was best expressed in a personal radiogram which he sent General Eisenhower on VE Day. It read:

"You have completed your mission with the greatest victory in the history of warfare. You have commanded with outstanding success the most powerful military force that has ever been assembled. You have met and successfully disposed of every conceivable difficulty incident to varied national interests and international political problems of unprecedented complications. You have triumphed over inconceivable logistical problems and military obstacles and you have played a major role in the complete destruction of German military power. Through all of this, since the day of your arrival in England three years ago, you have been selfless in your actions, always sound and tolerant in your judgments, and altogether admirable in the courage and wisdom of your military decisions. You have made history, great history for the good of all mankind, and you have stood for all we hope for and admire in an officer of the United States Army. These are my tributes and with them I send my personal thanks."

Despite all this, General Eisenhower enjoyed, in his later years, being reassured as to General Marshall's personal feeling for him. Each time he visited Palm Springs, he would invite me down for lunch or an afternoon of reminiscences, mostly about General Marshall, and on one occasion he asked me why the General always called him Eisenhower and never Ike, as almost everyone else did. When I explained that I had never heard him call any general officer by his first name, except one, General Eisenhower seemed pleased. Incidentally, General Marshall must have been a great joy to General Eisenhower's mother, who didn't like any nickname, particularly Ike, and who never even recognized it. On one occasion she wrote to the young bride, Mamie Eisenhower, "I am very glad you are having a fine motor trip, but who is this Ike you are traveling with?"

Also, incidentally, the one and only officer whom General Marshall called by his first name was General Patton. He even called him Georgie. Since General Marshall never volunteered the reason for this, I didn't ask, but perhaps it had something to do with the old cliché that opposites attract.

I have been engaged for many years in developing a screenplay and producing a film called "Patton," now happily completed and being edited for release. In one of our talks at Palm Springs, General Eisenhower asked me how I happened to pick General Patton instead of General Marshall or General Bradley, and similarly General Marshall asked me how I happened to pick General Patton instead of General Eisenhower or General Bradley. In his book, *AT EASE*, published about two years later, General Eisenhower answered his own question with respect to General Bradley, and he could have been speaking just as easily about himself or General Marshall. He said:

"Of all the ground commanders I have known, and even of those of whom I have only read, I would put Omar Bradley in the highest classification. In every aspect of military command . . . Brad was outstanding . . . Patton was a master of fast and overwhelming pursuit. Headstrong by nature and fear-

lessly aggressive, Patton was the more colorful of the two, compelling attention by his mannerisms as much as by his deeds. Bradley, however, was master of every military maneuver, lacking only in the capacity—possibly in the willingness—to dramatize himself. This, I think, is to his credit."

You see, Marshall, Eisenhower, and Bradley were of such even temperament, so steady, so effective, so progressively excellent in everything they did, that the graph of each of their lives would be characterized by a line moving constantly upward. Despite his spectacular military successes, General Patton was sometimes so flamboyant, such a maverick, between battles that his line would look like the electrocardiogram of a man with serious heart trouble. That's what makes him ideal theatrical material.

Now, continuing to move his graph line upward after the war, General Eisenhower served as Chief of Staff of the United States Army, President of Columbia University, and Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers in Europe. He then returned to the United States to participate in the campaign which his friends had organized to secure for him the Republican nomination for the Presidency.

I have a memory of one rally, among many others, in this campaign. It was held in Denver in a vast enclosed arena which had a capacity of tens of thousands but which was inconveniently located well out of town. For some reason which escapes me, the rally had to be held at about 6:30 or seven o'clock in the evening, a time when most people are having dinner. Since the prospect of filling all the seats was dim, I was asked to round up some movie stars whose presence might help swell the crowd. Among those who readily consented to go were Humphrey Bogart and his wife, Lauren Bacall. All the stars and political celebrities rode about the hall in open automobiles, with General and Mrs. Eisenhower's own car the last in the procession. All received tremendous ovations, none greater than the Bogarts. After the rally the General thanked them warmly for their participation, as well as for their present and future support. On the way home, the Bogarts asked whether I could secure for them an autographed photograph of the General. Only a few days later Adlai Stevenson announced for the Democratic nomination, and the Bogarts had already switched to him publicly and were out tub-thumping for him when General Eisenhower's handsome and warmly inscribed photograph arrived.

General Eisenhower next visited Denver between the convention and the election. Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, a fellow Republican, to whom, parenthetically, I am not related, had recently been hurling vicious attacks against General Marshall, implying that he was a fellow traveler if not a Communist. At his Denver press conference, without calling McCarthy by name, General Eisenhower delivered a ringing defense of General Marshall as "a perfect example of patriotism and a loyal servant of the United States" and added "I have no patience with anyone who can find in his record of service to this country anything to criticize." Reiman Morin, of the Associated Press, in his new, authoritative, and warm biography, "Dwight D. Eisenhower, a Gauge of Greatness," includes this passage:

"Three times, while he was on this subject, reporters interrupted him with questions about other matters. And three times, Eisenhower brushed the questions aside and went on talking about Marshall's great services to the United States. He did not permit the press conference to move on to other topics until he had dealt thoroughly with the idiotic charges against Marshall."

General Eisenhower's campaign soon moved into Wisconsin. The news leaked out that, at the insistence of Senator McCarthy, the General had deleted from a major speech

there a paragraph which again praised General Marshall. Again, according to Morin:

"Next day front pages blazoned the report that McCarthy had bludgeoned Eisenhower into dropping the paragraph about Marshall. McCarthy himself denied it but . . . denials seldom fully squelch the original accusation, especially in a Presidential campaign where events swiftly crowd in on each other. The story remained a 7-day sensation. It filled liberal-minded persons, regardless of party, with despair and disgust. The Democrats, of course, expressed pious horror. Not only had Eisenhower tacitly endorsed McCarthy, they said, but he shrank from defending Marshall. The incident splashed an ugly smear on the knight's shining armor."

Now the truth of all this is that General Eisenhower held Senator McCarthy, later to become a painful thorn in his side, in low regard and campaigned in Wisconsin only on the advice of the political advisors around him and much against his better judgment. Far from insisting or bludgeoning, McCarthy had nothing whatever to do with the election. In fact, it is my personal opinion that if McCarthy had seen it and had objected, General Eisenhower would have probably left the complimentary reference in his speech despite the counsel he had received.

Actually, he was simply persuaded by Sherman Adams, a campaign assistant, and Governor Kohler of Wisconsin to delete the reference, since he had only two weeks before lavished such high praise on the man who had served the opposition, the outgoing Democratic administration, as Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense. Further, they did not wish to provide McCarthy with more headlines garnered from another attack on General Marshall.

Two years later, with Eisenhower serving as President, Senator McCarthy was at it again. He read into the Congressional Record a letter from a disgruntled former government official saying that General Marshall "would sell out his grandmother for personal advantage." This disturbed me, so I sent President Eisenhower a telegram suggesting that he again come to General Marshall's defense in a press conference scheduled for the next day. When I arrived at my office the following morning, I was greeted by an Army major who, after inspecting my identification, delivered a confidential telegram from the President saying that he had accepted my suggestion. Again, for the benefit of the press and public, General Eisenhower lauded General Marshall at great length, much as he had done at Denver, referring to his brilliant record, his patriotism, his selflessness and his complete devotion of duty. He added:

"I think it is a sorry reward, at the end of at least 50 years of service to this country, to say that he is not a loyal, fine American and that he served only in order to advance his own personal ambition. I can't imagine anyone that I have known in my life of whom it is less so than it is in this case."

General Marshall was a soldier, a statesman, and a very practical man. His long and constant association with Presidents, Senators, Congressmen, and other government officials of the two parties, both elected and appointed, gave him a keen insight into politics. Out of this arose a complete understanding of the elimination of that one paragraph in Wisconsin which caused such a furor, and the legend of which still persists in some quarters today in distorted and apocryphal form. I hope my remarks tonight will help to stamp it out.

One thing I know: If General Marshall, a man of matchless integrity, had held anything against General Eisenhower, he would not have come out of retirement to accept the President's appointment as his ambassador and personal representative at the Coronation of the Queen of England. He would

not have accepted in person a special award from the President on the tenth anniversary of the Marshall Plan. He would not have attended numerous White House functions, at each of which the President violated protocol by placing him next in order behind Vice President and the Secretary of State. And he would not have accepted the use of the Presidential Suite at Walter Reed General Hospital during several illnesses, including the one which culminated in his death.

I think it can be said of these two great men that both heeded the admonition of the poet, William Cullen Bryant, when he wrote:

"So live that when thy summons comes to join  
The innumerable caravan which moves  
To that mysterious realm where each shall take  
His chamber in the silent halls of death,  
Thou go not like the quarry-slave at night,  
Scourged to his dungeon, but sustained and soothed  
By an unfaltering trust. Approach thy grave  
Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch  
About him and lies down to pleasant  
dreams."

#### WISCONSIN MOVES TO IMPROVE MANPOWER EFFORTS

### HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, both the Education and Labor Committee and the Labor and Public Welfare Committee in the other body have held preliminary hearings on proposals to revamp our manpower policy. One of the essential ingredients of the legislation I have proposed, H.R. 10908, and of the Nixon administration's proposal is the role of the States as planner, coordinator, administrator, and evaluator of manpower policy.

During extensive hearings which are planned by both committees in the next session, I expect that the ability of the States to carry out the responsibilities envisioned for them will come under careful examination.

Several States, as I have pointed out earlier to my colleagues, have taken the initiative to improve their State operations. I am pleased to say that Wisconsin has joined in this effort. For the benefit of my colleagues I would like to include newspaper articles from the Milwaukee Journal and the Milwaukee Sentinel which describe the State manpower council which has been appointed by Governor Knowles and outlines the State's plan to further develop policy, planning and coordination efforts in the manpower field.

The articles follow:

[From the Milwaukee Journal]

#### STATE PANEL NAMED FOR MANPOWER

MADISON, Wis.—Gov. Knowles Wednesday signed an order creating an eight member state manpower council to co-ordinate 50 state manpower training and placement programs.

He also established an advisory committee to the council that will include representatives of business, labor, industry, agri-

culture and the legislature. Its members will be appointed by the governor.

Knowles will be chairman of the new council and Joseph C. Fagan, chairman of the industry, labor and human relations commission, will be vice-chairman.

Other council members will be heads of the departments of health and social services, administration and local affairs and development; the state superintendent of public instruction; executive director of the co-ordinating council for higher education and state director of vocational, technical and adult education.

[From the Milwaukee Sentinel, Oct. 30, 1969]

#### MANPOWER COUNCIL CREATED BY KNOWLES

MADISON, Wis.—An eight member state manpower council to develop policy, planning and co-ordination of efforts in the job field was created Wednesday by Gov. Knowles.

Knowles said the move was made in anticipation of President Nixon's call for decentralization of manpower training programs, turning the major federal efforts over to state and local government.

Heads of seven major departments and the governor will make up the cabinet level council, and Joseph Fagan, chairman of the department of industry, labor and human relations, will be vice-chairman under Knowles.

#### OTHER DEPARTMENTS

Besides Fagan, the departments involved are administration, health and social services, local affairs and development, public instruction, vocational-technical and adult education, and the co-ordinating council for higher education (CCHE).

The council will function with two arms—the existing locally oriented co-operative area manpower planning system (CAMPS), which will provide the staff, and a still to be named advisory committee composed of citizens.

Fagan said the council is to be the guiding body for the expected change in the state's role under Nixon's "new federalism."

#### PREPARATION FOR PROGRAM

"We want to get ready for the Nixon program," he said.

The council will concern itself with the manpower needs in certain industries and localities in the state, both present and future; with the housing problems that often accompany job problems and manpower needs; the social needs of workers in a community, and with finding ways to keep trained persons needed in Wisconsin.

"How can a mass effort be made to stop the brain drain from Wisconsin?" is one question the council will ultimately face, Fagan said. Another problem will be how to plug a gap in employment caused by a large lay-off.

Fagan's department, the major state agency concerned with manpower problems, will be responsible for implementing the council's recommendations.

The advisory council is to consist of representatives of business, labor, industry, economists, agriculture, the legislature and the general public.

#### KEY TO VIET PEACE IN MOSCOW

### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, in many of my speeches before this House I have

stated time and again that the key to peace in Vietnam is for the Soviet Union to stop supporting their Hanoi puppets and reach an accommodation with the United States.

It is wishful thinking to believe that the solution lies in a coalition government in South Vietnam, which would merely result in a Communist takeover of that country and the slaughter of millions of innocent victims.

The Communists are not respecters of international accords, and if they had abided by the Geneva convention of 1954, we would not be in Vietnam today. Instead, the 1954 accord was merely a rehash of Communist semantics of what is mine is mine, and what is yours is mine. Indeed, the Soviet Union's perfidy lies at the heart of darkness and is mainly responsible for the divisiveness in the world today.

Columnist David Lawrence has written an excellent article bolstering my arguments that if the Soviet Union would negotiate directly with the United States to assure the rights of both the North and South Vietnamese, peace would surely be on the horizon, and we would not be bogged down in fruitless negotiations in Paris. Indeed, Mr. Lawrence quite properly points out that the Soviet Union has every reason to work with the United States in solving problems that have arisen regarding the smaller countries of Europe and Asia and the expense of maintaining large armies and armaments that could be a prelude to another war.

We must make it patently clear to the Soviet Union that the majority of Americans back President Nixon in seeking a just and honorable solution to the Vietnam war, and that by halting their hostilities in that part of the world they truly have an opportunity to join us in working for peace and stability in the world.

Mr. Speaker, David Lawrence's excellent article follows:

#### KEY TO VIET PEACE IN MOSCOW

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON.—The biggest story about Vietnam is not a forecast of just when all the American troops will be returned home but what will happen after the withdrawal. It is conceivable that stability will be established in the relations between North and South Vietnam. But the key to this lies not in Saigon or Hanoi or Paris but in Washington and Moscow.

The difficulties are emphasized in a speech just made in Saigon by President Nguyen Van Thieu, who said South Vietnam would be under Communist control in six months if a coalition government were formed with the Communists.

At a 1954 conference in Geneva, Switzerland, attended by representatives of nine governments—including the Soviet Union—accords were reached that ended the 7½ years of fighting between the French and the people of Indochina. In the agreements were pledges that there would be "complete cessation of all hostilities in Vietnam" and that each side would respect the territory of the other and would "commit no act and undertake no operation against the other party." But the promises were not fulfilled. In fact, no effective means was devised to ensure that the agreements would be carried out.

North Vietnam, which has sought ever since to take over South Vietnam, supported with arms, munitions and other supplies guerrilla elements in the South seeking to overthrow the Saigon government, and then sent its own forces in open aggression. The government of South Vietnam asked for and received American help. The United States would not stand idly by if a conquest were again attempted, but would supply military equipment and send advisers once more to aid the South Vietnamese to maintain their territorial integrity and independence.

So the only way to assure peace is for the United States and the Soviet Union to get together and agree to use their influence to prevent another conflict from breaking out. One means of doing it would be to make it clear to North Vietnam that any act of aggression would not be tolerated and that the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples—as set forth in the Southeast Asia collective defense treaty, which the United States and seven other countries signed—must be respected.

It is acknowledged that the Soviet Union has spent an average of a billion dollars a year on the Vietnam war. The objective has been to gain friends in Southeast Asia and also to prevent Red China from acquiring a dominant position on the continent by setting up its own puppet states.

Negotiations for peace in Vietnam, therefore, need to be transferred from Paris to Moscow and Washington. Much can be accomplished behind the scenes to bring together rival factions and assure the people of North Vietnam as well as South Vietnam that their rights will be respected.

There is every reason why the Soviet Union should be more than ever willing to work with the United States in solving the problems that have arisen with respect to the smaller countries of Europe as well as Asia. The expense of maintaining large armies could be substantially reduced if the United States and the Soviet Union joined to prevent acts that could bring on another war. The Soviet Union would hardly be discussing limitation of strategic armaments now if it did not see the unwisdom of spending a lot of money on small wars.

These problems can be solved without military operations, but it may become necessary for an international peace-keeping organization to be formed, perhaps through the medium of the United Nations.

Once it became clear that the Communists were going to let South Vietnam alone, the risk of another war in that area would fade. There are, however, other potential trouble spots in Asia. Neither India nor Pakistan nor the countries of Southeast Asia can feel secure today. The Soviet Union has an opportunity to widen its influence in the world by sincerely backing a peace program in Asia.

#### CEILING ON FARM SUBSIDY PAYMENTS

### HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, as the author of amendments to place a \$20,000 ceiling on farm subsidies which have twice passed this body, I have frequently referred to the tragic imbalance in our sense of priorities which allows giant corporate farms to receive millions while 10 to 15 million Americans remain hungry and malnourished.

Despite what I believe is strong appreciation of this scandalous imbalance, I was startled into a new awareness by a letter I recently received from a Mr. Jerry Hornsby of West Memphis, Ark.

Mr. Hornsby's letter graphically illustrates this imbalance. He refers in his letter to a case where a tenant farmer received only 23 cents in cash for 2 weeks' work. This was the paltry sum remaining after the plantation owner made his deduction for the account owing at the company store. This very same plantation owner received \$80,110 in subsidy payments last year.

Mr. Speaker, I include this letter at the close of my remarks. I trust it will cause all of us to rededicate ourselves to ending this shameful state of affairs and to moving decisively toward the day when hunger and malnutrition no longer disgrace this Nation.

GENERAL ELECTRIC  
ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH PROGRAM,  
West Memphis, Ark., December 7, 1969.

HON. SILVIO CONTE,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I understand that you may re-submit, in 1970, a bill placing a \$20,000 ceiling on farm subsidy payments. I am writing this letter in support of such a bill, and to encourage you to place the highest possible priority on getting this piece of legislation through the Congress.

Our company, under contract with the Office of Economic Opportunity, is training and supporting VISTA Volunteers in six rural counties of eastern Arkansas. These counties are among America's poorest. The Volunteers here, while working on the whole spectrum of poverty problems, are concerned particularly with the health and hunger problems of the families with whom they work.

Daily we see the paradox of people going hungry and malnourished while large tracts of productive farm land are permitted to lie idle; the paradox of people being underfed, while Congress frets about farm surpluses that would hurt the pocketbooks of plantation owners; the paradox of mothers not having enough money to buy food and milk for their babies, while wealthy farmers receive large payments not to produce crops; the paradox of conservative Americans yelling for an end to welfare, while well-to-do farm owners rake in lucrative subsidy handouts from the government; the paradox of malnourished babies suffering irreversible brain damage in their first 18 months of life, while rich farm people, beef gravy dribbling from their lips, deride the mental capacities of the tenants who shovel the barnyard manure and hand-gather the last remnants of cotton left by the picking machine; the paradox of \$18 hotel rooms and \$5.70 plate lunches at a White House Conference on hunger; a conference at which, by the way, farmers on the agricultural production panel slammed down their fists in anger and tried to head off discussion when talk got around to farm subsidy money vs. food money for the poor.

And how's this for paradox? Comfortable, well-fed and well-clothed Americans are prone to exhort the poor to help themselves. Yet at Hughes, Arkansas, which is one of the areas included in our six counties, a tenant farmer recently collected 23 cents for two weeks' work (see pay voucher enclosed). This man labored 63½ hours at \$1.30 an hour for gross earnings of \$82.55. The plantation owner deducted \$3.96 for Social Security and \$78.36 for the plantation store account, leaving the laborer a net of 23 cents. This same

plantation received \$80,110 in subsidy payments last year.

We get a good indication of this nation's misplaced priorities when we compare the Department of Agriculture's expenditures for farm subsidy programs as opposed to USDA food programs:

Fiscal year 1969		
National:		
Subsidy program.....		\$3.9
Food programs.....		1.2
	Subsidy <sup>1</sup>	Food programs
Our 6-county area in eastern Arkansas:		
Crittenden Co.....	\$5,398,284	\$511,390
Cross Co.....	1,826,730	153,752
Lee Co.....	3,080,282	292,893
Mississippi Co.....	9,807,893	533,593
St. Francis Co.....	3,520,504	391,423
Woodruff Co.....	1,800,912	176,736
Total.....	25,434,605	2,059,787

<sup>1</sup> Gross payments. Does not include recoveries which USDA says can amount to 25 percent

From this it will be seen that nationally, USDA spends about three times as much for agricultural price support as it does for food programs. In eastern Arkansas this ratio is 10-1. One plantation owner in Mississippi County receives more in price support (nearly a half-million dollars a year) than all the food programs in Cross, Lee, St. Francis or Woodruff counties. That particular plantation gets an average of \$9,100 a week, or \$1,300 a day.

Three months ago our project staff proposed—to a rather disinterested group of Washington bureaucrats—that if this country is really serious about ending hunger, then we should be willing to take some bold and positive action toward rechanneling money into places where it is most needed. We recommended, that since the great hue and cry in this country is to get people off welfare, then we should indeed get the rich farmer off welfare. Instead of paying him to not grow food, we should pay him to grow food. The land that is now idle would be used to produce food for the poor. We made these suggestions as much for shock effect as for pragmatism. We attempted to make somebody think. We still believe a lot of the subsidy money should be diverted, somehow, from the hip pocket of the rich landowner to the dinner table of the hungry poor.

We heartily support a ceiling on subsidy payments. But I would recommend that any such bill go one step further and propose an alternate use for the money that would have otherwise gone to the plantations—namely, that it somehow be utilized to help feed the hungry people of our nation.

Sincerely,

JERRY HORNSBY,  
Project Coordinator.

#### ARKANSAS PLANTATION—PAY PERIOD SEPT. 18 1969<sup>1</sup>

	1st week	2d week	Total
Sunday.....			10
Monday.....			10
Tuesday.....			10
Wednesday.....	5		10
Thursday.....	8.5		10
Friday.....	10		10
Saturday.....			10
Total hours.....	23.5	40	63.5
Amount.....			\$82.55
Less S.S. tax.....			3.96
Less store acct.....			78.36
Total deductions.....			82.32
Amount paid.....			.23

<sup>1</sup> Rate: \$1.30.  
This is to Certify That Above Hours and Wages Are Correct and Money Received.

## TEN YEARS TO SAVE MANKIND

## HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the November-December 1969 issue of the Michigan Natural Resources magazine carried a most perceptive article by Ralph A. MacMullan, director of the Michigan Natural Resources Department, entitled "Ten Years To Save Mankind." Ralph A. MacMullan is one of the Nation's truly outstanding conservationists and I feel that my colleagues should have an opportunity to read his thoughtful comments. Therefore, I include the text of the article at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

## TEN YEARS TO SAVE MANKIND

(By Ralph A. MacMullan, Director)

"Man has altered nearly every facet of his surroundings. He cannot help but continue to do so—and in doing so, he will continue to alter himself. The question is not whether he should alter his environment, but whether he is going to alter it for good or ill."

So says Nathaniel A. Owings in his new book, *The American Aesthetic*. "You cannot outlaw the 20th Century," he continues. "Nature and civilization have influenced each other so completely as to have established one system, one ecology, one total environment, from which come the conditions that govern our lives."

Owings' comments touch a raw nerve end of our society which may well become the outstanding fact of American conservation in the 1970's. As the 1960's draw to a close, we may use them as instruction for the decade ahead. The age of sophisticated machines, of computers, of rapid mass transit, of packaged food, of chemical and electronics and nuclear power is attempting to bulldoze nature aside in its pell-mell rush to build a faster, more mechanical and contrived life for each of us. We continue to consume that life readily—all of us together—in massive doses. But the unvarnished truth is that this simply cannot go on much longer. Nature is giving clear signals that it will not continue indefinitely to accept the garbage, the filth, the fumes that are the byproducts of this drive to the supersonic life. Some conservationists predict world-wide consequences by the end of the 1970's. Some say it will take longer, but not much longer. Four basic factors, they agree, will come to play to form such consequences: Human over-population of the earth, environmental pollution, inadequate or unavailable natural resources, and nuclear holocaust. The first three of these must be solved if the fourth is to be prevented. The first three react one on the other in such close unity that they really constitute a single menace to life as we know it. The relationships are in many ways extremely subtle and must be viewed as parts of a larger whole. For example, the insecticide DDT was the agricultural boon of the 1940's and 1950's, and was said to be primarily responsible for keeping widespread famine out of many under-developed nations of the world. It removed certain destructive insect pests for a time, and allowed bumper crops of food grains to be harvested. However, the same DDT is still killing small creatures—this time, those that help create food—and thus is exerting exactly the opposite effect for which it was originally intended. Some of the creatures now being destroyed are types of organisms important in the food chain of larger marine fishes. Fish are an extremely important—and dwindle—

source of protein food for the world's skyrocketing population. Thus, at a time when the earth is faced with a rapidly rising human population, we are being forced to cope with a form of environmental pollution that is reducing our ability to produce the food necessary to that population. Ironically, the technological age that has attempted to solve world food production problems in part by use of certain insecticides may be creating a marine environment in which world protein supplies could become severely curtailed in the 1970's.

Another group of scientists and conservationists has begun to study and comment upon the possibility that the earth's ability to produce or regenerate oxygen is now being seriously challenged by man's activities. Again, to show the subtle relationships that exist in nature, and to which man has been so callously indifferent, let's look at the oceans. Professor LaMont Cole, a distinguished American ecologist, put it this way in a speech in December, 1967, to the American Association for the Advancement of Science:

"It is true that 70 percent or more of the total oxygen production by photosynthesis occurs in the ocean and is largely produced by planktonic diatoms. It is also true that we are dumping into the oceans vast quantities of pollutants consisting, according to one estimate by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration, of as many as a half-million substances. Many of these are biologically active materials, such as pesticides, radioisotopes, and detergents, to which the earth's living forms have never before had to try to adapt. No more than a minute fraction of these substances and combinations of them has been tested for toxicity to marine diatoms, or, for that matter, to the equally vital forms of life involved in the cycles of nitrogen and other essential elements. I do not think we are in a position to assert right now that we are not poisoning the marine diatoms and thus bringing disaster upon ourselves."

The so-called "greenhouse effect" is also giving a growing group of scientists the shivers. The greenhouse effect is being caused on earth at the present time by an increasing layer of carbon dioxide, smog, soot, and fumes, all of which taken together is reducing the free exchange of heat in our atmosphere. Before man arrived here a million-plus years ago, the earth received radiant heat and energy from the sun and long-range climatic changes took place without interference from such an unnatural barrier. In that habitat, the plants and animals of our world evolved gradually over hundreds of millions of years. Then, about 50,000 years ago, man conquered fire and has since used it in steadily increasing quantities. Nearly all of our air-pollution problems are now caused by some form of "fire" in factories, automobiles, power plants, and dwellings. As the population of the earth continues to increase, we must look forward to a proportionate and steady increase in fire use. This is most true in the industrial nations where a high per-capita use of fossil fuels—and now nuclear fuel's—has developed.

One of the products left over from the burning of fossil fuels—coal, gasoline, oil, and jet fuel—is carbon dioxide. The commercial jet liner alone now deposits an estimated 36,000,000 tons of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere above the United States each year, and this mass of aerial garbage is growing. Since 1870, the amount of carbon dioxide in our atmosphere has increased by 10 percent. By 2000 A.D. it will be 25 percent higher.

This gas permits radiant heat from the sun to enter the atmosphere, but prevents the escape of heat; hence, the term "greenhouse effect." Some experts anticipate an opposite effect, however, believing the shield

may actually produce a cooling effect, bringing on another Ice Age. The fact that the experts disagree on the end result is not at this point the crucial question. What does disturb me so deeply is that some kind of massive earthly disturbance is imminent or is forecast. For example, plants create oxygen through photosynthesis—a chemical reaction that requires sunlight. Under reduced sunlight, reduced oxygen production could result.

To some, these predictions may sound "alarmist," and I certainly hope the future can show that on these issues I am a "false-alarmist." But I would be hiding from my responsibility if I did not point out some of the dangers that I think we must face from various environmental pollutants here now, or on the horizon. The unfortunate history of pollution is that we have spent most of our efforts on cures and very little on prevention. Situations like this get worse before they get better. The question is, however, can we allow such a pattern to continue in a situation where we must now talk about world-wide pollution of such magnitude that man's very existence may be at stake? Michigan's problems are the world's problems, and vice-versa. As recently as 1940, environmental pollution was a phrase seldom heard. We did not use virtually "lost-forever" detergents, chemical pesticides, radioactive isotopes. "Jet-exhaust," "fallout," and "greenhouse effect" were terms not found in our lexicon. Can we change rapidly enough to solve these dangers—especially the danger of total environmental pollution—before it becomes a reality?

Of course we must if we are to continue to exist on this planet, and I optimistically believe that we will. More about that in a moment, but now let's look at the other two major problems facing us in the 1970's—depletion of natural resources and rising world population. It is clearly a fact that the world's human population is growing at an extremely rapid rate, far faster now than ever before in history. This pace of growth will continue to increase in speed into the foreseeable future, as the simple mathematics of world censusing shows. Dr. Paul R. Ehrlich, population specialist at Stanford University, has estimated that the world's population doubled about every thousand years from 6000 B.C. to 1650 A.D. But in the next 200 years, from 1650 to 1850, world population again doubled, reaching at that time one billion. From 1850 to 1930, it reached two billion people, doubling this time in only 80 years. If world food supplies hold out, we will double again, reaching a population of four billion people around the end of the 1970's. The world population is now well over three billion people.

Can natural resources meet the strain of feeding, housing, and providing for all these new masses of humanity? The answer to that question is YES in some parts of the world, and NO in other parts of the world. The United States, for example, has one fifteenth of all people on earth, yet uses about half of all natural resources consumed by humans. During the 70-year lifetime of one American, he will use 26 million gallons of water, 21,000 gallons of gasoline, 10,000 pounds of meat, 28,000 pounds of milk and cream, \$5000-\$8000 in school building materials, \$6300 worth of clothing, and \$7000 worth of furniture. The United States will double its population from the present 200 million in about 65 years. That means we must double production of all these resources in that period just to stay even with present levels of consumption. But imagine being the leader of a nation like Costa Rica or Brazil or the Philippines where populations will double in 20 to 25 years! Production of basic goods for those nations—and many others—must increase three times faster than in the United States just to stay even! As they probably will not be able to

produce or pay for their own needs, will we have surpluses to send them? The very question raises crucial implications for all of us.

Thus, our work is cut out for us in the 1970's, and there is no denying the landslide nature of the dangers we face. Pollution is continuing to grow, population increases will severely tax our base of resources, and rapid increases of food, fiber, and hard goods are at best a hoped-for possibility—not a certainty by any means. It is not pleasant to think what may happen if the growth of world food supplies fails to match the growth of world population, as is clearly predicted for many areas of the world by the year 1980.

On the other side of the scales, however, is one clear, determined, and definite possibility now on the horizon that, if it comes to pass, could change the course of human history. That possibility lies in the increasing involvement of people in decisions regarding the future use and distribution of natural resources. Signs of this involvement are everywhere in our land. Citizens are forming protest groups, individuals are becoming deeply concerned, legislative and Congressional task forces are at work, public hearings are being held, high level governmental decisions are being changed or decided by public protest. All these things are happening now, at the opening of the 1970's, on matters involving use and distribution of natural resources. Never before in our history have we seen such intensity of involvement. A recent national poll showed overwhelming public support for both taxation and laws that will bring about a cleaner, less polluted environment. A lop-sided 97 percent said they favored "reallocating federal spending to provide more money for improvement of the natural environment," and this pattern held true both for men and women, for richly-educated and poorly-educated, for young and old.

As your governmental leaders in use of natural resources in this state, we in the Department of Natural Resources are deeply aware of this movement, and are very encouraged by it. We expect to be in the thick of many fights in the coming ten years, and we both welcome public support and depend on it heavily for all future successes. We know the day is coming when the air we breathe, the water we drink, and the earth we stand upon must be treated with dignity and respect if we are to continue to survive as a species on this planet. Anything short of that is certain to mean world genocide.

Hovering over all of the considerations mentioned on these pages is a thunderhead, very dark. I shall relay to you some of my concern about it in the next issue of this magazine. Whatever the successes in the next ten years in environment control and resource management, they will be of little consequence if human population continues to burgeon unchecked over the earth. This increase in man's numbers, without a deliberate and calculated limitation, is mankind's dance Macabre. More about this in Part II of a look into the new decade.

#### CLEAN WATER: CRISIS OR COMMITMENT?

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, this Nation will face many grave challenges in

the decade to come. The problems of Vietnam, inflation, civil rights, and poverty are not going to disappear as we enter the 1970's. What may disappear, however, is our last opportunity to save America's environment from complete destruction.

We know that we must attack environmental pollution at once. We know that we have the necessary resources to do so. What we need is a total commitment to action, action to insure that our generation will not leave a legacy of barren land, filthy water, and foul air.

This year Congress made its first concrete effort to help eliminate the blight of polluted water. The appropriation of \$800 million for water pollution control in the face of an administration request for only \$214 million is proof that Congress understands the gravity of the situation. This year's action is only a first small step, however, toward what is needed.

I submit, for instance, that one of our major priorities next year must be the correction of an obvious weakness in the formula which is used to provide funds for water pollution control. I strongly believe that a program based on population and per capita income rather than need cannot provide help where it is most needed.

The General Accounting Office also believes that the present formula is inadequate and inefficient. In a detailed analysis, the GAO concludes that the program has been funded "using a shotgun approach—awarding construction grants on a first-come, first-served or readiness-to-proceed basis. This approach can no longer be justified. Grants should be awarded on a more systematic basis, giving consideration to the benefits to be attained."

I am confident that this formula will be changed next year. I hope that the Citizens Crusade for Clean Water—an organization which performed a great service this year in bringing the water pollution crisis to the attention of the American public—will work equally hard in support of the necessary changes. Only in this way will it be possible for us to solve our worst pollution problems now, before they become unsolvable.

I was fortunate, Mr. Speaker, to have the opportunity to present my views on the water pollution crisis in the November issue of *New Englander*, an outstanding business magazine. This article was prepared prior to Senate action on the Public Works appropriation bill; therefore, the figure I quoted was not the final appropriation. The thrust of the article is still the same, however, so I wish to insert it in the *RECORD* at this point:

#### CLEAN WATER: CRISIS OR COMMITMENT?

(By Representative ROBERT N. GIAIMO)

As this nation struggles with the problems of foreign war and domestic unrest, we face a new crisis—a crisis which may result in the complete deterioration of the quality of our water supply. Our efforts to stop the pollution of America's rivers, lakes and streams will most assuredly determine the future welfare and progress of the United States.

The situation grows worse each day. In

many localities, water pollution is so bad and waste treatment plants so inadequate that new home construction and industrial expansion are severely inhibited. In some instances, all new construction is completely banned until new or more efficient sewage treatment facilities can be built.

What is worse, our failure to control water pollution is contributing to the decline of our already decaying central cities. The continuing deterioration of their already undesirable environment is causing social unrest, discouraging industrial growth, creating further unemployment, and hastening the collapse of the cities' entire economic structure.

Finally, polluted water is threatening our nation's wildlife, impeding our conservation efforts, and depriving the American people of badly needed recreational areas.

The magnitude of the pollution problem in America is graphically described by Tom Kimball, Executive Director of the National Wildlife Federation, who says, "Examples of pollution-caused economic depression, health hazards and wildlife destruction are scattered across the United States like poison confetti . . . it has become a question of how long we can escape inundation by our own filth."

It would be understandable if the United States could not solve its pollution problem because it did not have the means to do so. Such is not the case, however. We do have the technological expertise necessary to control pollution. We do have commitments, in both word and deed, from the states and municipalities. We do have the support of millions of Americans who have suffered in one way or another from the effects of polluted water. What we do not have is time.

The substantial sums needed to clean up the nation's increasingly polluted waterways are clearly beyond the capabilities of state and local governments alone. These governments are faced with rising costs and voter resistance to tax hikes and bond issues and thus are unable or unwilling to move against water pollution without Federal assistance. Many are also disturbed by what Maryland Governor Marvin Mandell calls "billion dollar talk and million dollar action" by the Federal Government. Their impatience is understandable.

By its passage of the Water Quality Act of 1965 and Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966, Congress signalled the start of a program of massive Federal assistance to the states and communities for construction of water pollution control facilities. Many people assumed that this action would assure increasing amounts of money annually in the form of grants for construction of desperately needed municipal treatment plants.

Congress, however, has not appropriated the amounts authorized under the Clean Water Restoration Act in the years following its enactment. This has been the subject of much debate, especially this year, when a concerted effort was made to provide the authorized \$1 billion for clean water for Fiscal Year 1970. Many of those urging the \$1 billion appropriation blamed the Appropriations Committees of Congress for their failure to fully fund the program in prior years. While it is conceded that Congress has treated the anti-pollution effort too lightly in the past, such is not the case in the present appropriation for Fiscal Year 1970. The major difficulty now is not the amount of the appropriation but the way in which it is allocated under the inequitable formula in the existing law.

It makes no difference how much money is appropriated for clean water each year if the states which need it cannot get the required assistance. Unfortunately, the formula by which clean water funds are allo-

cated is based on population rather than need. Thus, many states in desperate need of construction grants cannot get anywhere near the amount for which they apply, while states with lesser demands may be allocated more money than they can possibly use in the upcoming fiscal year.

The situation which confronts the State of New York is another example of the inefficiency of the present formula. Of a total of \$2.4 billion in state applications for 1970 construction grants, New York alone has requested \$1.3 billion. Because of the formula, which limits the amount available to any one state, New York could receive only \$89 million even if 1 billion were appropriated by Congress.

Thus, we are stymied by this inefficient, inequitable formula in our attempts to provide clean water funds to the states and municipalities which are most in need. Until this formula is changed, it makes little difference whether or not the clean water program is fully funded, since the money cannot be effectively used in the areas where the greatest need exists.

Another difficulty in funding the clean water program relates to the progress which the states and municipalities have made in their own anti-pollution efforts. Some proponents of "full funding" have overlooked the fact that many state and local pollution control projects are not yet at the stage of development where they can effectively use Federal aid. It would be senseless to pour money into projects which have not progressed to this stage while neglecting many of those which are ready.

This year's effort by Congressmen, state and local officials, and organizations, such as the "Citizens Crusade for Clean Water," to bring the pollution crisis to the attention of the American public is deserving of the highest praise. It is unfortunate, however, that this coalition made its goal a \$1 billion appropriation which could not be effectively used this year, rather than a change in the allocation formula which would allow greater and more equitable appropriations in future years. Hopefully, this necessary change will be made in the near future; indeed it must be made as quickly as possible.

Unless we act quickly, the stage is set for a disastrous failure of the entire water pollution control program. Continued inefficient and inequitable allocation of these funds may result in the loss of public acceptance, a lessening of the urge to meet the crisis and, finally, a complete deterioration of the quality of an essential natural resource.

Yet the outlook is not entirely bleak. According to a recent Gallup Poll, 85 per cent of all Americans are now concerned about water pollution and 73 per cent are ready to spend money to improve conditions. Congress has also made a great start toward coming to grips with the problem; the House Appropriations Committee increased clean water funds from the \$214 million recommended by the Nixon Administration to \$600 million, almost a three-fold increase. In addition to the \$600 million, a total of \$65 million in carry-over funds from last year's clean water appropriations is also available.

Although great progress has been made in the last few years in the fight against pollution, much more needs to be done in the immediate future. Congress has at long last appreciated the need for appropriating large sums of money. The appropriation of \$600 million this year by the House of Representatives in the face of a budget request by President Nixon for \$214 million indicates quite clearly that Congress is measuring up to its responsibility. I look forward to increased amounts in future years which will enable us as a nation to launch a massive attack on pollution.

## CONTROL OF STEEL IMPORTS

**HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, early this year several Members of the House introduced various bills aimed at a common objective—the control of foreign steel imports which were threatening the domestic market. The bills were the result of a record high tonnage import in 1968, 18 million tons.

The feeling grew that mandated controls were necessary if the flood of foreign steel was to be stopped. However, efforts to build a legislative dam against the flood was thwarted by the announcement the U.S. Department of State had entered into a voluntary arrangement with two of the major foreign producers: Japan and member nations of the European Coal and Steel Community—ECSC.

These two producers, who supply approximately 80 percent of our imported steel, were said to have agreed to limit their respective tonnage to 5.75 million net tons. Another 2.5 million tons was expected from nations not party to the arrangement, making a net importation of 14 million tons. Furthermore, Japan and the ECSC said they would try not to change the product mix or, at least, not too greatly.

This arrangement consists of nothing more than letters of intent from Japan and ECSC, stating they will try to do this and that. There is nothing binding about these statements. There are no penalties for violating them. In fact, the sole responsibility for controlling the self-imposed quotas rests with the letter-writers themselves.

Since there are no provisions binding Japan and ECSC to their respective quotas I had no doubt one or the other, or both, would not hesitate to exceed these self-imposed limits if it would prove to their benefit. I also was disturbed by the vague promise, if it can be called that, the foreign producers would not meddle with the mix. I had, to use the vernacular, a hunch someone might try to make a bundle by selling more high priced steel products but not going beyond their tonnage limit. I, certainly, have no idea of how hard they might have tried to avoid changing the mix nor can I say how much of a change is too much.

These were my fears, Mr. Speaker, and recent statistics from the Department of Commerce and the American Iron and Steel Institute—AISI—have not alleviated them.

These reports indicate Japan will not stay within its import limit for 1969 unless it makes a drastic cut in tonnage during November and December. The reports also point to a notable change in the product mix whereby foreign producers are reaping a financial harvest.

The Department of Commerce, in its 9-month report, shows Japan, while cutting down its tonnage from the record

year of 1968, is running about 10 percent ahead of the pace required to meet its 1969 quota. As of September 30, according to DOC figures, Japanese imports totaled nearly 4.8 million tons. This would require a reduction of approximately 44 percent in monthly shipments for the balance of the year to stay within its stated limit of 5.75 million tons.

ECSC nations are well within their tonnage limits but this is believed due to the heavy demand for steel on their home markets. I wonder what will happen when that demand eases? Nevertheless, Japan apparently has picked up the slack left by ECSC.

In the AISI report total steel imports at the end of October was 11.8 million net tons. That leaves only 2.2 million tons left to be imported from all sources in 2 months if the 14-million-ton importation quota is to be maintained.

AISI also notes while total tonnage is down considerably from the record 1968 level there is only a slight change reflected in the dollar value of the products sold. Why? Because the product mix has been juggled. We now are getting more of the higher priced items such as alloy, tool and stainless steels. AISI reports alloy and tool steel imports are up 16 percent over the 10-month total of 1968; stainless steel imports are up 7.7 percent in a comparable period.

The DOC 9-month report states Japan is 48 percent ahead of its alloy steel import total for the same period in 1968. Canada, which is not party to the voluntary arrangement, has increased by 42 percent its export of stainless steel products.

Mr. Speaker, I might remind my colleagues this one-sided arrangement negotiated by the State Department has 2 years more to run, during which Japan and ECSC are permitted to increase their combined total imports to the United States by 1.4 million tons. But there is no provision guaranteeing protection to the American domestic market nor the American workingman. They are, to say the least, in a most vulnerable position.

## ORE VERSUS ALPINE BEAUTY

**HON. JOHN D. DINGELL**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the November 25, 1969, issue of the Christian Science Monitor carried an article by Kathryn C. Merriam which was headlined, "Ore Versus Alpine Beauty." The article reports on the threat to the White Cloud Wilderness Area of Idaho because of mining exploration. If the mining plans are carried through, the ecology of the White Cloud area will be damaged for all time.

The article vividly illustrates the need for updating our minerals leasing laws along the lines proposed in legislation, H.R. 7354, which was introduced by

Congressman JOHN P. SAYLOR and which I cosponsored.

So that my colleagues may be aware of the dangers posed by the present minerals leasing laws, I include the text of the Christian Science Monitor's article at this point in the RECORD:

**ORE VERSUS BEAUTY: WILDERNESS MINING PLAN STIRS IDAHOANS**  
(By Kathryn C. Merriam)

**POCATELLO, IDAHO.**—The White Clouds region in the Challis National Forest of central Idaho is an area of fragile alpine beauty.

The mosses and lichens, the delicate soils of timberline, the more than 50 lakes in the range have had little abuse from the heavy hand of man. The streams, which form on Castle Peak, the highest point (11,820 feet), are a major spawning ground for salmon. And the higher lakes are filled with energetic pan-size trout.

Yet in the very near future the wilderness status of the White Clouds may be relinquished. Mining exploration was begun there in 1967 to verify the presence of the mineral molybdenum. American Smelting & Refining Company (ASARCO) has been busily taking ore samples from the lower slopes of Castle Peak and surveying for a road into the mine site. Under the provisions of a mining law established in 1872, ASARCO is perfectly within its rights to stake mining claims on public lands within Forest Service boundaries.

**ACCESS ROAD DISPUTED**

The Forest Service says it is obliged to grant permission for a road into a proven claim.

ASARCO says it needs the road now "to remove large enough ore samples for ascertaining the quality of the ore-bearing rock." And while ASARCO says that "access" as written in the mining law means "access road," opponents disagree. To study alternative means of access, the Forest Service has sent in men to examine the feasibility of an aerial tramway.

If its core-drilling samples prove to be good (and the latest report from the Forest Service is that from 9 to 11 claims have been validated), ASARCO wants to build an access road into the White Clouds. Using this road, the company can then remove larger amounts of ore to determine the feasibility of open-pit mining.

**LAND CLAIMS FILED**

Toward the middle of the summer of 1968, another company, Vernon Taylor & Associates of Denver, Colo., began prospecting in the White Clouds. ASARCO, Taylor, and a few wildcat firms now hold claims that number in the hundreds at 20 acres per claim.

ASARCO has stated that its operation alone would deposit 20,000 tons of rock sludge on the surrounding terrain each day. It has offered to "restore the area as much as possible" after its 10-to-30-year venture is finished. Opponents have questioned whether this could be done. An editorial in the (Boise) Idaho Statesman said: "Unless the company has other plans, talk of conservation practice is largely window dressing."

In addition to the debris left by the mining operation, there is the hazard of water pollution. ASARCO has stated that it will probably use an oil-flotation process to separate the ore from the rock. Conservationists are worried about possible pollution in the salmon-spawning grounds fed by White Clouds streams.

**POLLUTION NOTED**

The Forest Service praises ASARCO for its cooperative manner. Rather than tear up the soils with bulldozers, ASARCO has brought in supplies by helicopter. Yet visitors

to the camp have noted and photographed large areas of timber cut to facilitate these helicopter landings.

Taylor & Associates has a smaller camp farther north in the midst of several alpine lakes. The Idaho Department of Health had to warn Taylor to stop polluting one of the lakes. Bentonite, a sealer used in drilling, was being pumped into a lake, clouding the water and "cementing" the lake bottom.

Weldon Fulghum, a Taylor engineer, stated: "Quibbling about whether the lake is polluted is ridiculous because if the core drilling reveals the expected molybdenum samples, the lake will disappear when mining begins."

**MINERAL SOUGHT**

The mineral molybdenum is used primarily to harden certain types of steel. According to United States Government figures compiled in 1964 there is a 37-year known reserve of molybdenum. Some current estimates place these reserves closer to 100 years. Some 25 percent of the yearly United States output is exported.

Molybdenum is found most often as an intrusion into granite rock. Granitic masses, unfortunately, often happen to be mountain peaks.

Three out of the four members of Idaho's congressional delegation have expressed concern over the wilderness values of the White Clouds. And Republican Gov. Don Samuelson has favored the mine and described the area as being composed of only "sagebrush and scraggly trees." The Lewiston (Idaho) Morning Tribune questioned whether his motives might be tied to campaign contributions.

**TOWNFOLK FAVOR**

The majority of Idahoans seem to be against the mining venture. People who live in the small towns adjacent to the White Clouds are a notable exception. ASARCO has promised jobs to 350 men in the mine. It has also predicted it would pay more than \$700,000 to the county in taxes. Custer County with a population of 3,000 could use the money. Its people could use the jobs.

Mine foes advocate taking advantage of a growing tourist industry. Mining exhausts natural resources and frequently leaves a depressed area behind when the mining runs out, opponents say. The tourist industry benefits places close to scenic and recreational sites, they add.

**ROAD CHALLENGE EXPECTED**

The Forest Service has not yet granted the road permit. They have proceeded carefully and with deliberation, apparently too much so for the Governor of Idaho. Governor Samuelson was very critical of the Forest Service for holding public hearings on the issue.

If the Forest Service does grant the road permit, it will probably be challenged. Likely plaintiffs include the National Wildlife Federation supported by the Wilderness Society and the Sierra Club.

Alternatively the White Clouds could be included in a national recreation area bill passed by the U.S. Senate and now before a House committee. But this bill would permit the road and controversial mine.

Another course is a proposal to include the higher elevation areas of the White Clouds and Sawtooth Ranges in a national park. The lower elevations would be protected as a national recreation area.

Would a national park save the White Clouds? According to legal opinion, this would cause the lands to be withdrawn immediately from mineral entry (no new claims could be staked). Existing mining claims (which had not been proven as of the date of mineral withdrawal) could be challenged and declared invalid. The overall effect would be to stop the mining operation and permanently protect the White Clouds.

**AKONI PULE, DEAN OF HAWAII STATE LEGISLATURE, RETIRES AFTER 21 YEARS OF OUTSTANDING SERVICE**

**HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA**

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the Island of Hawaii, youngest and largest of the Hawaiian archipelago, was the birthplace of Kamehameha the Great, a beneficent monarch who became the first ruler of all the Islands.

Big Islanders are understandably proud of their heritage and of their present day leaders who are following the precepts of King Kamehameha.

One such Big Islander whose leadership has helped to determine the path that social and economic development has taken in the Island State during the past two decades is the recently retired dean of the Hawaii State Legislature, Representative Akoni Pule.

A well-deserved tribute was paid to Representative Pule at a testimonial luncheon in his honor on December 14 in Honomakau when more than 200 Big Islanders and State officials gathered to heap praise on the distinguished lawmaker.

Gov. John A. Burns credited Representative Pule with a major part in "the revolution in Hawaii which has placed the accent on human beings, their environment and talents."

Other officials cited Representative Pule's ability to bring major capital improvements to his district, and, as one speaker remarked, the big isle's remote Kohala area "now has access to the world, thanks to Akoni."

These tributes and others reflect those admirable qualities which have made Representative Pule one of our State's most valuable public officials during his 21 years of dedicated service. I take great pleasure in extending to him my personal commendation for his rare talents and contributions which have left their imprint on our Nation's youngest State.

To Representative Pule and his gracious and lovely wife, Sarah, who will fill his seat in the 1970 session of the legislature, I extend aloha and all good wishes for the future.

I believe my colleagues in Congress will find of interest the news article about the recent testimonial luncheon in honor of Representative Pule, which I am pleased to submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The article, "Representative Pule's 21-year Reign Is Saluted," by the Honolulu Star-Bulletin's able State editor, Jack Bryan, from the December 15, 1969, issue of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, follows:

**REPRESENTATIVE PULE'S 21-YEAR REIGN IS SALUTED**

(By Jack Bryan)

**HONOMAKAU, HAWAII.**—Big Islanders and top State officials paid their respects to retired State Rep. Akoni Pule, dean of the House, at an emotion-charged testimonial yesterday.

More than 200 attended the luncheon in the Kohala High School Cafeteria.

Gov. John A. Burns said Pule's departure from public life points up the great change that has been taking place in Hawaii in recent years.

He credited the veteran lawmaker with a major part in what he called "the revolution in Hawaii which has placed the accent on human beings, their environment and talents. . ."

Other speakers cited Pule's deftness in snaring capital improvements for his relatively lightly populated district, including the "Akoni highway," the Mahukona-Kawaihae road which gave remote North Kohala ready access to the booming resort area and port to the south.

But Burns said Pule and others of similar outlook have contributed far more in social legislation in his 21 years in the House.

Speaker Tadao Beppu, Senate president David McClung and Mayor Shunichi Kimura added words of praise for Pule's public record.

George Martin, ILWU district director, recalled that Pule was once an outstanding business agent for the big union.

A. C. Stearns, manager of Kohala Sugar Co., said "Kohala now has access to the world, thanks to Akoni."

Councilman Herbert T. Matayoshi, new president of the State Association of Counties, presented a resolution in tribute to the lawmaker. This was adopted by the association Saturday at its meeting in Hilo.

Buddy Soares, Republican floor leader; Barney Menor, vice speaker; and the entire Big Island delegation in the House were present, as were Sens. John Ushijima and Stanley I. Hara and most of the County Council.

Pule's voice broke and both he and his wife Sarah were tearful as he thanked each in turn for the tribute and gifts, including a color television set and a reclining chair.

Mrs. Pule will fill his seat in the last session of his term, starting next month.

DR. ANDREW STEVENSON

SPEECH OF

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, on October 31, 1969, when Dr. Andrew Stevenson retired as professional staff coordinator of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, the House of Representatives lost the services of one of the most dedicated and talented men whom I have been privileged to work with during my 17 years in Congress.

I remember that I was immediately impressed by Andy Stevenson's quiet dignity and his obvious grasp of the details of the most complicated issues, when I first joined the committee in 1955.

Throughout the intervening years my respect and admiration for him continued to grow as I watched him handle one complex matter after another—always with great finesse and ability.

The great American inventor, Thomas A. Edison once observed "genius is 1 percent inspiration and 99 percent perspiration."

Andy Stevenson has an extraordinar-

ly almost like a human encyclopedia; so in his case there was certainly more than a 1 percent inspiration ingredient in his special genius, but I can testify that he didn't lack in the application of hard work either.

Throughout his distinguished career Andy Stevenson never once let any partisan consideration cloud his judgment and he gave his advice and good counsel freely and equally to all members of the committee.

I know of no man who has more honestly earned the rewards of retirement but I can personally testify that his leaving is a real loss for all of us who know and admire him.

We on the committee will miss him most, but I am confident that all of my colleagues who knew him over the years will agree that our loss is shared by the entire House of Representatives. I think we all owe Dr. Stevenson a debt of gratitude for his 34 years of dedicated service to Congress and the Government and wish him the best of everything in retirement.

MAJ. GEN. JOHN G. CASSIDY  
AWARDED LEGION OF MERIT

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago a distinguished American received from the Army Reserve the Legion of Merit upon his retirement from the Army Reserve after more than 40 years of outstanding service.

That distinguished American is Maj. Gen. John G. Cassidy, the commanding general of New Jersey's 78th Division. Ceremonies took place at the headquarters of the "Lightning Division" on December 14. The Legion of Merit is America's second-highest award for noncombat service. Because of the importance of this award and the long service to the country by General Cassidy, I believe my colleagues would be interested in the general's career.

General Cassidy began his military career at the age of 16 when he attended the Citizens Military Training Corps, 26th Infantry, Plattsburg Barracks, N.Y. He continued his training during the summers of 1926, 1927, and 1928, and upon completion was recommended for enlistment in the Army and for further prescribed courses of study with a view to preparing for a commission in the Officers Reserve Corps.

He enlisted in the 310th Infantry, 78th Infantry Division, on March 5, 1929. General Cassidy served successively as private, corporal, sergeant, and first lieutenant. He was appointed a second lieutenant on June 29, 1933. In addition to his assignment with the 310th Regiment, he was attached for training and served with the 113th Infantry, 44th Division.

Inducted into extended active service November 25, 1940, Lieutenant Cassidy was assigned to Company M, 113th Infantry, and served as a platoon leader until April 19, 1941. Promoted to captain on that date, he was placed in command of Company I, 113th Infantry, which post he held until June 1942. Upon the activation of the 96th Infantry Division, Major Cassidy was assigned as a staff officer with the 381st Infantry of the 96th Division, and he served in that capacity until July 1943, when he assumed command of the 1st Battalion, 381st Infantry. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel on January 27, 1944.

Lieutenant Colonel Cassidy spent 16 months overseas as commander of the 1st Battalion Landing Team, 381st Infantry, participating in both the Leyte and Okinawa campaigns. As commander of the 1st Battalion Landing Team, he landed with the assault forces in both invasions. He was awarded the Silver Star for heroic action under fire and for exceptionally outstanding qualities of leadership during the Okinawa campaign. He was also awarded the Bronze Star Medal for executing a complex coordinated attack with consummate skill and daring during the Leyte campaign.

Wounded in action on Okinawa June 2, 1945, Lieutenant Colonel Cassidy was evacuated to Hawaii. Later, when physically qualified for general military service on August 11, 1945, he was released for further assignment. He was promoted to colonel on January 20, 1946, and released from active service on February 25, 1946.

General Cassidy assumed command of the 310th Regiment, 78th Division, upon its activation as an Army Reserve unit on January 22, 1947, and remained in continuous command until July 16, 1959. On that date he was appointed as assistant division commander, 78th Division, Training, and was promoted to brigadier general in December 1960. He assumed the command of the 78th Division, Training, on July 11, 1964, from Maj. Gen. H. Russell Morss, Jr.—retired, and was promoted to major general on December 31, 1964.

Born December 4, 1908, General Cassidy received his early education in his native city of Union City at St. Michael's High School. He later graduated from Pace College and majored in business administration. A certified public accountant, he retired on October 31 as supervisor of audits and frauds with the Internal Revenue Service and has set up private offices at his home at 205 Highfield Lane, Nutley. A graduate of the Army's Command and General Staff College, General Cassidy is married to the former Lucille Byrne of Jersey City. The Cassidy's have two children, John, Jr., a second lieutenant with the 78th Division's 1st Brigade and a student at Monmouth College and Mary Jo, a first year student at Trinity College in Washington, D.C.

General Cassidy is vice president of Association of the U.S. Army, a member of the Reserve Officers Association. During his tenure as commanding general

of the 78th Division, the unit received the highest awards for excellence in training. High-ranking military officers and leading citizenry of the State attended the retirement ceremonies on Sunday.

**"FREEDOM OF CHOICE" IS THE  
FREEDOM TO DISCRIMINATE**

**HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, "Freedom of Choice" is the freedom to discriminate. Mr. Speaker, due to illness I have not been able to be present in the House since Monday. My doctor's orders have been for me to be either at home or in the hospital.

If I had been able to be present yesterday, I would have voted "nay" on rollcall No. 339. That rollcall was on a motion by Mr. FLOOD to table Mr. CONTE's motion to instruct the House conferees to recede from the so-called Whitten freedom-of-choice amendment to the Labor-HEW appropriations bill and to accept the Scott substitute.

The defeat of the tabling motion and the subsequent approval of the CONTE motion was loud and clear indication of this House's commitment to school desegregation. The vote demonstrated to the entire country that this House is committed to the goal of equal educational opportunities for all Americans regardless of race.

The defeated Whitten amendment claimed to make the so-called freedom-of-choice plans legal though the Federal courts have recently found them to be unconstitutional when they do not result in effective school desegregation. The amendment really would have given local school officials the "freedom" to discriminate against black schoolchildren. The Whitten amendment was nothing more than an attempt to maintain the dual school system even though all branches of the Federal Government have found school segregation to be unconstitutional.

Though there does not seem to be much doubt that the Supreme Court would have eventually found the Whitten amendment to be unconstitutional, it was certainly crucial that the Congress not delude local school officials into believing that freedom-of-choice plans would be automatically acceptable. I want to congratulate the majority of my colleagues in this House and the majority in the Senate who in the last few days have made it clear that this Congress does not intend to allow phony freedom-of-choice plans to thwart the Brown against Board of Education decision requiring school desegregation. Hopefully this action by majorities in both Houses at the end of this first session of the 91st Congress means that the second session in 1970 will consistently and effectively support the cause of civil rights in voting, employment, education, housing, and all other areas.

**SAVING OUR ENVIRONMENT—A  
CHALLENGE FOR THE YOUNG**

**HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO**

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, the actions and attitudes of today's youth have created a great deal of controversy throughout the Nation. All of us deplore, I am sure, the actions of small groups like the Weathermen who advocate violence, preach hatred, and promote anarchy. Fortunately, the Weathermen and similar factions are only a very small minority; unfortunately, too many Americans believe that these groups reflect the attitudes of their entire generation.

They do not, Mr. Speaker. Today's young people may well be the most idealistic generation in our history. They see wrongs and want to right them; they see mistakes and want to correct them; they see the need for change and want to change things. Many of them have embarked on a course of constructive activism, a course which can only result in a better society. These young people, who constitute an anything but silent majority to their generation, deserve our utmost support.

I am especially pleased to note, therefore, that many young people are becoming concerned about the dangers of environmental pollution. They do not want to see this land destroyed; on the contrary, they want to save it. They refuse to sit by and let pollution take from them their land, their water, and their air. They know that our failure to act now can only mean more filthy water and foul air for them and for future generations.

I can think of no greater cause for them to champion, Mr. Speaker. Just as our youth have awakened the American people to the evils of racism and the horrors of poverty, so can they warn us of the imminent danger of pollution. Through their efforts and ours, I am certain that we can save our precious natural resources and insure that the words "America, the Beautiful" will remain more than just an empty phrase.

My attitude on this matter was reflected in an excellent editorial in the Hartford, Conn., Courant of Sunday, December 7, 1969. I wish to insert the editorial at this point in the RECORD:

**REBELS FIND NEW CAUSE—CONSERVATION  
OF AMERICA**

For those who have become cynical about today's youth and its constant and disruptive causes on university campuses—take heart. According to a national survey by the New York Times, college undergraduates are starting to champion a cause as new to them as it is familiar to older generations: Conservation.

In typical fashion, the young have their own way of making a cause "mod." Thus, conservation to them reportedly means "the environmental new wave" or something similar, but the goal is the same. Whether it be fighting water and air pollution or trying to save natural preserves of choice land, a new generation is apparently becoming concerned.

At Boston University, for instance, a group

of two students has put on a two-day campaign of public education in ecology. At the University of Illinois, Students for Environmental Control recently rallied forth in freezing weather and extracted six tons of refuse from a creek—and then persuaded city officials to complete the job. In a somewhat more bizarre action, University of Minnesota students have conducted a mock funeral for the gasoline engine in a protest against air pollution.

In its survey, the Times report uncovered a sufficient number of other examples to lend credence to its contention that a new campus trend is beginning. Certainly it is more than welcome—though one wonders what happened to all the other causes. True, the militant Students for a Democratic Society is badly splintered now, thus diffusing its attacks on the ROTC, defense contractors and administration authority. The rise in Black Power on campus continues unabated however—an explosive factor overlooked in The Times' optimistic outlook. And the anti-war movement—it is still there, too. But after two Moratorium marches, some of its passion may be spent. It is too much to hope that a less glamorous, but far more important cause—that of preserving America's natural resources, has indeed captured youth's imagination?

It is too early to tell but the prospect is both appealing and positive. Who other than the young—with their brains, enthusiasm, and confidence, could better champion conservation? After all, they will inherit the land. Their stake is large. And the challenge—it is vast enough for any rebel who would dare, for any length of time, to preserve rather than destroy. A rebel without a cause is self-defeating. A cause without a rebel is equally doomed.

**REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE  
JAMES D. HITTLE**

**HON. BOB WILSON**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

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

**EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE  
JAMES D. HITTLE, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF  
THE NAVY, DECEMBER 16, 1969**

It is my privilege to bring to you the good wishes of President Nixon, Secretary of Defense Laird and Secretary of the Navy Chafee.

I bring you also their expressions of appreciation for your contributions to the security of our Nation and the furtherance of U.S. naval power.

You indeed are a distinguished group. You and your shipmates, many of whom have taken the long voyage beyond the horizon of no return, participated in a truly historic event.

Sixty-two years ago today President Teddy Roosevelt personally handed sealed orders to Rear Admiral "Fighting" Bob Evans at Hampton Roads, Virginia.

Shortly thereafter steam pressure was raised in the boilers, gangways were secured, anchor chains clanked and the Great White Fleet stood out to sea. It marked the beginning, as you well recall, of one of the truly great events in all naval history—and most certainly in the history of the United States Navy. Sixteen gleaming white and smoke belching battleships, six destroyers, and five other ships began the circumnavigation of the world. That voyage, personally ordered by President Teddy Roosevelt, who understood the meaning of national prestige and

the role of seapower in achieving it, ordered our new and powerful battle fleet to show the American flag in the cruise around the world. That cruise in which you served, and which this anniversary dinner memorializes, signaled in unmistakable terms the emergence of the United States as one of the great sea powers of the world.

Since that day the United States flag flying on ships of the United States Navy has been the reassuring symbol of all those who oppose oppression and revere freedom.

And so, as you well know, fourteen months, 45,159 miles, and 431,793 tons of coal later, the Great White Fleet, still gleaming, proudly stood into Hampton Roads, Virginia. The circumnavigation of the world and the showing of our flag in distant seas had been accomplished. Our Nation's prestige was at a new high. Freedom loving people everywhere had new courage.

The service performed by you and your shipmates in the Great White Fleet will stand forever in the annals of our Navy's history and in the records of those who know and understand the sea.

To all of you—and your shipmates—who made possible that great seagoing achievement, our Nation, in its heart and in its memory, eternally flies the cherished naval signal "Well Done."

## ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY EDUCATION ACT OF 1969

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, I am very glad to join my distinguished colleagues, Congressmen BRADEMANS, REID, and HANSEN in reintroducing the Environmental Quality Education Act of 1969 along with 47 other cosponsors.

For years, the American environment has been suffering from our gross negligence. With barely a murmur of protest, we have permitted our forests to be decimated, our air to be polluted, and our waterways to serve as sewers for municipal and industrial waste. For too long, we have ignored the overall effects of our individual actions and large scale public and private programs and policies on our environment.

Today, America is becoming increasingly aware of the urgent need for swift and effective action. One way we can help reduce our abuse of the environment is by educating our citizens, especially our youth, about the benefits of a quality environment and a balanced ecology.

The text of the bill follows:

H. R. 15288

A bill to authorize the United States Commissioner of Education to establish educational programs to encourage understanding of policies and support of activities designed to enhance environmental quality and maintain ecological balance

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Environmental Quality Education Act".

### STATEMENT OF FINDINGS AND PURPOSE

SEC. 2. (a) The Congress of the United States finds that the deterioration of the

quality of the Nation's environment and of its ecological balance is in part due to poor understanding by citizens of the Nation's environment and of the need for ecological balance; that presently there do not exist adequate resources for educating citizens in these areas, and that concerted efforts in educating citizens about environmental quality and ecological balance are therefore necessary.

(b) It is the purpose of this Act to encourage and support the development of new and improved curriculums to encourage understanding of policies, and support of activities designed to enhance environmental quality and maintain ecological balance; to demonstrate the use of such curriculums in model educational programs and to evaluate the effectiveness thereof; to disseminate curricular materials and information for use in educational programs throughout the Nation; to provide training programs for teachers, other educational personnel, public service personnel, and community and industrial business leaders and employees, and government employees at State, Federal, and local levels; to provide for community education programs on preserving and enhancing environmental quality and maintaining ecological balance.

### USES OF FUNDS

SEC. 3. (a) From the sums appropriated, the United States Commissioner of Education, hereinafter referred to in this Act as the "Commissioner", shall assist in educating the public on the problems of environmental quality and ecological balance by:

(1) Making grants to or entering into contracts with institutions of higher education and other public or private agencies, institutions, or organizations for:

(a) Projects for the development of curriculums to encourage preserving and enhancing environmental quality and maintaining ecological balance.

(b) Pilot projects designed to demonstrate and test the effectiveness of the curriculums described in clause (a) whether developed with assistance under this Act or otherwise.

(c) In the case of applicants who have conducted pilot projects under clause (b), projects for the dissemination of curricular materials and other information regarding the environment and ecology.

(2) Undertaking directly or through contract or other arrangements with institutions of higher education or other public or private agencies, institutions, or organizations evaluations of the effectiveness of curriculums tested in use in elementary, secondary, college, and adult education programs involved in pilot projects described in paragraph 1(b).

(3) Making grants to institutions of higher education, local educational agencies, and other public or private organizations to provide preservice and inservice training programs on environmental quality and ecology (including courses of study, symposiums, and workshops, institutes, seminars, conferences) for teachers, other educational personnel, public service personnel, and community, business and industrial leaders and employees, and government employees at State, Federal, and local levels.

(4) Making grants to local educational, municipal, and State agencies and other public and private nonprofit organizations for community education on environmental quality and ecology, especially for adults.

(5) Making grants for preparation and distribution of materials suitable for use by mass media in dealing with the environment and ecology.

### APPROVAL OF APPLICATIONS

SEC. 4. (a) Financial assistance for a project under this Act may be made only upon application at such time or times, in such manner, and containing or accompanied

by such information as the Commissioner deems necessary, and only if such application—

(1) provides that the activities and services for which assistance under this title is sought will be administered by or under the supervision of the applicant;

(2) sets forth a program for carrying out the purposes set forth in section 3 and provides for such methods of administration as are necessary for the proper and efficient operation of such programs;

(3) sets forth policies and procedures which assure that Federal funds made available under this Act for any fiscal year will be so used as to supplement and, to the extent practical increase the level of funds that would, in the absence of such Federal funds, be made available by the applicant for the purposes described in section 3, and in no case supplant such funds.

(4) provides for such fiscal control and fund accounting procedures as may be necessary to assure proper disbursement of an accounting for Federal funds paid to the applicant under this title; and

(5) provides for making an annual report and such other reports, in such form and containing such information, as the Commissioner may reasonably require and for keeping such records, and for affording such access thereto as the Commissioner may find necessary to assure the correctness and verification of such reports.

(b) Applications from local educational agencies for financial assistance under this Act may be approved by the Commissioner only if the State educational agency has been notified of the application and been given the opportunity to offer recommendations.

(c) Amendments of applications shall, except as the Commissioner may otherwise provide by or pursuant to regulation, be subject to approval in the same manner as original applications.

### ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY EDUCATION

SEC. 5. (a) The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall appoint an Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality Education which shall—

(1) advise the Secretary concerning the administration of, preparation of, preparation of general regulations for, and operation of, programs supported with assistance under this Act;

(2) make recommendations regarding the allocation of the funds under this Act among the various purposes set forth in section 3 and the criteria for establishing priorities in deciding which applications to approve, including criteria designed to achieve an appropriate geographical distribution of approved projects throughout all regions of the Nation;

(3) review applications and make recommendations thereon;

(4) review the administration and operation of projects and programs under this Act, including the effectiveness of such projects and programs in meeting the purposes for which they are established and operated, make recommendations with respect thereto, and make annual reports of its findings and recommendations (including recommendations for improvements in this Act) to the Secretary for transmittal to the Congress; and

(5) evaluate programs and projects carried out under this Act and disseminate the results of such evaluations.

(b) The Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality Education shall be appointed by the Secretary without regard to the civil service laws and shall consist of twenty-one members. The Secretary shall appoint one member as Chairman. The Committee shall consist of persons familiar with education, information media, and the relationship of

man as producer, consumer, and citizen to his environment and the Nation's ecology. The Committee shall meet at the call of the Chairman or of the Secretary.

(c) Members of the Advisory Committee shall, while serving on the business of the Advisory Committee, be entitled to receive compensation at rates fixed by the Secretary, but not exceeding \$100 per day, including travel time; and while so serving away from their homes or regular places of business, they may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5703 of title 5 of the United States Code for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

#### TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Sec. 6. The Secretary, in cooperation with other Cabinet officers with relevant jurisdiction, shall, upon request, render technical assistance to local educational agencies, public and private nonprofit organizations, private profit-making organizations, institutions of higher learning, agencies of local, State, and Federal Government and other agencies deemed by the Secretary to play a role in preserving and enhancing environmental quality and maintaining ecological balance. The technical assistance shall be designed to enable the recipient agency to carry on education programs which deal with environmental quality and ecology and (2) deal with environmental and ecological problems pertinent to the recipient agency.

#### PAYMENTS

Sec. 7. Payments under this Act may be made in installments and in advance or by way of reimbursement, with necessary adjustments on account of overpayments or underpayments.

#### ADMINISTRATION

Sec. 8. In administering the provisions of this Act, the Secretary is authorized to utilize the services and facilities of any agency of the Federal Government and of any other public or private agency or institution in accordance with appropriate agreements, and to pay for such services either in advance or by way of reimbursement, as may be agreed upon.

#### AUTHORIZATION

Sec. 9. There is authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, for carrying out the purposes of this Act such sums as Congress may deem necessary.

### DETERIORATION OF OUR ENVIRONMENT

#### HON. MARTIN B. McKNEALLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. McKNEALLY. Mr. Speaker, in recent years, the people of this country have become increasingly aware of the deterioration of our environment. To the growing popular concern, the Congress has responded repeatedly by approving legislation aimed at halting this deterioration. The record of the Congress is clear—it is overwhelmingly committed to the preservation of our environment. Despite the position of the Congress, the International Boundary Commission—which confers on matters pertaining to the border between the United States and Canada—has instituted a plan to defoliate a 20-foot-wide strip in the United States-Canadian border.

In my opinion, the plan is an outrage. It would seem that the Secretary of State, who possesses jurisdiction over half of the International Boundary Commission, would oppose any such plan which disregards the concerns of the American people.

For the consideration of my colleagues, I offer the following editorial which appeared in the Evening News, a newspaper serving the area of my own hometown, Newburgh, N.Y. It seems to me that this editorial aptly characterizes the International Boundary Commission's defoliation plan:

#### HOW DUMB

Man is at it again—destroying that which nature has worked so long to produce.

It is likely to astound you, as it did us, to learn that the International Boundary Commission has agreed to a plan to defoliate a 20-foot-wide strip on the border between the U.S. and Canada. The strip will stretch 2,964 miles, excluding waterways on the border.

The commission says the purpose is to establish jurisdiction more accurately in border disputes and plane crashes. We weren't aware that any significant border disputes still existed between the U.S. and Canadian governments. If there are differences, marring so much wilderness is hardly the way to solve them.

The crowning blow, as Wisconsin Senator Gaylord Nelson explains, is that engineers are cutting the strip by spraying picloram, the same pesticide used by the U.S. military on the Demilitarized Zone in Vietnam. Says Nelson:

"In effect, we are creating a North American DMZ, a sort of environmental disaster strip in the midst of the most magnificent wilderness country on earth."

The senseless destruction should be stopped at once. If the U.S. were at war with Canada, there might be some point to it. But as it is now, a North American DMZ is nothing but D-U-M-B—period.

### THE FREIGHT CAR CRISIS

#### HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, for several weeks Members of Congress from the wheat States have made their annual representations by letter, telephone, and telegraph, to the Interstate Commerce Commission, asking that agency to invoke its authority to provide sufficient boxcars to transport the harvest of wheat which annually finds the railroads without cars and the ICC dismayed.

A few years ago the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Commerce, during the perennial emergency resulting from a harvest of grain, assembled a meeting of shippers, carriers, and legislators who forged an answer for that year. Miraculously the carriers located wandering or hidden cars, the ICC discovered its authority to require their delivery and shippers sent their produce to market.

Once again, the ICC is confronted with a grain harvest that has led to a shortage of boxcars. Again, grain is rotting in

Kansas, where it is piled on the ground, waiting to be transported by rail at the increased freight rates demanded by the carriers and approved by the ICC. Once again elevators in Nebraska are bulging, about 50 million bushels are on the ground and the backlog of grain is estimated to require 25,000 cars in that State alone.

Once again, the railroads, despite an investment tax credit to encourage their purchase of boxcars, despite a 6-percent increase in rates, are unable to offer service to shippers. In Montana, the shortage of cars for one shipper, the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association, was said on December 12, to be 1,282. The GTA holds in elevators wheat valued at \$6 million. Until it is delivered, the interest lost on this sum totals \$1,500 a day.

The ICC insists that there is compliance with its May exclusion order for delivery of gondola cars, and that penalties for noncompliance have not been necessary. The carriers insist they are moving the wheat. The ICC says an exclusion order covering boxcars would not help, and that it requires more specific detail of shippers' unmet requirements in order to resolve the conflicting assertions.

Some of the specifics were supplied to the agency on December 12. The Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association, by telegram to the ICC on that date, listed the numbers of cars and where they were required. The boxcar shortage for that one shipper then totaled 1,282 cars. Between December 12 and December 17 only 12 cars were supplied and loaded.

I ask unanimous consent that the pertinent exchange of telegrams be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

Mr. GEORGE J. BOOS,  
Resident Manager, Montana Division, Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association,  
Great Falls, Mont.:

Montana delegation has wired ICC urging issuance exclusion order to meet boxcar shortage. Will keep you advised.

LEE METCALF,  
U.S. Senator.

HON. LEE METCALF,  
U.S. Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.:

Once again the Montana Grain Industry is faced with a most serious shortage of box cars suitable for handling grain. As of this date, our unfilled car orders total 1,282 cars on the Great Northern alone. A break down of this by individual elevators is as follows:

Railroad car requirements placed with the Great Northern Railroad for Central Montana stations only as of December 11, 1969. These orders are based on 2,000 bushel capacity narrow-door box cars.

Belt, 6	East Fairview, 2
Big Sandy, 22	Ethridge, 15
Brady, 71	Galata, 21
Broadview, 25	Gildford, 46
Carter, 9	Havre, 40
Chester, 37	Richland, 22
Chinook, 5	Wolf Point, 23
Cliev, 2	Hingham, 26
Conrad, 32	Inverness, 61
Cutbank, 137	Kremlin, 4
Devon, 23	Lavin Spur, 3
Dutton, 43	Ledger, 83

Loma, 32	Lewistown, 36
Malta, 2	Flaxville, 11
Portage, 1	Glasgow, 8
Power, 23	Harlem, 3
Raynesford, 4	Hogeland, 8
Rudyard, 35	Turner, 1
Stanford, 3	Loring, 24
Sunburst, 5	Medicine Lake, 6
Sweetgrass, 5	Nashua, 10
Tiber, 8	Opheim, 54
Ulm, 5	Peerless, 27
Valier, 66	Poplar, 21
Saco, 2	Reserve, 2
Williams, 5	Richey, 3
Great Falls, 18	Whitewater, 56
Shelby, 40	Total, 1,282

These figures are for elevators either affiliated or owned by GTA only.

Repeated efforts on our part to seek relief from the Great Northern Railroad have ended in failure. One of the primary reasons for this being the low percentage of ownership and the inability of the Great Northern Railroad to recover their equipment from eastern, southern, and southeastern railroads. As of this date, percentage of ownership on the Great Northern is 65/0 and they are losing one half of 10/0 every other day.

Unless this situation is corrected immediately, economic hardship will befall the grain industry of Montana.

We respectfully and urgently request that you give consideration to requesting the Interstate Commerce Commission to issue an exclusion order immediately so that Great Northern equipment be returned from foreign lines at once.

Thank you for any assistance you can give to this matter.

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE J. BOOS,  
Resident Manager, Montana Division,  
Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association.

DECEMBER 16, 1969.

HON. LEE METCALF,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

Four empty boxcar trains delivered Montana carriers over weekend. Additional trains being assembled or en route at this time. All Montana railroads beneficiaries of Commission order requiring return their covered hopper cars.

Chairman, Interstate Commerce Commission.

HON. VIRGINIA MAE BROWN,  
Chairman, Interstate Commerce Commission,  
Washington, D.C.:

Have received communication from Montana Wheat Research and Marketing Committee, Great Falls. Reporting severe shortage of box cars on Great Northern Railroad in Montana.

As of November 25, 1969, survey indicated 2,071 box cars were needed on Great Northern Line to transport grain to market. Essential that car situation be improved in interest of Montana producers who must be able to position their grain at ports in the Pacific Northwest in order to take advantage of the export market. Continued shortage of these cars could seriously jeopardize Montana's hard red winter, dark northern spring, and durum markets in the Asia area.

Box car shortage apparently does not exist on other railroads serving Montana.

Situation demands immediate investigation, and I request ICC to utilize all existing authority to bring about some relief.

Senator MIKE MANSFIELD.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, I have just learned that the executive secretary of the Montana Wheat Research and Marketing Committee has communicated

again by wire with the Interstate Commerce Commission advising the results of a survey taken this morning on the boxcar shortage. So that this information will not be lost to the ICC, I will reiterate it. The total number of boxcars required by seven of Montana's major shippers is 3,220. This figure does not include any private elevators nor does it include any of the smaller grain firms. Last week the figure totaled 2,500 cars. Obviously, Mr. President, the ICC orders are totally ineffective.

Here are some of the details which the Commission claims it has not received. In Joplin, Mont., one firm alone required 115 cars.

In Fort Benton, one shipper needs 50 cars.

In Valier, one shipper needs 330 boxcars.

In Cut Bank, 250 are required.

In northeastern Montana one shipper needs 350 cars.

In conversation with me, the Commission has held that northern Montana shippers have ordered only covered hopper cars. My constituents tell me this is not so. They tell me, further, that those west coast purchasers of export grain who normally prefer to receive shipments in covered hoppers are requesting shipment in narrow door boxcars.

Representatives of Montana wheat growers tell me that an exclusion order for narrow door boxcars would help, notwithstanding ICC assertions that it would not.

Now, someone is misinformed. The wheat is not being moved. Losses to grain producers and to elevators are mounting daily in the most severe emergency of this kind that I recall. The ICC is unwilling to use its powers fully to meet the emergency; evidently the carriers' investment tax credit was not successful in increasing the supply of boxcars except for the western railroads whose cars are being held by others. Evidently too, the carriers' increased freight rate is not sufficient incentive for them to serve grain shippers.

Mr. President, I am wondering if wheat State Senators must again meet with representatives of the ICC, with shippers, and with the railroad industry.

Perhaps it would be useful to compare figures. Perhaps it would be useful to review the impact of the investment tax credit. Some of our roads have used the credit to construct and reconstruct cars to provide the rolling stock we need. I am advised, for example, that the Great Northern Railroad which has built a great many cars is now trying to meet the present emergency with only 65 percent of owned cars on its line, the balance of its cars being used as an inadequate rental figure by other lines, which fall or long delay in returning them to this and other Western railroads.

Perhaps we should examine the effect of the increase in freight rates, the annual consternation resulting from a harvest of grain, the diminution of public service, the impotence of the ICC, the apparent impunity of the railroads and

the questions of public interest arising from these factors.

Perhaps a public airing, with some assistance from interested Members of Congress, would serve to prepare the ICC for next year. Perhaps the railroads could be encouraged to provide transportation.

#### PUBLIC ATTITUDES REGARDING ENVIRONMENTAL IMPROVEMENT

### HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, the National Wildlife Federation paid for two national polls in 1969, testing the attitude of the American public toward environmental problems and ways of improving the situation. The first of these polls was carried out by the Gallup organization, and was reprinted in the RECORD of April 16, 1969, at my request.

The second and later poll has now been completed by another national polling organization, and the results of this effort strongly support those of the earlier. Together, they indicate that the public is growing increasingly impatient with those whose actions degrade our environment, and that the public is prepared to assume a substantial burden of the costs of improving the situation.

I include the results of this poll in the RECORD, knowing that my colleagues will find them of interest:

#### A STUDY OF THE ATTITUDES OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC TOWARD IMPROVEMENT OF THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

##### INTRODUCTION

In early 1969, the National Wildlife Federation sponsored a Gallup survey which found, among other things, that more than 85 percent of the public is concerned with the condition of the environment. So concerned, three out of four said they would willingly pay increased taxes earmarked for conservation, including 63 percent of those with family incomes under \$5,000 per year.

The attached survey, conducted by that other major independent polling organization during the first part of July, found that 97 percent of the American Public advocated re-allocating Federal expenditures to free money for environmental protection and clean-up.

Ironically, in spite of the obvious, overwhelming public desire for solving the country's environmental problems, the Federation's recently completed Index of Environmental Quality (EQ) found the U.S. is still losing the battle against pollution and natural resource depletion.

The Federal Government is the number one environmental protector and janitor. And yet in the face of accelerating environmental degradation and exploding public concern far less than one per cent of the Federal budget goes into natural resources programs but they are invariably the first to feel the bite of the economy ax. Programs to solve the nation's environmental crises too often have turned out to be more eye pollution than fact—apparently designed to take the heat off administrators and politicians by lulling the public into thinking the problems are being taken care of.

But they are not.

The following report shouldn't be interpreted for anything but what it is: a survey of public opinion. But the Federation feels

the message therein is clear: the American public wants to move quality of life up on the nation's priority list. And though "will-ness to pay" begs the fundamental fact that we will and must pay for environmental clean-up, it does substantiate public concern.

## STUDY DESIGN

The study was based on a national sample survey of the civilian non-institutional population of the United States (excepting Alaska and Hawaii). A cross-section of 1,485 respondents were interviewed in their homes between July 1 and July 10, 1969.

For purposes of analysis, the sample has been divided into various subgroups. The following paragraphs will define the subgroups:

"Total" in this report refers to the total sample of 1,485 respondents. Unless otherwise specified, all tables are based upon the total sample.

"East" (29 percent): People residing in Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Vermont, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, West Virginia.

"Midwest" (28 percent): People residing in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Wisconsin.

"South" (27 percent): Refers to people residing in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia.

"West" (16 percent): Refers to people residing in Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming.

"Eighth grade" (24 percent): People reporting elementary school graduation or less.

"High school" (51 percent): People reporting high school graduation or some high school attendance, but no college attendance.

"College" (25 percent): People reporting some college study or a higher level of educational achievement.

"Men" (50 percent).

"Women" (50 percent).

"White" (90 percent).

"Black" (10 percent).

"Age 16-20" (7 percent).

"Age 21-29" (17 percent).

"Age 30-34" (8 percent).

"Age 35-49" (28 percent).

"Age 50 and over" (40 percent).

"Cities" (29 percent): Refers to people living in urban areas with populations of 50,000 and over.

"Suburbs" (24 percent): Refers to people residing in areas immediately surrounding those cities.

"Towns" (23 percent): Refers to those residing in urban centers with populations between 2,500 and 49,999.

"Rural" (24 percent): Refers to persons residing in centers with populations under 2,500 or in townships with population density of less than 1,500 per square mile.

"Under \$5,000" (30 percent): Those reporting a total family income for 1968 of less than \$5,000.

"\$5,000-\$9,999" (38 percent): Represents those reporting a total family income for 1968 of between \$5,000 and \$9,999.

"\$10,000 and over" (32 percent): Represents those reporting a total family income for 1968 of over \$10,000.

## AREAS OF CONCERN

## 1. Definition of the Public's Attitude Toward Our Natural Environment Today—Areas of Concern

The majority of the American public feels that present programs for improvement of the natural environment receive too little attention and financial support from the government. Fifty-two percent of those interviewed agreed with this statement, while only five percent felt such programs receive too much attention and support. Twenty-two percent thought the amount of time and

money the government now spends on such projects is "just right."

The college educated (65 percent), the urban and suburban populations (58 percent and 66 percent, respectively), and the affluent (64 percent) are especially concerned over inadequate attention to improvement of the natural environment:

Thinking about air and water pollution, improvement of land and water, forests, fish and wildlife, recreation and park areas—do you think programs for improvement of the natural environment now receive too little attention and financial support from the Government, now receive too much attention and financial support, or just the right amount?

	[Percent]			
	Receive too little	Receive too much	Receive right amount	Not sure
Average...	52	5	22	21
East.....	58	3	18	21
Midwest.....	53	6	27	14
South.....	44	4	21	31
West.....	54	7	21	18
8th grade.....	36	6	18	40
High school.....	55	4	24	17
College.....	65	4	19	10
Men.....	57	6	19	18
Women.....	47	4	25	24
White.....	54	5	22	19
Black.....	33	6	18	43
16 to 20.....	57	4	24	15
21 to 29.....	59	3	26	12
30 to 34.....	50	3	22	25
35 to 49.....	55	5	21	19
50 plus.....	47	6	19	28
Cities.....	58	4	16	22
Suburbs.....	66	2	21	11
Towns.....	42	7	24	27
Rural.....	42	6	27	25
Under \$5,000.....	36	6	22	36
\$5,000 to \$9,999.....	56	5	21	18
\$10,000 plus.....	64	4	23	9

When asked specifically to evaluate the effects of the continued application of certain highly toxic chemicals, such as pesticides, 45 percent of the people were of the opinion that such chemicals have had detrimental effects on the environment. This 45 percent and the 23 percent who are "not sure" about the effects of such chemicals are potential proponents of efforts to insure more careful use of pesticides. Only nine percent believe that the continued use of these chemicals has had a good effect on the environment.

A majority (53 to 55 percent) of those segments of the public which tend to be more informed and articulate—the affluent and the college educated—feel that pesticides have had a bad effect on the environment. In addition, 53 percent of people living in towns, and other majorities in the Midwest (53 percent) and the West (51 percent) give similar appraisals.

Interestingly, those people who might benefit the most from pesticide use in crop production—people in rural areas—show a plurality of 40 percent awareness of the bad effects of chemicals; only nine percent feel they have an overall "good effect".

Regionally, residents in the South are the least cognizant of pesticide use—32 percent saying they do not have much effect on the environment at all, and 12 percent reporting a "good effect":

Pesticide chemicals, such as DDT, have been used widely for many purposes in the outdoors. Some scientists say these chemicals are beginning to damage wildlife, are becoming a danger to people's health, and urge the use of safer pesticides. Others say the benefits of DDT and other long lasting chemicals are great and any major danger to wildlife or man is not proven. Overall, do you feel the continued use of these chemicals has had a bad effect on the environment, do you think it has had a good effect, or not much effect at all?

[In percent]

	Bad effect	Good effect	Not much effect	Not sure
Average...	45	9	23	23
East.....	49	4	26	21
Midwest.....	53	11	16	20
South.....	28	12	32	28
West.....	51	8	16	25
8th grade.....	35	10	26	29
High school.....	45	7	24	17
College.....	55	10	18	24
Men.....	47	10	22	21
Women.....	43	8	23	26
White.....	48	9	21	22
Black.....	22	4	40	34
16 to 20.....	38	8	27	27
21 to 29.....	47	9	22	22
30 to 34.....	40	8	28	24
35 to 49.....	47	8	24	21
50 plus.....	44	10	21	25
Cities.....	42	7	22	29
Suburbs.....	48	7	23	22
Towns.....	53	12	18	17
Rural.....	40	9	28	23
Under \$5,000.....	36	10	27	27
\$5,000 to \$9,999.....	47	8	21	24
\$10,000 plus.....	53	8	21	18

Twenty-nine percent of the public report that their personal enjoyment of their surroundings and their life have been affected by air and water pollution. Comparing this figure with the 52 percent who feel that too little government money goes into improvement of the natural environment, it would appear that the call for increased attention to environmental problems is often inspired by personal experience with air and water pollution.

The following segments of the public more often report being personally affected by air and water pollution: people with incomes over \$10,000 (43 percent), people in suburbia (43 percent), and the college educated (42 percent):

Have air and water pollution affected your personal enjoyment of your surrounding and your life in any way?

	[In percent]		
	Yes	No	Not sure
Average.....	29	68	3
East.....	31	66	3
Midwest.....	33	65	2
South.....	17	79	4
West.....	39	58	3
8th grade.....	15	81	4
High school.....	30	67	3
College.....	42	55	3
Men.....	33	64	3
Women.....	26	71	3
White.....	30	68	2
Black.....	21	69	10
16 to 20.....	31	64	5
21 to 29.....	41	58	1
30 to 34.....	25	72	3
35 to 49.....	36	60	4
50 plus.....	21	76	3
Cities.....	31	64	5
Suburbs.....	43	55	2
Towns.....	25	73	2
Rural.....	18	79	3
Under \$5,000.....	15	82	3
\$5,000 to \$9,999.....	29	67	4
\$10,000 plus.....	43	56	1

Of those reporting that air and water pollution have affected their personal enjoyment, 23 percent refer to the damage to swimming areas: "the swimming places have been ruined", "the shore lines are filthy".

Twenty-three percent mentioned health problems caused by, or exacerbated by, air and water pollution, e.g., asthma, allergies, sinus, hay fever, burning eyes, coughing.

Twenty-one percent complained that "lakes and rivers are dirtier". Nineteen percent described "dirt, smoke, and fumes in the air".

Other common responses were: "the air smells bad", "can't go fishing any more", "it is hard to breathe", "the smog is ruining the view":

IN WHAT WAYS HAVE YOU BEEN PERSONALLY AFFECTED BY WATER POLLUTION OR AIR POLLUTION? IN WHAT OTHER WAYS?

[Base: Pollution affected personal enjoyment equals 29 percent. All amounts in percent]

	Swimming places affected	Health affected	Lakes, rivers dirty	Dirt, fumes in air	Air smells bad	Can't go fishing	Hard to breathe	Smog ruining view	Beaches, lakes ugly	Dead fish in water	Fish not edible, taste bad	Water sports affected	Camping places ruined	House, car, get dirty faster	Water tastes bad	Hunting wildlife, birds affected	Personal cleanliness affected	Pollution laws not strict enough
Average.....	23	23	21	19	14	14	10	6	5	4	3	3	3	3	2	2	1	1
East.....	29	16	13	18	13	15	12	2	6	5	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	1
Midwest.....	28	20	28	21	19	19	5	2	3	8	5	4	4	5	1	1	2	1
South.....	17	16	27	25	14	16	6	5	5	2	2	3	3	3	2	6	2	2
West.....	8	45	17	14	6	6	18	20	6	1	2	2	4	2	2	2	2	2
8th grade.....	15	25	11	15	4	17	9	6	2	8	4	4	4	2	2	8	3	1
High school.....	24	21	20	16	13	14	10	5	5	5	2	4	3	2	2	3	1	1
College.....	22	26	25	25	17	13	11	6	6	3	4	1	2	5	2	3	1	1
Men.....	21	20	22	20	14	20	8	5	5	6	4	3	3	3	2	3	1	1
Women.....	25	28	19	18	13	6	12	7	5	3	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1
16 to 29.....	31	23	23	15	12	19	12	6	9	9	3	7	2	1	1	2	1	1
30 to 49.....	26	24	25	15	12	13	9	5	4	3	3	2	3	3	1	1	1	1
50 plus.....	9	23	13	30	17	12	10	7	2	1	4	4	4	4	4	4	2	2
Cities.....	19	27	18	23	23	11	8	7	7	4	5	4	1	5	2	2	2	1
Suburbs.....	21	25	20	19	8	16	16	8	3	2	3	3	3	1	2	1	1	1
Towns.....	35	17	20	12	15	21	9	5	5	4	1	3	4	4	5	3	3	2
Rural.....	20	17	29	20	7	10	2	2	3	10	5	3	5	2	2	2	2	2

2. What the public is willing to do about improving the quality of the natural environment

Given the public's concern over the environment, what are they willing to do about improving it?

People were asked if they personally would be willing to accept a \$200 a year increase in their families' total living expenses in order to clean up the natural environment. Sixty-five percent rejected this proposition, while only 22 percent indicated a willingness to accept such an increase.

Although the majority of each subgroup was unwilling to accept the \$200 increase, the affluent, the college educated, suburbanites, and people under 30 years of age showed themselves to be more willing than the rest to make a personal sacrifice of that magnitude:

You are already sharing in the costs brought to us all by air and water pollution. In order to solve our national problems of air and water pollution, the public may have to pay higher taxes and higher prices for some products. To get a real clean-up in your natural environment, would you be willing to accept a per-year increase in your family's total expenses of \$200?

	[In percent]		
	Would be willing	Would not be willing	Not sure
Average.....	22	65	13
East.....	22	68	10
Midwest.....	26	64	10
South.....	12	68	20
West.....	30	57	13
8th grade.....	8	74	18
High school.....	23	65	12
College.....	33	58	9
Men.....	24	64	12
Women.....	19	66	15
White.....	23	66	11
Black.....	14	59	27
16 to 20.....	36	39	25
21 to 29.....	27	62	11
30 to 34.....	20	61	19
35 to 49.....	23	69	8
50 plus.....	17	69	14
Cities.....	24	62	14
Suburbs.....	28	64	8
Towns.....	18	66	16
Rural.....	16	70	14
Under \$5,000.....	11	70	19
\$9,000 to \$9,999.....	20	70	10
\$10,000 plus.....	34	56	10

The next table shows the degree of the public's willingness to accept each of the various increases presented to them. It shows that, as the amount of financial sacrifice decreases, the percentage willing to

accept it increases. At \$20 per year, a majority of the public (55 percent) would be willing to go along with an increase in expenses for the sake of environmental improvement:

Would you be willing to accept a \$200/\$100/\$50/\$20 per-year increase in your family's total expenses for the clean up of the natural environment?

	[In percent]		
	Would be willing	Would not be willing	Not sure
\$200 increase.....	22	65	13
\$100 increase.....	32	56	12
\$50 increase.....	42	47	11
\$20 increase.....	55	35	10

At the \$20 level, the following table indicates that the same subgroups who were the most willing to accept a \$200 a year increase (the educated, the affluent, the young, and the suburbanites) are still the most willing.

A regional comparison also shows Westerners (63 percent) and Midwesterners (65 percent) to be far more amenable to an increase than Southerners (39 percent):

Would you be willing to accept a \$20 per-year increase in your family's total expenses for the clean up of the natural environment?

	[In percent]		
	Would be willing	Would not be willing	Not sure
Average.....	55	35	10
East.....	57	33	10
Midwest.....	65	30	5
South.....	39	45	16
West.....	63	32	5
8th grade.....	32	50	18
High school.....	58	33	9
College.....	69	25	6
Men.....	55	35	10
Women.....	54	34	12
White.....	56	34	10
Black.....	42	38	20
16 to 20.....	64	16	20
21 to 29.....	62	31	7
30 to 34.....	61	24	15
35 to 49.....	59	32	9
50 plus.....	44	44	12
Cities.....	54	34	12
Suburbs.....	66	26	8
Towns.....	47	39	14
Rural.....	50	41	9
Under \$5,000.....	31	53	16
\$5,000 to \$9,999.....	58	33	9
\$10,000 plus.....	74	19	7

A second, more specific, alternative was offered the public to further test their willingness to make a financial sacrifice for the sake of environmental clean-up. They were asked whether or not they would be agreeable to assisting electric companies in the elimination of pollution by paying an increase in their monthly electric bill.

If relieving the increased financial burden for the electric companies entailed a \$2.00 monthly increase in their electric bill, only 14 percent of those interviewed would be agreeable. Seventy-seven percent (as the next table indicates) would not be willing to pay such an increase.

Those who find this idea least objectionable are those living in the West, those living in the suburbs, the young, the college educated, and the affluent:

Currently, many electric generating plants are increasing air and water pollution. The electric companies say it will be expensive to eliminate this pollution. To stop the pollution destroying our plant-life and wildlife, would you be willing to pay an increase in your monthly electric bill of \$2?

	[In percent]		
	Willing	Not willing	Not sure
Average.....	14	77	9
East.....	14	79	7
Midwest.....	14	81	5
South.....	9	75	16
West.....	20	67	13
8th grade.....	5	83	12
High school.....	13	78	9
College.....	24	69	7
Men.....	16	76	8
Women.....	10	79	11
White.....	14	77	9
Black.....	11	74	15
16 to 20.....	27	54	19
21 to 29.....	15	76	9
30 to 34.....	14	79	7
35 to 49.....	16	76	8
50 plus.....	8	82	10
Cities.....	14	78	8
Suburbs.....	20	73	7
Towns.....	10	77	13
Rural.....	10	80	10
Under \$5,000.....	6	82	12
\$5,000 to \$9,999.....	12	81	7
\$10,000 plus.....	23	69	8

A monthly increase of \$1.00 met with more approval than the suggested \$2.00 increase, but was still rejected by a majority of the public (62 percent). Of the 28 percent who now would be willing to pay an increase, the same subgroups as at the \$2.00 level still appear to be more willing than the rest:

Currently, many electric generating plants are increasing air and water pollution. The electric companies say it will be expensive to eliminate this pollution. To stop the pollution destroying our plant-life and wildlife, would you be willing to pay an increase in your monthly electric bill of \$1?

[In percent]

	Willing	Not willing	Not sure
Average.....	28	62	10
East.....	28	64	8
Midwest.....	33	63	4
South.....	17	67	16
West.....	35	52	13
8th grade.....	13	75	12
High school.....	29	62	9
College.....	43	49	8
Men.....	29	63	8
Women.....	28	60	12
White.....	29	62	9
Black.....	23	63	14
16 to 20.....	45	39	16
21 to 29.....	36	56	8
30 to 34.....	27	65	8
35 to 49.....	30	61	9
50 plus.....	21	69	10
Cities.....	29	62	9
Suburbs.....	35	58	7
Towns.....	26	62	12
Rural.....	23	66	11
Under \$5,000.....	15	73	12
\$5,000 to \$9,999.....	28	64	8
\$10,000 plus.....	41	51	8

If the electric companies only had to pass on to the public a 25¢ increase in their monthly electric bill, 61 percent of the population would be amenable and only 30 percent would not be willing to pay. The only real change among the subgroups is that a 25¢ increase is more acceptable to Midwesterners (70 percent) than to residents of any other region.

Again, the affluent (73 percent), the college educated (71 percent), and people under age 35 (68 to 72 percent) are most willing to pay the tab for pollution control:

Currently, many electric generating plants are increasing air and water pollution. The electric companies say it will be expensive to eliminate this pollution. To stop the pollution destroying our plant-life and wildlife, would you be willing to pay an increase in your monthly electric bill of 25¢?

[In percent]

	Willing	Not willing	Not sure
Average.....	61	30	9
East.....	61	32	7
Midwest.....	70	23	7
South.....	46	39	15
West.....	63	27	10
8th grade.....	41	44	15
High school.....	65	27	8
College.....	71	23	6
Men.....	59	34	7
Women.....	62	27	11
White.....	62	30	8
Black.....	45	33	22
16 to 20.....	72	14	14
21 to 29.....	68	25	7
30 to 34.....	69	20	11
35 to 49.....	64	30	6
50 plus.....	50	39	11
Cities.....	60	30	10
Suburbs.....	68	27	5
Towns.....	59	29	12
Rural.....	56	34	10
Under \$5,000.....	45	43	12
\$5,000 to \$9,999.....	64	28	8
\$10,000 plus.....	73	22	5

The public's attitude toward current priorities in the federal budget was measured under two conditions: a portion of the people interviewed (some 900) were handed a card as shown below, and read the following statement: "This card shows the percentage of the federal budget now being spent for various purposes."

## SHOW CARD

	Percent
National defense (U.S. military and military assistance).....	44
Health, labor and welfare (retirement, public assistance, economic opportunity).....	28
Commerce and transportation (roads, post office, airlines, etc.).....	4
Veterans' benefits (compensation, medical, pensions, etc.).....	4
Space program.....	3
International affairs (foreign aid, Food for Freedom, etc.).....	2
Agriculture (farm supports, land and water, agricultural research).....	2
Education (aid to education, research).....	2
Natural resources (environmental improvement, forests, recreation areas, wildlife, pollution control, etc.).....	1
Housing and community development (urban renewal, public housing).....	1

They were then asked, "Considering priorities, would you like to see more or less of the federal money go into each of these purposes?"

The remainder of the sample (500 people) were asked the same question, but *without* being given the information as to what percentage of the federal budget is now spent in each category. This allows for a comparison between the groups "with information" as to current budget and "no information" as to current budget—indicating the poten-

## LIKE TO SEE MORE OR LESS FEDERAL MONEY SPENT FOR THESE PURPOSES (WITH AND WITHOUT INFORMATION ABOUT CURRENT U.S. BUDGET)

[In percent]

	More		Less		Not sure	
	Without information	With information	Without information	With information	Without information	With information
International affairs.....	7	12	74	64	19	23
Space program.....	12	16	69	61	19	24
National defense.....	18	13	55	61	27	26
Commerce and transportation.....	27	29	39	34	34	37
Health, labor, and welfare.....	50	48	30	32	20	20
Agriculture.....	47	45	28	25	25	30
Housing and community development.....	52	58	24	18	24	24
Natural resources.....	62	68	12	9	26	23
Veterans' benefits.....	64	62	10	11	26	27
Education.....	76	78	9	8	15	14

The following two tables present, by subgroups, those people who want more or less federal money going into natural resources (improvements of environment—pollution control, parks, etc.). The first table indicates the opinions of those people who were not supplied with information as to federal budget allocations, and the second, the opinions of the people supplied such information.

High majorities (some topping 80 percent) of the college educated, the suburbanites, the people with incomes over \$10,000, and people under 30 years of age are in favor of more federal money going into natural resources. Among those apprised of the U.S. federal budget the *least* support for spending on natural resources is seen among blacks (35 percent in favor of more spending), among people who have not gone to high school (49 percent in favor of more spending), and among people with incomes under \$5,000 per year (53 percent in favor of more spending).

The effect of supplying information as to current federal budget allocations was to increase by six percentage points the support for spending on natural resources.

These data on subgroups in either of the two categories must be examined with caution since the subgroups are relatively small and from only portions of the total sample. However, it is clear that the affluent, the college educated and the public under 30

tial effects if the public were further educated as to the amounts now being spent on natural resources as well as other functions.

The next table indicates the activities in which the public would like to see less government spending and those in which it would like to see more spending. The majority—both those people given information about current federal spending and those not supplied such information—would like to see less federal money spent on international affairs, the space program, and national defense.

The public is split on whether to increase or decrease spending on commerce and transportation, health, labor, and welfare, and agriculture.

A majority of the public would like to see more federal money go into education, natural resources, veterans benefits, and housing and community development. Across the board, the American people in 1969 appear to desire the focus to be on the solving of domestic problems and the improvement of the quality of life at home.

Supplying the public with information as to the current allocation of federal monies has the effect of increasing the majorities in favor of more spending on natural resources (up to 68 percent) and housing and community development (up to 58 percent), and also increases the number who would like to see less federal money going into national defense (up from 55 percent to 61 percent).

years of age are overwhelmingly in favor of more spending on natural resources when they are aware of current budget allocations:

## LIKE TO SEE MORE OR LESS FEDERAL MONEY SPENT ON NATURAL RESOURCES (WITH INFORMATION ABOUT CURRENT U.S. BUDGET)

[In percent]

	More	Less	Not sure
Average.....	68	9	23
East.....	66	10	24
Midwest.....	77	7	16
South.....	57	11	32
West.....	71	8	21
8th grade.....	49	13	38
High school.....	71	7	22
College.....	77	9	14
Men.....	69	10	21
Women.....	66	8	26
White.....	71	9	20
Black.....	35	12	53
16 to 20.....	75	4	21
21 to 29.....	81	6	13
30 to 34.....	67	7	26
35 to 49.....	65	10	25
50 and over.....	63	10	27
Cities.....	68	8	24
Suburbs.....	73	6	21
Towns.....	67	9	24
Rural.....	62	14	24
Under \$5,000.....	53	12	35
\$5,000 to \$9,999.....	70	7	23
\$10,000 and over.....	78	8	14

LIKE TO SEE MORE OR LESS FEDERAL MONEY SPENT ON NATURAL RESOURCES (WITHOUT INFORMATION ABOUT CURRENT U.S. BUDGET)

	[Percent]		
	More	Less	Not sure
Average.....	62	12	26
East.....	76	4	20
Midwest.....	65	15	20
South.....	44	18	38
West.....	63	13	24
8th grade.....	42	16	42
High school.....	69	12	19
College.....	71	10	19
Men.....	64	11	25
Women.....	61	13	26
White.....	63	13	24
Black.....	52	8	40
16 to 20.....	69	13	18
21 to 29.....	76	7	16
30 to 34.....	55	19	27
35 to 49.....	64	11	25
50 and over.....	54	15	31
Cities.....	8	6	36
Suburbs.....	8	5	14
Towns.....	58	16	26
Rural.....	57	21	22
Under \$5,000.....	43	17	40
\$5,000 to \$9,999.....	65	14	21
\$10,000 and over.....	83	5	12

Finally, each person was asked the following:

"More specifically now, environmental cleanup could be accomplished without added taxes or costs to consumers if priorities in Federal spending were changed. In which, if any, of these areas would you be in favor of reducing federal spending, in order to increase spending on improvement of the natural environment?"

The next table indicates the public's response when not supplied information on the current federal budget allocations. The final table gives the responses of the people who were supplied with the budget information.

Overall, national defense, the space program, and international affairs are the prime candidates of the public for budget reductions in order to increase the budget for improvement of the natural environment.

The effect of being supplied current budget information is to increase from 42 percent to 51 percent the proportion who would reduce the defense budget. The percentage favoring a decrease in spending for the space

program and international affairs shrinks a bit, but these three areas remain the public's choices for budget cuts.

When aware of the federal budget, 97 percent of the public favored a reduction in one or more areas in order to free money for improvement of the natural environment. Only three percent said that they favored reducing the budget in none of the areas for the sake of natural resources.

As indicated in the final table, segments of the public differ somewhat in their choices as to where to get the money for improvement of the natural environment. A full 71 percent of the college educated people would draw money away from the defense budget. It is blacks and people without high school education who would more often divert money away from the space program and into natural resources (62 percent and 53 percent respectively). And it is the under 30 generation who would more often take the money from defense and international affairs:

AREAS IN WHICH REDUCTION OF FEDERAL SPENDING IS FAVORED IN ORDER TO INCREASE SPENDING ON NATURAL RESOURCES (WITHOUT INFORMATION ABOUT CURRENT U.S. BUDGET)

	[In percent]									
	Space program	International affairs	National defense	Commerce and transportation	Health, labor, welfare	Housing and community development	Agriculture	Veterans' benefits	Education	None
Average.....	54	46	42	18	15	13	11	4	3	
East.....	43	53	44	18	19	8	12	6	2	3
Midwest.....	65	48	56	21	14	17	10	1	3	3
South.....	53	37	27	14	14	13	5	6	7	6
West.....	56	48	38	18	14	15	20	6	7	1
8th grade.....	51	29	16	17	8	16	9	5	3	4
High school.....	57	52	44	18	13	13	11	5	4	3
College.....	53	51	55	21	19	11	10	4	1	6
Men.....	47	44	40	17	18	16	13	7	4	3
Women.....	59	46	43	17	12	11	9	3	2	4
White.....	53	45	43	17	16	15	11	4	3	4
Black.....	58	52	30	26	2	4	6	4	2	2
16 to 20.....	55	55	50	20	13	13	8	10	5	8
21 to 29.....	51	55	47	16	13	15	15	6	2	5
30 to 34.....	53	56	50	9	13	9	3		6	6
35 to 49.....	50	49	43	18	18	10	12	3	4	2
50 and over.....	57	35	35	19	14	16	11	5	4	3
Cities.....	53	44	38	16	9	11	9	5	1	4
Suburbs.....	55	51	38	22	19	12	18	9	6	2
Towns.....	51	42	36	14	17	10	9	2	2	4
Rural.....	57	48	43	20	16	20	9	2	5	4
Under \$5,000.....	59	35	35	17	6	14	5	1	2	3
\$5,000 to \$9,999.....	48	51	45	18	19	13	14	6	5	4
\$10,000 and over.....	56	53	49	20	20	12	13	6	2	2

AREAS IN WHICH REDUCTION OF FEDERAL SPENDING IS FAVORED IN ORDER TO INCREASE SPENDING ON NATURAL RESOURCES (WITH INFORMATION ABOUT CURRENT U.S. BUDGET)

	[In percent]									
	National defense	Space program	International affairs	Health, labor, welfare	Commerce and transportation	Agriculture	Housing and community development	Veterans' benefits	Education	None
Average.....	51	44	42	21	14	10	9	3	3	3
East.....	55	39	45	17	11	9	6	5	2	3
Midwest.....	55	54	47	19	17	12	12	3	4	3
South.....	40	45	37	21	14	5	9	2	1	5
West.....	50	34	36	30	17	16	8	4	2	3
8th grade.....	39	53	38	11	14	4	8	2	4	3
High school.....	45	41	45	21	15	10	10	3	3	5
College.....	71	41	39	28	13	16	8	6	1	1
Men.....	52	41	45	24	13	13	10	4	3	5
Women.....	48	47	39	16	15	8	7	3	2	2
White.....	52	42	42	22	14	10	9	4	3	3
Black.....	35	62	42	4	14	9	4	1	1	2
16 to 20.....	56	32	51	5	21	7	5	7	4	2
21 to 29.....	56	40	46	25	13	14	8	5	1	8
30 to 34.....	46	37	33	18	8	7	12	4	2	2
35 to 49.....	54	42	41	22	16	11	11	4	2	4
50 and over.....	45	50	42	21	13	10	8	2	3	4
Cities.....	52	46	38	11	12	13	6	4	4	2
Suburbs.....	52	38	39	22	15	10	8	5	1	5
Towns.....	44	42	47	27	11	10	14	3	2	2
Rural.....	53	50	45	24	18	8	9	3	3	3
Under \$5,000.....	43	51	40	14	17	9	9	3	5	4
\$5,000 to \$9,999.....	50	45	44	20	12	10	8	3	3	4
\$10,000 and over.....	59	36	40	26	14	11	9	5	1	4

## SUMMARY AND OBSERVATIONS

The data are consistent in revealing greater concern and greater willingness to do something about the natural environment among the more educated and more affluent segments of the public, among those who live in the suburbs surrounding the large metropolitan centers, and among younger adults. These articulate segments of the public could be characterized as having high expectations and demand for a livable environment, and as having a greater than average intellectual awareness of environmental conditions.

People who live in cities, blacks, and persons with lower incomes and education levels show less concern about environmental conditions. At first glance, this appears paradoxical since it is the lesser privileged segments of our society, especially in the inner cities, that one would suspect have greater contact with at least certain forms of environmental pollution and deterioration. However, it appears that some combination of apathy, low expectation levels as regards the natural environment, lack of awareness of the extent of the problem, lack of awareness of its effect on the quality of their own life, and the perception of other problems as being even more severe and pressing produce an apparent low level of concern.

Thus proponents of a greater emphasis on natural resources and environmental cleanup will find their natural allies, at present, among the educated and the affluent.

The high concern of younger adults and late adolescents may well indicate an important shift in the general population's priorities.

Any immediate broadening of the base of support for environmental improvement will require public education to increase awareness of the problem among the lesser educated, lower income portions of our society.

## DR. ANDY STEVENSON

## SPEECH OF

## HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

## OF FLORIDA

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 18, 1969

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker I thank the gentleman and I certainly want to join with my colleagues in expressing my high regard and appreciation for the excellent job that Dr. Andy Stevenson has performed for the committee and for the Congress and the Nation.

I came to know Dr. Stevenson even before I was a Member of this Congress through my father who was a member and who served for a number of years on the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. His high regard for Dr. Stevenson certainly was transferred to me. In my dealings with him I found him to be a true gentleman not only in that sense of the word, but one who is competent in dealing with the matters. I know of no other committee of the House that has more jurisdiction that touches the lives of more Americans than does the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. I think all of us can pay great tribute to Dr. Andrew Stevenson for the very competent and fine job which he has done for all of us.

I, too, wish to join others in wishing for him Godspeed and great happiness and good health in his retirement.

## ABORTION LAWS

## HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

## OF MICHIGAN

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, in the current furor whether abortion should be legalized or not, I think you will find an article written by Helen Fogel, which appeared in the Detroit Free Press of December 7, 1969, an interesting and objective statement.

The article follows:

I HAVE PERFORMED HUNDREDS OF ABORTIONS  
(By Helen Fogel)

(NOTE.—Proponents of Michigan abortion-law reform are preparing for a new round of legislative battle. Sen. Lorraine Beebe of Dearborn, a proponent of reform, began a series of committee hearings Saturday in Detroit. Against this background, staff writer Helen Fogel talked with a former practicing abortionist for the following story.)

"In the past—you can say in the 50's—I performed hundreds of what I call therapeutic interruptions of pregnancy."

The Doctor, who was speaking, and I had met at a social gathering in another large city in another state. We were both Detroiters, and we began to talk. He had noted stories I had done on abortion, and he told me he had performed many illegal abortions as, he said, do many other doctors. He said he would be happy to talk for publication—incognito.

"It isn't that I'm cowardly about my position," he said. "I have very strong feelings on the matter. But I have a large general family practice. I'm a member of medical societies. I'm on the staffs of several large hospitals. You can't imagine the pressures involved in this."

I told him I could imagine. We get phone calls, too. I promised I would preserve his anonymity.

Much had occurred on the abortion-law-reform front since I had last talked to the Doctor.

The Detroit Clergy Counseling Service for Problem Pregnancies had gained a listed phone number. District of Columbia legislation similar to the Michigan abortion law had been declared unconstitutional by a federal court.

The Doctor murmured his satisfaction with the outcome of the Washington case. The federal court freed a doctor after declaring the statute unconstitutional because it was too vague and in violation of rights of privacy. The court held that it is a woman's right to control her own reproductive function.

The court also held that, by forcing the doctor to prove that the pregnant woman's life was in danger, the law violated his right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty. Since the burden of proof rests with the accused, the law was unconstitutional, the court declared.

The Doctor and I sat in his well-appointed office in a Detroit professional building. The wall outside the office was filled with certificates of membership in professional groups, licenses, and citations from civic organizations for the Doctor's work in community-improvement projects.

"I was never one of these back alley men," he explained.

"A bitter experience caused me to give it up. Although I feel strongly it's a woman's basic right, and you wouldn't believe the agony and desperation involved in some of these cases, I can't do it any longer," he said.

Now he responds only to the pleas of family and friends—and not for a fee.

When he was performing abortions he charged an average of \$150. Currently fees for dependable medical abortions, legal and semi-legal, start at \$500.

"If abortion were legalized," he said, "with new methods, the patient would not need to be in the hospital, abortions could be performed for a fee of \$100, and most women who need it could afford it. Now the law discriminates. If a woman has money, she can get an abortion. Those that need it most, can't."

The Doctor stared straight ahead into thin air. "What I am going to tell you is true," he said.

"Early in my practice I was approached by the daughter of a leading local minister. He was a great conservative—a big morality man. She was pregnant and unmarried.

"I was young—just starting out. She begged—pleaded with me, but I thought I couldn't do anything. I advised her to go home and face her father.

"Three days later she drowned. She was a good swimmer.

"I'm convinced she took her own life—and I'm sure I'm the cause. I've never forgotten that girl.

"The next time, it was a married woman who came to me. Her husband was in the Army—stationed in Korea. You can't expect people to stop being human.

"She didn't want to break up her family over this. I found a way to interrupt the pregnancy.

"The family's still together. She's grateful to me to this very day."

The Doctor paused in his recital.

"That's another thing," he said. "I've never known any one to be affected by guilt feelings. Every Christmas—holiday season—I get cards without signatures. 'You saved my life,' they say. I have received more gratification from this part of my practice—the people I saved this way—than from any other.

"I've had cases of incest—cases where stepfathers impregnated their stepdaughters—where the women were in tragic economic circumstances. The man had gone. They had seven or eight hungry, underclothed, unwanted children already. People don't lose their humanity. You can't expect them to," and again he paused.

"The thing snowballed," he said. "People from all walks of life—from all over the country. I had patients from Africa and Pakistan—housewives with husbands overseas—single girls half through their education. I never lost any of them.

"When I was doing the work on demand I would evaluate the woman's medical history, do a thorough examination and followup. I had doctors referring patients to me including some leading gynecologists. There were referrals from social workers and student counselors at universities. All these people knew it was illegal.

"I have performed abortions on the daughters and mistresses of public officials from Lansing and Washington, men high in the police department.

"I've had referrals of their daughters and mistresses by men whose religious faith is opposed to such things.

"Publicly they oppose these things, but when it comes right down to home, they choose abortion."

He smiled bitterly. "It's my experience," he said, "that the percentage of total abortions that are Catholic is about the same as the percentage of Catholics in the population."

He had been staring into the wall beside my head. Now he turned, and leaned back in his chair and looked straight at me.

"I have come to the conclusion," he said, "that opposition to legal abortion is based on male chauvinism—the need of some men to believe and treat women as inferiors.

"Men really want to see their wives tied

down—impregnated. They want to punish their girls—for the same things they do themselves. In my general practice, I treat men for venereal disease. They've been out playing—at conventions—away from home. I believe the abortion thing is part of the general subjugation of women.

"A woman should have full control over the reproductive functions of her own body," he declared.

"Machismo," he snorted.

(Machismo is a Latin American concept stressing the superiority and freedom of the male. Somewhat the same idea is expressed in Hugh Hefner's "Playboy" ideal.)

"I've been there where the men prove themselves by the number of children they've sired. Kids running barefoot, starving—and there's the woman with her belly out to there—another one on the way." He shook his head and sighed.

"And abortion should be legalized as a back-up for contraception. There is no hundred percent effective contraceptive. Even where we know women have used the pill faithfully, pregnancies occur. Some brands of the pill aren't reliable." He mentioned a specific brand. "You can't use that," he said.

"As for the loop (intrauterine device)—it can slip out. The women might not know it. So she gets pregnant, and yet she's done her part to prevent it. Why should she pay for failures like these?"

"Even where reforms have been made legalizing hospital abortions, they are still beyond the reach of the poor. Hospital fees are sky high.

"There are methods it can safely be done in a doctor's office such as the intrauterine infiltration of chemical paste. The method is almost unknown here, but it is preferred by many European specialists," he explained. "Later the contents of the uterus just slide out with no more pain than a menstrual cramp. Dilatation and curettage (the scraping out of the uterus) in which the patient has to be anesthetized isn't necessary any more.

"And before long, we'll have injections. We already have a contraceptive injection. Reforms which tie performance of abortion to hospitals just stabilize the status quo," he declared. "They're saying we shall have no progress."

I asked him if he ever had to care for a girl who had had a bungled abortion.

"Sure," he said. "I have a couple now—one went at herself with a straightened coat hanger. The other went to a layman—nurse or something—you know. He stuck a catheter up there. It wasn't sterile. There were no anti-biotics. She may have to be hospitalized.

"These are the smart ones. They at least come to a doctor. Some of these girls just lay out there. I understand at Receiving (Detroit General Hospital) they get several every night.

"You know if these girls with education are going to these back-alley people, you can imagine how desperate they are. The Clergy Counseling Service is doing a wonderful job, but they aren't reaching the people who don't have money.

"There are 15 million people starving in this—the richest country in the world—I mean really starving. These women are desperate. They beg—cajole. They threaten to tell the police I did, if I don't. They know I used to do abortions. They don't believe I no longer do them.

"One woman even held a pistol on me once. I did the abortion, I'm telling you this so you'll see how desperate they are. How does this society look to young people coming up. They see something that's legal for a woman with \$700 and illegal for a kid scuffling her way through Michigan State. I don't wonder they want to get rid of the whole thing.

"I'm anticipating a real uprising when women get their thing organized," he said.

"They ought to do it—just like black people. I'd like to see them get some demonstrations together in Lansing. That's what it's going to take to get these legislators to see the light of day. They must take the initiative."

I asked him if he had ever had any doubts about interfering with the life process. Did he believe life began at the moment of conception?

"I see life as a continuous thing—without beginning or ending," he said. "My life, my sperm cells are part of my son. In my children, two lives met, the sperm and the ovum. They joined and they parted. You can't say life starts at a certain point.

"It's strange to me that some of the same people who oppose abortion give their blessing to the Vietnam War in which they say some 300 thousand civilians have been killed in bombings and so forth." He sounded tired.

"All life is cherished by me. I'm convinced that I have saved lives—that life has benefited by my work. This above all, to thine own self be true." He quoted "Hamlet."

"The only death I feel responsible for was that first one—when I refused."

#### CAPTAIN PENN KILLED BY VIET BOOBY TRAP

#### HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Capt. Charles V. Penn, a fine man from Maryland and a former instructor at the Fort Holabird Army Intelligence School, was killed recently in Vietnam. A recipient of the Silver Star during his last Vietnam tour, Captain Penn was cited for "gallantry in action." I wish to commend his courage and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

#### CAPTAIN PENN KILLED BY VIET BOOBY TRAP

Capt. Charles V. Penn, a former instructor at the Fort Holabird Army Intelligence School, was killed by a booby trap near the Cambodian border in Vietnam, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

Captain Penn, a decorated 30-year-old career infantry soldier, had served in Vietnam since July as a company commander with the 25th Infantry Division.

The captain was on his second tour in Vietnam. He had been stationed there previously from November, 1966, to November, 1967.

The Army had awarded him a Silver Star, citing his "gallantry in action" for rescuing a wounded soldier during a fire fight with the enemy on August 12. According to the Army citation, Captain Penn then led his troops against the enemy, "thwarting the hostile force."

The captain's family lives at 7801 Harold road, in Dundalk. Captain Penn was stationed at Fort Holabird for 19 months as an instructor in the Army's Department of Combat Intelligence before going to Vietnam for his second tour of duty.

He was a native of Chicago, where he graduated from Crete-Monee High School. He played linebacker on the high school football team, and he was a captain of the squad in his senior year.

Captain Penn attended Butler University in Indianapolis for two years. After leaving college, he enlisted in the Army in 1959.

Five years later, he graduated from the Officers Candidate School at Fort Benning, Ga. Before going to Vietnam in 1967, he had served a tour of duty at Fort Leonard Wood, Mo.

Surviving are his wife, the former Anita Brady; two daughters, Jo Anne and Mary Penn; a son Charles V. Penn, Jr., all of Dundalk; two brothers, Daniel and Robert Penn, both of Chicago, and his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Varence Penn, of Oxford, Wisconsin.

#### REQUIEM OF TRUCK BILL, REVISITED

#### HON. FRED SCHWENDEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. SCHWENDEL. Mr. Speaker, on December 5, I inserted in the RECORD an article from Private Line, a publication of the Private Truck Council of America, entitled "Requiem: Truck Size and Weight Bill Dealt a Death Blow." A subsequent issue of Private Line contained further comment on the subject and on my remarks. While the subsequent story lends itself to some choice comments, in the interest of conserving space, and securing a truce in this verbal battle, I will merely insert both articles in the RECORD today.

I would, however, like to take this opportunity to extend my congratulations to Mr. John C. White, managing director of the Private Truck Council, for the very delightful manner in which he approached the subject of the death of the truck bill. Both articles display a most commendable sense of fairness and generosity, for which I am most grateful. When the battlelines are drawn on a major issue, such as the truck bill, it is a real pleasure to know that among the "enemy" is a real gentleman such as John White.

The articles follow:

#### REQUIEM: TRUCK SIZE AND WEIGHT BILL DEALT A DEATH BLOW

Taps are being played in Washington today over the barely warm body of the legislation known as H.R. 11870. It, you will recall, would have authorized the States to legislate trucks from 96" to 102" in width, provide a formula for establishing more sensible weight restrictions and allow a manageable increase in lengths. To repeat, it would have authorized the States to do such things. It would have authorized no changes in and of itself.

Our mournful announcement emanates from the fact that the Subcommittee on Roads met this week and reported out H.R. 11870 to the Committee on Public Works without recommendations. Such a lack of recommendation doesn't always have this chilling effect, but in this instance, the "without recommendation" amounted to a virtual kiss of death.

At the same time it was revealed that the DOT had told the leading congressional enemy of H.R. 11870, Fred Schwengel (R-Iowa), that all of the amendments to the bill suggested by the DOT had to be accepted or the DOT would be opposed to it. Such a position was tantamount to the hammering of several solid nails in the well constructed coffin.

There's a moral behind all this, if the American people will just take heed. The AAA, Congressman Schwengel, the railroads, all too many of the subjective reporting type journalists whose prejudice, bias and arrogance is worn on his sleeve, and whose supercilious intellectualism appears to be vaporously draped from his body like the tinkling bells and colorful cloths of a typical 17th

century court fool, and various other temporary or permanent miscreants, have once again trotted out the wondrous phrase "highway safety," dusted it off, polished it up a bit and thrown it at Congress and the public. Both seemed to have unquestionably swallowed it, lock, stock and barrel.

First, it is enlightening and reassuring to learn that the truckers themselves, now openly accept the fact that the "big truck bill" is dead. Second, the belittling attitude taken in the publication toward highway safety greatly disturbs me. Indeed it is reason for disgust. The publication, in an attempt to belittle and ridicule opponents of the legislation, refers to them as "miscreants." Webster's dictionary defines a miscreant, among other things, as being "destitute of conscience; unscrupulous; villainous." Thus, I take the comment of the truckers as a direct personal affront, and highly resent it. I am certain that the several hundred editors and reporters who editorialized and wrote stories in opposition to the bill likewise consider it an affront to be referred to as "supercilious intellectuals" and "court fools."

In addition, I am certain that the use of this terminology is very much resented by the many capable, reputable and competent witnesses who testified in opposition to the bill. They included such respected people as: Mr. George Kachlein and Charles Brady of the AAA; Mrs. Walter Varney Magee, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs; Mr. Richard Boccabella and Warren G. Davison of the National Association of County Engineers; Mr. Joseph Coupal, Iowa's director of highways; Prof. John O'Mara of the University of Iowa's College of Engineering; Douglas Fugate, first vice president of AASHO; and Congressmen JOHN KYL and RICHARD MCCARTHY.

The overwhelming majority of the opposition to the big truck bill was generated by those citizens of this country who do have a sincere and justifiable reservation about the impact of the proposed legislation on highway safety. Granted, there are varying degrees of understanding of the safety problem. Some have studied the problem in depth and are firmly convinced there are safety problems which should not lightly be brushed aside as supercilious. It is true that some oppose the legislation on grounds which are more emotional in nature, but none the less sincere. It is typical of the high-handed arrogance of the truck lobby to lightly disregard the desires and feelings of a clear majority of the citizens of this country, just as they have continually done in their past efforts to steamroller this legislation through the Congress.

If safety is in fact no real problem with the proposed increases in size and weight, then I challenge the Trucking Industry to join in support of the legislation to establish a Presidential Study Commission which I have introduced. The Commission proposed by my bill, H.R. 15051, would constitute a study group representative of all groups affected by the proposed increases in size and weight. If, as the truckers indicate, there is no safety problem, my proposed Commission should be able to report that fact to the Congress in short order. In which event, the big truck bill would undoubtedly sail through the Congress. However, the truckers will probably disregard this suggestion as mere "supercilious intellectualism."

#### SCHWENDEL STRIKES

VENERABLE IOWA CONGRESSMAN SHOWS WHY HE IS IN THE HEAVYWEIGHT CLASS

"A funny thing happened on the way to the forum."

We got clobbered!

What we mean is, Congressman Schwengel (R-Iowa) really gave us the old one, two! He, or somebody in his name, did it in the

form of a rather violent umbrage to our remarks in the Private Line of November 14. (Interesting how the Private Line gets around, isn't it?). You may remember we were therein referring to the demise of this year's version of the continuing effort to legislate more practical truck sizes and weights. You will find Mr. Schwengel's thunder on the scorched page (37429) of the December 5 Congressional Record.

Consummate expert that he is, the articulate Iowan lit into the four Private Line paragraphs with four paragraphs of his own which slashed, slit, scored, scarred, scoured and scoured us into the sniveling state of a bloody pulp. In short, he did a masterful job of verbal destruction.

With one glaring exception we could follow, not without occasional embarrassment, most of his diatribe, but we lost him quick when he sought to protect the virginal sanctity of "several hundred editors and reporters". Shades of Vice President Agnew! One can just see all their little halos fulgurating!

However, not having a Congressional Record or a Scripps-Howard newspaper chain to carry out humble thoughts on this interesting and far from one-sided subject, we hereby cease instantly any effort to cross syntactical swords with the good Congressman. He is in a pugnacious class far superior to ours and he's obviously in fighting trim. Our condition is such that we're barely able to play tennis once a week.

So, Mr. Congressman, as they used to say in old World War movies, "Kamerad! Kamerad!"

This of course isn't to say we will necessarily have no further remarks to make on the subject itself, but it is to say we're surely going to give wide berth to Congressman Schwengel.

Referring briefly to the subject of sizes and weights (which almost gets lost in a smoke screen of garrulity), and though it appears the general proposal has now died at least twice, there is no reason to believe it can't, like the nine-lived cat, survive for a few more rounds as ways to compromise are sought. Meaning, of course, that though H.R. 11870 as presently worded is kaput, there's always the chance that an amendment here or there might yet make it acceptable to the powers that be.

At the risk of a further pommeling, may we respectfully but adamantly disagree that our interest in highway safety is any less sincere, effective, viable or dedicated than that of any other group. True, we may at times be misguided or even wrong, but that should surprise no one since we have never pretended perfection.

One further comment. Please let it be clearly understood that, as has been one of Council's By-law purposes actively engaged in for 31 years, we are always ready to join in any reasonable effort, as we have done many times, to foster and promote the safe and economic use of the Nation's highways.

#### HARD WORKING CINCINNATI POSTMEN DESERVE HOLIDAY SEASON THANK YOU

HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, it is customary, during the Christmas holiday season to send best wishes to our friends and neighbors. Too often, however, we neglect to say thank you to the mailmen who carry our greetings.

Most of us, in the Congress, rely on

the U.S. mails to carry our newsletters, questionnaires, and daily correspondence back and forth to our districts.

I would like to extend my best wishes to all of the Cincinnati area postmen who, through the ever present rain, sleet, snow, and cold, have gotten the mail through.

They deserve our thanks.

#### WRIGHT BROTHERS MEMORIAL AWARD DINNER ADDRESS OF WILLIAM M. ALLEN

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, those of us who were privileged to attend the Wright Brothers Memorial Award Dinner at the Sheraton-Park on Wednesday evening, the 17th, were privileged to hear a brief but important message from the man who was signally honored on the occasion. William M. Allen, chairman of the board of the Boeing Co., received the Wright Brothers Memorial Trophy for 1969. Mr. Allen was honored for his outstanding leadership in the development of both civil and military aviation and in the space field. He was cited for his contribution to the development of such outstanding aircraft as the B-47, the B-52, the Minuteman ICBM, the Lunar Orbiter, and the Saturn V, as well as his work in the development of the Boeing 707, the 727, the 737, the 747, the 377 Stratocruiser, and the Supersonic Transport.

In his remarks, Mr. Allen drew attention to the often forgotten achievements in both the national security and commercial field that have grown out of the cooperation of Government and industry. "The Government," he stated, "has harnessed the basic ingredients of our free enterprise system—competition and reward—to serve a great national purpose: filling the needs of national security and advancement."

His remarks include this especially significant paragraph which I only wish could be read to all of those who are so eager to criticize our aerospace and defense industries:

The needs of both security and progress make this a time for developing and encouraging the process we have proved, as contrasted with an effort to tear down. We have seen results in the overall that have been not only good, but excellent. Let us recognize this fact and determine to nourish and foster the basic ingredients of success that we have found. I repeat, these ingredients include the basic principles of competition, incentive and reward and mutuality of interest in our government-industry relationship.

I am inserting his remarks in the RECORD at this time so that they will be available to all the Members of the House:

REMARKS DELIVERED BY WILLIAM M. ALLEN, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, THE BOEING CO., WRIGHT BROTHERS MEMORIAL AWARD DINNER, WASHINGTON, D.C., DECEMBER 17, 1969

I am sure that the audience will be pleased to know that the committee in charge has

determined that whereas the recipient of the award is expected to say something more than "thank you," he is not expected—in fact, not permitted—to give a major speech. I am in hearty agreement. My remarks, therefore, will be brief.

This occasion has promoted me to endeavor to bring my thinking up to date on what has happened and what is happening in the aerospace industry. In doing so, I re-read the pages from Orville Wright's diary of December 17, 1903, and a comment made by Wilbur Wright five years later. It is apparent from Wilbur's comment that the Wright Brothers had in the five year period, gained sufficient experience to look to the future with considerable confidence. Said Wilbur on November 5, 1908, "It is not really necessary to look too far into the future; we see enough already to be certain that it will be magnificent. Only let us hurry and open the roads."

I asked myself: How was it that the roads were opened for the truly magnificent accomplishments of the six decades that followed, from experiencing the shaky vibrations of a machine that barely lifted itself from the ground, to reaching out and setting foot on the moon?

First, it was the Wright Brothers doing original work. Later, it was a government contract under which an airplane was built for the Signal Corps, and ultimately more airplanes under government contract that helped enable the Wrights and others to mature the development.

It seems to me there is something to consider here. There was an acknowledged relationship between government and private industry to work toward something which appeared to have merit and future usefulness. The private industry, if you could call it that—certainly a private industriousness—didn't need to be prodded. Its incentive was its own desire to accomplish, and the government helped make this possible. Very soon a certain commercial utility of the machine appeared, and again, private incentive sought to develop this to a point where it could serve a larger purpose.

Much of the progress in the aerospace industry since the days of the Wrights has been the product of this government-industry relationship. In many instances the government has been the enabler. On the commercial side, it was with airmail, with airway aids, with licensing and safety enforcement functions, and the work of NACA and NASA laboratories. On the national defense side, the inventiveness that was native to the private industry approach became crucially important at times, when the life and death situation of war called for the best that anyone could bring forth, to meet what many can remember as dire threats to our country.

I think we all have some sense of the private industry contributions, and hopefully, some justifiable pride in them. It seems to me that they stem primarily from the basic ingredients of our free enterprise system, namely, competition and reward. The government has harnessed these to serve a national purpose—to fill the needs of national security and advancement, as these needs have changed through the years with changes in the world situation and the advance of technology.

As we look back we can see some of the elements that have been present in this government-industry relationship that have brought outstanding results. They include a constructive attitude on the part of both parties, a willingness to work together, a willingness to acknowledge that the task was not always easy—that it was fraught with problems—but a determination to see it through. There has been the requirement for mutual confidence and faith.

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These are the oil in the machinery that gets things done, and the fuel is the competitive urge on the part of members of both industry and government and the opportunity to come out on top on the job.

If we view the results that have been obtained by these means, we must conclude that these ingredients of the free enterprise system, and these characteristics of the government-industry relationship, must be encouraged. This is not to say that there should not be criticism where criticism is due. But sustained unjust attacks on the process can cause a deterioration of this government-industry relationship and its product. If, for example, it were to force all the risks to be borne by industry and none by government—if it were to depress the possibility of earnings to a point far below that in other lines of endeavor—then these factors that have been working to produce the kind of results we have seen in the past would no longer have force. The incentive of reward would tend to disappear; the amount of competition would lessen.

I feel that this is something that we must not let happen—in the interest of our national security, the growth of our economy, the continued advancement of our technology and the competitive capability of our country among the nations of the world.

I believe the results achieved through the system under which we have been operating in this country speak for themselves. We have the examples in the military field of what industry was able to do in arming our forces in two world wars. In space, I need hardly elaborate on the accomplishments to date. In the commercial aircraft field, we have established a world leadership through the efforts of private industry undertaken on a basis of risk and reward.

There is much to be done. Serious problems of national security confront us. We have barely begun to see the possibilities in space. In air transport, the growth trends give rise to forecasts of world traffic by 1990 six times what it is today. For the long-distance over-ocean routes, we will have the supersonic transport coming along to further shrink the world by two-thirds. This latter effort again shows the product and the economic gain that can derive from a sound working relationship between government and industry.

The needs of both security and progress make this a time for developing and encouraging the process we have proved, as contrasted with an effort to tear down. We have seen results in the overall that have been not only good, but excellent. Let us recognize this fact and determine to nourish and foster the basic ingredients of success that we have found. I repeat, these ingredients include the basic principles of competition, incentive and reward and mutuality of interest in our government-industry relationship.

To paraphrase Wilbur Wright—we have seen enough by now to be certain that the future can be still more magnificent. "Only let us hurry to open the roads."

#### APPLAUDS WOMEN'S ACHIEVEMENTS

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

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. STUCKEY. Mr. Speaker, in October we saluted the businesswomen of America with National Business Women's Week, and I would like to take this op-

portunity to salute the thousands of professional and business women who are such a vital force in the life of every community of our Eighth District.

It is indeed an honor for me to be able to join with the 18,000 members of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs in continuing the fight for equal rights for women in our country.

Women have made substantial contributions to our labor market and our economy. Two out of every five workers are women, and the difference between the average work-life expectancy of men and women has narrowed significantly. Yet, in 1968, the unemployment rate for women was much greater than for men.

And, those women who are working are more often than not holding jobs far below their training and talent. Approximately one-fifth of the working women who have completed 4 years of college are employed in nonprofessional, clerical, sales, and service positions.

Women are not only concentrated in the lower level jobs, but are paid relatively less than men for comparable work. Unless we correct this situation we are depriving our country of needed brainpower in labor market.

Our women have made tremendous advances over the years. I am sure that their husbands, brothers, and fathers applaud their achievements, and I join in this applause.

#### RESHAPING THE LABOR BOARD

### HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, attention is properly being focused on the reshaping of the National Labor Relations Board, as more and more people are becoming aware of repeated failures of that agency to act objectively and better protect the public interest. The President has a remarkable opportunity, by replacing vacancies which will occur on the NLRB, to give that Board a semblance of balance.

I include the following editorial which appeared in the December 19 issue of the Wall Street Journal:

#### RESHAPING THE LABOR BOARD

President Nixon now has an opportunity to appoint one new member of the National Labor Relations Board, and another vacancy will arise in August 1970. The two appointments obviously could drastically change the five-member board's approach to labor-management matters.

Some businessmen are urging the President to name individuals with strong pro-management leanings. This is an understandable reaction to the pro-union bias of the board in recent years, and yet it would merely replace old distortions with new ones.

The NLRB, after all, was not intended to be on the side of either management or the unions. It was instead supposed to be a totally fair and impartial arbiter of labor-management disputes, a wise administrator of the nation's labor laws.

Labor Secretary Shultz suggests a sensible first step: The appointment of members of sound legal backgrounds with no deep commitment to politics of any particular stripe. One man who has been mentioned is University of Chicago law professor Bernard Metzger.

Even a truly neutral board, however, would be only a partial solution. It would still have to work with established legal precedents, a number of them sanctioned by the Supreme Court.

In the process of determining what is "good faith" bargaining, the NLRB has moved ever closer to requiring employers to make concessions to unions. At the same time it has steadily expanded the subjects that management is required to bargain about.

This situation can only be corrected by new legislation defining more fully and carefully the proper functions of the labor board. The existing law has given the NLRB more discretion than any body of men can be expected to use wisely over a period of years.

President Nixon, in sum, can start the job of returning the board to its intended role. It will be up to Congress to finish the task.

#### A GRAND LADY

### HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, Edna Behrens Eaton, aptly described by one of the leading newspapers in northern California as a "grand lady" is gone.

A member of a pioneer family who was born in a historic mining town, Mrs. Eaton grew up with Shasta County and my Golden State and served for many years as the treasurer of her native county.

She and her family contributed greatly to the progress and the growth of this northern California region, and the many civic projects to which she so unselfishly devoted so much time and energy will long stand as a memorial to her.

Mrs. Johnson joins in extending to her family our deepest sympathies.

Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD at this point an editorial from the December 9 edition of the Redding Record-Searchlight, an editorial which outlines some of Mrs. Eaton's contributions to Shasta County:

EDNA BEHRENS EATON

A very grand lady died last week.

Mrs. Edna Behrens Eaton, whose grandparents were among the first of the county's pioneers, was herself born in the historic gold mining town of Shasta.

But it was not her ancestry or her place of birth that distinguished her so much as her devotion to worthy public causes and the high standards she observed in her personal life and in her dealings with others.

One of her causes was local history. She was one of the charter members of the Shasta Historical Society and did much careful research on its behalf. She maintained an extensive collection of photographs of early-day scenes and personalities, newspaper clippings and other written records.

She contributed in other ways to the cultural development of the community,

through the American Association of University Women, the Women's Improvement Club and other organizations.

Many a high school student, working on a term paper in history, found Mrs. Eaton willing to give generously of her time and her fund of knowledge. She was tremendously interested in young people and achieved an empathy with them that allowed no room for a "generation gap."

#### ACADEMY INTERVIEW LUNCHEON

### HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, on December 13, 18 outstanding young men of the 20th Congressional District in Illinois were honored at a luncheon at Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill. They are candidates for appointment to the U.S. military academies' classes to begin in June, 1970. During the morning each young man was interviewed by a civilian board of prominent citizens who have demonstrated their deep interest in the military affairs and security of our country.

Serving on the interview board were Robert Hemphill of Jacksonville, Claude C. Gustine of Greenfield, Ray Samples of Jacksonville, William B. Myers of Springfield, Richard Hirtzel of Macomb, Judge Richard Mills of Virginia, Colonel Harry T. Laswell of Springfield, Dr. E. C. Bone of Jacksonville, J. E. Fetter of Quincy, Patrick Noonan of Springfield, Carl C. Meyer of Springfield, and Dr. James L. Bradley of Springfield.

Serving as academic affairs adviser to the Military Academy Selection Review Board was Preston Hott, principal, Springfield High School, Springfield, Ill.

From the young men now entering the military academies must come tomorrow's military leadership for the United States. Therefore, I am most anxious to select the best available talent. I appreciate the fine cooperation of the members of the interview board in giving their time to make this selection possible.

Those who were interviewed for appointment to the U.S. Air Force Academy were: Curtis G. Koch, son of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Koch of Quincy, William D. Reed, son of Mrs. Rose Mary Reznicek of Chesterfield, George B. Roodhouse, son of Mr. and Mrs. Byron L. Roodhouse of Pittsfield, Samuel L. Shutt, son of Mr. and Mrs. Stanley G. Shutt of Rochester, Randal D. Sivilie, son of Mr. and Mrs. Leroy D. Sivilie of Jacksonville, Mark D. Johnson, son of Mr. and Mrs. Robert B. Johnson of Fairfax, Va.

Those who were interviewed for appointment to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point were: Lawrence O. Creviston, son of Mr. and Mrs. Patrick O. Creviston of Springfield, Frederick W. Grote, son of Mr. and Mrs. W. G. Grote of Pittsfield, Ronald L. Hughes, son of Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence E. Hughes of La-Prairie, Joseph H. Snowden, son of Mr. and Mrs. Sterling Snowden of Macomb,

Michael E. Milligan, son of Mr. and Mrs. Edward S. Milligan of Alexandria, Va.

Those who were interviewed for appointment to the U.S. Naval Academy were: Timothy L. Flannigan, son of Mr. and Mrs. John R. Flannigan of Auburn, Michael A. Teak, son of Mr. and Mrs. Martin A. Teak of Virginia Beach, Va., Roger W. Player, son of Mr. and Mrs. Stephen P. Player of Quincy, Robert P. Reed, son of Mr. and Mrs. Robert E. Reed of Springfield, Patrick J. Sullivan, son of Mr. and Mrs. Francis A. Sullivan of Springfield, Stephen M. Tobin, son of Mr. and Mrs. Walter C. Tobin of Quincy.

#### LET US SHOW OUR APPRECIATION TO OUR SERVICEMEN

### HON. THOMAS J. MESKILL

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. MESKILL. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of House Resolution 661. As one of more than 140 cosponsors of identical or similar legislation, I wish to go on record commending the American serviceman in Vietnam for his bravery, sacrifice, dedication, initiative, and devotion to duty.

I have joined as a cosponsor of this resolution because I believe it is time to put aside, for a moment, our differences on the policy of our involvement in Vietnam to pay tribute to those boys who have made a tremendous effort to serve their Nation.

For 8 long, difficult years, the Nation has been badly divided over the course of our policy in Vietnam. From the very beginning debate has boiled over the correctness, morality, and technical conduct of America's involvement in Southeast Asia. During this entire period, it has been the American GI who has pursued a steady course. He has suffered great adversity and sacrifice. He has experienced great emotional strain. Certainly, his task has not been any easier, knowing that those at home are divided over the commitment that put him in the rice paddies.

The American serviceman who shoulders the rifle to defend his Nation's policies always bears a unique burden and must be prepared to make the ultimate sacrifice. The GI's task is never a pleasant one. Sometimes I think we forget this.

This resolution is designed simply to say, "thanks" to the American GI. The debate over Vietnam in this country has obscured many of the individual contributions and sacrifices of young Americans in this thankless conflict. After 8 years, it is time to tell the American serviceman, that whether or not we agree with the war, we appreciate his service to America, and that we recognize his bravery and courage and individual effort. Passage of House Resolution 661 will formally pay tribute to the selfless sacrifices that so many Americans have made in this war so far away from home. My only wish is that such a resolution were not necessary at all.

## THE PENDLETON MASSACRE

## HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, on September 26, 1969, a serious disturbance occurred at the Indiana Reformatory at Pendleton, Ind.

As reported by the Indianapolis Star on December 12, 1969:

One inmate was killed and 46 others were injured when guards at the reformatory fired on them with shotguns on an outdoor athletic field when most of the inmates were lying or sitting down.

In the interest that both sides be heard, I am today inserting in the RECORD a report prepared by the Indiana Statewide Committee on Penal Reform on this incident.

The report follows:

## INDIANA STATEWIDE COMMITTEE ON PENAL REFORM: A FACT SHEET ABOUT THE PENDLETON MASSACRE

As far as witnesses can ascertain the Pendleton Massacre occurred at around 1:30 on the afternoon of Friday, September 26, on the volleyball court at the Indiana Reformatory.

The institution, constructed in 1923 to house 1600 inmates, now has a prison population of approximately 2098. Of that number approximately three-fifths are white, two-fifths are black.

The facts, as we have been able to reconstruct them through dozens of interviews, eyewitness reports, statements by the victims, by participating non-wounded inmates, by professional and support personnel and inmates black and white who happened to be in strategic positions to witness the slaughter, and in fact from administrative personnel itself, the following is in all probability a sequentially precise and accurate account of the events of that day and of the several days preceding—the events all being inter-related.

A letter dated September 23, 1969, listing 10 grievances was sent to an Indianapolis resident with the request that he and news media-men be present to witness a peaceful demonstration to be staged by inmates on Thursday in support of the grievances.

## THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 25

The peaceful sit-down by 75-100 men resulted in a discussion with Asst. Supt. Schroeder who promised a Review Court for four inmates who had been isolated from the prison population since May, 1969. Supt. Phend, as is his custom in such instances, refused the men an audience.

## FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 26

Review Court action resulted in the transfer of two of the isolated inmates to Michigan City and the return of only one to prison population.

Approximately 250 men gathered on the volleyball court to engage in further peaceful demonstration to press for positive action on their grievances.

While these demonstrators were sitting, other personnel started fires in the upholstery shop. A number of seated demonstrators attracted by the excitement created by the fires, left the volleyball court to see the fires.

Guard Capt. Huckeyby alerted to the fires and the gathering of inmates arrived at the scene. Engaged immediately in dialogue by several inmates, he was leaving the scene when struck in some manner. Reports vary as to whether the blow was from a kick by an

inmate, a rock thrown by an inmate, or grazing by a shot from the tower when he signaled for fire on the inmates to disperse them.

Tower fire caused the inmate spectators who had left the demonstrating group to return to that area. They were joined in this rush to the volleyball court by a number of other inmates.

Huckeyby, accompanied by 6 riot-equipped guards, stationed themselves along the grass facing the recreation area. Inmates were ordered to line up and return to their housing locations. All but the demonstrators were permitted to do so.

Demonstrators who attempted to join the lineup were ordered to sit back down.

When the area was cleared of all men except the demonstrators, and when all the fires were out and outside fire equipment and firemen had left the scene, Huckeyby ordered the men to rise. They refused to do so, preferring to continue their peaceful protest.

Huckeyby had been joined by 6 more riot-equipped guards and a civilian employee who had been equipped with a riot-gun. These men took places along the fenced in area (which has only one gate) and thrust the muzzles of their weapons through the chain links.

Huckeyby ordered a warning volley fired in the air and then asked the men to leave. They remained seated. He ordered a second volley fired lower; this tore "great holes in the volleyball net." He again ordered the men to leave.

The men, still concerned over untenable, inhuman conditions at the institution (which is considered one of the worst in the United States) still refused to rise. One said: "If they're going to shoot us they'll have to shoot us in the back." Whereupon all but one of the men lay on their faces on the ground, some pulling their coats over their faces and heads.

One young man stood, alone, back turned to the firing squad and hand upraised in the clenched Black unity salute.

Someone was heard to say: "That one is mine!" Huckeyby dropped his white hat—the signal to fire—and the standing youth, a 20-year-old, fell to the ground with five shots in his body.

Round after round was pumped into the rising, twitching, falling bodies on the volleyball court before the order to cease fire was given.

## AFTERMATH

One 20-year old dead from a single, careful shot in the head.

Forty-six men wounded, many critically, from shots in the head, in the back, through the chest, in the legs, feet, thigh, through the groin, in the side—in fact some who tried to throw up their hands in traditional gesture of surrender had their hands shattered and are minus fingers. Many of the injured have multiple wounds, and at this writing may lie in the infirmary at Pendleton (a report puts this figure at 34) where treatment is necessarily inadequate due to limited staff and inadequate facilities. Many of these appear in danger of serious if not fatal consequences as a result.

Two of the most critically wounded have been returned to Pendleton from the Robert Long Hospital in Indianapolis despite the inability of the Infirmary to adequately treat serious cases.

On the night of September 26, all the demonstrators who had not been shot were jammed into the "hole." Placed, at least seven to a two-man cell, 171 of these human animals were confined, and then—gassed.

With the exception of one 16-year old Hispanic American—all of the massacre and gas victims were black.

This has been as true and accurate an account of the occurrence as exhaustive effort and concerned human beings, within,

as well as without the institution, could prepare.

[From the Indianapolis (Ind.) News, Oct. 9, 1969]

## REFORMATORY USED HEAVIEST BUCKSHOT

The heaviest shot available for riot shotguns was used to quell the Sept. 26 uprising at the Indiana Reformatory, it was learned today.

Double "O" buckshot was used in the riot guns, Supt. George Phend said.

"The seriousness of the disturbance dictates what type of shot is put into riot shotguns at the reformatory," he said.

The double "O" buckshot is about the size of a small pea, Phend says. The diameter is .33 of an inch.

He said inside the building, when fewer men are involved in a lesser incident, bird-shot half the size of a small pea is used.

Phend said the size of the shot used in guns is standard procedure in almost any institution.

"Our riot guns are never loaded until an incident breaks out," Phend said.

A spokesman for the sporting goods firm which supplies the Reformatory with the shot, said the double "O" buckshot used by the institution is the heaviest shot that can be bought.

The double "O" buckshot has 130 shots to a pound, while the size of No. 6 shot (loosely termed birdshot and used in rabbit hunting) is .11 of an inch in diameter with 225 shots in only an ounce.

In hunting, the size of the animal being hunted determines the size of the shot in most cases. The larger the animal, the bigger the shot used.

Bigger shot, as could be expected, causes a bigger wound.

One person was killed and 46 wounded by ricocheting shots fired by guards during the disturbance.

## SAVE THE ALLIGATORS FROM EXTINCTION

## HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a bill which would take steps to reduce the illegal hunting of alligators whose hides are to be used as costly fashion accessories. The alligator, formerly plentiful in some areas of this country, is now in danger of extinction. Florida, where most of the remaining alligators are found, has a law against poaching and yet many skins obtained illegally there find their way as bags and shoes into the stores of New York and other American cities.

The bill which I have introduced, originally sponsored by Senator METCALF, would require that alligator hides or alligator skin products which are shipped across State lines from the State where the alligator was caught be certified by an appropriate State official as having been obtained legally. There once were millions of alligators in this country; only 20,000 are left. Surely we can take the necessary steps to assure that what has been called one of this continent's last living links with the age of the dinosaur is not sacrificed to the whim of fashion simply because its increasing rarity makes its skin all the more prized.

CHRISTMAS IN WASHINGTON STILL  
CONSTITUTIONAL

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, as the Christmas season again approaches we see throughout the country the well organized and adequately financed attacks on the celebration of one of our great national holidays. Locally, the usual guardians of the national conscience filed their usual suit to prohibit the exhibition of a traditional Christmas crèche as a part of the Pageant of Peace on the Ellipse.

Although the courts have not been persuaded, it is still possible for the Supreme Court to act in an arbitrary fashion, and ban Christmas in the Nation's Capital. The assault on another basic American tradition follows the pattern of the minority, who are not content to live in freedom outside of the way of life of the rest of the Nation, but who feel compelled to drag their neighbors down to their own level in all questions where they find an embarrassing difference to exist.

Noting the names of the counsel representing the leftist ACLU as Lawrence Speiser, Warren Kaplan, and Ralph J. Temple, and of those representing the American Jewish Congress as Joel H. Levy, Leo Pfeffer, Joseph B. Robison, and George Soll, I include in my remarks pertinent local newscippings and an essay in the superb style associated with Tom Anderson:

RULING BY COURT AWAITED ON ELLIPSE  
NATIVITY SCENE

(By William Willoughby)

The Nativity scene that for the last 15 years has been a part of Pageant of Peace could be banned from the Ellipse this Christmas time. It depends on how the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals rules when it hears a case here Friday.

A suit brought by a Catholic priest and one of the Episcopal faith, a rabbi, a self-described atheist and a member of the American Ethical Society charges in effect that the stable scene depicting the infancy of Christ amounts to "government sponsorship" of the Christian theology.

The case is on appeal from the U.S. District Court, which granted a motion of the government to dismiss on the ground the plaintiffs lacked standing to sue.

SUIT BY ACLU

Figuring prominently in the appeal is a decision in Oregon, handed down two months ago, that resulted in the removal of a lighted cross overlooking the city of Eugene. Plaintiffs argued that the presence of the cross on city-owned property reduced non-Christians to "second-class" citizens.

The District case was brought by the American Civil Liberties Union, naming Interior Secretary Walter J. Hickel and two National Park Service officials. The American Jewish Congress has entered the case in a friend-of-the-court brief.

The AJC brief argues that the depiction of Jesus, Mary and Joseph is a "religious presentation . . . meant to convey, and does convey, the religious message of the birth of Jesus as the Son of God."

The brief argues that "the apparent endorsement by a government of the meanings embodied in the religious symbol in-

escapably operates to endow those meanings with official sanction, giving an added dimension which could never be obtained through any other device."

The Catholic priest among those pressing the case is the Rev. George Malzone, associated with the Center for Christian Renewal. He also has been a key figure in another religious controversy involving dissident Catholics and Patrick Cardinal O'Boyle. O'Boyle disciplined Malzone over divergent interpretations of the papal encyclical on birth control.

GOVERNMENT STAND

An Episcopal priest, the Rev. Thomas B. Allen of Potomac, and Rabbi Eugene J. Lipman of Chevy Chase, also are joined in the suit. James E. Curry, who describes himself as an atheist, and Edward L. Ericson of Silver Spring, president of the American Ethical Society, also are suing.

The government argues that the Nativity scene is part of a celebration of a national legal holiday which does not have particular religious significance, citing an increasing commercialization of the season, intermingling of pagan and secular customs and broad observance of the holiday by non-Christians.

But the crèche "cannot be secularized," the AJC brief says.

"It has been and remains the symbol and core of the religious meaning of Christmas—the birth of the Christian Savior. This religious core cannot be and has not been eliminated from Christmas by the secular and pagan aspects of some celebrations of the holiday," according to the Jewish group.

The government also has invoked the de minimus rule, saying that only a small amount of public funds are involved in setting up the crèche on the Ellipse.

"The governmental endorsement of the display has an impact independent of the amount of money, land or time involved," the AJC brief counters. "In any case . . . if the use of public funds or public property in support of religion is wrong, it does not become right because it is done modestly or intermittently."

[From the Evening Star, Dec. 13, 1969]

JUDGES WEIGH ISSUE—COURT REFUSES TO BAR  
CRECHE FROM ELLIPSE

A request for an injunction to prohibit the erection of the annual Nativity scene on the Ellipse was rejected yesterday by the U.S. Court of Appeals.

However, the three-judge panel took under advisement the attack on the legality of the Pageant of Peace Crèche, which earlier was dismissed in District Court and appealed by the American Civil Liberties Union.

The suit was filed in District Court by a Catholic priest, and Episcopal clergyman, a rabbi, an atheist and a member of the American Ethical Society.

The appeals court action yesterday means that unless a judgment is handed down within the next two weeks, the final decision will not affect this year's program.

OFFENSIVE TO NON-CHRISTIANS

The suit contended that the government planned to use public funds and parkland to support an observance of a particular religion.

ACLU attorney Warren Kaplan argued yesterday that there was a limit on free exercise of religion and that the pageantry conceivably could be offensive to non-Christians. He also said government employees are used in maintaining the grounds and that American tax dollars cannot be used by the government to sponsor a religion.

NOT SINGULARLY RELIGIOUS

Gil Zimmerman, as assistant U.S. attorney, said the pageantry is conducted by a

private organization, Christmas Pageantry for Peace, Inc.

He said the purpose of the pageant is to champion peace in the world and that it is not a singularly religious program.

He asked how a ceremony honoring the Christmas holiday and peace in the world could be conducted without some reference to the celebration of Christ's birth.

HIS EXAMPLE

(Tom Anderson's Christmas Essay)

He was born in an obscure town, grew up in a tiny village, worked in a carpenter shop, was an itinerant preacher. He slept in borrowed beds. He died on a borrowed cross, and He was buried in a borrowed tomb. He never made a business, professional, or "social" success. He never went to school, owned a house, held an office, had a family. He never traveled more than two hundred miles from the place where he was born. Yet, the world's calendar is dated backward and forward from His birth.

The only thing He ever wrote was a sentence in the sand. Yet more books, songs, and poems have been written about Him than about all the other men who ever lived. And His teachings have influenced the world more than anyone else who ever lived. He is the most masculine, compelling, fascinating, and perfect Soul in history.

He was so gentle that little children climbed on His knee, and so strong that powerful men ran from the temple when He accused them of making it a den of thieves. Officers sent to arrest Him returned empty-handed saying: "Never man spake like this man."

The night before His execution, His Roman captors took turns lashing His back with a whip made of leather straps weighted with pieces of metal. They knelt before Him in mock homage and then arose to spit in His face. About eight a.m. they took Him to Calvary, stripped off His clothing and set Him astride a wooden peg which jutted from the upright pole of a cross. Then they nailed Him to that cross, between two thieves. Many victims of crucifixion became raving madmen before they expired, and often their tongues were cut out to stop their screams and curses. But as this silent Victim looked down upon His jeering tormentors, He said: "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do."

Christ challenged the slavery system and declared that man is the creation of God and responsible to God. Christ preached the freedom and dignity of the individual and his God-given right to come and go freely, to enjoy the fruits of his own labor, to work for himself or to sell his labor for pay.

He reminded us that the best way to reduce the exploitation of man by man is to embrace Christianity. Christianity, not handouts, is the hope of the world. Christ was no Socialist. He believed in the profit motive. He recognized that free men will have different talents, and abilities in varying degrees. Some, he said, would gain more with what they had, and these were rewarded with more. He even took away the "talent" of the man who did nothing, and gave it to the man who had ten "talents," as a lesson. He congratulated those who profited, and urged His followers to learn by their example.

And, He knew that charity is not charity unless it is voluntary. In Luke 12:13-14, the Christ was talking to a large crowd when a man approached him, saying: "Master, speak to my brother that he share his inheritance with me."

And Jesus replied: "Man, who is it that would make me a divider among men?" True Christian charity, He knew, comes from within and cannot be imposed by authority.

And, Jesus Christ was not a "moderate." He was, in fact, an "extremist." The "mod-

ernists" today proclaim that there is no black nor white; that sin is imaginary, non-existent; that we are to be "moderate" and "tolerant" in all things, including evil.

This is idiocy.

An agnostic is a moderate. Moderation is no virtue when one is moderately wrong or moderately sinful. Christ had this to say about these moderates—a religious type He denounced in extreme terms: "I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot. I would thou were cold or hot. So because thou art neither cold nor hot, I will spew thee out of my mouth."

The Bible is not tolerant, it's "narrow-minded." And so is the compass, the multiplication table, the boiling and freezing points of water, all nature, and the Kingdom of Heaven. The Gates of Hell, on the other hand, are broadminded—open to situational ethics. God, the Bible, sin, and Jesus Christ are not. They are rigid and unchanging. Just as the Ten Commandments are forever the same, a true Christian has a standard beyond change. *Hebrews 13:8* says: "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, today and tomorrow."

Loss of faith in God is our nation's—and the world's—most serious problem. When men lose God, they turn to the State. When men lose God, they compromise, appease, lie, steal, and make war. The collectivists, anarchists, and atheists must destroy our faith in God to take over the world. Unless we can recapture our Christian spirit and reestablish our Christian values, we will soon lose our freedom of choice with respect to all of life's values. The time could be approaching when the question will not be whether America can be saved, but whether America is worth saving. Sodom and Gomorrah were not! Only the moral deserve to be free. As the Apostle Paul said: "Where the spirit of the Lords is, there is Liberty."

We cannot oppose evil by compromising with evil. We cannot go forth into all the world and spread the gospel of Jesus Christ if we deny Jesus Christ in the United Nations, in our schools, and in our daily lives. We become part of what we condone.

A. G. Heinsohn, a courageous Christian and member of the Council of The John Birch Society, was told by a friend: "Once a nation is sliding down the toboggan of degradation, as we are, it never stops till it hits bottom. Why do you struggle against the inevitable?"

Mr. Heinsohn replied: "Because it's *un-thinkable* not to."

There's no excuse for people who ask, "What can I do?" and are afraid you'll tell them.

When and if St. Peter meets us at the Golden Gate, he won't ask what we agreed with, or what we belonged to: Heaven is not open to Methodists, Catholics, Rotarians, or John Birchers—Heaven is open only to individuals. It's not what we belong to, it's what we are. It's not what we say, but what we do and don't do. That's a very good thought to hold this Christmas of 1969.

#### SILENT MAJORITY

### HON. HERMAN T. SCHNEEBELI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. SCHNEEBELI. Mr. Speaker, Graham Carrington of Williamsport, Pa., has expressed fluently and well, the thoughts of many of the silent majority who have been patient with some of the extremes practiced by the more militant

protestors. The Grit of Williamsport published Mr. Carrington's observations of our national scene and they are presented herewith:

#### PROTEST AGAINST SOMETHING

Every day we see groups of young people on the streets and around public buildings in protest against something. When questioned they assert that this is their right. It is true that the Constitution does confer this right upon them. But a right abused is a right destroyed. This has been true in times past and those who are unfamiliar with history are doomed to repeat it. It appears that the most ardent desire among the young is to terminate a war in which they are asked to take part. They deplore war but no more than any other good citizen. How do they think the rights which they so flagrantly abuse were acquired? Any rights we possess were gained by men who were willing to die in defense of Bunker Hill, freeze and starve at Valley Forge and die by the thousands at Gettysburg and Omaha Beach. Are we to squander our legacy of freedom by surrendering it to the next aggressor who will quickly appear? There are predatory nations around the world who can recognize a timid nation miles away and who jump at the chance. We seek no man's rights or property, but we will defend what our fathers left us as the thousands of graves at Arlington bear witness. And so picket if you will, protest what you don't like, but don't forget that these privileges were bought for you with better blood than it takes to protest and dissent.

#### CONCERN FOR SHOE INDUSTRY

### HON. MICHAEL J. HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I wish today to emphasize my concern for the shoe industry and shoeworkers and state that this concern must extend beyond traditional bounds and must include an active and creative program.

It is precisely because I do care that I spoke recently to a meeting of shoeworkers in Haverhill, that I named a special committee to recommend action for those affected, that I have been in constant contact with the President's Interagency Task Force on Nonrubber Footwear, and that I have urged new action in the field to President Nixon.

Prior to my election, I indicated my support of the voluntary quota approach and suggested that there should be an effort made to deal comprehensively with the overall problem.

I continue to support that position.

But what I will not and have not done is to join with those who have for years promised to help and accomplished virtually nothing. Measures have been proposed to restrict foreign imports for the last 10 years, and more intensive efforts have been made during the last 3 to 4 years. So far, under four administrations no action has resulted.

I seek through an active concern to find real answers to the problems of diminished payrolls, of lost purchasing power, of unused resources both on the employee and employer level.

It is ironic that in attempting to be candid in assessing the problem, and to work at its solution in a broader way, one is criticized as being unfriendly to the shoe workers and manufacturers.

Obviously, it would have been much easier to have joined with countless others and in the more politically orthodox approach and let the matter stand. This I could not do for the result would have been to perpetuate expectations and hopes which are unlikely to be met, doing both a disservice to the affected parties and to the people of my district.

#### FIGHTING AN EPIDEMIC OF THE ENVIRONMENT

### HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today three bills, originally sponsored by my colleague from New York (Mr. RYAN), with regard to lead poisoning.

Specifically, the bills would first, provide Federal financial assistance to help cities and communities develop and carry out intensive local programs to eliminate the causes of lead-based paint poisoning; second, provide Federal assistance to help cities and communities develop and carry out intensive local programs to detect and treat incidents of lead-based paint poisoning; and third, provide that Federal assistance to a State or local government for any kind of housing program be made available only on condition that the recipient submit and carry out an effective plan for eliminating the causes of lead-based paint poisoning.

Mr. Speaker, lead poisoning is a serious and tragic situation that calls for immediate action. Each child who dies from lead poisoning represents a life that could have been saved if certain simple, precautionary steps had been taken through municipal programs with Federal support.

Jack Newfield has written several important pieces on this subject in the Village Voice. His article of December 18 outlines a program of action for New York City and I am including it in the RECORD at this point for the consideration of Members:

#### FIGHTING AN EPIDEMIC OF THE ENVIRONMENT (By Jack Newfield)

After spending three months digging into the problem of lead poisoning, I have concluded that the heart of the matter is accountability, naming the anonymous individuals responsible for this tragic situation: city officials, landlords, newspaper editors.

The basic facts of the problem are now obvious: an environmental epidemic (as distinct from a virus epidemic) that strikes at least 30,000 black and Puerto Rican children each year, causing mental retardation, brain damage, and death.

In August of 1968, the Citizens Committee to End Lead Poisoning was founded at a church in Bedford-Stuyvesant. Subsequent-

ly, Congressman William F. Ryan introduced three bills that would provide federal funds to find and treat victims of lead poisoning, and get rid of leaded paint from tenement walls.

Last June, after 23-month-old Janet Scurry died of lead poisoning in the Bronx, Representative Edward Koch and City Councilman Carter Burden wrote personal letters to Mayor Lindsay, alerting him to the growing crisis. Koch's letter informed the Mayor how Chicago—yes, Daley land!—has had a lead testing and educational program in operation for two years, and that the number of severely poisoned children had been cut in half.

In September, Representative Koch wrote me a letter saying that the city had never even applied to HEW for money available under existing legislation to subsidize a lead poisoning program.

But the Lindsay administration did not act, despite Janet Scurry's death, despite the warnings, public and private, from Ryan, Koch, Burden, and many others.

In one sense this is obviously Lindsay's fault. He's elected Mayor, and he's responsible. But it is more directly the fault of the little-known individuals he appointed, who have direct responsibility for health care: Commissioner Mary McLaughlin and mayoral assistant Werner Kramarsky.

Neither has cared enough, has taken the trouble, to come up with a program since June. Both are liberal bureaucrats, but cut off from the dalliance of injustice by their positions and life styles. Neither has ever even bothered to go to Chicago to see how successfully the lead program is working.

Last May, Bio-Rad Laboratories offered the city 40,000 free urine tests for lead poisoning. But nothing happened (see the letter to the editor in last week's Voice from Bio-Rad salesman Henry Intill). In October, during the election campaign, the Health Department announced a testing program. But they never even bothered to pick up the tests, much less distribute them to community groups like the Young Lords who were eager to use them. Several children died of lead poisoning during this period of bureaucratic buck-passing and delay. Dozens more went into convulsions, comas, and suffered permanent brain damage. Responsibility for those small unreported daily tragedies is as easy to fix as it is for war crimes committed in Vietnam.

Also implicated in the city's failure is the daily press, which has ignored the issue because, in the words of one city editor, "it doesn't have a hard news peg."

But I believe racism is also a factor here. If lead poisoning affected white, middle-class children, it would be covered on the front page of the New York Times. When there are 10 cases of polio in the suburbs, it is a crisis that receives urgent coverage. But 30,000 undiagnosed cases of lead poisoning, living in Bed-Stuy, El Barrio, and the South Bronx, is not news. Just like worms and larvae in the water supply of Harlem is fit to print on page 64. But if those worms were coming out of taps on Park Avenue, I think I know where that story would be placed.

Similarly, if lead poisoning primarily affected old Jewish ladies, the Post would already have begun a 17-part series on the problem, naming landlords, profling the victims, attacking the hospital system. But Janet Scurry was invisible and nobody knew her name because she lived on Teller Avenue in the Bronx.

The Lindsay administration still has not announced a program against lead poisoning. Werner Kramarsky is conniving to be promoted to deputy mayor. Dr. McLaughlin is leaking stories to the Times exaggerating her good works in an effort to save her job.

So here, Mr. Mayor, is a simple, minimal, five-point program you could adopt.

1. Launch an immediate, free, mass testing program in all ghetto neighborhoods, to find the poisoned children, and get them treated in hospitals.

2. Endorse, and lobby for, the passage of Representative Ryan's three bills—H.R. 9191, 13254, and 14735. (Ryan told me on Tuesday, "I've never seen any evidence that the Mayor's office, either in New York or Washington, has tried to do anything to help my legislation get out of committee or pass the House.")

3. Declare a health emergency in East Harlem, Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brownsville, the South Bronx because of lead poisoning.

4. Give families with a history of lead poisoning immediate shelter elsewhere, and first priority for public housing.

5. Force landlords, through city ordinance or new legislation, to make repairs and board over with plywood peeling walls in any apartment where there is a danger of a child ingesting leaded paint.

You could begin this program tomorrow, Mr. Mayor, without waiting for the next batch of vague memos. In fact begin it today.

#### INDIAN HEALTH NEEDS ARE AT CRISIS STAGE

**HON. ED EDMONDSON**

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, a significant amendment was added to the supplemental appropriations bill when it was considered in the Senate yesterday. The senior Senator from Oklahoma, Senator HARRIS, offered an amendment to add \$2 million to the bill for the operation of hospitals by the Indian Health Service. The amendment was adopted by a vote of 80 to 0. The Senate Committee on Appropriations previously had amended the bill to include \$1 million for Indian Health Service contract medical care. It is my understanding that the sum of the two amendments, \$3 million, is the minimum amount needed by the Indian Health Service to correct shortages in personnel, medicines and drugs, and equipment which have reached the critical level.

Yesterday in this Chamber, Chairman TEAGUE of the Committee on Veterans Affairs made a thoughtful and impressive statement on the needs of our veterans hospitals if they are to provide this Nation's veterans first-class medical care, as opposed to the funds requested by this administration. Mr. Speaker, the situation he described concerning veterans is the same situation we face in caring for the first Americans—the American Indian. We are falling short of meeting urgent needs of the Indian Health Service.

The seriousness of the situation was brought home forcefully this fall when my colleague from Oklahoma Congressman CAMP, and I paid an unannounced visit to the Claremore Indian Hospital in Oklahoma. We were there as members of the Indian Affairs Subcommittee.

Let me tell you a few of the things we found.

We found a dedicated, overworked staff with personnel shortages in many key positions treating sick Indians in a building which has been called a disgrace to the U.S. Public Health Service. This hospital has not been accredited since 1960, except for a 1-year provisional accreditation in 1967 when hope was held forth that funds would be available to build a completely new hospital.

We found a list posted in the pharmacy under the heading: "Doctors: Below are items we are out of or short of—they are so labeled. Available suggested substitutes are listed adjacent to them."

This list included such basic drugs as buffered aspirin, librium, and vasodilan. Vitamin supplies were depleted and food purchases cut so deeply that dietitians are worried whether or not they can offer the patients a nutritious diet. The reason for these shortages? Funds were so short that that funding had been put on a 30-day basis. Requisitions for supplies and equipment were often delayed. Adequate medical treatment was sometimes impossible to achieve.

Following this visit, staff members visited Indian hospitals in Tahlequah and Pawnee, Okla. The story at these hospitals was basically the same as at Claremore.

At Pawnee, tests for tuberculosis had been discontinued because necessary supplies were not provided; influenza shots could not be given to more than 600 Indian boarding students at Chillico Indian School because the vaccine was not available.

At Tahlequah, essential antibiotics were "low in supply" or "out." The same was true of certain anaesthetics, IV sets for administering fluids intravenously, and other surgical supplies. No immunization shots were being given more than 400 Indian students at Sequoyah Indian School because of shortages.

Mr. Speaker, the simple fact is that we have failed in our obligation by law and treaty to provide adequate medical services to the American Indian, just as Mr. TEAGUE pointed out yesterday that we are failing in our legal obligations to the American military veteran.

I am as conscious as any Member of this body of the absolute need for holding the line in Federal spending, but I believe the administration can find better places to make its cuts than in medical facilities and treatment for our veterans and Indians.

I strongly urge the House to accept the Senate amendment in this case.

#### CHRISTMAS VERSE

SPEECH OF

**HON. PAUL G. ROGERS**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I received a Christmas card from a friend

and constituent of mine and thought that my fellow colleagues might enjoy the verse that Mr. Garland N. White has penned.

I certainly think that he has offered something to think about during this holiday season.

I include the poem by Mr. White in the RECORD, for the pleasure of my colleagues:

Jolly Christmas,  
Smiling New Year;  
Best of seasons  
Every year.

Hate and envy  
We should wipe out;  
We should love more  
Fellow men all.

We should give more;  
Unselfish be;  
We should listen,  
Ever be kind.

We should strive more  
To live God's way;  
Make for living  
The Golden Rule.

#### FOOD STAMP REFORM

### HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend Agriculture Secretary Hardin on announcing yesterday a major improvement in food stamp benefits for the poor. The new benefit schedules announced by Secretary Hardin will make it possible for a poor family to obtain more food stamps for less money.

For example, a family of four living in the District of Columbia and having a monthly income of from \$100 to \$110 will now be able to purchase \$106 worth of food for only \$25. Under the old schedule, that same family would receive only \$78 a month in food for a payment of \$44.

The new schedule is based on a formula which will limit a family's food stamp payment to no more than 25 percent of its monthly income in most cases. In addition, the Secretary has announced a uniform requirement that any city or county having a food stamp program will allow \$106 worth of food stamps to a family of four which qualifies and uniformly adjusted amounts for larger or smaller families. In the past, these amounts have varied from city to city, and county to county.

Mr. Speaker, this is but another attempt by this administration to put an end to hunger in America. Today we are reaching about 7 million Americans with either the food stamp or commodity distribution programs. It is estimated that there are presently between 10 and 15 million hungry Americans. It is obvious that our programs for combating hunger must be improved and expanded if we are to truly eradicate hunger and malnutrition from this land. The reform

announced yesterday is an indication that the Executive is committed to this goal. But the sad fact remains that this body has not yet dealt with the administration's comprehensive food stamp reform package. The other body has already passed an even more generous measure which would be acceptable to the administration. It seems to me that this legislation should receive the highest priority in this body when we reconvene next January. In his message of May 7, 1969, President Nixon couched the issue in the following terms:

More is at stake here than the health and well-being of 16 million American citizens who will be aided by these programs and the current Child Food Assistance programs. Something very like the honor of American democracy is at issue. . . . The moment is at hand to put an end to hunger in America itself for all time.

Mr. Speaker, I call on this Congress to accept its full responsibility for wiping out pockets of hunger in this land of plenty for all time. If something very like the honor of American democracy is at stake, then we as the legislative arm of that democracy must act and act now.

At this point in the RECORD I include the press statement issued by Secretary Hardin yesterday on the food stamp changes:

#### SECRETARY HARDIN ANNOUNCES DETAILS OF BIG FOOD STAMP PROGRAM EXPANSION

Secretary of Agriculture Clifford M. Hardin today announced the details of a major expansion in the Food Stamp Program, to help carry out President Nixon's commitment "to put an end to hunger in the United States."

"The steps that we are taking today," he said, "are significant, and I am delighted to be able to take them. But they go only part of the way. We need further improvements in the Food Stamp Program—improvements for which we need authorizing legislation. We have sent appropriate reform legislation to the Congress. And we are awaiting action which will enable us to operate a Food Stamp Program that can make good on our commitment to wipe out hunger."

Secretary Hardin's announcement gave details of the expansion whose broad framework was reported on Dec. 1 (Press Release 3687-69).

"This new and improved schedule of purchase of payments, bonuses, and coupon allotments will bring a considerable increase in participation in the Food Stamp Program," Secretary Hardin said, "both in the number of counties and cities taking part, and in the number of people participating in the counties and cities in the program."

Secretary Hardin explained that changes have been made in the basis-of-issuance tables—both in the amounts that a family pays for its food stamps, and in the amount of bonus stamps given to participants.

Each participating low-income family, because of these adjustments, will receive enough food coupons to buy food for a diet that is more adequate nutritionally. The payment schedule has been set so that participating families will receive sufficient food coupons to pay for the "economy diet" of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, adjusted to compensate for current increases in the level of retail food prices.

A family of four (the "typical example" of food and income statistics) will receive \$106 worth of food coupons each month—an 83 percent boost over the previous minimum of

\$58 a month. Coupon allotments are also set at a uniform level nationally in the new tables, eliminating the separate schedules that had been used for North and South.

Changes have been made both in purchase payments and in bonus payments, to achieve these adjustments in coupon allotments.

The amount that a family pays for its stamp allotment has been reduced as far as is possible within the requirement of the present law that this payment must not be less than a family's normal food expenditure. (The Food Stamp reform legislation requested by the President and now pending before the Congress is designed to allow even further reductions in charges for stamps, including free stamps for the poorest families.) After restudy of the relationship of purchase requirements to normal food expenditures, the Department has substantially reduced the payment schedules that had been in use.

Changes have also been made in the bonus that is paid to participating families. Bonuses to very low income families have been more than doubled in many cases, and the bonus paid to every participating family will be greater than or at least equal to the bonus which it had been receiving.

Secretary Hardin said these improvements have been made possible by the \$610 million provided in USDA appropriations for this 1970 fiscal year for operation of the Food Stamp Program. He said these funds are now sufficient so that the Department can extend the Food Stamp Program to all counties and cities that request it.

A concerted drive is well along to call these improvements to the attention of the 301 counties and independent cities which do not now have a family food program to help their needy. Secretary Hardin reiterated that the improvements detailed today give local officials in these areas an excellent opportunity to establish a food program—an opportunity, he said, that he hopes they utilize. Copies of the improved schedule of payments have been sent to cooperating State agencies to help to sign up new counties for the program, and to help boost participation by individual families in the counties and cities already in the Food Stamp Program.

These improvements make the Program much more beneficial to persons who are eligible to participate in it. A vigorous outreach campaign is already under way by USDA's Food and Nutrition Service and many other cooperating agencies so that all eligible families may know of the major benefits available to them through the Program.

#### THE SINGING ANGELS

### HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, on October 19, 1965, I inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a description of a new and exciting youth chorus from Greater Cleveland called "The Singing Angels." Although the chorus was only a year old, they showed great promise. These youngsters, ages 5 through 18, were exposed to a program guided by outstanding teachers and leaders, under strict discipline and with quality music standards.

These enthusiastic singers—typical American children—came from any home, any street in Greater Cleveland. It is entirely possible that they are the most

representative youth choral group in the world for their age. Average age is 12 years. They have been described as democracy in action through music.

The Singing Angels were founded and supervised by William—Bill—Boehm, nationally recognized singer and director from the Midwest, with the purpose of promoting good music for children. Serving as executive director and conductor, Mr. Boehm is aided by a splendid staff of prominent conductors, including George Strickling, Tom Neal, and Luther Blackwell, Jr. Conductor of the reserve chorus is Maryland Salter.

The administrative staff, dedicated and hardworking, include Eileen LaVigne, Leonore Vannice, Bonnie Davis, Elizabeth Heil, Lois Lantz, Janet Specht, Doris Mosley, Bernadette O'Brien, Jack Wine, and Bruce Heil. A wonderful new addition to the staff is 19-year-old Cecilia Kazol, a former charter member of the "Singing Angels" who came up through the ranks. Performing pianist is 17-year-old prodigy Margaret Brinich, who started as Angel pianist at age 14.

Since my last description of this remarkable chorus in 1965, the Singing Angels have had historic success. Singing more than 125 concerts, they have reached a live audience of more than a quarter million people and their television and radio audience soars into the millions.

Their television audience will be at least tripled when they appear as the featured children's chorus on the Kraft Music Hall Christmas special on the NBC television network on Christmas Eve at 9 p.m. Wayne Newton, brilliant American musical star, is the host.

During the 1969 Christmas season, the Singing Angels will focus the attention of the community on the residents of nursing homes and senior citizen centers as they conduct a massive caroling crusade sponsored by the Cleveland press.

Recently, the Singing Angels were granted a signal honor when they received an invitation from President Richard M. Nixon to sing at the White House on December 21, 1969, for a major Christmas celebration.

Forty of the finest Angels will sing at the Capitol. They will also appear at the National Institute of Health.

With the serious challenges and problems besetting American youth these days, the performance of the Singing Angels rings clear and sweet throughout our country. Their success suggests that American youth has only begun to realize their proper and full potential.

With a just cause, a disciplined program administered by qualified and intelligent leaders, our youth can accomplish miracles.

The basic philosophy of the Singing Angels can well be the pattern that will curb delinquency and corruption in youth and make this country a wonderful and happy environment for our children and our children's children.

The Singing Angels story should be told throughout America—throughout the world.

## ANOTHER GIANT LEAP

### HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Robert Hotz, in an editorial November 24, 1969, in *Aviation Week and Space Technology* discusses the important scientific contributions of Apollo 12 and the outstanding performance of Astronauts Conrad, Bean, and Gordon in opening up a new era in scientific exploration. As Mr. Hotz so aptly points out we are entering an era of "instant science" where new discovery is being accelerated requiring adjustment on the part of all those involved to insure that we gain a maximum return from the exploration of the moon as it continues in future flights. I commend this excellent editorial to your reading:

#### ANOTHER GIANT LEAP

Apollo 12 mission of Yankee Clipper and Intrepid marked another giant leap for man's ability to work in the hostile environments of space and opened the era of extensive scientific exploration of the moon.

Apollo 11 mission last summer proved the technical feasibility of the manned lunar expedition. Apollo 12 showed clearly and conclusively how that capability can be expanded and exploited into a tremendous epoch of scientific exploration.

For those who thought that Apollo 12 was simply an expensive repeat of Apollo 11 and yawned "Why do we have to go there again?", the achievements of Pete Conrad and Alan Bean on the lunar surface provided a startling rebuttal.

It was too bad that the lightweight Westinghouse television camera, which performed so brilliantly in bringing man's first steps on the moon to all the world, had such a brief operation in its color version. This failure was partially recouped by the performance of its counterpart aboard Yankee Clipper, providing sensational pictures of a live docking as Clipper and Intrepid rejoined above the moon.

Without the television accompaniment to the Houston-Intrepid communications during extravehicular activity, much of its impact and understanding outside the NASA technical community was blurred. But the ebullient air of the all-Navy crew of Jolly Rogers bridged some of this communications gap. The steady stream of rollicking and informative description by Conrad and Bean was in sharp contrast to the terse, laconic comments of Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin from Tranquility Base. Some of this difference must, of course, be attributed to personality variants. But there can be no doubt that the more relaxed air of the Intrepid crew on the moon stemmed significantly from the fact that Apollo 11 crewmen had proved it could be done.

#### EARTHY PROBLEMS

Even without the aid of television to clarify the surface activities 250,000 mi. away, it was impossible for earthlings not to share Pete Conrad's infectious chuckles and Alan Bean's wondrous enthusiasm over the new sights and sensations on their forays around the Ocean of Storms. Even though they were taking man's longest walk on the moon, they still exuded a mundane and familiarly earthy feeling of the planet they had temporarily deserted. They sniffled with colds, got their feet wet, banged recalcitrant

equipment with a hammer and had trouble finding pliers when they were most urgently needed. Tops popped prematurely off their storage boxes. Their scales broke.

"Easy access" items stuck in their holes. They worried about tracking dirty feet into their temporary lunar house and forgetfully left behind the only color film pack of their second EVA. While standing at the foot of the Intrepid with his first two bags of lunar rocks and waiting for Bean to hoist them up to the lunar module porch, Conrad mused:

"I feel just like a guy at a shopping center with the groceries waiting for his wife."

Later, he noted that on speed runs across the lunar surface its one-sixth gravity made him feel like "a giraffe running in slow motion." All during their first EVA, Conrad and Bean sounded more like a couple of friends tinkering with their sports car on a Saturday afternoon in their garage than astronauts erecting the first nuclear-powered scientific station on the moon. They whooped, hummed fragmented melodies, joked and constantly chuckled in apparent inward satisfaction over startling new sights and experiences. It was apparent for all to hear that man can, indeed, feel at home on the moon.

#### NEW SCIENTIFIC PACE

"We could stay out here all day," Conrad opined during his first bouncing on the surface. Later, during his second EVA as the traverse was longer and the work harder, he reduced his estimate to a more practical 9 hr.

The Intrepid crew also provided an effective demonstration of how space age scientific exploration really works in contrast to the dusty ivory tower concepts of yesteryear. There was a marked contrast between the sturdy Surveyor that blazed the trail for Apollo and the scientific harvest reaped by the Intrepid crew. Surveyor provided limited but very important data with its robot sensors. The two explorers of Apollo 12 provided infinitely more and varied information on the moon. They also were able to execute and replan their investigation, based on a two-way exchange of their early inputs from the moon, with the interpretations of the scientists on earth.

This is space age "instant science" where the gathering of scientific data has acquired a new pace and requires new techniques and attitudes from the scientific community.

Apollo 12 was the first experimental test of this method. It has worked so well it opens undreamed of vistas for the future exploration of the universe. Instead of sulking in their ivory towers over real or imagined slights in the space program, scientists should accept the invitation proffered by the experience of Apollo 12 and participate in the golden age of space science. They can help man discover more about his universe in the next decade than he has learned so far in all his recorded history.

JOHN ASHBROOK, OF OHIO

### HON. ALBERT W. WATSON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 19, 1969

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, just recently I had the great pleasure of reading an excellent story about our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. ASHBROOK), which appeared in the publication, *Human Events*. This perceptive and inspiring article is certainly

a tribute to this courageous, able, and dynamic legislator. I consider it a high privilege to serve with my colleague (Mr. ASHBROOK) on the House Internal Security Committee. His leadership and devotion to the ideals of constitutional government are unsurpassed.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the Human Events article to the attention of the Congress and the Nation as follows:

[From Human Events, Oct. 11, 1969]

JOHN ASHBROOK OF OHIO—CONSERVATIVE  
POWER IN THE HOUSE

(By George F. Hobart)<sup>1</sup>

Rep. John Milan Ashbrook of Ohio's 17th Congressional District has been called a lot of things by a lot of people, and few of the descriptive phrases can be characterized as mild. His friend, *National Review* Editor William F. Buckley, Jr., has said of Ashbrook, "... there is no man in Congress whose presence there I myself find more reassuring . . . he shows the kind of political courage by which one distinguishes between those automatons who represent us in Washington and those special others who are human beings endowed with mind and an active conscience . . . a human force in which the high qualities of the statesman come together in profusion."

The Political Action Committee of the Ohio AFL-CIO does not quite agree. They picture Ashbrook as "a Neanderthal mossa-back reactionary," and "a menace to a free democratic society as we know it today." Equally uneasy about Congressman Ashbrook is Ohio's Republican governor, James Rhodes, a staunch organization man and political "boss" in the traditional sense. Rhodes apparently views Ashbrook as a maverick who has the audacity to put conscience before the dictates of party politicians.

But unprejudiced analysts unanimously judge John Ashbrook to be one of the most outspoken conservative leaders in the nation today. Columnist Robert Novak, of the "Evans-Novak" team, termed him "an attractive and militant conservative." *Newsday* political writer Joseph Albright finds Ashbrook "young and articulate," while Robert J. Havel of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* writes that he is "an outspoken conservative who gets mildly annoyed when he is described as an ultra-conservative, which he almost invariably is." William Vance of the *Akron Beacon Journal* concludes Rep. Ashbrook "speaks for conservatives far beyond his own political balliwick" in Ohio and has come to be one of "Nixon's chief congressional critics."

Columnist Ralph de Toledano calls him "a congressman of courage and determination," and Holmes Alexander waxed Biblical in saying Ashbrook "is a tall, blond bomber of the Altar of Baal," meaning liberalism.

Whatever their opinion, few political observers have been able to ignore John Ashbrook.

His name is scattered across the pages of recent books on Republican party affairs and his hard work, constant travel and tireless speechmaking have made him a conservative hero at the age of 41. A scientific poll of the 31,000 members of the Conservative Book Club a few months ago found Ashbrook rated fifth in popularity in a field of 95 names, preceded only by Sen. Barry Goldwater, Gov. Ronald Reagan, Sen. John Tower and William F. Buckley, Jr.

All this would have made John Ashbrook's father very proud. Though he died in 1940

<sup>1</sup> George F. Hobart is the pen name of a Washington journalist and political activist who has long followed congressional affairs.

when John was only 12 years old. William Albert Ashbrook, who was a member of Congress from the 17th Ohio district for a total of 19 years, would have felt that his son had followed faithfully in his footsteps. Yet Ashbrook's father was a life-long Democrat. In this seeming paradox lies a possible key to John Ashbrook's political philosophy.

The first of the Ashbrook clan left England for the New World aboard the fragile bark, *Antelope*, arriving on the shores of the Virginia Colony in 1636. Almost two centuries later John Ashbrook's great-grandfather left his home in Hampshire County, Virginia (now part of West Virginia's eastern panhandle) and in 1921 settled his family in the virgin forests near a small Licking County, Ohio village called Johnstown.

With the approach of the War Between the States, Ohio began to show its migrant origins. Southern Ohio, populated by Jacksonian Democratic ex-Virginians who held no slaves but did sympathize with the South, became a Civil War hotbed for "Copperhead Democrats." The northern area of the state, settled by Yankees, remained loyal to the Union and some joined the new Republican party.

John Ashbrook's father was born July 1, 1867, at Johnstown. Licking County is immediately northeast of Columbus, the state capital, and was then an area of rich farmland, many small towns and God-fearing Baptists and Methodists. Though the county tended to vote Republican, it was located on the mythical east-west line extending across Ohio from where the "Buckeye State" joins Pennsylvania's southern border, the Mason-Dixon Line. One observer noted the political effect of this dividing line with the phrase "you could see the county courthouses change from Union blue to Confederate gray: from Republican to Democrat."

John's father, William Albert Ashbrook, always proudly identified himself as "a Grover Cleveland reform Democrat." In the 1880s this meant opposition to "the trusts," big city Republican "bossism," and "Eastern Yankee big business."

In 1885, at the adventuresome age of 18, William Ashbrook founded a weekly newspaper, the *Johnstown Independent*, which still prospers. Since 1953 it has been published by John M. Ashbrook. The elder Ashbrook also began a banking business in Johnstown now run by John's brother, Bill. His brother, Jim, heads the local insurance agency.

Though Grover Cleveland may have been a reformer, he remembered his friends. His second term from 1893 to 1897 were the years during which William Ashbrook served as U.S. Postmaster at Johnstown, his first public office. With the election of Ohio's William McKinley in 1896, both Democrats, President and postmaster, were out of a job. In 1905 Bill Ashbrook was elected to the state legislature and in 1905 he received the Democratic nomination for Congress.

The election year of 1906 was a "bad year" for Ohio Republicans. Nearly leaderless, suffering from the exposure of corruption and bossism in the cities, the GOP incumbent governor, Myron Herrick, made the fatal mistake of vetoing a restrictive liquor bill. The ensuing alliance of a wrathful Ohio Anti-Saloon League and a reform-minded Democratic ticket ousted the governor and many other Republican office holders. It also elected the Hon. William Albert Ashbrook a representative to the 60th Congress of the United States.

There he stayed until narrowly defeated in the massive 1920 Republican landslide led by his friend and fellow Ohio newspaperman, Sen. Warren G. Harding. Ashbrook returned to Ohio to engage in business and farming.

and in 1934 was again elected to the House. He served until his death on New Year's Day, 1940, and during those years fought the New Deal of Franklin Roosevelt with all the zeal he had applied in promoting the reform Democracy of Grover Cleveland nearly a half-century before.

William Ashbrook remarried at the age of 55, after the death of his first wife. His second marriage produced five children, three boys and two girls. John Milan Ashbrook was born on Sept. 21, 1928, when his father was 62.

Those who know John Ashbrook are aware of his great respect and admiration of his father. One of the congressman's close associates remarked that "sometimes it seems as if John is trying to be as much like his father as possible."

Undoubtedly John Ashbrook was deeply influenced by his father. The elder Ashbrook religiously kept a diary in which he wrote a fascinating chronicle of the men and events in his life. Today, John does the same. While his father was a nationally known coin collector, John has amassed an impressive stamp collection. Whenever his father could escape from Washington, he liked nothing better than to pitch in with his hired hands on his Licking County farm. John Ashbrook gets the same satisfaction from long hours of work at his publishing business.

John Ashbrook is big (over six feet) and handsome, a sandy-haired man of 41 who lives and works with an intensity to make the average man breathless. His hair has a dignified "senatorial" cut and his clothes are fashionably colorful, tastefully reflecting his innate conservatism.

If he works hard, he also relaxes hard. He loves to take an afternoon off (though he rarely can) to unwind by a swimming pool. A Baptist and regular church-goer, he neither smokes nor drinks (though he has been known to sip a glass of wine). More often than not, when the drinks are ordered he has a Coke.

"John," as everyone calls him, is also somewhat of a gourmet. He can reel off a list of the finest restaurants in every major U.S. city along with their specialties. Periodically he fights the weight problem with crash diets which temporarily succeed. He loves football (especially as played by his favorite, Ohio State), and that typically American obsession, baseball. Like so many Ohio politicians, he likes nothing better than to spend an evening (sometimes the better part of the night) playing cards with his two brothers or his political "cronies."

Ashbrook's friends in the House of Representatives are mostly those who share his political views. Cincinnati's Rep. Don Clancy, Columbus' Rep. Sam Devine, Pennsylvania's Rep. Bob Watkins, Rep. John Hunt of New Jersey and Ashbrook form the nucleus of an after-session dinner club which often adjourns from Capitol Hill to a plain middle-class suburban restaurant that serves excellent home cooking, the Oakland Inn, or one of several Washington beef houses.

John Ashbrook, those who know him marvel, has a tremendous capacity for work. He admits, "I often work 90 hours a week, although I used to do more." He expects almost as much from his staff.

His Capitol Hill office turns out a steady stream of well-researched reports, speeches and inserts for the *Congressional Record*. He and his staff pay meticulous attention to the needs of the people of Ohio's 17th district and it is an office rule that every letter must be answered promptly. (But his own desk is usually stacked so deep with papers, an important document sometimes gets "misplaced.")

Rep. Ashbrook not only maintains constant contact with his Ohio constituents, he rarely fails to spend a weekend at home. He has been

known to commute daily from Washington to Ohio and back for a week; from the House floor to meetings, fairs and business in Ohio.

Added to this is a heavy schedule of congressional committee hearings and a constant round of airplane flights to all points in the nation for speeches in behalf of conservatism. In one recent month the Ohio congressman spoke at dinners in Los Angeles, New York City and Arkansas, attended a meeting in Chicago, spent most of each week in Washington or Johnstown and also represented the U.S. Congress in Geneva, Switzerland, as a delegate to the annual meeting of the International Labor Organization.

John Ashbrook very much wanted to serve in the Second World War, but was too young. In 1946, after graduation from Johnstown High School, he enlisted in the U.S. Navy and promptly volunteered for a two-year tour of duty with Adm. Richard Byrd's last expedition to Antarctica. Ashbrook served as a lowly Storekeeper, First Class, on one of the supply ships and he still vividly recalls the bone-chilling cold during Christmas, 1946.

When Storekeeper Ashbrook returned from the U.S. Navy, he married the attractive young Joan Eilene Needels on July 3, 1948. They now have three beautiful daughters. Barbara, the oldest, is married to Joseph Robertson, the son of a Johnstown doctor, and has presented her parents with a grandson. Both Barbara and her husband are attending Ashland College. The Ashbrooks' second daughter, Laura, 19, has just started her studies at Wittenberg College in Ohio, and Madeline, 15, is in high school.

If his family history had not served to make John Ashbrook a conservative according to his account, his college education would have.

He was graduated from Harvard University in 1952, obtaining a B.S. degree cum laude. "I started out at Harvard as a conservative," he says, "but my professors and what they taught me made me even more so. I learned the worst thing a college student can do is accept without question everything he hears in a classroom. I went to Harvard because of its academic prestige, but I never did get over the feeling that I was in Eastern enemy territory a long way from the Midwest heartland. My theory about a Harvard education is that if you don't mention it, usually nobody will notice."

Small wonder the future Ohio congressman was "turned off" by what he found at Harvard. Among others, Ashbrook took courses from a list of liberal professors that reads like a conservative black list.

Included were Arthur Schlesinger Jr.; John Kenneth Galbraith; Samuel Beer (the first president of Americans for Democratic Action); Alvin Hansen; Merle Fainsod; Seymour Harris and McGeorge Bundy. Of Bundy, who later became an adviser to Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, Ashbrook has a strong recollection: "When I first met him he struck me as absolutely the worst liberal I have ever known and, in my opinion, he's been going downhill ever since."

In 1955 John Ashbrook received his law degree from Ohio State University and joined the staff of the attorney general of Ohio as a special counsel. He still maintains an active interest in the law and has a legal library which would rival most law schools.

In national and Ohio Republican circles, John Ashbrook has not always been controversial. He worked his way up through party ranks beginning as precinct committeeman in Johnstown, a post he still holds. (Says Ashbrook: "I'm proudest of the fact that, just like the late Sen. Bob Taft, whenever my name has been on the ballot I have always carried my own precinct.") In 1956 Ashbrook defeated an incumbent to gain his first elective office—his father's old seat in the State House of Representatives. At the same time, from 1956 to 1960, he served as Licking County GOP chairman.

John Ashbrook's emergence on the national Republican scene came as a result of his election as president of the Ohio League of Young Republicans in 1954. "Ray Bliss [then Ohio GOP chairman] didn't really know how conservative I was," says Ashbrook, "or I would never have been elected."

Using his Ohio YR post as a springboard for national office, the young state legislator announced his candidacy for chairman of the Young Republican National Federation in 1955. With the help of close friends from his Harvard days, William A. Rusher (now publisher of *National Review*) and F. Clifton White (destined to become the "architect" of the 1964 Goldwater nomination), the three conducted such an effective campaign that Ashbrook was elected without opposition.

This tribute, then unprecedented in Young Republican annals, came as a result of hard work, careful vote-counting and campaign visits by Ashbrook to every state Young Republican meeting in the nation. It gave him his first taste of the national political exposure that has steadily increased since.

Looking back on Ashbrook's election as YR chairman, Cliff White recently summed up the 1955 campaign's "blood, sweat and tears" succinctly: "In those days the only thing we ever worried about was where to bury the body."

Rep. Ashbrook has always played hard at politics, and he places a great deal of importance on the organizational aspect of that work. When he decided to run for Congress in 1969, he made sure that all the bases were covered within his own district and avoided a potential primary challenge. In November 1960, he defeated an incumbent liberal Democrat, Rep. Robert Levering, by a nearly 10,000-vote margin out of 140,000 votes.

Although he believes in strong organizational work on the local level, Rep. Ashbrook has fought hard against the development of Republican counterparts to the Democratic big-city machines. This stand, he says, "may not have made me very popular with the bosses and their followers, but I think it has helped me with rank-and-file Republicans in Ohio."

Rep. Ashbrook's remarks seem to be directed principally at Ohio's two-term Republican governor, James Rhodes, with whom Ashbrook has had some strong differences of opinion. He points out that Rhodes' rule of the Ohio GOP has produced one of the most liberal (ADA rating: 70) freshman Republicans in the U.S. Senate, William Saxbe. "I hardly think Saxbe reflects the views of most of Ohio's Republicans—or most of its citizens," says Rep. Ashbrook.

John Ashbrook has had to pay the price for his independent party attitude. As the result of the U.S. Supreme Court's "one man, one vote" ruling, Ohio's congressional district lines have been redrawn twice since 1960, each time by GOP-controlled legislatures dominated by Gov. Rhodes.

"Each time mine has been the only district with an incumbent Republican which has been gerrymandered with the maximum possible harm for my re-election prospects." Each time, however, Ashbrook has beat the odds and won.

In 1966 he faced what was supposed to be his toughest test. The legislature threw him into the same district with an incumbent veteran Democratic congressman, Robert Secrest, who had served 20 years in the House. Ashbrook beat Secrest handily, but he expects future gerrymandering if he seeks to retain his House seat.

In the only head-on contest between Gov. Rhodes and Rep. Ashbrook, the congressman won hands down. That occurred in 1968 when Rhodes blocked Ashbrook from running as a GOP national convention delegate pledged to Rhodes' favorite son candidacy. Ashbrook needed Rhodes' approval as re-

quired by Ohio law, but the governor refused. Stung by Rhodes' high-handed actions, Ashbrook fielded his own slate, pledged to himself, and he, one other delegate and two alternates, all swamped Gov. Rhodes' hand-picked candidates by large margins.

What is the philosophy that has made John Ashbrook, in the estimate of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, "a leading force in U.S. conservatism"? The Ohio congressman is quick to explain his views:

"I have a philosophy of government and I know what I believe. I guess I could be called a 'liberal' in the classic sense, but under today's labels I am a conservative. The true liberal fought for the individual's rights against the crown, which now means big government. But the modern liberal wants to give all power to the crown—to the executive—and that I will always fight. The modern liberal has an extremely shortsighted view. I think most conservatives have a sense of history which makes them far more visionary about the future.

"In the end, those who have stood and fought for principle have usually been vindicated. In my view, the American conservative is the one who must do that today."

Of his own conservatism he says: "I have a philosophy, viable or unviable, salable or unsalable. I know what I want to do."

Does this make him popular? "I recognize I am not appreciated by a lot of people and I don't much care. If the people want to retire me from office, it will be no great loss to me. I only persist in this because I believe in what I am doing. I'm not going to conform to what other people are doing just for the sake of conformity. I try harder than most people to do what I think is right."

His public record and private comments indicate only one set of standards which John Ashbrook applies to himself and all other public figures regardless of party: the principles of conservatism. In his view this allows room for occasional disagreement on special issues, but Ashbrook has been highly critical of liberal House Republicans who have consistently voted with the Democrats during recent years.

To underscore this record of liberal GOP defections, Ashbrook devised a scorecard he calls the "Democratic Margin of Victory" (DMV), a catalogue of the House votes since 1960 which resulted in victories for the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations solely because 30 or fewer House Republicans supported the liberal Democratic position.

Discussing the DMV, Ashbrook told the *Christian Science Monitor's* Capitol Hill reporter, Lyn Shephard: "I don't object to anyone feeling strongly about an issue and voting with the Democrats on that account . . . but when they consistently vote that way . . . at least we can see to it that these defectors don't get rewarded."

Rep. Ashbrook has been just as strict in applying his standard of conservatism to Southern Democrats. He personally compiled the ACA, COPE and ADA scores of all Southern Democrats in the House to prove that fewer than 20 could be really termed "conservative."

Ashbrook's own House voting record since he came to Congress in 1961 shows him to be one of the most regular Republicans. He has voted with the majority of his GOP colleagues on almost every major issue and earned an ACA score of 98 per cent conservative.

That John Ashbrook finds himself increasingly at odds with a Republican President means only that he feels that White House proposals are getting more liberal. The Ohio Republican has made it clear that he is a member of the GOP because it is the conservative party. If the time should come when that ceases to be true, Ashbrook and a good many other GOP conservatives are unlikely to change their allegiance to principle first.

Ashbrook votes against more federal spending, increased federal control, and foreign aid. He has strongly backed the rights of laboring men against the labor bosses and has made it a habit to speak to union groups, when they will have him. (At one such meeting he read a letter he had received from AFL-CIO President George Meany demanding that he vote with "organized labor" on various issues. Ashbrook took an on-the-spot poll of the union members in the hall. When the show of hands ended, the surprised workers discovered they and their conservative congressman disagreed with Meany on federal gun control, higher taxes to finance welfare plans, federal "open housing" legislation and a host of other issues.)

As a lawyer, Ashbrook has a reverence for the Constitution and a deep concern for individual rights, as well as for the checks and balances that were meant to keep government in its place.

He has voted against such federal "civil rights" laws as "open housing" and public accommodations because he believes they falsely promise to elevate the "rights" of a few at the expense of the rights of all. Yet, he was one of the first to feel the lash from the backers of Alabama's George Wallace when he confessed he was puzzled that anyone could support for President a man who flew the Alabama state flag above the American flag at the state capitol in Montgomery.

#### ASHBROOK ON WALLACE

In a pre-election statement last November, Ashbrook was far more explicit about Wallace: "As a conservative, I don't stand for enforced segregation. I stand for freedom and I think the Constitution does, too. George Wallace's slogan only recently was 'segregation forever' and . . . in my view that separates him decisively from the conservative position."

Ashbrook attacked Wallace as a "big spender" and "populist" whose attitude towards the federal government "is that of one of the biggest centralizers" except when it comes to questions of "racial policy."

Rep. Ashbrook opposes total abolition of the electoral college (he favors the district plan) and while acknowledging the population problem, he is against government birth control plans ("That certainly is a matter for individual conscience"). The Ohioan would cut off federal aid to students who disrupt campuses, though not to entire colleges which suffer such disorder. He opposes gun controls, but, since he is strong on law and order, he favors mandatory sentences for convicted felons who use firearms.

As the ranking Republican on the House Internal Security Committee, Rep. Ashbrook is far more concerned with the threat of communism than the average congressman. He faults public officials for ignoring or whitewashing Communist infiltration and exploitation of campus disorders, racial agitation and urban riots. Applying his informed concern about communism to the foreign policy field, Ashbrook says the United States should always decide "in favor of our national security," and therefore he backs the ABM deployment.

"There are certain gut issues which divide conservatives and liberals," says Rep. Ashbrook, "and these include the attitudes toward limited government, fiscal responsibility and our policy toward communism."

The crux of his differences with the Nixon Administration, as Ashbrook sees it, is consistency. "I am not one of those who can 'view with alarm' under Kennedy and Johnson, then 'point with pride' when the same policies are advanced by a Republican President. In time some circumstances may change, but basic principles remain the same."

Although Rep. Ashbrook is the ranking Republican on the House Committee on In-

ternal Security and third ranking on the politically potent House Committee on Education and Labor, he doubts he will ever attain any House Republican leadership post. After a decade of observing Congress, he says: "It appears to me that the first requirement for becoming a Republican leader is to establish yourself as a conservative and then slowly and constantly move to the left. It's the classic example of people 'going along' in order to 'get along.'" Ashbrook once told an Ohio newspaper: "I have never felt I had to go along with anything and getting along is not important to me."

While Ashbrook has many friends in the House, his outspoken conservatism has often made GOP leaders uneasy. He has a reputation for highly quotable cloakroom comments that can sting.

At a luncheon at the "Republican roundtable" in the House restaurant in 1968, Ashbrook and several others listened to one of the House GOP leaders expound on the political benefits that would accrue to the party if his colleagues would reverse themselves and vote "only a few million dollars" for a federal "rat control" program for the big cities. Ashbrook's GOP colleagues almost dropped their silverware as he fixed the Republican leader with a stare and said, "Spoken like a true whore."

But more often than not, Rep. Ashbrook has been a leader, especially in national conservative politics.

Preoccupied with his own first race for Congress in 1960, Ashbrook soon returned to the national GOP scene in 1962 as one of the original and most active members of F. Clifton White's "Draft Goldwater Committee." Only days before the 1964 election, he met with William F. Buckley Jr., Bill Rusher, L. Brent Bozell, Frank S. Meyer, the late Rep. Donald C. Bruce of Indiana, and others in a West 37th Street brownstone in New York City owned by the Buckley family. On the Saturday afternoon before the GOP suffered its greatest electoral defeat in history, the American Conservative Union was born. In December 1964, ACU was formally launched in Washington at a meeting attended by many conservative leaders.

From the first, Ashbrook, who became ACU national chairman in 1965, has regarded the organization as the conservative counterpart to Americans for Democratic Action. He has recruited its national membership (now around 15,000) with evangelic zeal, preaching organization and the dissemination of conservative ideas and programs.

As ACU national chairman, Ashbrook takes special interest in its monthly publication, *Battle Line*, which gives a conservative view of national, state and local political developments. He has also supported a broad program of ACU publications designed to zero in on current topics. Ashbrook is now encouraging a stepped-up drive to expand ACU political action and he cherishes the goal of a "conservative national headquarters" in Washington designed to promote unity among responsible conservative groups, publications and individuals.

The congressman also serves as a member of the Executive Committee of the Committee of One Million (Against the Admission of Red China to the United Nations) and has been very active as a member of the Advisory Board of Young Americans for Freedom. On keeping up with political news, Ashbrook says, "Whenever someone out in the boon-docks asks me what's going on in Washington, I just ask 'Don't you read *Human Events*?' " He estimates that he has every book offered by the Conservation Book Club, which he also serves as an adviser. At the moment he's thinking of writing a book himself, if he can ever find the time.

#### ASHBROOK ON NIXON

John Ashbrook first met Richard Nixon when the latter was vice president. "I have

always felt, both as a conservative and a student of communism, that Richard Nixon was admirably equipped to act decisively in the best interests of the United States," Ashbrook said last June.

His basic respect for Nixon has not changed. He feels the greatest asset the President has is his image of respectability and calm purpose, welcomed by Americans after the "wheeler-dealer" era of Lyndon Johnson.

But the Ohio Republican is frankly unhappy about the course taken by President Nixon since his inauguration.

As the 1968 Republican National Convention approached, Rep. Ashbrook fought against Gov. Rhodes for a seat as a delegate from Ohio. At the Miami convention, he was responsible for the only two Ohio votes cast for Nixon's nomination.

Though he said he could easily have supported Gov. Ronald Reagan, Ashbrook stuck with Nixon. He correctly concluded that Gov. Rhodes was maintaining the "favorite son" hold over Ohio's delegates as a favor to New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller. (Rockefeller later acknowledged this, praising Rhodes for being "solid as a rock.")

Also, Ashbrook was convinced that Nixon would indeed bring about a real change in Washington. With Gov. Reagan unable to break Nixon's Southern support, and lagging in delegate strength, Ashbrook cast his vote for Nixon's nomination.

Perhaps Ashbrook expected too much from Richard Nixon. Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona, Ashbrook's friend and 1964 hero, answered Republican complaints earlier this year, saying: ". . . Dick Nixon hasn't changed any since 1952 or '53. Anyone who supported him thinking he was as conservative as I am is mistaken. But he's a hell of a lot more conservative than Hubert Humphrey or Ted Kennedy."

But that relative standard for political conservatism is not enough for John Ashbrook. He clings to the increasingly rare notion that when a man makes a promise, he will fulfill it.

#### A FEW DISAPPOINTMENTS

In March of this year Rep. Ashbrook first admitted his public disappointment with the President. He told *Newsday* reporter Joseph Albert: "The average conservative is upset about President Nixon's failure, so far, to clean out the State Department. We have a right to expect better performance from a man we elected. He needs the people he is alienating right now, because the liberals won't be with him in 1970 and 1972." A few days later Rep. Ashbrook told the President the same thing personally at a private White House meeting.

Things have not been all bad since the Nixon Administration took over in Washington. Ashbrook readily admits. He has publicly praised the President's nominations of Warren Burger and Clement Haynsworth to the Supreme Court, and was pleased that Nixon did not back down on the ABM. But still he is seriously concerned about the trend of this Administration and, as a national conservative leader, has used his access to the White House to privately make his views known.

Ashbrook has been especially critical of the Nixon Administration's appointees and policies when he thought principles were involved. He voted against the President's request for an extension of the 10 per cent tax surcharge, saying that "no meaningful effort has been made to cut spending . . . a vote to extend the surtax is irresponsible—it merely assures the spenders that the money will be there to continue business as usual." Ashbrook added: "I will support the President steadfastly in his efforts to bring about the changes he promised the American people. I will just as vigorously oppose him when he goes in the opposite direction."

Two days before Nixon left for his June

meeting with President Thieu of South Viet Nam, Ashbrook publicly called for Nixon to reaffirm his past pledges to avoid any coalition government which would include the Communists. After the Midway Island meeting it was Ashbrook's judgment that "the President is mistaken in his appraisal of the basic intentions of the Communists regarding this war. So far President Nixon's words about the Viet Nam war can give little comfort to those fervently wishing for an extension of freedom everywhere."

Ashbrook's own views on Viet Nam stated in early August are unequivocal: "If the Paris peace talks are abandoned or reach a hopeless stalemate, I would sharply intensify the war effort without major troop commitment. We have a legitimate reason for halting this advance of communism. Unilateral withdrawal would signify our unwillingness to challenge the Soviet Union's aggressive plans for world domination."

#### CHANGES ARE NEEDED

On the floor of the House of Representatives on July 1 he said, "A coalition government in Viet Nam may be just around the corner in one form or another . . . if that is what the White House wants . . . count me out."

Rep. Ashbrook was also disturbed by President Nixon's July 11 "Captive Nations Resolution," which is supposed to be an annual restatement of American determination to restore freedom to Communist-dominated nations. Ashbrook inserted in the *Record* the Nixon resolution (which failed to mention communism) side-by-side with the 1959 resolution proclaimed by President Eisenhower which was a stinging rebuke to the Reds. Ashbrook called Nixon's captive nations statement "frustratingly inane and perfunctory."

He added: "After waiting six months I have seen no basic change in our State Department or our foreign policy. We were promised a change. As a loyal Nixon supporter I told people there would be a change and I will not be satisfied until there is a change."

Perhaps most disturbing of all to John Ashbrook are certain major aspects of President Nixon's welfare reform proposals. Two years ago Ashbrook called for many of the same reforms, including work training for the unemployed.

But Ashbrook coupled his call with support for tax credits to encourage the establishment by industry and businesses of job training programs aimed at hiring the unemployed. Nixon campaigned on the same platform of "volunteerism" during 1968, but it bothers Ashbrook that Nixon seems to have forgotten his devotion to this principle of involving the "private sector."

#### CRITICAL OF WELFARE PLAN

Eighteen months ago Ashbrook warned against GOP support for the principle of a "guaranteed annual income." Many political writers have termed this a central concept of the President's new welfare plan. To Ashbrook, such a concept is GOP heresy. "The only way our system can work," Ashbrook said in 1967, is "to encourage everybody to take care of themselves. For the government to embark on a policy to take care of everybody would be disastrous."

Ashbrook was one of a group of about 35 House Republicans who personally complained to the White House about the Nixon welfare plans before they were revealed. Their opposition, at first ignored, produced only conservative-sounding changes in the President's televised speech, but no change in his actual proposals.

Whatever his current differences with the President, Rep. Ashbrook clearly believes there is hope for more conservative Nixon policies in the future. Appearing on the Metromedia television show, "Evans-Novak Report" on September 7, Ashbrook did not

hesitate to criticize the Nixon Administration and its policies (he even called for the resignation of HEW Secretary Robert Finch). But the Ohio conservative leader stated emphatically that he did not regret his 1968 support for Nixon's nomination and election.

Accustomed to evasive Washington politicians columnist Bob Novak commented at the end of the TV show, "Whatever you may say about John Ashbrook, he certainly is no 'trimmer' when it comes to speaking his mind on the issues."

Increasingly in demand because of his leadership of conservatives, Rep. Ashbrook is getting notice from the press and the communications media. A few weeks ago on the Chicago CBS-TV talk show, "At Random," Ashbrook was battering the New Left, which was represented on the panel by a Black Panther "defense minister," and draft resister Mark Rudd of Columbia University and Students for a Democratic Society fame.

When the sloppily dressed SDS leader shouted that Ashbrook was "a typical representative of the exploiting capitalist class" and demanded he give the details of his personal finances, Ashbrook shot back, "I'll be glad to explain my finances if you'll tell me the last time you were high on drugs." Rudd, his eyes red and slightly glazed, abruptly shut up.

#### PLANS FOR 1970

At 41, John Ashbrook is still a young man in politics. What's next after 10 years in the House? Ashbrook told the Newark, Ohio, *Advocate* that in 1970 he will run either for governor or for U.S. senator from Ohio. Later he revealed to reporter Abe Zaidan of the Akron *Beacon-Journal* that he was considering the formation of a full "conservative ticket" to run in the 1970 Ohio Republican primary. Ashbrook told Zaidan that he believed the people of Ohio are fed up "with the game of musical chairs going on in Columbus," a reference to Gov. Rhodes' past control of statewide GOP nominees.

Rhodes, barred by law from a third term, has his own eye on the U.S. Senate seat now held by a 81-year-old Democrat Stephen Young. In a few weeks Rhodes is expected to attempt to make a full public explanation of income tax irregularities charged by *Life* magazine. A supposedly secret conference of the governor and his political advisers will then decide whether he should run for the Senate.

Rep. Robert Taft, Jr. of Cincinnati, defeated by Young for the Senate in 1964, has also indicated an interest in running for the Senate, or possibly trying to succeed Rhodes in Columbus. Meanwhile, young Congressman Donald (Buz) Lukens already is sporting an "All-Ohio Draft Lukens for Senate Committee" and makes no secret of his availability.

On the Democratic side, the popular Frank Lausche has admitted in the last few weeks that he is considering a race for governor even though he is 78 years old. (Lausche served as governor for 10 years prior to his two Senate terms, ended by defeat in the 1968 Ohio Democratic primary.) Also in the Democratic wings is ex-astronaut and Kennedy family friend John Glenn, who has been making noises about a race for Sen. Young's seat.

#### POSSIBLE CHAIRMANSHIP

Where John Ashbrook fits into this picture is still an open question. Close friends and political supporters will tell you he is—and he isn't—going to run for senator, or governor. When Rep. Lukens informed Ashbrook that he was planning to make the Senate race, Ashbrook thanked Lukens for the courtesy of telling him before announcing, but gave Lukens no assurance that he would not also enter the fray.

Meanwhile, as Columbus *Dispatch* reporter George Embry noted, he has been "providing much of the steam for the regular Republican movement" in the House, a sort of "con-

servative caucus" which has been spurred into action by its concern over President Nixon's liberal moves.

Should Rep. Ashbrook decide to stay in the House, a 1970 Republican House majority would elevate him to chairmanship of the Internal Security Committee, a possibility he views with a relish as great as the horror it strikes in the hearts of liberals.

Staying in the House should not be too hard a job. In 1965, when a "John Ashbrook Testimonial Rally" was held at Ashland College, the gymnasium was filled with 3,000 supporters, and another 3,000 had standing room only. The crowd included busloads of young Ashbrook supporters from as far away as Cleveland and Cincinnati. The list of speakers included William F. Buckley Jr., Ronald Reagan of California; Ohio's former governor, Judge William O'Neill; and a good many Republican notables from all parts of the state.

Since then, Ashbrook has been twice re-elected to Congress with comfortable margins. A recent poll taken at the Knox County Fair (in the heart of his 17th district) showed that no less than 80.3 per cent of those asked thought Ashbrook was doing a good job in Congress. The same poll showed Ashbrook leading nine other contenders, including Bob Taft Jr., by more than 2 to 1 as the preferred GOP candidate for governor. Ashbrook also led the field as the most popular GOP candidate for U.S. Senate. Similar polls and even private surveys by the Ohio GOP have shown him running surprisingly well for both spots on the ticket outside his district as well.

Ashbrook has no pretensions about holding public office. He loves to tell the story about a little old lady he encountered at a busy intersection in one of the large towns in his district during his 1966 campaign. She was obviously having difficulty in crossing the street and the congressman assisted her to the other side.

She thanked him profusely and his response was that the best thanks she could give him would be a vote for him, since he was running for Congress. "Thank heavens such a nice man as you is running," beamed the little old lady, "because that fellow we've got in there now is sure no good."

#### PHILOSOPHY FOR THE FUTURE

John Ashbrook could probably remain in the House of Representatives as long as he has the desire to serve. His friends say the young legislator has already established a life-long pattern of accomplishing whatever goals he seeks. "When John thinks the time is right," they insist, "he will move with all the precision and passion which has always marked his political career."

Whatever lies in his future, nothing could have served as a better summation of the things John Ashbrook has fought for and against than a small incident that occurred in February 1968.

Under orders from Gov. Rhodes, the Ohio Republican State Central Committee adopted a resolution binding all delegates to the GOP national convention to support Rhodes' favorite son candidacy. John Ashbrook, a Nixon supporter, could hardly go along with this.

He rose to plead with his fellow Republicans (many of which privately shared his views) to allow at least some of the Ohio delegates "to be guided by their consciences rather than being dictated to by bosses in a smoke-filled room." Replied Wayne County GOP Chairman Marion Craven, in a political aphorism which will long outlive the man who uttered it, "Conscience is for church people, not for politicians."

John Milan Ashbrook of Ohio continues to hold the firm belief that "conscience" is the reason for conservatism, the philosophy for the future. What could have inspired greater pride in a father than to have his

son adopt that as his life's credo? William Albert Ashbrook would have been proud.

#### CANCER RESEARCH A PERSONAL VIEW

### HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, December 20, 1969

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, one of the most personal and eloquent statements about our lopsided priorities came this week from a man with whom I served in the Wisconsin Legislature for almost 7 years.

Harvey Dueholm is a man of immense personal and political courage. He is one of the few men about whom I can truthfully say that I never saw him cast a vote he did not believe in. Harvey has been known as the conscience of the Democratic caucus, and for that matter the conscience of the Wisconsin State Assembly. He has a goodly share of country horsensense as I think the following article will show.

I submit that the following article from the Antigo Daily Journal be printed in the RECORD at this point:

DEM. LEGISLATOR FEELS HE OWES HIS LIFE TO UW

LUCK, Wis.—There was a lot of pressure in the 1969 session of the Legislature to crack down on the University of Wisconsin, but state Rep. Harvey L. Dueholm didn't buy any of it.

The Luck Democrat feels he owes his life to the university.

After a 10-year battle with cancer and treatment by UW physicians, Dueholm was cured.

"If nothing had been done, I'd be dead," the 59-year-old dairy farmer said in an interview.

Dueholm, who has represented Burnett and Polk counties since the 1959 session, is recuperating from exploratory surgery at the UW hospitals. After that operation, doctors said they could find no trace of cancer.

"It's been 10 years since I first had surgery to remove a tumor in the colon," Dueholm said. "It was removed, but it came back in the fall of 1965. I got real sick. It was removed again and I was put on (the cancer drug) 5FU and took it for four years."

"The doctors decided this fall to have exploratory surgery since my health was so good," he said. "After the surgery, the doctor came and told my wife that he could see there had been extensive surgery last time but he could see no signs of a tumor anyplace. They could find no sign of cancer."

DEVELOPED AT UW

Dueholm said he didn't know whether his recovery was due to the surgery or the drug, developed at the UW by oncology Prof. Charles Helderberger and first announced in 1957.

"It was a very good job with a knife and they don't know how much is due to the knife or 5FU," he said. He said he has made it a point to encourage other cancer victims who have been put on 5FU so they don't think the treatment is a futile effort.

Dueholm, noted for his crusty, rural humor which frequently has the Assembly in stitches, said he was under some pressure to vote for politically popular resolutions and university budget cuts, but would have nothing to do with them.

He specifically cited resolutions condemn-

ing the Rev. James E. Groppi for his role in a takeover of the Assembly chambers and commending Oshkosh State University officials for cracking down after a destructive black student protest.

"I got some heat on the Oshkosh resolution," Dueholm said. "It was due to a misunderstanding. Some people thought the resolution really meant something."

NOT TRUE

"The sad part of it is that, on a vote like this, some people think you are against law and order and are upholding what the students are doing," he said. "That's not true. I don't agree with rioting. But I don't make a blanket condemnation. I go with the idea that each man is innocent until proven guilty."

Dueholm said the Legislature has not done enough for the university. He said he felt a lot more money should be spent in areas such as cancer research.

"I lost a father and a sister because of cancer," he said. "I had some wonderful care out there. We should be giving the university more for research and help because it would probably help someone else."

"Even the doctors I visited with are conservatives politically, but they can't understand things such as President Nixon's cutting back on cancer research," he said. "It's really a shame to see where Dr. (John R.) Cameron has his office, it's really a hole in the ground."

"They could use an awful lot more money for cancer research," Dueholm said. "We use so much money for everything, such as defense, but we can't seem to get it for cancer research."

#### GSA EFFECTIVENESS

### HON. DANIEL E. BUTTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, December 20, 1969

Mr. BUTTON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend the Administrator of General Services, Robert L. Kunzig, for the efforts of GSA toward making the Federal Government more responsive to the needs of the public. A new Federal "hotline" has been installed from Albany to the GSA Federal Information Center in New York. This direct-line phone service will assist citizens of Albany, Schenectady, and the surrounding area who wish to deal with the Federal Government. It will help them to find the right agency or office.

At this point I would like to insert into the RECORD an article which appeared in the Schenectady Gazette on November 19, 1969:

NEW FEDERAL HOT LINE TO INFORMATION CENTER

The so-called "incomprehensible maze" of federal government is about to be unscrambled for the citizens in the Albany area. Starting Friday, the General Services Administration will operate a direct-line phone service from Albany to the Federal Information Center in New York.

The function of the new federal "hot line" is to assist persons who need a service provided by the government but who do not know which agency or office provides it.

The local number in Albany to call is 463-4421. It will put citizens in direct contact with the Federal Information Center in New York, according to GSA.

The Federal Information Center is operated by specially trained career federal employees who will provide prompt and ac-

curate referral information concerning federal activities. A "where-to-turn center," it opens a new channel of communication between the U.S. government and its citizens.

The General Services Administration, operator of the centers, is the multi-billion dollar business arm of the federal government. It is headed by Administrator Robert L. Kunzig.

#### A LEADER OF MEN

### HON. W. C. (DAN) DANIEL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, December 20, 1969

Mr. DANIEL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, on December 31, one of America's industrial giants will step down as board chairman of Dan River Mills, Inc. This distinguished gentleman, William J. Erwin, will leave behind him an enviable record of achievements. Through energetic determination and devotion to self-determined goals, his life has been one of service to the industrial community, of which he has been such an integral part. He is one of that special breed of men who persevered and led American industry to its present state of greatness.

Mr. Erwin will retire from work, but not from life. This would not be true to his "nature." His unusual talents and abilities will now be used in the independent sector where leadership is so urgently needed. The lives of those with whom he labors in this new vineyard will be enriched, and the community, State, and Nation will be the beneficiaries.

By recognizing the value of a life so dedicated to noble purpose and high personal ideals, many people will strive to emulate his greatness.

It was my pleasure, Mr. Speaker, to work as Mr. Erwin's assistant for 13 years. I know of no man who inhabits a more lofty sphere of thought or who commands greater respect from his fellow men than does Mr. Erwin. He is an inspiring leader, an ingenious thinker, and a humanitarian in the broadest sense. In order that my colleagues may have an opportunity to review a part of his record, which appeared in the Sunday morning, December 14 issue of the Danville Register, and draw inspiration therefrom, I insert the relevant part of the story in the RECORD:

ERWIN TO RETIRE DECEMBER 31 AS DRM BOARD CHAIRMAN—OTHER INTERESTS TO KEEP HIM BUSY

William J. Erwin, who guided Dan River Mills, Inc. for 14 years as chief executive officer, will retire as chairman of the board of directors on December 31. He will continue as a director.

Now 69, Erwin spent his entire working career in the textile industry. It was a career that brought him national and international honors and recognition, and included high level positions with other major textile firms, such as Riegel Textile Corporation and J. P. Stevens & Company.

When Erwin joined Dan River as its president in 1953, the company was concentrated in Danville, had about 10,000 people, with annual sales of about \$80 million. Today, Dan River operates 31 plants in five states, employs over 20,000 people and has a sales capability of over \$300 million annually.

In confirming his retirement, Erwin added: "But I'm not quitting work. I've worked all my life and I want to keep busy."

About his plans, he said, "I hope to be able to spend some time in social causes and help to relieve some tension. Our society has been good to me and I want to help others."

Keeping busy will pose no problem, since he is involved in many educational, health and welfare institutions and activities at local, state and national levels, as well as in industry groups.

One of his busiest civic responsibilities is as a member of the executive committee of the Memorial Hospital, currently launching a \$6 million building program.

He is a past president and director of the American Textile Manufacturers Institute and a director of the National Cotton Council. He served as trustee of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and the Union Theological Seminary in Richmond. Currently, he is a trustee of Hampden-Sydney College, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Stratford College and the University of Virginia Graduate School of Business Administration. He also serves as director of the Virginia Foundation of Independent Colleges, the Sirrine Foundation and the North Carolina Textile Foundation.

Business directorates include the Carolina and Northwestern Railway and the American National Bank & Trust Company of Danville.

Looking back over a career that began in the summer of 1921 after earning a bachelor's degree in textile engineering at Clemson University, Erwin said that the most satisfying experience in textiles was his work at Dan River Mills.

He didn't detail it, but that experience saw the growth of the corporation as cited above, from a Danville enterprise into a five-state production system with national and international sales organizations.

Next, he said, was his time as president of the American Textile Manufacturers Institute (ATMI), which he found to be "a terrific challenge".

The native of Pineville, N.C., began his textile career in Lynchburg, as a textile engineer with Consolidated Textile Corporation. The textile road from Lynchburg to Danville was rough but not so rough and a great deal more rewarding than the railroad over which old 97 rolled.

His continuing interests will include the ATMI and its international counterpart, the International Federation of Cotton and Allied Textile Industries (IFCATT) in which he has been active as chairman of American delegations to several meetings abroad and in this country.

Chronological highlights of Erwin's career in addition to his Dan River Mills leadership would include his appointment as manager in 1927 of Consolidated's Ella Mills in Shelby, N.C.; in 1929 he became assistant to the president of Republic Cotton Mills, Great Falls, S.C.; in 1939, he was elected a vice president and director of Republic; in 1946, following the merger of Republic into J. P. Stevens & Company, he was elected a vice president of J. P. Stevens; and in 1949, he moved to the Reigel Textile Corporation as a vice president and director.

#### FREEDOM OF CHOICE

**HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.**

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES  
Saturday, December 20, 1969

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed

in the Extensions of Remarks an editorial entitled, "Freedom of Choice," published in the Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch of Friday, December 19, 1969.

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

[From the Richmond Times-Dispatch,  
Dec. 19, 1969]

#### FREEDOM OF CHOICE

It has been said before, but it is worth repeating: freedom-of-choice approach to school integration more faithfully follows the American principle of individual liberty than any other plan.

It is as unjust to force a child to attend a particular school because of his color as it is to bar him from a particular school because of his color. Either action deprives the child and his parents of the freedom and dignity they are due as American citizens.

Those senators who voted against freedom-of-choice Wednesday ignored this simple truth. They would allow parents and children to become puppets of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in its highly dubious efforts to achieve what it considers a desirable degree of racial mixing.

Before the Senate was a proposal to prohibit HEW from using its funds to "force busing of students, abolishment of any school or the assignment of any student . . . to a particular school against the choice of his . . . parents." The House approved such a restriction, but the Senate refused to do so, thanks partly to HEW Secretary Robert H. Finch, who opposed the measure.

Now in a Senate-House conference committee, the restriction could yet emerge to become law. Society in general—not only public education—would benefit if it did. For busing, the reassignment of pupils solely on the basis of race, the closing of schools and other such measures designed to force integration, keep public schools in turmoil and intensify community tensions threatening both public education and public tranquility.

No doubt HEW thinks such tactics are beneficial to Negroes. The truth is that many Negroes are themselves becoming increasingly disenchanted with forced integration and are warming to freedom-of-choice. And well they might, for forced integration is as offensive to their rights as forced segregation.

Opponents of freedom-of-choice apparently think that this approach automatically perpetuates racial injustice. To the contrary, a true freedom-of-choice plan, under which white and black students are really free to enter the school they prefer, cannot be unjust. A so-called freedom-of-choice system that denies a child and his parents this right (through veiled threats or otherwise) is not a genuine freedom-of-choice system and deserves to be attacked. But it is unfair to outlaw all freedom-of-choice plans simply because plans with that name have been abused in some places.

#### THE ROAD TO SONGMY

**HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Saturday, December 20, 1969

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the only serious mistake we can make about the Songmy incidents is to fail to understand how they happened. This under-

standing will not come in the trial or court-martial of any soldier or any officer, though these judicial proceedings may illuminate some areas. Nor will understanding come by simply condemning again the war in Vietnam as if that tragic and misguided conflict were not itself the result of larger forces.

We will understand Songmy only when these events and this war are seen as both products and causes. Societies can dehumanize men. Wars are an expression of that dehumanization and brutal wars, a brutal expression.

Aristotle said many centuries ago that virtue is a habit. So is vice. Practice brutality in everyday life and it becomes easier to practice it in war. After a brutal war, we are all somewhat more brutal.

Norman Cousins, the distinguished editor of the Saturday Review, considers these questions in his editorial "The Road to Songmy," which follows:

#### THE ROAD TO SONGMY

"I sent them a good boy," said Mrs. Anthony Meadlo, "and they sent home a murderer." The name of Paul David Meadlo, of New Goshen, Indiana, has figured in the reports of the slaughter of more than 100 Vietnamese civilians (some accounts put the number above 350) by American soldiers at a village named Songmy.

Where did the journey to Songmy begin? Did it begin only after Paul David Meadlo arrived in Vietnam? Or did it start far, far back—back to the first time Paul Meadlo played the game of killing Indians, or cheered when Western movies showed Indians being driven off cliffs? Even in some schoolbooks, the Indians were fit subjects for humiliation and sudden death. They were something less than fully human, and their pain levied no claim on the compassion of children—or even adults.

Long before Paul Meadlo ever saw a Vietnamese, he learned that people of yellow skin were undesirable and therefore inferior. He learned in his history class about the Oriental Exclusion Act, the meaning of which was that people from Asia were less acceptable in the United States than people from Europe. He learned very little about the culture of Asian people but he learned to associate them with all sorts of sinister behavior.

The road to Songmy is long and wide. It is littered with children's toys—toy machine guns, toy flame-throwers, toy dive bombers, toy atom bombs. Standing at the side of the road are parents watching approvingly as the children turn their murderous playthings on one another. The parents tell themselves that this is what children do in the act of growing up. But the act of growing up is an enlargement of, and not a retreat from, the games that children play. And so the subconscious is smudged at an early age by bloody stains that never fully disappear.

Paul David Meadlo grew up in a little town 10,000 miles away from Vietnam; but the kinds of things that were to happen in Songmy came springing to life in his living room where there was an electronic box called television. Hour after hour, the box would be lit up by pictures showing people whose faces were smashed and pulverized, but it was part of an endless and casual routine. Where did the desensitization to human pain and the preciousness of life begin? Did it begin at formal indoctrination sessions in Vietnam, or at point-blank range in front of an electronic tube, spurring its messages about the cheapness of life.

And when the court-martial is held, who will be on trial? Will it be only the soldiers who were face-to-face with the civilians they say were ordered killed? The Army now says

soldiers should not obey commands that are senseless and inhuman. What well-springs of sense and humaneness are to be found in the orders to destroy whole villages from the air? Is a man in a plane exempt from wrongdoing solely because he does not see the faces of the women and children whose bodies will be shattered by the explosives he rains on them from the sky? How does one define a legitimate victim of war? What of a frightened mother and her baby who take refuge in a tunnel and are cremated alive by a soldier with a flame-thrower? Does the darkness of the tunnel make them proper candidates for death?

Will the trial summon every American officer who has applied contemptuous terms like "gook," "dink," and "slope" to the Vietnamese people—North and South? Will it ask whether these officers have ever understood the ease and rapidity with which people who are deprived of respects as humans tend to be regarded as sub-human? Have these officers ever comprehended the connection between the casual violence of the tongue and the absolute violence of the trigger finger?

Will the men who conceived and authorized the search-and-destroy missions be on trial? Search-and-destroy quickly became destroy first and search afterward. How far away from unauthorized massacre is authorized search-and-destroy?

Will the trial ask why it was that the United States, which said it was going into Vietnam to insure self-determination, called off the countrywide free elections provided for in the 1954 Geneva Agreements—after which calloff came not just Vietcong terror but the prodigious growth of the National Liberation Front?

Will the trial ask what role the United States played in the assassination of President Ngo Dinh Diem? Will it ask how it was that political killing and subversion, which had always been regarded as despicable actions perpetrated by our enemies, should have been made into practices acceptable to the United States?

Will there be no one at the trial to explain why the negotiations at Paris were deadlocked over the shape of the table for six weeks—during which time five thousand Americans and Vietnamese were killed? If the men at Paris had been able in advance to see the faces of those who were to die, would this have made them responsible for the dead?

There is a road back from Songmy and Vietnam. It is being traveled today by the American soldiers who gave their Thanksgiving dinners and regular rations to Vietnamese, and who in deed and attitude have made themselves exemplars of a creatively humane presence. There are doctors and teachers and volunteers on this road who comprehend the possibilities and power of regeneration. But their numbers need to be swelled to bursting in order to begin to meet the need.

It is a long road back, not just for the soldiers who were there but for all of us who showed them the way to Songmy.

#### TAX "REFORM" CHRISTMAS GIFTS TO SPECIAL INTERESTS

**HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, December 20, 1969

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, never let it be said that Congress is not fully imbued with the Christmas spirit. Under the guise of tax "reform," the Con-

gress has once again given large gifts to various special interests which have congressional champions in these hal-lowed halls.

Senator EDWARD KENNEDY did a great service to the public by revealing on December 8 the names of the beneficiaries of a large number of those lucky enough to be included in our congressional Santa's list.

These special interest provisions are generally outrageous giveaways of the taxpayer's money and the worst kind of abuse of the legislative process. If this were not so, there would be no need for such careful concealment of the identity of the recipients of congressional largesse engineered by means of carefully drawn seemingly general provisions of the tax law that are so circumscribed that they qualify only one company or individual for their relief. Occasionally, of course, special provision is justified and, as with the Massachusetts company aided by Senator KENNEDY, in those cases the circumstances which justify the special provision are usually spread out in full upon the record, as Senator KENNEDY did in the case mentioned.

In addition to the impropriety of the concealed beneficiary provisions, however, there arises the problem that the special interest provisions are usually hastily and sloppily drawn without the benefit of Treasury or other expert help. As a result, many of these provisions unwittingly hand over sizable windfalls from the taxpayers' pockets to wholly unintended beneficiaries. By unintended beneficiaries, I mean either:

First. Those individuals or organizations eligible for a special provision, but whose eligibility is not known at the time the special provision is adopted; or

Second. Those individuals or organizations not initially eligible for the special provision, but who subsequently tailor their own specific situations to take advantage of it for tax reasons.

The classic example of the latter, which was discussed in some detail in the Senate on December 7, is the Philadelphia nun provision.

An example of the former has just been brought to my attention. This special provision is in section 121(b)(2)(C) of the Senate bill, lines 17 to 24 on page 125 and lines 1 to 12 on page 126. It exempts certain businesses from the imposition of the unrelated business income tax, but only if they meet these criteria:

First. They must be providing services—that is, broadcasting—under license from a Federal regulatory agency—that is, the FCC;

Second. They must be carried on by a religious order, or an educational institution maintained by a religious order;

Third. They must pay out or donate 90 percent of the earnings of the business for purposes directly related to the reason for the religious order's tax exemption in the first place;

Fourth. They must have been providing the services before May 27, 1959; and

Fifth. The advertising and service rates are competitive with those charged by other broadcasters in the area served.

The chairman of the Senate Committee on Finance explained yesterday in

the other body that this special provision was adopted "to give the kind of relief" sought in testimony before the committee by Father Homer Jolley, of Loyola University, in New Orleans. He also pointed out that he had previously announced to the press that this provision was sought by Loyola University.

Last Friday, the Senate adopted by voice vote an amendment offered by the Senator from Iowa (Mr. MILLER). This amendment extends the amendment in the bill to include "State educational institutions" along with religious orders' educational institutions. This amendment includes radio and TV station WOI in Des Moines, Iowa, owned by Iowa State University.

The current edition—No. 26, December 6, 1969—of the Straus Editor's Report lists the following organizations which the special provision probably benefits:

Cathedral of Tomorrow, Akron, Ohio—WCOT-TV;

Donald B. Crawford's Young People's Church of the Air, Lancaster, Pa.—WDAC-FM;

Faith Center, Los Angeles, Calif.—KHOF-FM;

International Church of the Four Square Gospel, Los Angeles, Calif.—KRKD-AM-FM;

Kentucky Mountain Holiness Association, Van Cleve, Ky.—WMTC-AM;

Liberty Street Gospel Church, Lapeer, Mich.—WMPC-AM;

Michiana Telecasting of Notre Dame, South Bend, Ind.—WNDU-AM-FM;

Norbertine Fathers, Green Bay, Wis.—WBAY-AM-TV, and Appleton, Wis.—WBAY-AM;

Oral Roberts, Tulsa, Okla.—KFMJ-AM; and

Red Lion Broadcasting, Red Lion, Pa.—WGCB-AM.

The floor amendment to the provision included this unintended beneficiary:

University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.—WNAD-AM.

I am sure this is not a complete list. It will be made complete only upon further careful research, and only after tax lawyers have determined if they can tailor their clients' affairs to fit within it. The precedent of the Philadelphia nun provision looms large.

The difficult issue, as I see it, is this: I have read the testimony of Father Jolley before the Committee on Finance, and the situation he describes is indeed worthy of special attention. If the income from WWL is taxed, as the bill generally provides, then Loyola would lose an important source of operating income. I am sure the same holds true for Iowa State University, and WOI. But whether the other situations described in the Straus Editor's Report, which I have listed, are similar, I for one have no way of knowing.

Where special provisions are justified, they should be limited so that they do not become generally available to cases for which they were not intended. It is not difficult to draft provisions so that they are in effect like a fingerprint—only one case fits. But the provision is not so drafted, and because it is not, there will

be unintended beneficiaries. Unjustified and concealed special provisions, of course, should not be passed at all.

If history is any guide, the list of these unintended beneficiaries will grow and grow. The tail will then have wagged the dog once again.

The Straus Editor's Report contains some other horrendous examples of hidden special provisions in the Senate version of the Tax Reform Act which deserve to be brought to public attention. I therefore insert the appropriate paragraphs as follows:

It'll never be a best-seller, but the Tax Reform Act (1,629 pages if you add Senate and House bills, Summaries and Committee reports) bears careful reading. As the bill now stands (Senate version) there's money in it for two dozen cities from Ardmore (Okla.) to Van Cleave (Ky.) with Detroit, New York, and Washington in between. Special exemptions never name groups they're designed to help. But Capitol Hill sources can readily identify wording that means big dollars for:

Benwood Foundation, Chattanooga; Cafritz Foundation, Washington, D.C.; El Pomar Foundation, Colorado Springs; Herndon Foundation, Atlanta; Mobil Oil Co., for a refinery in Joliet (Ill.); Olin Foundation, N.Y.C.; Uniroyal, Inc., for plant construction in Ardmore (Okla.); and WWL-AM-FM-TV, New Orleans.

Beyond the hard facts of dollars saved for these institutions, there are some colorful side-bar possibilities:

Secretary of State Rogers' former law firm (Royall, Koegel and Wells) won the tax break for the D.C.-based Cafritz Foundation—on whose board Rogers served until this year. Rogers was replaced on the board by another member of the firm. The widowed Washington hostess, Gwen Cafritz, contributed \$1,000 to the Nixon-Agnew campaign.

Sheldon Cohen, LBJ's Internal Revenue Commissioner helped the Benwood Foundation (funded by Coke bottling in Chattanooga).

Tom Boggs (son of the Louisiana Senator) persuaded Finance Committee Chairman Long (also La.) to write a special exemption from the unrelated business income tax for WWL-AM-FM-TV (CBS, New Orleans). This "out" for license Loyola University of the South could bring a financial windfall to other commercial broadcast stations owned by religious organizations if: 1) they have owned the station(s) for at least 10 years; 2) they pay out or donate at least 90% of earnings; and 3) the Treasury Secretary feels their rate cards and program services are competitive with other broadcasting operations in the area.

With the wind blowing the right way, the windfall could also benefit: Cathedral of Tomorrow (WCOT-TV, Akron, Ohio); Donald B. Crawford's Young People's Church of the Air (WDAC-FM, Lancaster, Pa.); Faith Center (KHOF-FM, L.A.); International Church of the Foursquare Gospel (KRKD-AM-FM, L.A.); Kentucky Mountain Holiness Assn. (WMTC-AM, Van Cleave, Ky.); Liberty Street Gospel Church WMPG-AM, Lapeer Mich); Michiana Telecasting (Notre Dame's WNDU-AM-FM, South Bend, Ind); Norbertine Fathers (WBAY-AM-TV, Green Bay, Wis); WHBY-AM, Appleton, Wis); Oral Roberts (KFMJ-AM, Tulsa); Red Lion Bcstg. (WGCB-AM, Red Lion, Pa).

Also eligible are eight of the Mormon Church-owned Bonneville International stations: (KIRO-AM-FM-TV, Seattle); KSL-AM-FM-TV, Salt Lake City; WNYC-short-wave, Scituate, Mass); WRFM, New York. Bonneville, however, has paid taxes for years.

It is my understanding that many of these special provisions and the others listed earlier by Senator KENNEDY have survived the conference report on the

Tax Reform Act. This is a sad reflection on Congress and its processes. I believe it calls for a change on the rules requiring that beneficiaries of specialized changes in the tax structure be revealed and the reasons for the special provisions stated.

#### THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE INSTITUTE

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, December 20, 1969

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, the Federal Executive Institute is a young establishment in Charlottesville, Va., which may have a profound effect, over a period of years, in improving the quality of service provided citizens of the United States by the departments and agencies of the Federal Government.

The Institute is an agency of the U.S. Civil Service Commission. In its program of in-service advanced training for career personnel at the higher management and planning levels, it enjoys the active cooperation of the University of Virginia.

An indication of the current and potential value of this program may be gained by a graduation address given on December 12, 1969, for class VI by John A. Pond, assistant chief for programing, National Military Command System Support Center, Defense Communications Agency.

I include it, under leave to extend my remarks as of interest to the House, as follows:

All members of the Federal Executive Institute, faculty and staff, and my fellow class members.

I have been appointed by Class Session VI to say farewell to you on their behalf. I undertake this task with high trepidation for you know as well as I that this group has never allowed anyone to be that presumptuous.

We, the members of the sixth class to complete the eight-week Federal Executive Institute program, owe you an expression of our appreciation.

You have been brave enough to challenge us to—

Discover the real federal executive;  
See the Governmental process as a whole;  
Enlarge our perspective of our national environment;

Identify ways we may improve our support of policy processes; and,  
Increase our ability in the development of person-to-person skills.

Furthermore, the Institute has offered us the opportunity for affirmative response to these challenges through reading, listening, consultation, discussion, and study under FEI faculty and staff guidance with appropriate enrichment by prominent lecturers and consultants from government, academia, and the private sector.

We have studied governmental processes here through a variety of approaches. We have participated in workshops, field trips, lectures, and seminars to examine both Domestic and Foreign policy developmental processes. We have related the roles and responsibilities of the career federal executive to these processes in both the Executive and the Legislative Branches of Government.

At the Executive Offices of the President, we talked with high officials of the Bureau of the Budget, the National Security Council, and the Office of Intergovernmental Rela-

tions. We developed, from these discussions, some insight into how important projects are organized to study major problems or evaluate major programs facing the nation. We have seen, too, the ways the career executive is able to and is expected to provide direct substantive inputs to these projects.

We saw members of the Legislative Branch at home on Capitol Hill and received lectures from members of both the House and Senate at the Federal Executive Institute. For those of us who do not regularly participate in day-to-day activities related to legislative matters, the Washington field trip introduced good data on Congressional activities and their participants in living color. Our encounters with Senators and Congressmen afforded us with a view of these men and their environment which yielded more data for our study of the governmental process.

We learned in workshops at the Institute from the faculty and from visiting lecturers something about the roles of interest groups in the policy processes. Mr. John Gunther, Director of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, represented the viewpoint of the cities; Mr. John Whisman of the Appalachian Regional Commission provided another view of intergovernmental activities when he described planning, development and coordination of regional programs involving two or more states; and, Miss Evelyn Dubrow of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union introduced us to the work of the trade union lobbyists in the legislative process.

In addition to lectures and discussions by the Institute faculty and our visits with significant national figures during field trips, the Institute brought us in contact with a wide variety of visiting lecturers including men of distinguished service and men of national prominence. Each of us in Session VI has his own list of favorites among the presentations and I, therefore, shall not attempt to summarize our preferences in any way. Instead, I wish to just touch briefly on three talks.

Professor Alpheus Mason of the University of Virginia spoke to us on "Our Political Heritage." His message came as a fresh breeze to dispel our nagging uneasiness over the rising tempo of protest and dissent in these United States. Professor Mason reminded us that our country was formed on protest. He noted that our Constitution is unique and most wonderful in making provision for continual challenge and continuous change through political processes. Our political heritage, he pointed out, is challenge, protest, and revolutionary change within the four corners of that Constitution.

A few weeks later, Mr. Justice Potter Stewart, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, impressed all of us with his interpretation of the responsibilities of a Justice of the Supreme Court. He gave us another boost in spirit when he expressed so easily and naturally his strong faith in today's youth. He too, as did Professor Mason, interpreted their challenge to custom and tradition and their protest for our failures to solve many social problems of our time. He interpreted these to be strong evidence of healthy minds and live spirits. One serious problem we have is that we do not fully understand our youth and must increase our efforts to do so and we need to ask them for their help.

In a different sense, I again mention Mr. John Gunther of the Conference of Mayors. He brought us important data for this time of the new federalism. He emphasized how much has to be done to improve communications between the federal bureaucracy and city halls of the United States. Today, Mr. Gunther finds no understanding of the federal office at the local level and very little understanding of the city at the federal office level. There is much that needs to be done and career executives must be involved in doing it.

We approve the emphasis you at this In-

stitute have placed on the development of our managerial and personal relationship skills. Each of us have benefited from the constant pressure you have exerted on us to listen better, to hear ourselves as others do, to confront each other on important issues more meaningfully, and to offer support when we are needed. These learnings have taken place in Executive Development Groups, in the Leadership Styles Workshop, in the Interpersonal Learning Laboratory, during the family weekend, and in the many discussions held in seminars, workshops, and the entire residential experience at the Federal Executive Institute.

No one of us has participated in all of the activities or opportunities at the Institute, nor has each situation been appropriate to all of us. But, each one of us in Class VI has experienced as great a challenge as he would allow and has received commensurate opportunity to work toward self-improvement. We take with us increased awareness of the importance of skills learned here and vow to pause now and again to look around us and analyze anew our abilities to hear others and to be heard. We do not leave today untouched by your emphasis on these skills.

The Residential Program at the Federal Executive Institute has been an important element in our total learning experience. Living in this temporary society of our own creation during the past eight weeks, we have learned much from each other. Our understanding of the governmental processes, our concepts of the jobs we hold, and our private operational data sets needed the increased breadth and depth which immersion in this society of our peers has afforded.

We came to the Institute at Charlottesville as a typical assortment of parochial federal officials. There are 59 in our class representing all major departments, except HUD, plus eleven independent agencies as well as the General Accounting Office of the Legislative Branch. Two-thirds of us have worked in only one agency, and five-sixths have worked in no more than two.

The vast majority of us arrived at the Institute two months ago knowing little about other Governmental programs and agencies than our own. At the Federal Executive Institute, we have begun to collect data and to reach an improved understanding of the rest of the federal establishment. We have gained much from the opportunity for discussion, study, and arguments with each other on matters about organizations, problems, programs, plans, and procedures of our different departments and agencies. Each of us, thus, has increased his knowledge of the federal system and how to perform more effectively in that system. At the same time, we have built increased understanding among this group of executives assembled here and established a means for improved communications among the parishes of our several agencies.

I turn now to offer our thanks for the important contributions the Federal Executive Institute has made toward improvement of the federal service. The Civil Service Commission, in establishing this Institute to provide an educational experience for career executives, has recognized the importance of this group of federal employees to the nation. In bringing us together here for the purpose of study and reflection on our jobs, our systems, our problems, our tools, ourselves, and our measures of performance in the governmental process, the Civil Service Commission has provided us the opportunity to develop the beginning of a true community of federal executives.

While in residence here these short eight weeks, we have been encouraged to look closely at the roles of the career executive in our Nation's business. We have carefully assessed these roles and judged they are im-

portant. We are proud to identify with them. We desire that we be known to the world at large by our roles as career federal executives. Furthermore, we have looked around us as we have worked at the Institute and have taken measure of our peers. We like what we have found in them. We have found dedication, intelligence, talent, and integrity. We have identified shared interests, concerns, goals, and hopes. We approve and now know what we had not known.

The Civil Service Commission has by the establishment of this educational endeavor given impetus to the idea of community for career federal executives. We in Session VI have tasted this idea and like it. Now, even before we depart Charlottesville, we feel reinforced individually by identification with this new-found executive community. We hope to participate in other learning activities which will strengthen this feeling of community and enrich our understandings of the responsibilities we hold within that community and the federal service. This past Monday, you heard several of us already planning activities at Washington, D.C., and we expect others to occur from New York to San Francisco and wherever we may associate with fellow alumni of this Institute. Moreover, we are counting on the faculty and staff to arrange return events that will bring us back to the Federal Executive Institute.

In saying farewell to the faculty and staff here, let me offer the thanks of this class for your several parts in this unique learning opportunity. We do not doubt that we have benefited in many ways through this experience. We find that the federal service now offers more meaning and more challenge to us than before. Our inter-agency associations are already more natural to us and are supported by a broader communication band. We shall more easily than before see the federal process as a whole and find strength and satisfaction from the relevance of our parochial tasks to the development and implementation of public programs. We know ourselves to be members of the community of federal executives. This knowledge motivates us and will surely enable us to serve more effectively. Additionally, it will enable us to enjoy richer and more meaningful careers in the public's service.

We thank you at the Institute for the challenge and the opportunity you have delivered to us.

THE HONORABLE DOMINICK V. DANIELS OF NEW JERSEY, AN EFFECTIVE AND FARSIGHTED LEGISLATOR WITH COMPASSION

HON. JAMES KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, December 20, 1969

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, as the Representative in the U.S. House of Representatives of the Fifth Congressional District of West Virginia, which is the largest coal producing district in the United States, I have an obligation to those men who mine coal and their dependents, as well as those disabled miners who are no longer able to work because of lung disease caused by the inhalation of dust during exposure to dust in their employment, their dependents, as well as to those dependents left behind by those men who gave their lives as a result of this fatal illness to commend in the highest possible terms the effective leadership of my distinguished colleague, the

Honorable DOMINICK V. DANIELS, for his dedicated work as chairman of the Select Subcommittee on Labor, House Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. Speaker, I well remember when Chairman DANIELS conducted hearings during June and July of this year. In particular, I shall always remember June 26, 1969, when Mr. DANIELS granted me the privilege to testify before his subcommittee on H.R. 9850, a bill which I introduced on April 2, 1969, which was entitled "Coal Miners' Compensation Act of 1969." Mr. DANIELS extended every courtesy. He gave us a sympathetic, warm, and objective hearing.

As a result of Mr. DANIELS' compassion for those less fortunate because of the fatal lung diseases contacted while working underground in the mines his subcommittee, after reviewing all of the testimony, recommended to the full committee benefits for those who for all intent and purpose had gone and were going to a premature grave.

Directly as a result of these intensive hearings the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act included title IV providing for benefit payments to miners and their dependents suffering from the dreaded lung disease and to the widows and dependents of miners who have died as a result of this disease.

In my judgment this farsighted provision in the bill is second only to the enactment by the Congress of the Social Security Act.

Every coal miner and their dependents will never be able to repay Chairman DANIELS for his compassion, his understanding, and his effective work, which will in effect help those whose needs have been fully justified. In addition, he has given our present coal miners hope for the future, plus the fact his successful legislative work will contribute substantially to prolonging the lives of those dedicated men who mine the coal, which is of such vital importance not only to America of today, but of our America of tomorrow.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the coal miners of the congressional district, which I have the honor to represent in the U.S. House of Representatives, I salute Chairman DANIEL for this historic section of the legislation which passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 333 yeas to 12 nays and the U.S. Senate by a unanimous voice vote.

SUPPORTING THE PRESIDENT ON THE ARTS

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, December 20, 1969

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, while I have not found it possible to support the President's Vietnam policy or his overall thrust of emphasis on military expenditures, the ABM, the SST to the detriment of devoting resources to education, health, housing, mass transportation, and the environment, I am pleased to be able to support enthusiastically the priority he recently placed on obtaining more funds to support the arts.

Anthony Lewis in his editorial column today in the New York Times expresses well my feelings on the subject, and I share with him the concern that Congress will not devote the attention to the arts which the subject deserves and which the President has requested. While supporting the arts may not be earth-shaking next to some of the priorities vital to life that require our attention, compared to the special interests this Congress supports so generously, the arts are indeed deserving—and in themselves they merit the small attention the President has requested as a part of the overall effort to improve the quality of our environment.

I insert the article in the RECORD and commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

A QUESTION OF PRIORITIES  
(By Anthony Lewis)

LONDON.—President Nixon took evident satisfaction last week in asking Congress to let the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities spend \$40 million in the next fiscal year. That would be nearly double the present figure.

The request "might seem extravagant," the President said, but "expression of the American idea has a compelling claim on our resources." Assistants said the message gave a clue to the priorities he would like to set for Federal spending in the decade ahead.

The British Government has also just announced its budgetary plans for the arts in the next fiscal year. It will spend \$48 million—or rather more than the United States, a country with ten times the gross national product. Spending on the arts claim 0.1 per cent of the British Government budget; the Nixon proposal would be about 0.02 per cent of ours.

WHEN IDEAS ARE SUSPECT

The comparison assumes that Congress will actually approve the amount suggested by the President, and that is an unlikely assumption. It is easier to get \$54 million out of the House of Representatives for the Taiwan Air Force than a dime for a theater company.

The trouble is that plays and books, and sometimes even dance and music, involve ideas. Therein lies the danger that Hermann Goering must have had in mind in that remark attributed to him: "When I hear anyone talk of culture, I reach for my revolver."

Inevitably, some of the ideas that emerge from subsidized cultural efforts outrage members of Congress. They then naturally think it only right to revoke the subsidy, or better yet avoid getting into the whole prickly matter at all.

Britain's Parliamentary system has many faults, but it certainly does work better in terms of providing funds for the arts. The restraint of British legislators in the face of artistic obstreperousness is amazing. A few years ago, one heavily subsidized theatrical group put on a play that was banned as sexually offensive; the group then turned its theater into a club—and went right on getting the public subsidy. Imagine H. R. Gross or John Rooney permitting that.

As a group, members of Parliament may be somewhat more even-tempered than Congressmen, and they certainly have a better understanding of the idea of artistic independence. But there is also a structural reason for the easier working of subsidies for the arts. It is that the Government of the day dominates Parliament, and no individual member can turn his prejudices into *diktats*.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer decides how much money is going to the arts, and then the Arts Council—a publicly appointed but quite independent body—allots it. There is very little chance of Parliament influencing those decisions, and none of a single cranky member upsetting them. There are no appropriations subcommittees, and no chairmen with vested power.

AMERICAN CULTURE ABROAD

Of course Federal funds are only a marginal aspect of support for the arts in the United States. Private gifts and foundation grants are the basic source. Nevertheless, the willingness and the ability of the Federal Government to act in this field are significant.

For the United States Government to show itself sensitive to beauty or creativity has a profound import, not least abroad. An American world's fair building that speaks with delicacy and humor rather than hardselling force makes an impression; so does an American play looking caustically at our own society. So, in the opposite way, does the unwillingness of the great United States to spend \$30,000 a year to keep its London Embassy library open.

It will probably be a very long time before we have a Congress of esthetes, longing for all one sees that's Japanese; that is indeed a Gilbertian notion. But we could ask for a responsible Congress, one aware that the arts are an important interest, not a frivolous nuisance.

It is, as the President's assistants said, a question of priorities—and in a much broader sense than just funds for this program. The United States desperately needs more public spending in a dozen fields, a hundred; the arts are only a small symbolic aspect of our increasing recognition that human satisfaction in an advanced society requires greater concern for the quality of the atmosphere, both physical and spiritual. But Congress, doubtless reflecting the desires of the silent majority, is in the process of giving away public revenue to satisfy private greed.

MONTANA CLERGYMAN FINDS NIXON'S WELFARE PROPOSALS INADEQUATE

HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, December 20, 1969

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, the Reverend Kirk M. Dewey, of Billings, Mont., who is executive secretary of the Montana Council of Churches, recently participated in a nationwide test of President Nixon's welfare plan. Not only did Reverend Dewey find the proposals inadequate, he watched his wife, who is in her seventies and who weighed only 93 pounds, lose two pounds in 1 week's time.

Under the experiment each person was required to exist on \$3.39 for 1 week. This figure was the one arrived at as the weekly staple for each member of a family of four based on a yearly total of \$1,600 provided by the administration plan. The \$3.39 was not for food alone but for other commodities such as soap and other incidental needs.

Mr. Dewey's letter speaks very eloquently of the inadequacies of the Nixon plan. Mr. Speaker, I would like at this time to insert Mr. Dewey's letter and

also the flier that was distributed enlisting volunteers to test the plan:

MONTANA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES,  
Billings, Mont, December 8, 1960.

HON. ARNOLD OLSEN,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. OLSEN: President Nixon has suggested some reforms in our country's welfare system which you will have the opportunity to debate, amend, and pass. An experience which my wife and I have just concluded may help to guide you.

For the past week we have tried the experiment of living for a week on a food budget of \$3.39 per person per week. This is about what is available for welfare families in Montana for both food and incidental household articles like soap and toothpaste, and a little more than would be available under President Nixon's proposed base of \$1,600 for a family of four. This is based on studies which indicate that welfare families spend about 39 per cent of their income on food, household and personal grooming expenses.

We managed to live on a food budget of \$6.78 for the two of us, but we could not pare down our expenditures enough to buy soap or anything else. My wife, a home economics graduate, took pains to buy wisely and to prepare tasty dishes with what she bought. At the end of the week each of us had lost about two pounds—which brought my wife's weight down to 91 pounds. She felt the effect in weakness and tiredness, though I did not seem to notice this effect. Since we are in our 70's and not too active physically, I found the amount of food adequate, though I experienced hunger for items I normally eat and which were not available. I can't imagine how we could have managed if our household has included our grandson, a growing boy who normally eats as much as both of us.

My biggest hardship during the week was not being able to participate in breakfast and luncheon meetings of groups to which I belong. I realized that low income people are cut off from many social contacts that seem to me normal and desirable.

Our recommendation is that the base of \$1,600 is not adequate for healthful living, unless universally supplemented by a generous food stamp allowance.

Sincerely yours,

KIRK M. DEWEY.

THE CHURCHES' CRUSADE AGAINST HUNGER IN SPONSORING A TEST OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S WELFARE PLAN

During the week of December 1-7 families across the nation are being asked to participate in a test of the proposed welfare reform by living for a week on a welfare food budget as it would be under the plan proposed.

This would mean living for a week with a weekly allowance figure for all food and household operations items such as soap, tooth paste, paper products, school lunches and children's spending money which would be available for welfare families.

For us in Montana this means a weekly allowance for all the above items of \$3.39 per person, or \$13.56 for a family of four. (And no dipping into freezers or well-stocked cupboards, for the average welfare family does not build up surpluses.)

The Nixon plan provides that states now paying less than \$1600 a year for a family of four be brought up to this level. States now paying more (such as Montana) should maintain their current rate. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics recent study on living standards gives 39% as the percentage of its budget that a low income family spends on food, household operations and personal care. For us in Montana this comes to \$3.39 per person for the week.

Since the announcement by President Nixon on August 8 of his plan for reforming the welfare system, there has been a great deal of discussion about the merits and drawbacks of his proposal. Before the plan is debated, amended and passed by Congress, the proposal is that middle class people test the plan by living on a welfare food budget as it would be under President Nixon's plan. At the conclusion of the week participating families are asked to mail testimony about the week to President Nixon and Congressional leaders.

The purposes of the test are:

1. To sensitize middle class people to some of the realities of the public welfare system. To make people at least think about welfare for a week.
2. To involve middle class people in the effort by organized welfare recipients to affect changes in some of the provisions of the Nixon proposal.
3. To raise money to help low income people. Families may donate the difference between what they normally spend for their family's food for a week and what they are allowed under the proposed welfare plan.

Food stamps have recently become available here in Billings, and they increase the amount of food which may be purchased considerably. If you wish to make the test as it applies to the lucky 25% of people who can buy food stamps, the amount will be \$6.35 per person for the week. But remember that is for three out of four welfare families in the United States the figure of \$3.39 is the limit.

#### OUR SICK HEALTH CARE SYSTEM

### HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, December 20, 1969

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, nowhere in the Federal Establishment is a reordering of priorities more critical than in the way we devote our resources to problems of health within our society.

Large sums are spent to increase the health purchasing power of deprived citizens without any significant effort being placed to provide the care for which the money is appropriated. Millions of dollars are spent to keep people in hospitals who do not need hospital care. More millions are spent to build unneeded facilities. Huge sums are devoted to research while getting the benefits of already completed research to the public is neglected. These misdirected efforts have contributed largely to the soaring costs of medical care within our society—which in turn, robs the citizenry of the benefits of the moneys we have devoted to give them better health care.

These problems of misplaced priorities are set forth in excellent perspective by Dr. Leona Baumgartner in an editorial column in the New York Times today. Dr. Baumgartner, former health commissioner of New York City, is now executive director of the Medical Care and Education Foundation, Inc., and a visiting professor at Harvard Medical School. Her pronouncements deserve careful attention by both Congress and the public suffering the results of our mismanage-

ment. I therefore insert the editorial in the RECORD:

[From the New York Times, Dec. 20, 1969]

#### TOPICS: HEALTH CARE SYSTEM—A SICK BUT CURABLE PATIENT

(By Leona Baumgartner)

There is much talk of the health crisis—rapidly rising costs, personnel shortages, long waits to get into hospitals, nursing homes, doctors' offices, Medicare, and Medicaid. There is less talk of the disorganized, inefficient, fragmented no-system through which the Americans, rich and poor, get their medical care. It accounts, in part, for the health crisis.

Hospitals are often built where they are not needed. Patients stay in them longer than their medical status demands, sometimes because space in nursing homes is not available. Clinics operate at the convenience of staff, not customers. Some physicians spend all day in or near one hospital; others are "on the road" much of the day from one hospital to another between home calls (if any) and time in the office; some are not on a hospital staff; patients are sent to stay in hospitals for tests that could be done on an ambulatory basis; and doctors do tasks those less well trained can do as well.

Every hospital feels it must provide all the latest, most sophisticated treatments, despite cost or need. Take a New England city of 175,000 with four hospitals. One already has the radiation therapy equipment and staff necessary to treat all the patients with cancer in the city and surrounding area.

There is no evidence that there are any patients who go without treatment, when needed. But the other three hospitals are struggling to find personnel, space, and equipment so they, too, will have similar services. One hospital in the same town has an excellent cardiac service and is able to do all the simple heart operations the area needs—but another is searching for a cardiac surgeon. The city is less than two hours by car away from one of the nation's great medical centers where cardiac surgery, seldom an emergency, is superbly done.

#### POOR DISTRIBUTION

In the United States four-fifths of all such operations in 1961 were done in 99 hospitals; whereas, some 800 are staffed and equipped to do them. Certainly all are not necessary, especially since 270 hospitals of these 800 reported no cases at all that year. The skills of a team are not kept up without about 100 or 200 cases a year. Across the nation Government hospitals (Veterans) stand half empty when other hospitals in the same town are jammed.

The Federal strategy of dealing with the health crisis has been to increase purchasing power on the apparent assumption that the capacity to deliver would be available to meet the greater demand. The large increases in Federal expenditures for health have come recently, rising from some \$3 billion in 1963 to \$12.7 billion in 1968 in response to the country's concern for the aged and the poor. The money has largely been poured into purchasing power and with little or none going into increasing the capacity to deliver care.

#### REMODELING PROGRAM

What is needed? A deliberate, well-financed program of remodeling the health system—aggressive planning for better use of scarce resources, merging of small inefficient hospitals, firm links of smaller community hospitals to larger regional medical centers, wider use of telecommunications to bring expertise to larger numbers, more ambulatory care, more group practice, more emphasis on early and preventive care, more "allied" health workers—all these and more.

Manpower shortages are known to all who try to get a doctor or nurse for an emergency. The President's Health Manpower Commission made it clear that it would be impossible to train sufficient workers if they were to be used as they are now used.

#### FUNDING PROGRAMS

The Congress recently passed two bills specifically designed to promote the better use of manpower and other health resources: Regional Medical Programs and Comprehensive Health Planning. Both are now just getting started. Neither are adequately funded, nor is legislation supporting health manpower training. Without public support, they too will not be. Cuts in appropriations designed to improve the capacity to deliver health care can only make the crisis worse.

The voice and power of the health care consumer has begun to be heard and felt. How the country's health resources and personnel are allocated should be high on the consumer's agenda, and on the Administration's, which has admitted to a national health crisis.

#### AS THE MEN COME HOME

### HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, December 20, 1969

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, a vast array of people—including myself—stand in strong support of President Nixon's plan of Vietnamization as a solution for the war in Vietnam, and all are interested in knowing how this plan is progressing. An article appearing in the December 18, 1969, issue of the York Dispatch—a prominent daily newspaper in my congressional district—makes an interesting observation on this subject of withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. Because the subject holds the strong interest of a great volume of people, I insert it into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that it can be broadly read.

The article follows:

#### AS THE MEN COME HOME

So far, President Richard Nixon is pulling off what both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson were unable to do; namely, preserve the freedom of South Vietnam while reducing the American commitment.

The hard fact is that within the first year of his presidency, Nixon will have ordered 115,000 troops home, and that they will have arrived home within 15 months of the time he took office.

Nixon is effectively Vietnamizing the war—training and encouraging the South Vietnamese to fight for the freedom they claim.

Earlier, it was indicated that Nixon will have all American combat units out of Vietnam by the end of 1970.

Right now things look good.

American public opinion is with the President, not with the Reds and their peacenik chorus.

The South Vietnamese are proving themselves increasingly capable of coping with the Reds. But the Reds are building for a possible offensive in the Mekong delta. If the South Vietnamese hold, the Reds won't have any place to turn but to negotiations in Paris, of which they have made a farce for over a year.

Nixon's got the enemy in a real bind thanks to the performance he's getting from forces in the field and people here at home.

THE BUSINESS OF BUSINESS—1970  
AND FOLLOWING, AN ADDRESS BY  
WILLIAM S. VAUGHN, EASTMAN  
KODAK BOARD CHAIRMAN

### HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, December 20, 1969

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, American business is making a vital contribution to worldwide economic development.

In mid-September the International Industrial Conference at San Francisco considered ways of enhancing that contribution.

William S. Vaughn, chairman of the board of Eastman Kodak Co., delivered a thought-provoking address at the meeting sponsored by the National Industrial Conference Board and Stanford Research Institute.

Mr. Vaughn asserted that the business of business has become nothing less than human development on an international scale.

I would like to share with you and my colleagues, Mr. Vaughn's remarks.

THE BUSINESS OF BUSINESS—1970 AND  
FOLLOWING

(By William S. Vaughn)

From all directions these days, thoughtful men are urging on us the need for global perspective. Looking at a picture of our planet sent back by men on their way to the moon, the poet Archibald MacLeish was moved to remind us that for all our differences, "we are riders together in space." Dr. McLuhan has been telling us for several years now that what we actually inhabit is a "global village." Most recently, Professor Drucker has demonstrated that we do business in a "Global Shopping Center." And if any of us had any inclination to doubt the point, the kind of discussion that has gone on at this conference should dispel that.

So, I believe that we can accept it as given that the entire globe is the proper frame of reference for the business organizations represented here. We are rapidly doing away with distinctions between "home" and "foreign" operations, very largely because of the mounting investment for plant, equipment, and technical know-how that crosses national boundaries. It appears that 1969 could well be the year in which the cumulative expenditure for that investment passes the \$100 billion mark. Most of that total, by far, has come during the decade of the 1960's.

In this international forum, it would be shortsighted not to recognize the existence of criticism from some quarters that the brand "U.S.A." has been all too visible on the shelves of our "Global Shopping Center." It is true that about two-thirds of that \$100 billion investment is by companies with headquarters in the United States. But it is worth noting that when restrictions were imposed on direct U.S. dollar investments overseas by American companies, many of us were successful in establishing subsidiary companies to finance continued worldwide growth from overseas sources of capital. Apparently, then, it's not national origin so much as the potential return on venture capital that determines the availability of investment funds.

Then, too, American technology is put up on a pedestal—though it is difficult on occasion to be sure whether it's a pedestal or a whipping post. I understand that there have been times in history when the same structure did common duty.

People more knowledgeable than I have gone to some lengths to compile lists of innovations suggesting that European R&D has done rather well in holding its own. In the case of our own Company, we have found it advantageous within recent memory to acquire rights to the use of important developments in England, France, Germany, and Japan; and conversely, each of these countries has benefited from our technology. But examples such as these are probably not going to settle the debate in the long run. I believe that the debate is less likely to be settled than it is to disappear.

I am sure that most of you, like myself, have sensed a difference lately in the "atmospherics" surrounding the whole question of investment across national boundaries. There are at least two basic reasons—both related—for this difference.

The first is the nature of the investment. Traditionally, the extractive industries and the search for raw materials claimed most of the American dollars being invested abroad for plant and equipment. Within just the last few years, more of this expenditure has gone into manufacturing operations. There are some important distinctions and conclusions to be drawn here.

Extractive industries are, by nature, rather remote. They tend to require less manpower. They can be run by a relatively few capable people at the top. And the benefits they bring to the host country are less visible and are apt to be more narrowly concentrated.

The shift in emphasis to manufacturing opens up all sorts of new opportunities. Most of them centered around people. People produce the goods and people consume them. In this respect, "foreign" operations are tending to become more like "domestic" ones: markets are developed along with productive capability.

People is the related factor—the larger one—that I would cite in discussing the changing nature of business investment throughout the world. Recently I came across a commentary by a business consultant that struck me as though it could well have been written for this particular conference. It said: "Most of the companies we are associated with can attribute their growth and development to technological advances. I think that the companies that prosper in the future will be those that do the best job in fully utilizing their human resources."

In a decade of unparalleled international investment and accelerated technological progress, it is probably no exaggeration to say that there has been far too little management attention given to human potential, from entry-level employees right up to the top desks of management.

Professor Drucker, as usual, can be counted on for a most graphic statement of one outgrowth of such a mismatch. In his new book, *The Age of Discontinuity*, he sums it up this way: "The world has become divided into nations that know how to manage technology to create and distribute wealth and nations that do not know how to do this."

As we approach the end of what was widely hailed as the "Decade of Development," it is not very comforting to realize that just the amount added to the wealth of the industrialized nations during this decade equalled more than the entire income of the underdeveloped nations that collectively make up what is called the "Third World."

On an absolute basis the gap that we set about to close has actually grown—in spite of large, properly enlightened injections of money and technology by both government and private enterprise. It would seem, then, that a more critical focus on human resources is well overdue.

In making such a statement to an international conference, as an American, I cannot gloss over the existence within our own

boundaries of the equivalent of an underdeveloped nation with a population larger than the Benelux countries combined. These are our citizens living at or below the poverty line. Much of what can be said about improving the return on the investment in human resources in developing countries applies equally well to this segment of the American people. The two principal handicaps to be overcome are the same.

First, lack of preparation to deal with an increasingly complex and technological environment.

And, compounding the problem, communication barriers that are as real as if different languages were officially spoken.

A personal observation might serve to point up the universality in needs among poor people in the developing countries and poor people within the United States. In Guadalajara, Mexico, Eastman Kodak is in the process of building a major new facility for the production of photographic film. I was interested to learn that in the early days of the project, the construction company gave over a significant portion of the working day to classes in reading and writing for the construction laborers. This closely paralleled our own experience in Rochester, where the school system rates among the finest in the United States. But when Kodak undertook a pre-apprentice training program in an effort to employ the so-called "unemployables," a fundamental misconception became apparent from the outset. The training supervisors were prepared to give instruction in tools, tolerances, and techniques. What they found themselves teaching was reading, writing and arithmetic.

There have been more than enough instances like this reported from home and abroad to suggest that perhaps we have all been off-target for many years regarding what human development requires. We have jumped to the very natural conclusion that what the undereducated need is a lot more teaching. Now, experience is showing that what they actually need is help in *learning how to learn*. This is the indispensable skill for a world in which change is the dominant characteristic. And since business and industry have shown an ability to adapt to change more readily than other social institutions, it seems that there is a new role emerging for business and industry in developing the potential of the world's underproductive people. But, of course, the waste of human potential is not confined to the low end of the economic scale. It extends right up the ladder to the executive suite.

I'm reasonably sure that just about anyone here, if called upon, could supply plentiful examples of slippage between what was supposed to happen and what actually did happen at the management end of things. Of course, it always happened to "the other fellow," didn't it? Or so we would like to think. That's why I'm grateful to a recent issue of the Harvard Business Review for a catalogue of examples that permits us to withdraw behind the protective screen of anonymity. Here is how the cases are reported:

"After a substantial build-up in a Zurich headquarters accomplished during a period of about four years, a major chemical corporation abandoned the whole effort and brought the management of European operations back home."

"An automobile manufacturing company has sharply cut back the staff, facilities, and budget of its Geneva international headquarters, and set up its senior European executive in Detroit."

"A machine tool company recently abandoned the office of its European vice president in Paris. All its European subsidiaries are now reporting back to the United States."

"Late in 1967, a service firm set up a new European headquarters office in the heart of London to coordinate its European product

divisions. In 1968 it began cutting back the scope of this London office."

"Recently a major international advertising agency sharply curtailed its Swiss-based operation, which had been created only after much expenditure of time and effort."

There you have five typical un-success stories of faculty planning for international business. At least three—and possibly all five—center on apparent people mismatches, rather than product failures or markets drying up. It has been reported that the going price for moving just one manager and his family overseas has reached \$20,000. Which means another \$20,000 to bring them home if things don't work out. And that's only a fraction of the real cost. When the stakes get that high, the failure of a man to deliver on his potential capability begins to attract attention and to prompt remedial action. If we could only put such a clear-cut price tag on all the wastage of human potential that is going on today at every level of endeavor, I believe that we would be so astonished by the size of the total that we would do a lot more about it.

In my opinion, the most compelling opportunities for "Closing The World's Income Gap" (the theme of this conference) lie not in the direction of development of natural resources or of new technology—though both of these are important, of course. But the most fruitful progress can be made simply by going after a greater return on the investment in the human resource, the one that is now coming to be identified as "the most expensive and yet potentially the most productive of all economic resources." The principal obstacle is not a lack of ideas about human development. Rather it is the presence of many specimens of what the French characterize as the *idée fixe*, those rigid mental sets of "things we know for sure" so that we don't really have to think about them anymore. They often stand in the way of fresh approaches that changing conditions demand. To illustrate my point I will cite four of the more familiar mental sets limiting human performance in business around the world today. Two have to do with the managers and professionals who have so much influence in determining what gets produced. Two at the opposite end of the scale apply to those underproductive people, whose upgrading holds such an important key to the economic progress of all nations.

The first example should be readily identifiable to this cosmopolitan audience if I give it the title of a popular American song of some years back: "You Don't Have To Know the Language." It is the mental set that conditions the behavior of the people whom companies send to represent them in other countries.

Although doing business on an international scale is standard operating procedure for literally thousands of companies these days, an assignment beyond national boundaries, for some strange reason, is still regarded like a military tour of duty in unfriendly territory. That is, it's something that should be gotten over with as soon as possible and that calls for extra pay for hazardous duty. I must say that I cannot help but concur with the gentleman from Germany who asked rhetorically at one of these international conferences, "Is it really such a hardship to live in Paris or Lausanne instead of Pittsburgh or Dallas?" His wording, of course, puts the finger on the United States as the native land of this attitude. In all fairness, we should note that while Americans seem to have earned the patent on cultural provincialism, they don't enjoy an exclusive franchise. You and I have met the Italian who does not expect to find opera west of Lincoln Center, the German who does not expect to find a museum west of Fifth Avenue, the Englishman who does not expect to find law west of Madison Avenue, or to find God, west of Park, and the French-

man who does not expect to find a good meal *anywhere* in this country. So, much of what is said about the "Oblivious American" could be applied in some degree to similarly misguided transients of other nationalities. But, to be fair, we must say that you gentlemen from overseas put us Americans completely to shame by your proficiency in other languages.

Another manifestation of the You-Don't-Have-To-Know-The-Language mental set is lack of commitment to the job to be done. It has been said of American companies expanding overseas that they take on ten-year projects, assign them five-year timetables, and staff them with "two-year" people. The real problem is that we do not yet know how to weed out the two-year people.

Almost ten years ago, Harlan Cleveland wrote the following: "Everybody seems to feel that with all our modern scientific lore about man and society it should be possible for a simple test to be devised that would separate the potentially successful from the potentially unsuccessful *before* their wives, children, and furniture are moved across the sea at great trouble and expense. But nobody has yet devised that formula."

The same paragraph could be written today, even after a decade in which international traffic in personnel has far exceeded what it ever was before. In the absence of a ready-made formula for selecting the best "people" investment, it would seem that business firms need to give considerably more attention to thinking through the real objectives of overseas assignments.

As an example I happen to be familiar with, let's take that new Kodak film plant in Mexico, which I mentioned before. For some of you, the construction of one new plant would not be that earthshaking. But for us, it has been one of the most demanding projects on the current corporate agenda. It represents the first time in 60 years that we have attempted to build, from the ground up, a capability for making film, which—as you may know, is one of the more delicate manufacturing processes around. At least, it's the only mass production operation I can think of off-hand in which detecting defects requires destruction of the product as a marketable commodity. What it amounts to is a search for perfection, literally working in the dark.

How do you staff such an operation? The first thought that occurs is that you want to round up the most efficient, most technically competent people you have and put them on the next plane for Guadalajara. The crash-project approach. But deeper consideration brings out the real objective being sought here. It is not merely to get a complex manufacturing process on line as expeditiously as possible. It is to build an on-going business in a new and unfamiliar environment. The Americans who go to Guadalajara from Rochester carry with them the implicit assignment of working themselves out of jobs by helping to develop the skills of the local people. This introduced a new dimension to the talent hunt. We had to find men who had demonstrated flexibility, capacity to work with other people, the disposition to become involved. Fortunately, there turned out to be a surprising number of candidates outstanding in both technical competence and human-relations capability. But wherever a choice had to be made, human-relations capability got priority. So, well in advance of the plant opening, Guadalajara is already getting acquainted with what we consider some very special folks.

In contrast to that mythical "Oblivious American" I spoke of earlier, they *are* there to stay for awhile. A number of them have agreed to spend as long as six or seven years of their careers in Guadalajara to explain and help develop the skills needed in a manufacturing operation that is far more technologically advanced than anything the region has

ever seen before. They *do* have to learn the language. All of them studied it at least two years before moving down, and most of them are still working to improve their fluency. They do become involved. The wife of one engineer, for example, now finds herself spending most of her spare time working as a volunteer in children's hospitals and orphanages.

We are only just beginning to see product from the Mexican venture. And it is a long way from paying for itself. Nevertheless, the experience has already convinced us that the best guarantee a company can have for the money and technology it invests abroad lies in the selection and preparation of the people it sends abroad. The opposite side of this coin, of course, is the selection and preparation of people it hires abroad. Here there is another mental set prevalent, that might be titled with that phrase from the travel books: "When In Doubt, Hire A Local Guide."

First of all, let me make it clear that I am all in favor of the trend to management of foreign subsidiaries by nationals of the host country. I think it is one of the most significant evolutions that I have witnessed during my career. When I went to work at Eastman Kodak, it was one of the relatively few American corporations at the time that had an international business of any size. If an opening occurred overseas, a likely young man to fill it would be selected in Rochester. It was not considered a drawback if he had never been outside of Rochester. He was given a quick course in the geography of the area. The concept of "geopolitics" had not even been invented yet, you see. Then he was shipped off, perhaps to manage the total Kodak investment in a country he had never seen. If I had been one of the chosen ones, I frankly think I would have been terrified—even with all the worldly wisdom that I believed three years cloistered in an English University had imparted to me. But that was the mental frame within which all companies ran their foreign businesses in those days. And somehow these hardy pioneers made the system work—then.

Today, it is completely different. Even though the foreign countries have been brought much closer to Rochester, we rely heavily on foreign nationals to run overseas operations. For instance, our major overseas manufacturing companies in Australia, Canada, France, Germany, and Great Britain are entirely staffed by nationals of those countries. And they do an outstanding job for us. But, in contrast to Guadalajara, these are mature companies.

In speaking of what I call the "Hire-A-Local-Guide" mental set, I implied that I have some reservations about the attitude with which the employment of foreign nationals is approached. I do, and they concern blind spots that may have been allowed to develop in some corporate thinking about this particular source of talent. For instance, if a company thinks that just by hiring a man who speaks the language and "knows the road," it is buying an insurance policy, it may be headed for trouble. If we as business people have done a mediocre job of "internationalizing" the American sent to do business overseas, we have perhaps done an even worse job of "internationalizing" the outlook of the foreign national employed to manage for us in his own country.

A survey of attitudes made in one developing country illustrates the problem. The students interviewed did not think much of a career as a business manager. It came in seventh out of eleven. This proves mainly, I suppose, that students are much alike the world over. Students in the United States have said about the same thing in their surveys. I find this particularly ironic at a time when businessmen and the general run of college students have moved closer together than ever before in their desire to satisfy the

wants and needs of people the world over. Obviously, business has a job of communications to do on the campuses. The point was brought home rather forcefully to me in a report written by a college student, one of a group with admittedly negative attitudes, who worked as a summer intern at Eastman Kodak. He noted that the only industrialist he had seen in three years was the president of a company that was in the throes of going out of business. "On the basis of his success," observed the student, "I concluded that there wasn't much I could learn from him."

But it was the nationals working as managers for foreign companies whose attitudes were truly revealing. On the whole, they showed more blind spots than the students on such questions as the nature of capitalism, pricing, and profits. As the report noted—with a nice sense of understatement: "A foreign national manager . . . who believes the wrong people own the company he works for, and that they are really profiteers, is not likely to work very hard for its success."

Just filling up those boxes on the worldwide organization chart with local talent is not enough. More of a sense of involvement is needed if people are to deliver the best that's in them.

That new plant of ours in Guadalajara has recently given us an encouraging demonstration of this point. Among the first employees signed up for it were 33 young Mexican engineers. We chose them with care. They are the men we hope will be running it some day. But none of them had ever been involved in making photographic film before. And the only way you can really learn how to do this is to do it. So we undertook an experiment unlike anything we had ever attempted before. We brought the entire contingent—and their families—to Rochester, not for an indoctrination session but for 18 months' on-the-job experience making film. They had the opportunity of working every day alongside their American counterparts. They took specially-designed technical courses. In their leisure hours, they got to know upstate New York better than some people who have been born there. Some of them went to Niagara Falls almost every weekend—for what reason I never will understand. In any event, the point is that all this represented a significant investment for both sides. For Eastman Kodak, it was an unusual expense to transport and maintain 33 families for 18 months. For the people involved, it was a major slice of their lives committed to residing and working in an unfamiliar country. And it wasn't all as pleasant as a trip to Niagara Falls, as anyone who had endured a Rochester winter can testify. But out of this mutual investment came a fringe benefit that nobody had really planned on. When these engineers left Rochester with their families to return to Mexico a couple of months ago, they took with them more than the technical training they needed professionally. They had acquired, we believe, a real sense of being personally involved in Eastman Kodak's future. It probably couldn't have happened in any other way. And in the long run, this development alone could make the entire investment worthwhile.

One more limitation of the "Local-Guide" mental set should be commented on before we leave it. Assigning people to boxes just by nationality could deprive a company of a rich source of managerial talent. For example, the manager of Kodak's European marketing operation rose to his position from a warehouse in Argentina, by way of successive jobs in Chile and Italy, each at a higher level of responsibility. He now works out of Rochester. And if you don't think that's a formidable background of experience in any business conference, I'd like to expose you to the gentlemen in action some time.

It is quite encouraging and gratifying to note the growing number of appointments of foreign nationals to key positions within their companies. M. Maisonrouge of IBM is

one notable example. If business is to be truly global in perspective, we can use a good deal more of this.

Let us turn now from the talents of managers to those of the underproductive people of the United States and the world. Here, too, there are mental sets inhibiting the realization of human potential.

One of the most common could be called "Nothing But the Best." Its keynote is a confusion between objectives and methods.

Matching jobs with people is one of the definitive tasks of industrial management. To perform it, we think we have developed some very effective procedures. As we have learned more about psychology, sociology, and testing methods, our capability for picking out the "right person" for the job has become more precise. Or so we are led to believe. But it appears that we may have become so fascinated with testing methods that we are making them an end in themselves. The question that we ought properly to be asking as managers is: At what point does it cost more to test people out than to train them in?

The newest evidence available suggests that this point may be much lower than our preconceptions have allowed ourselves to believe. Consider the results demonstrated by the Board for Fundamental Education, which has helped Kodak, among others, to bring out the potential of the functionally illiterate. These are persons who, by any conventional set of tests or accepted level of educational achievement, would be rejected at the employment office. For \$300, which doesn't buy much in the way of tests or interviews these days, a man can be given 150 hours of experience in "learning how to learn." What will 150 hours do for him? It will bring him from fourth-grade to eighth-grade equivalency. With possibilities like this opening up, we can well afford to be more daring in our ideas about who can become more productive in this world. That inner personal drive we call motivation is given a chance to blossom in an atmosphere of helpful understanding.

The final mental set I wish to consider fits well into the maxim "When in Rome Do As the Romans Do." I should point out that I am specifically exempting such superlative examples as Signore Agnelli. After witnessing him in action this morning, I am sure that any attempt to match him would result in exhaustion in a matter of minutes. But a specific injunction of the "When-In-Rome" mental set is that you cannot expect the same results from people brought up in a pre-industrial society as from those brought up in an advanced one. So, the reasoning goes, you just have to change your standards.

I am all for cultural adjustment and remedial training, as I tried to indicate earlier. But those in positions of responsibility have the obligation of giving more than routine thought to the matter of when and where to make adjustment. There is the story of the personnel consultant who was hired to work on the selection of pilot candidates for the national airline of a developing country. The employment manager of the airline, who was understandably eager to get some pilots hired and up into the air objected to the aptitude tests. Because they came from another culture, he argued, the applicants ought to be allowed more time to complete them. The consultant countered that the planes they would be flying and the charts they would be using also came from that other culture. Furthermore, response time is a critical factor in determining a man's capacity to fly a plane safely. The manager refused to see this logic. He insisted on more time. So, the consultant finally resolved the issue by offering a compromise. He would double the time for completing the test—if the manager could assure him that the airports all around the world would double the length of their runways.

So, again, we must fix very carefully on what the objectives are. A brake lining has to do the same job whether it is manufactured in Belgium or Brazil. Steel beams have to have the specified bearing strength whether they are produced in Austria or India. And to show you what's on my mind once more, film produced in a plant in Guadalajara must turn out equally good pictures as film made in a plant in Rochester.

We can and should allow wide differences in how different people go about a job. But we cannot deceive them or ourselves for very long regarding the value of what they produce. A good case in point is the experience of Camura, Inc., the first attempt at a minority-owned-and-operated enterprise which Kodak undertook to sponsor in one of the ghettos of Rochester. Camura's principal business is repairing cameras. So, there was much that Kodak could do in aiding this ambitious young firm to get off the ground. We could, for example, tell the president of Camura the kind of business controls he needed to set up. We could tell the repairmen what to look for in servicing simple cameras. We could even tell them that we would assure them a certain number of camera repair jobs a year as a base load. But in the first shakedown weeks, when twenty percent of the cameras coming through proved to be defective, we could not tell them that these cameras were all right. To the credit of the Camura organization, they saw the point and tightened up their quality control on their own. Now, their percentage of rejects is as low as Kodak's own in-house plant facility.

To sum up this matter of making the poor productive, there are many, many ways of getting people up in the air. Getting them where they want to go is a different thing entirely. We have been considering here this week nothing less than opening up the whole globe as the explorers of the past opened up a single nation or a region. The advances made in transportation and communication over just the past few years give us encouragement for believing that it can be done. But the most difficult part of the journey may well be the five or ten millimeters through the human skull. If we would open the world, we must first open minds.

I have spoken of things today that were normally thought of as outside the role of business not very long ago. If our dialogue here this week demonstrates anything, it demonstrates that there really is no longer any such thing as *the* role for business. Business interacts completely with the society in which it finds itself. Indeed, it helps to make that society what it is.

Thus, we have seen business in this country conduct what has been termed the most effective single effort in the national drive against poverty—the Job Corps.

We have seen business join with government to plan and operate the most complex system of man and machinery ever attempted—the project to put men on the moon and bring them back again.

We have seen business and the university interact to create a flow of new technology that has radically altered the conditions of life on this planet.

I started my career in business not long after a President of the United States could speak for a large segment of the population in saying: "The business of America is business." As I approach the end of that career, the responsibility of business has expanded to the point where it can now be said that the business of business is human development. The laws of economic engineering still stand, to be sure, but the frontiers of that largely unexplored land of human engineering are just opening up.

Looking ahead into the 70's and following, I am inclined to think the corporation that is not in the business of human development may not be in any business. At least not for long.

GREAT GREY ICE GATHERING  
LAUDED

## HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, December 20, 1969

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I wish to commend President Nixon and Secretary of the Interior Hickel on their planned "Great Grey Ice Gathering" in Richmond. This event, and similar seminars to be held in nine other cities, will reflect Secretary Hickel's belief that we should "involve the youth of our Nation in the fight to prevent the contamination of our environment." Students from all over the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration's Middle Atlantic Region will be attending the December 30 Richmond seminar. I ask unanimous consent that some additional information on this worthy project be printed in the RECORD.

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

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,  
Charlottesville, Va., December 10, 1969.

HON. HUGH SCOTT,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR SCOTT: I thought you would be interested in the information contained in the enclosed news release and newspaper clipping.

The "Great Grey Ice Gathering" in Richmond, Virginia, and the similar seminars being held in nine other cities in the United States at the same time are being held at the request of Secretary Walter J. Hickel to "involve the youth of our Nation in the fight to prevent the contamination of our environment."

Students from Pennsylvania have been invited to the Richmond gathering, since it is part of the area designated as the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration's Middle Atlantic Region.

If you are interested we will be glad to provide you additional information or to assist you in any way we can, should you wish to become involved in the "Gathering."

Sincerely yours,

F. R. BLAISDELL,  
Acting Regional Director.

## CLEAN WATER NEWS

DECEMBER 9, 1969.

Richmond has a Great Grey Ice Gathering in its future, according to area students and the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration.

The Great Grey Ice Gathering, to be held Tuesday, December 30, in the Richmond Arena blends hard rock music, movies, speeches, young people from the Mid-Atlantic States and Federal Water Pollution Control Administration officials as a first step by FWPCA's boss, Interior Secretary Walter J. Hickel, to involve young people in what is turning out to be a life-or-death struggle to quit destroying our environment.

Jointly sponsored by the FWPCA and the Mid-Atlantic Student Council on Pollution in the Environment (SCOPE), the Great Grey Ice Gathering will begin "about 1 p.m. December 30 and last until the music and words no longer stir the gathering," according to Patti Collins, SCOPE Co-chairman and University of Richmond co-ed.

Collins said the "Gathering" would provide students "with the kind of information they need to react intelligently to the apathy of Government officials and business and indus-

trial leaders to the awesome environmental crises now blooming in the United States."

Eugene Jensen, Director of FWPCA's Mid-Atlantic Region said it was evident that young people were growing concerned about the kind of planet they will inherit from older generations.

His office, he said, would provide any assistance it could to student efforts to reverse the long-continuing debasement of the environment in the United States.

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

Jensen encouraged students from all States in the Mid-Atlantic Region to attend the Great Grey Ice Gathering in Richmond. Those States are Pennsylvania, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and the District of Columbia, in addition to Virginia. Events similar to the Great Grey Ice Gathering are also planned for the cities of Boston, Cincinnati, Chicago, Atlanta, Dallas, and San Francisco on December 29 and in Kansas City and Portland on December 30.

SCOPE Co-chairman Randall Simmons, graduate student from the University of Virginia, stressed that the December 30 meeting was simply the first of SCOPE's activities.

"In addition to organizing the Gathering," Simmons said, "the twelve-member SCOPE intends to meet regularly and provide Mr. Jensen and Secretary Hickel with the thinking of young people, and to serve as a focal point for organizing student environmental activities."

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

"GREAT GREY ICE GATHERING"—ACID ROCK  
DANCE MAY DEFUSE "BOMB"

(By Hamilton Crockford)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But it's cold outside in late December, baby, and that means ice. And the rivers are all gray with pollution, and that makes gray ice.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"We said, 'No, we'll have a be-in,'" she said.

"Mr. Jensen said, 'M-m-m-m,'" she laughed.

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

"There'll be an acid rock dance—something that's dynamic," she'd already told the news conference. But the Great Grey

Ice Gathering will have "a two-fold purpose.—It will also be an educational experience," she explained.

They hope to educate their elders, too.

## BUILDING BRIDGES ACROSS THE GENERATION GAP

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, December 20, 1969

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, we constantly are being urged to understand the motivations and goals of the so-called mod generation. Speaking as the father of three teenaged sons, in whom I take great pride, I must say that this is a day-in, day-out effort in the Minshall household, as I am sure it is in the homes of many of my colleagues with youngsters.

But, this understanding should be a two-way street and I was pleased to receive from a constituent, Mr. C. H. MacFarland of Rocky River, Ohio, a thoughtful letter he recently wrote to his boy, a Peace Corps worker in Malaysia. Mr. MacFarland speaks up for "our side" and, in doing so, builds an effective bridge across the generation gap. I would very much like to share his wisdom with you:

NOVEMBER 30, 1969.

DEAR CHARLES: I think we need to clarify a few things about this so-called "Generation Gap". Your point of view is indeed different from your father's, and perhaps if I explained the circumstances that have caused me to feel the way I do, you would understand me better. After all, a "Gap", if it exists, is one of communications.

Viewpoints change in the natural course of life, radical youth and conservative old age. The "have not" youth becomes a "have" as he progresses through the years, as responsibilities increase, he provides for his family, and then later for his own old age and the attendant lack of income.

You will say that we live in a changing world. Yes, I have worked hard to see a lot of changes come into fruition. Progress in engineering has vastly changed our home life. Much of the tedious drudgery of daily house keeping has been removed, and we now live in an almost servantless society. But we will have a social problem till the house servant class is readjusted. I am sure that this can be done in our economic system, unless certain forces of self-interest, the politicians, use the adjustment period as an excuse for welfare schemes to exploit this class.

Other special problems have come up in the last 20 years which I view with greater alarm, a decay of human values, a loss of moral fiber, exploitation of our too human weaknesses, perversion of our established principles, in the feeling that "establishment" of any kind is not a legacy, but a yoke of oppression.

Let us consider together how this has happened in my lifetime, in the last 50 years or so.

In my early youth I was subject to many influences which made me a proud, patriotic American, grandfathers who had fought to free the slaves and preserve the Union, a father who fought in Cuba to free the Cubans from Spanish domination, remember the Maine to Hell with Spain. Then along came World War I, the newspapers screamed bloody murder when the "Huns" sank the Lusitania, we could hardly wait to "Hang the Kaiser"

and "Make the World Safe for Democracy". In eleven months it was over, "Over There", and everybody went back to work to make this the greatest country, the "melting pot" of the world.

But alas, the bankers fouled things up. Speculation became the order of the day, something for nothing, the market reaching new highs, a gambler's paradise with everyone rich. That is, until October 1929, when the bitter truth of "what goes up must come down" became evident. The Republican government, caught flat footed, could do nothing but mourn the corpse of our economy, having had no experience in matters of this kind.

Into this morass of despond, I was launched as a B.S. in M.E. in 1931. Good engineers with years of experience were roving the streets, willing to accept any kind of job to feed their needy families. What chance had I for any kind of security? There was no social worker to see that I got my welfare check. Too proud to beg or demand charity, we got along on very little, with help from relatives. Didn't we have real cause to complain about the "establishment" that got us into the economic mess? Did we make "welfare demands", why didn't we all become Communists? Because the newspapers insisted that "prosperity was just around the corner". It wasn't. They said that the American way, of "guts" and "self reliance" would pull us through it. It didn't. The "ragged American" became a "ragged American".

Then along came a "New Deal" for all of us, the avowed intent of which, with W.P.A. and N.R.A. was to get the country back on its feet. This intent soon became "tax and tax," "spend and spend," as the advocates of "big government" in Washington, the Congress and the Administration sought as their goal perpetuation in office, and it has remained so since.

"Big Government" and increased deficit got a big leap forward when World War II started in Europe. A few blunders by the Admirals in Washington resulted in the Pearl Harbor debacle, and this time we were in it for nearly 5 years. We could have done it quicker, but who in Washington was in a hurry? First they drafted an army about three times as big as was needed even if masses of infantry played any part in this new type of war. It didn't.

Well, in five years as I said, it was all over, and we got the army down to about 3 million men. Now an army of 3 million men in peacetime with nothing to do, is an awful waste of manpower even if you deploy them all over the world to occupy the countries of your former enemies and to protect your former allies. To keep this enormous army manned in full numbers, and with the ridiculous excuse that the discharge of the excess service men would swell the ranks of the unemployed, a Congress more interested in perpetuating itself in office than in the lives of the 3 million, prolonged the draft under the same rules used in the war. Legal grounds were that we had authorized peacetime draft just before the war started.

Then came about the great schism, the Generation Gap was born. Any man in the college age group knew that he was meat for the draft board. The colleges were overcrowded and the college professors were top dogs. Drunk with power over the students, they rubbed it in, making veritable slaves of them, 150 men crowded into a Physics lecture course known that 10% or more of the class, at the whim of the lecturer, were going to be flunked and spend two years or more in the "armed services" in innocuous desuetude. No wonder that the students became enemies of the establishment that mistreated them!

Those who went into journalism found a fine opportunity for revenge, when, after the prolonged newspaper strikes of the early

60's, the Newspaper Guild got the power to control what the papers printed. Now the poor underpaid reporters had their way, a power formerly enjoyed by the editors and publishers. Even Bertie McCormick gave in, everything was "organized".

Will Roger's statement "All I know is what I read in the papers" is regrettably still true, and unfortunately applies to all of us. It's just that some of us have longer memories than others.

When the formerly called "gentlemen of the fourth estate" worked themselves up to a frenzy with their news and TV coverage of the Chicago convention just before the last presidential election, they succeeded in discrediting the Chicago police force and Mayor Daley so well that they discredited the whole convention, and gave the election to the Republicans because the voters had seen less insanity in their earlier Miami convention, where the paid "demonstrators" were fewer and less violent. This may well have been the mistake that prolonged the existence of our Republic.

Now the press is plugging for anarchy on the campus, where revenge is sweet. Already weakened by the insidious grants from Big Government which have cost them their vitality, and unable to get protection from arson and pillage from a shackled police force, the colleges are getting some of that "instant slum clearance".

They have decided for us that we will lose the war in Viet Nam. They take every opportunity to malign our brave men who fight there, and publish distorted casualty lists. Our former policy of winning wars on the battlefield and losing them at the conference table is to be changed, they want us to withdraw now and lose our first war. All our losses will have been in vain if we give up now. "Stop the war and we will talk peace" came from our enemy only when his crafty little Oriental mind convinced him he could not win by force, now perhaps he can win with propaganda. We fell for this assinine proposal, our acceptance of it made fools of us in their Oriental eyes. But we will withdraw and thus hasten the Communist conquest of Asia. We learned nothing from Korea.

At the same time, other attacks from within are wounding the body of our country, spear thrusts from a senile Supreme Court. Perhaps too busy with outside interests, many of the members seem to be letting their "angry young men" assistants make the decisions. The Constitution provided lifetime jobs for these old men without considering that many men's minds deteriorate after the age of 65. Some sort of psychiatric test at stated intervals should have been provided for, like the driver's license tests for our senior citizens.

Their decisions undermining the police forces, impeding the war on crime, releasing floods of criminals from our jails because the policeman forgot to say "please" when he arrested them, their decisions releasing floods of pornography upon our children and upon our feeble-minded, decisions making it next to impossible to convict a dope pusher, decisions based on vague and indefinitely stated "rights" of honest citizens, which they have read into an eighteenth century Constitution, all these make it obvious that our Court has no notion of reality. They seem to take delight in thus frustrating the law abiding tax payers who pay their salaries, and for whom they are supposed to be working. Every Monday the patriotic citizen shudders at the latest wounds they inflict upon our poor Country. Imagine how long any engineer would stay on his job if he took such a vituperative attitude toward his employers.

How long can the business people, the hated "Establishment" who are financing all this, survive under these repeated attacks by a sniping Supreme Court and a masochis-

tic press? We may be taxed to death first. Out of my small salary is stolen before I ever see it, enough money to support a family of four on relief, based on the present Ohio Welfare Rate. Over a million people on relief in New York City alone, very soon now more people will be multiplying on a government subsidy than are gainfully employed. Congress wants to pay people not to work as they pay farmers not to raise corn. They are buying votes with tax money for self perpetuation in office.

Our most knowledgeable historians, Charles Beard and others, assert that our country and our civilization will decay from within and smother in its own affluence before it is conquered by external enemies, as did Athens, Rome and the rest. We have put men on the moon and brought them back, we have conquered most diseases, transplanted hearts, split the atom, invested the Pill, built over 200 million automobiles, and 75 million televisions. Why must this lead us to anarchy and ultimately to Big Brother because ruthless elements are determined to make us the Divided States of America?

Generation Gap? All we need to close it is a common understanding of the problems we face, and recognition of the old virtues of self reliance and thrift which made us great. Also must come an appreciation that the problems are yours as well as mine. The only difference is that they are mine today, and yours when you take my place.

With love,

DAD.

#### FOOTBALL BRINGS OUT A WEALTH OF HUMAN RESPONSE

### HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, December 20, 1969

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, football is one of this Nation's greatest past-times. It is a tremendous way to build character and responsibility among the players. But more important it brings out a wealth of human responses.

I would like to share with you and my colleagues a column by my good friend, Ralph Hyman, executive sports editor of the Rochester, N.Y., Times-Union, which vividly demonstrates this:

[From the Rochester (N.Y.) Times-Union, Dec. 8, 1969]

NIXON CALLED THE SHOT ON TEXAS COMEBACK  
(By Ralph Hyman)

What makes football a great game, among other things, are the human responses it evokes.

There was the president of the United States, being interviewed Saturday in the locker room of the winners, the Texas Longhorns. And "the boy" in him popped out, "Please excuse me for bragging," he interjected, and then he went on to relate how he had predicted what would happen in the second half of the Texas-Arkansas game.

At halftime, the ABC interviewer had asked Nixon for his opinions about the game in which Arkansas then led, 7-0. The President qualified his standing as a football expert by saying that he had learned a lot about it while warming the bench in college.

He said that he believed that Texas had a lot of power "that hadn't yet been unleashed," that they would score probably two touchdowns in the second half, and in the late stages of the game their greater depth would pay off. He complimented the Arkansas offense and said he thought the

Razorbacks might score another touchdown, too.

The score was 15-14 in favor of Texas. And then to the consternation of fans of Penn State, the President said that "the AP and UPI will name Texas No. 1 after this game."

He himself had said that one of the great things about football is that you take sides, that you express yourself in favor of one team or the other.

From the refreshing boyishness of our leader, the gamut of emotions ran to the touching religiosity in the Texas locker room, where, after the game, Coach Darrell Royal led his team in The Lord's Prayer.

Another heartwarming vignette of human emotion was the exit of quarterback Bill Montgomery of Arkansas, who must have been heartbroken over the escape of a victory that was within his grasp. He didn't throw his helmet or chase the officials, screaming. He walked calmly off the field with his arm around the shoulder of teammate Bruce Maxwell.

It looked as if they said a few things to each other, and you can imagine the conversation. They had given their all, but on this day it wasn't to be.

Because of Arkansas' unexpected show of strength and finesse, the Sugar Bowl now becomes a more attractive New Year's Day offering. There had been some remarks passed around that this would be a second rate game because they were taking the loser of the Southwest Conference to face Mississippi.

As for the Cotton Bowl, Notre Dame, with the legends of Knute Rockne and George Gipp riding the bench, must be given a good chance to beat Texas.

Following the telecast of the Texas-Arkansas contest, ABC showed on tape the awarding of the Heisman Trophy to Steve Owens, the great tailback from Oklahoma.

Here was this indestructible athlete, the best college football player in the land breaking down while thanking "my parents, my brothers and sisters, teammates and coaches for making this award possible."

This was the man who carried the ball 55 times for 261 yards in an awesome display of power when the Sooners beat arch-rival Oklahoma State by one point.

But when it came time to step and receive the highest sort of individual recognition, Owens cried like a school kid.

It was wonderful. Far more touching than all of the artificial dramas TV conjures up.

#### AN OLD CHINESE PROVERB

### HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Saturday, December 20, 1969

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, from a very fine resident of Frederick County, Va., Mrs. Helen Leigh Smith, the wife of Dr. George Smith, I received an old Chinese proverb which I feel is worth calling to the attention of Senators. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

If there is righteousness in the heart, there will be beauty in the character.

If there is beauty in the character, there will be harmony in the family home.

If there is harmony in the home, there will be order in the nation.

Where there is order in the nation, there will be peace in the world.

#### THE 1970'S JAPAN'S DECADE?

### HON. ALBERT W. JOHNSON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, December 20, 1969

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I have come upon this editorial in the Bradford Era, published in my district at Bradford, Pa., which is a very fine resumé of the situation of our role throughout the world in the coming 1970's. I am submitting it for the RECORD as I feel that it should be of great interest to the Members. The editorial follows:

#### THE 1970'S JAPAN'S DECADE?

Those who make a profession of watching Asia have decided that the 1970's will see a marked upsurge in Japanese influence in Asia. It is ironic that the Japanese may very well accomplish by peaceful trade, democratic government and heavy industrialization what it failed to do by force of arms in the 1940's.

Herman Kahn, the chief of the Hudson Institute's "think tank," sees Japanese economic influence as dominant in Asia during the next 10 years. For America, this will be both a matter of pride and a definite challenge. It was America, after all, that helped Japan rise from her knees after World War II and which taught the Japanese the benefits of democratic government.

However, there are some other elements to consider in Asia during the next decade, which Mr. Kahn enumerates as follows:

Indonesia will be coming of age and has a rich potential in both raw materials and manufacturing. However, there is some question of whether or not the nation can remain on the course set for it by the able President Suharto.

Vietnam will remain a serious question, even if the fighting should stop tomorrow. Massive doses of American aid will be required to prop up whatever government winds up in control of Saigon (barring outright Communist control), and little can be expected in return for at least another 15-20 years. The nation has been a victim of war, after all, for more than two decades. What economy it has is devoted exclusively to feeding—and not very adequately at times—its people to enriching a relative few powerful landowners.

Red China continues to be a serious threat, especially since China has the atomic weaponry and is rapidly developing the missile hardware to deliver it. In addition, leadership is highly unstable. At the moment, China lies outside all nuclear arms and testing limitation treaties and the finger on its atomic trigger is old and cranky and, perhaps, not a little mad.

Russia's Asian involvement is both historic and geographic. The history of Russia in Asia has never been a happy one and it culminated in the Russo-Japanese war at the beginning of the 20th Century. But during the 1960's, Russia has been pushing for more influence in Asia and has been gradually edging toward warm water ports that would give her both trade and military importance in the North Pacific.

India remains a question mark. While only nominally a democracy, it has been pushing toward full democratization with the breakup of the old ruling Congress Party. The incidents involving Mrs. Ghandi last month were only the tip of the iceberg showing above the surface. Major political changes impend in India, and with them, much of India's future as a powerful industrial nation. Japan's stable government plus her headstart in industrialization will most likely leave

India in the shame for another 10 to 15 years.

The United States, meanwhile, is intent upon a policy of strengthening both India and Japan as a counterpoise to Red China. Japan, the only nation ever to suffer nuclear attack, is understandably uncomfortable at the thought of China's potential. India, with a long common frontier with the Chinese, is in no better case.

The recent U.S.-Japanese accord over Okinawa may well be the foundation for a series of military agreements which will provide the Japanese with a low-cost American umbrella against Chinese nuclear threats.

Meanwhile, what America is able to accomplish as an Asian power—a role we have played since we first opened Japan in the 19th Century—depends largely on how well we come out of the Vietnam War. If we lose face in Vietnam, then neither India nor Japan is going to have much faith in our ability to protect them.

But as the outlook stands now, Japanese growth is almost assured, and America will have to deal with that, too, in its calculations.

#### REMEMBERING THOSE WHO SERVE IN VIETNAM

### HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, December 20, 1969

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, with the holiday season now upon us, I was highly impressed and deeply moved by William S. White's editorial in today's Washington Post entitled "Denial of Pity to Vietnam GI's Will Stain Heritage for Years."

Because I believe these words have special meaning for every Member of Congress, and since my own views on this subject so closely parallel those of Mr. White, I am asking that a copy of his editorial be inserted in the RECORD following my remarks, as well as an address of mine delivered on Veterans' Day in Napa, Calif. Together, I believe these documents tell of the extraordinary courage and contribution being made by our gallant men in Vietnam.

In addition to those American fighting men of whom Mr. White speaks, those who will enjoy at least some of the merriment and religious observances associated with Christmas, my thoughts again go out to those American prisoners of war and men listed as "missing in action," but believed held captive by Hanoi. Since Communists do not recognize or celebrate Christmas as a religious holiday, I doubt that these suffering men will have much of a Christmas.

But, as Mr. White says, "history has a long memory and it may yet come about that self-sacrifice and duty done in this war will be no badge of un-hip disgrace in the years ahead."

The materials follow:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post,  
Dec. 20, 1969]

#### DENIAL OF PITY TO VIETNAM GIs WILL STAIN HERITAGE FOR YEARS

(By William S. White)

This will surely be the bleakest of Christmases to those Americans who carry the rifle in Vietnam—but let them know at least

that there are those among us who have not forgotten them and never will.

It is no longer chic—or even permissible, in some circles—to wave the flag. Still, it is not yet an indictable offense to salute those men across the world who have fought so brave and so lonely a weight with so little honor from a country whose loudest politicians and shrillest commentators are so busily engaged in demeaning them and the cause in which they serve.

The doughs, the dogfaces, the GI Joes might well be pardoned if it appeared to them that we back here were so preoccupied with the alleged excesses somewhere of some possibly aberrant and combat-maddened handful of soldiers that we had no compassion or thought to spare for the hundreds of thousands whose quiet and dogged gallantry has had no parallel in all the history of warfare.

It is, as the saying goes—and goes and goes and goes—an "unpopular war," as one can hear every day from New Left senators whose "sensitivity" is so often self-proclaimed and whose concern for those who die in war stops so oddly short of these, our own troops. So it is that one must wonder whether the forward lines in Vietnam can hope for a single Christmas remembrance apart from that of the President and those from immediate next-of-kin here at home.

Perhaps not. But history has a long memory and it may yet come about that self-sacrifice and duty done in this war will be no badge of un-hip disgrace in the years ahead. And let them know, too, that it was not ever thus and that, as an impossible square English writer called Dickens once observed, there are also such things as the ghosts of Christmas past and future. There is one concept that the spirit of Christmas moves upon a rope of time without beginning or end and thus, that if a single Christmas rewards men with stones for bread, another Christmas upon the endless belt will nevertheless come to rescue and relieve them, after all.

Indeed, it was certainly not ever thus. One man recalls a Christmas of 26 years ago, when other American troops stood far from home in the wet and special blackness of an English wintertime while their superior officers in a headquarters called cossack were making the plan for the invasion of occupied France. We, too, were gone away: but, so achingly unlike the generation of infantrymen now in Vietnam, we had a united nation at our backs and we had the glowing, the unforgettable, privilege of the remembrance of those who had stayed here at home.

So it was that in England then no man could really be alone on Christmas Eve. Every material thing was in short supply—and most of all whisky. But every material thing (and every spiritual thing, too), however scanty, was shared out gladly from man to man, and for that matter from English civilian to American soldier. And so all through the enveloping darkness there shone the great light of comradeship and shared hope that is so poignantly denied today in those who stand alone in Vietnam.

What we have done to these, the least of us in terms of privilege, of comfort and of elementary compassion withheld, will stain our heritage for generations to come. This it will surely do, irrespective of history's ultimate verdict upon the wisdom of the war itself. For these, the non-"kids" who have borne the ghastly burden of our first action at arms ever to be refused even the pity of so many of the unengaged, will at length present us with a moral bill for which no repayment can ever be made.

The season of Christmas is no time for re-creations; but one observer cannot forbear a single remark that is no doubt bare of charity: I, for one, should not like to carry on my conscience the awareness that in op-

posing a war policy made by high authority I had curled my lips, as many a famous dove has done, at the poor, bloody infantry that had to carry the load.

#### REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN DON H. CLAUSEN ON VETERANS' DAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1969

During the past 200 years, 38 million American men and women have responded to their nation's call—from the frozen fields of Valley Forge to the steaming jungles of South Vietnam.

As we pause once again to pay homage to these veterans, I cannot forget or resist this opportunity to read a letter written by a GI serving his third tour of duty in Vietnam to his parents. Regardless of how we, as individuals, feel about the war or the efforts for peace now being made, I believe this letter sums up better than anything I could possibly say, just where we, as people, find ourselves on this Veterans' Day, 1969.

Let me read from this letter:

"Dear Mom and Dad:

"I've been doing a lot of serious thinking about the state of world affairs, mostly about America and some of the news we hear. I've got a question I'd like to ask all the people back home . . .

"My God, how can it be?

"That one boy lies rotting from malnutrition and torture in a jungle prison camp in North Vietnam and another boy spits and tramples on the flag of his country on the steps of a university of learning.

"That one boy lies sightless in a U.S. naval hospital from communist-inflicted face wounds, and another boy uses a communist flag to drape himself in defiance of the laws of our country.

"That one man of medicine begins his 30th straight hour standing over an operating table in pursuit of life for a man serving his country, while another man of medicine implores crowds of young men to refuse to serve.

"That one Negro holds the face of his dead white buddy in his arms and cries without shame in a rice paddy of mud, and another Negro screams hate against his white brother on the street of an American city.

"That one boy lies in a coffin beneath the ground because he believed in duty to country, and another boy lies on a dingy cot giving blood to the enemies of his country.

"That one man of God shields a wounded boy from an enemy bayonet with his own body and dies, while another man of God uses his cloth as a shield to preach hate, dissension and lawlessness.

"That one man spends his life in uniform serving his country, while another spends his life on drugs or in crime, hate and bigotry.

"My God, how can it be? . . ."

The flames of bitterness, resentment and division burn brightly on this Veteran's Day as America desperately searches for the answer to this young soldier's question, because certainly, it is a question that is on the minds of millions of Americans.

It is ironic, I believe, and not too far removed from the theme of the soldier's letter, that we should honor America's servicemen and veterans on this day—only to be followed in a few more days by demonstrations against our government and our President who is trying desperately to end the war and secure peace, with genuine freedom, in Vietnam and to bring our troops home.

Let there be no doubt, I strongly support the right of citizens to peaceably assemble and/or express dissent against government policy. This is a basic right that I shall defend with all the vigor at my command. But, I question any demonstration against the war that criticizes only the President of the U.S.—that calls for the withdrawal of only U.S. troops—that calls on only the U.S. government to work harder for peace—or that

condemns only one party to the conflict for the slow progress being made in negotiations at Paris. I also believe the American people are getting as tired of one-sided demonstrations in this country as they are of the war in Vietnam. However, isn't it about time these demonstrations start "Telling It To Hanoi?"

As most of you know, I was among the first—back in 1965, again in 1968 and 1969—to express my strong disapproval with the manner in which the war in Vietnam was being handled.

But, to express disapproval and criticism, by itself, is not enough. If one is not satisfied and disagrees with established policy, as responsible citizens, we have an obligation, in my judgment, to provide or offer a constructive alternative to that policy. Because, to me, the easiest thing in the world is to say, "I disagree." The real challenge is "What would you do differently or what course of action would you recommend?"—if you had the awesome responsibilities associated with the Presidency of these United States.

Those were the same basic questions I asked of myself. The results were, as most of you will recall, the development of our "Phase-In/Phase-Out Concept" through the creation of a Free Asian Security Organization.

This concept was presented as a "constructive alternative" to the policy in Vietnam that I submitted first in 1965 and then to President Johnson in early 1968, as well as to Presidential Candidate Richard Nixon.

In describing the concept, it suggested: "Very briefly, it means redirecting the manpower emphasis in Vietnam whereby vastly more South Vietnamese and Free Asian Security forces would be injected into the ground war there and a like number of American fighting men withdrawn on a carefully conceived, methodical and realistic timetable basis.

"This could be done by creation of what I call a 'Free Asian Security Organization' composed of regular military units of the countries of Free Asia which are directly threatened by Communist expansion."

As many of you have told me, President Nixon's "Vietnamization" of the war and his November 3rd Nationwide, televised speech had a familiar ring and followed the basic concept of "Phase-In/Phase-Out" very closely.

This, of course, gives me a great sense of personal satisfaction because I firmly believe we are finally on the right course in Vietnam.

According to a recent poll, apparently 77% of the American people agree, and only 6% disagree, with President Nixon's policy.

As a recent editorial in the Santa Rosa Press Democrat said,

"Public utterances by those participating in the October 15 'Vietnam Moratorium' demonstration fell largely into two divergent categories.

"Quite predictably, those who had spent months preparing and promoting the demonstration parroted, thought for thought, what the North Vietnamese have been saying at the Paris peace conferences—the United States must immediately withdraw all forces from South Vietnam, unconditionally and regardless of consequences.

"Some members of Congress and other public figures urged instead that a phased withdrawal of American troops be made.

"What these politicians are now saying, curiously enough, is exactly what the Nixon administration has publicly announced it is doing, and intends to keep on doing. This is an easy time to say it, and a popular time to say it—but they neglect to say where they were when President Kennedy turned a military advisorship into a small-sized war or when President Johnson turned it into a major conflict.

"Or even where they were when the Redwood Empire's Congressman, Don Clausen, advanced the concept of a planned, time-tabled and orderly, phase-out of American participation. It was not the politically expedient thing to say at the time Mr. Clausen said it, and he received no support from some of his colleagues who more than a year later were advancing the same concept just as though it was not already underway, and just as though they had themselves just invented it in a sudden blinding flash of inspiration.

"Well, that's political expediency, we guess. Fortunately, it also happened to be responsible statesmanship, even if some of those come lately to the principle of phased withdrawal were a long time arriving."

I say the time has come for all Americans to demonstrate by deeds, not words, that we are one Nation, under God, indivisible, seeking peace, with freedom, justice and liberty for all mankind.

I say the time has come to re-unite these "Dis-United" States, by telling Hanoi and all Communist leaders in the world that the people of this Nation are still the leaders of the Free World—we are still the symbol of Freedom and Free Institution Building—offering that ray of hope to other peoples and countries who have a common desire and yearning for freedom.

One need only look to Czechoslovakia to realize the contrast between real freedom and the totalitarian Communist regimes imposed on people by the leadership from Moscow.

Remember, no country has chosen Communism as a system through free elections—it has been thrust upon people and kept in control by outside forces.

One need only recall President Nixon's warm welcome by the people of Rumania to remind us of the respect people still have for our country and our people.

Veterans' Day, 1969, has many meanings to me.

It is a day, set aside, to honor, pay our respects, and our appreciation to those Veterans of all wars for the extreme sacrifices they have made in defending our Nation and the cause of freedom throughout the world.

But, on this Veterans' Day, I believe we owe a special debt of gratitude to those veterans directly associated with the Vietnam conflict.

These men did not ask to be sent to fight this controversial, complex and very unpopular war—they went there because the then-elected Presidents and Commanders-in-Chief committed this Nation to that region.

To their everlasting and resounding credit, I will never cease to be amazed at how well they've kept a high morale, demonstrated extraordinary courage, ability and leadership in what must be recognized as the "worst of all wars."

To me, these men have demonstrated something special: they've overcome great odds overseas, they've held their heads high above the Internal dissent here at home and they've shown, once again, that an American fighting man is a man of character and courage that is accompanied by a benevolent and understanding attitude toward friend and foe alike.

They've shown an ability to adjust and adapt themselves to the most difficult of all threats to our security—guerrilla warfare!

They've demonstrated unusual skills and flexibility in handling very sophisticated and technical equipment, pacification, education, and training responsibilities, never before dreamed of during our time of military service.

Providing security for Free Nations in a Nuclear Age will require new dimensions, new security training and equipment, new and firmed-up alliances with our Free World friends.

It will require accelerated economic, diplomatic, and security integration among the free Nations—a merger of the Free Nations to advance the common interests, the social and economic progress of all people.

We must learn how to retain and improve our independence by maximizing our Free Nation inter-dependence.

There is no other choice in a Nuclear Age.

As we observe Veterans' Day, we, as veterans, have additional and continuing responsibilities: to keep up to date on all security matters.

In addition to "Telling It To Hanoi," we must communicate with all Americans—veterans and non-veterans alike—to tell them that all Americans need a broader understanding of the current day threats to our security—the complex problems associated with counter-guerrilla warfare techniques and the tremendously technical nuclear and space weapons systems.

We were trained to handle conventional military and warfare techniques.

This is one of the primary reasons the Vietnam and other guerrilla conflicts have been so difficult to understand. Honestly ask yourself, how many of you could explain guerrilla or nuclear warfare to your family or friends?

We must be able to explain that no Free Nation or system within that Nation can survive or endure without security.

Security is essential to political stability and political stability is essential to economic and social progress.

What we all seek is freedom of choice; fair, firm and factual free institutions through responsive and responsible government.

To me, that's what Vietnam and self-determination are all about.

We need to "tell it like it is," but we must also become better equipped to tell the whole story.

I hope eVeterans' Day, 1969, will be a turning point in history.

I hope it will be a day of re-dedication to advancing the cause of peace with freedom in Vietnam and in all the world.

Recently, in our Nation's Capitol, I attended the funeral of one of our most colorful and greatest Americans, the one and only Senator Everett Dirksen.

There was, understandably, a second funeral ceremony in his home community in Illinois. I was told by colleagues that made the trip to Illinois that they observed, on that day, something exciting, heart-warming and rewarding.

They saw rows of people—children, parents, businesses and residences, all bedecked with American flags, holding them and waving them, unashamedly.

Somehow, I get the feeling that more and more Americans are becoming fed up with violence, militancy and wild, uncontrolled demonstrations.

I get the feeling they are tired of what some people are against and are searching desperately for something in the way of a cause they can all be for.

There is in the making, I believe, a resurgence of patriotism and pride in our country and what it stands for.

I sense a burning desire to put freedom on the move—recognizing full well that freedom isn't free—that we must all sacrifice and pay a price if we want to preserve our liberty.

I sense that the true spirit of America is coming alive, where patriotism and the pride of Old Glory will once again unite our people toward the common goal of peace on earth and good will toward man.

In the words of Douglas Jerrold: "We love peace—but not peace at any price! There is a peace more destructive of the manhood of living man than war is destructive of his material body. Chains are worse than bayonets."

And so I submit, that if the peace some seek in Vietnam only ends up chaining the people of South Vietnam, then I fear that 40,000 young American fighting men will have died in vain.

Of all the voices being heard on this vital question of war and peace, it is to those rather quiet voices of our men serving in Vietnam that I have also been listening. They believe there has been a major change in direction regarding the conduct of the war and the search for peace. They believe the level of the fighting has been drastically scaled down, and that American casualties have been substantially reduced. And, ladies and gentleman, they believe the President is on the right track. I believe the American people should listen to these men too, because it is they who are risking their lives daily, and it is they who know better than anyone else what is actually taking place over there.

This is why I support the veterans who today, in response to those who offer only criticism and protest, are saying: "Tell it to Hanoi!"

And, they have earned the right to say it—the hard way.

Yes, Veterans' Day, 1969, is "Tell It To Hanoi Day," but let's make it "Tell It To The World Day" by walking up to a veteran or his family and saying, unashamedly, "I'm proud to be an American and everything America stands for, but, more importantly, 'Thank you for your efforts to preserve our dignity, our purpose and our way of life.'"

Our veterans, both young and old, are the strength, the sinew, the heart, and the pulse of America. They fought, and many died, to make freedom endure, and I join millions throughout the world today in paying tribute to them—the men and women who have served in the uniform of this great country.

From the bottom of our hearts, we, your fellow Americans, thank you!!

#### MENTAL HEALTH

### HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, December 20, 1969

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, this Congress has come to grips with the pressing problems centering around mental health. Recently, the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee reported out a package of bills aimed at injecting much-needed money and planning into mental health.

Among the major items in this field were the following bills: H.R. 14790, which amends the Public Health Service Act to extend the time in making formula grants to schools of public health; and H.R. 14086, which amends the Community Mental Centers to extend the assistance program for community mental health centers and facilities for the treatment of alcoholics and narcotic addicts.

Then, on December 16, the House passed these bills by a substantial margin.

The need is clear and the House is to be congratulated for taking the initiative. These bills will pump new life into the bleak surroundings currently available in all too many mental health centers. Perhaps now, we can take a meaningful step away from the days of simply cursory custodial care—perhaps now, we can begin a stepped-up campaign of therapy. There is no excuse for treatment carried forth from the Dark Ages

to be applied to 20th century psychiatric patients.

Our action has extended for 3 more years the program of matching grants for construction and staffing of community mental health centers. Further, the bill extends for an equal time, the matching grants program for specialized services and treatment of alcoholism and narcotic addiction.

Continued programs for this treatment is urgent. Despite the dialogs that marihuana is now in vogue, still one of the most alarming addictive problems facing the United States is alcoholism. Additionally, statistics have proven that 40 to 50 percent of the crimes of violence in this Nation are directly related to the use of the traffic in drugs.

Obviously, Mr. Speaker, the mentally disturbed people have little voice in the world. Perhaps this legislation will enable those doctors and technicians who treat them to speak a little louder now, and with conviction.

I am appalled to find that many of the 200,000 people in mental institutions are merely warehoused in dehumanizing conditions, without hopes of any program aimed at rehabilitation.

Accordingly, earlier this year, I joined in cosponsoring H.R. 14237, which creates a 3-year extension for construction assistance in mental retardation centers. I am convinced that the President's Commission on Mental Retardation was accurate when they released the appalling figures indicating "some three-quarters of this Nation's mentally disturbed people could become self-supporting if given the right training early enough."

#### REVERSAL ON MINE SAFETY

### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, December 20, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, today's Washington Star carried an excellent editorial urging President Nixon not to veto the mine safety bill approved overwhelmingly by Congress.

I share the views expressed in this editorial. As one who worked tirelessly in the subcommittee to hammer out what I believe to be the best mine safety law in the entire world, I sincerely hope Mr. Nixon will not place any obstacles in the way of this legislation.

The Washington Star editorial follows:

#### REVERSAL ON MINE SAFETY

President Nixon, in a bewilderingly abrupt reversal, has turned against the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969. He reportedly has threatened to veto the bill that had—almost up to the moment of passage—enjoyed the backing of the administration.

The maneuver is politically and morally inexplicable.

The safety measure, with the blessings of the administration, sailed through the House in October with only four votes in opposition. The Senate approved it by a vote of 73-27. By November 20, the conference committee had worked out the minor differences and the way was cleared for passage.

It is true that the bill, in final form, went further than the administration asked. But

there was no hint that the measure would be disowned.

Then, on Wednesday, word was passed that the bill was unacceptable to the White House.

The belated rub, it seems, centered on the provision that would add a federally guaranteed payment of at least \$136 a month to victims of black lung disease. The objection was two-fold: workmen's compensation programs are the prerogative of the states and should not be intruded on; the payments might add as much as \$385 million a year to the federal budget, and would contribute unacceptable inflationary pressures.

We're all for states' rights—up to a point. And inflationary pressures should be avoided—whenever it is possible.

But the demonstrable fact is that the coal mining states have not met their obligations regarding the health and safety of the men in the mines, nor have they shown any abundance of zeal in compensating the disabled and the destitute when disaster strikes. The result is a vacuum of compassion that only the Federal Government can fill.

If the program of federally guaranteed compensation would indeed add nearly \$400 million a year to the federal budget, that is persuasive testimony to the history of neglect up to the present, and to the urgency of immediate remedial action. And how, in the name of sound economy, an administration can approve a billion-dollar speculation in supersonic transportation while denying a third of a billion to black lung disease, is an exercise in moral rationalization that is—to put it mildly—hard to follow.

The health and safety standards established by the bill are necessitated by the dismal history of sudden death and lingering disease in America's mines. The compensation provisions are demanded by the long tradition of neglect of the victims. Both the House and Senate have disregarded the administration's switch and have passed the final version of the bill. It is now up to the White House. The President should reverse himself one more time and sign the measure into law. Should he fail to do so, Congress should override the veto.

#### BLACK CAPITALISM IN ROCHESTER, N.Y.—THE HARD TASK OF BUILDING NEW URBAN BUSINESSES

### HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, December 20, 1969

Mr. HORTON. "Black capitalism" is a term that has become a part of our vocabulary in the past few years. It symbolizes a sincere effort by the blacks in the inner cities to establish their own businesses.

Reporter Bill Tammeus of the Rochester, N.Y., Times-Union has written a series of articles on the progress of black capitalism in my district and I would like to share them with my colleagues:

[From the Rochester (N.Y.) Times-Union, Sept. 8, 1969]

#### BLACK CAPITALISM—HOW IS IT DOING?

"Black capitalism became part of America's vocabulary just a few years ago. The "black" referred to the so-called urban problem and the "capitalism" called up such well-established ideals as free enterprise and rugged individualism and boot straps.

To find out what the phrase means in Rochester, where the Rochester Business Opportunities Corp. has been helping to get new enterprises off the ground, reporter Tammeus spent several weeks talking to some of the city's new entrepreneurs.

[From the Rochester (N.Y.) Times-Union, Sept. 8, 1969]

**HIGH TURNOVER A PROBLEM AT FIGHTON—I**  
(By William D. Tammeus)

Black-owned, black-managed Fighton, Inc., the FIGHT organization's new 7th Ward factory, claims to be subsidizing the rest of Rochester industry.

Here is how officials reason:

Fighton now has 57 people on the payroll—46 hourly employees and 11 managerial people. But since the factory opened in late January of this year 23 other employees have come and gone—a high turnover rate by almost any standard.

DeLeon McEwen, a former barber who now is president and chief operating officer of Fighton, says 20 of the 23 went to other jobs, 18 of them in other industry.

The employees stayed with Fighton long enough to learn some skills—such as how to make metal stampings or how to make and test electrical transformers—and then they left to get a better-paying job in established industry.

Fighton hourly workers make an average \$85 to \$110 a week, and they find they can do better elsewhere—once they learn a skill.

To help train employees, Fighton received a \$444,677 grant from the U.S. Department of Labor. But McEwen and Bernard R. Gifford, who is both FIGHT president and Fighton board chairman, say that figure was based on the assumption that once workers were trained, they would stay with the firm. McEwen and Gifford say Fighton ends up using its training funds to train workers for others.

Gifford also says Fighton is saving Monroe County thousands of dollars a year in welfare payments, because several of the present employees came directly from welfare rolls to work.

And, he says, a number of ex-convicts (more than 50 per cent of the payroll in the first month) are working—all going straight, all adding to the economy instead of being an economic burden.

What Gifford and McEwen are arguing, basically, is this: There ought to be more than one way of measuring the success of a company. Merely showing a profit (which Fighton won't do until 1971, according to current estimates) should not be the only way to gauge the success of a company, they say.

Gifford and McEwen say that before Gifford was elected FIGHT president in a bitterly divided convention in June, the factory had no training program. They say that things were highly disorganized under the former FIGHT president, Minister Franklin D. R. Florence. McEwen, in fact, resigned from the factory shortly before the convention and threw his support to Gifford, saying a political atmosphere had engulfed the factory and made work next to impossible. But he came back to work when Gifford won.

Now, thousands of dollars have been spent on training books, films and other materials, and a former Navy electronics technician teaches employees for close to two hours a couple of times a week. In addition, management people are under the tutelage of Xerox Corp. officials—five of whom have offices at Fighton.

Fighton, located in a 32,000-square-foot building on Sullivan Street, formerly the home of Timely Clothes, Inc., began with help from Xerox, the Labor Department and the Rochester Business Opportunities Corp., which was formed more than a year ago to help minority-owned businesses get started.

RBOC bought the building and is leasing it to Fighton. Xerox has guaranteed to buy more than \$500,000 annually for two years. Fighton also got a \$250,000 working capital loan (guaranteed by the Small Business Administration) from Marine Midland Trust Co.

As its first product, Fighton assembled 1,000 small vacuum cleaners from pre-made

parts. It now has a second order to assemble another batch. But, Fighton officials say, that doesn't take or develop much skill.

But the factory also is producing metal stampings and electrical transformers.

"One of the big transformer companies, which has been in the business for 40 or 50 years, just told us 'good luck' when they heard we were going to make transformers. Now we know what they meant. Making transformers is an art," McEwen says.

And, McEwen points out matter of factly: "Xerox has never made transformers."

Even outside consultants who have been in the transformer business for years don't have much to contribute any more, he says. Fighton people have to figure out the best way to do things now by trial and error.

However, the result is that Fighton is developing the capabilities to do prototype engineering on future products. The factory is developing the technological know-how which can mean a larger margin of profit in the future.

It also is developing the day-to-day management skills which will be necessary to make the company go.

No position, McEwen says, was filled when it should have been. He blames some of that on Minister Florence. Just a few weeks ago did the factory become fully staffed.

"We could have cried to Xerox and they could have come down and put men in the posts, but that wouldn't have been facing the issues honestly, and if we can't make it honestly, there's not much hope," McEwen says. "We don't want a paper tiger that will collapse."

Of course, these problems have taken their toll. Factory officials say the firm probably will not produce the volume of sale expected in the first year, and it is behind on production timetables.

Initial estimates predicted first-year gross sales of slightly more than \$400,000. A later revision boosted that figure to about \$500,000. If all goes well, Fighton may make the first estimate, Gifford and McEwen say.

Product troubles have developed, too. The high voltage transformers have had breakdown problems, but officials say that even experienced transformer makers have the same problems, and no effective cure has been discovered by them, either.

Only recently has the firm begun to make bids on products needed by companies other than Xerox. But McEwen says Fighton still is in no position to accept outside contracts.

"When Fighton can produce a competitive product on time for other companies, we'll be successful," he says. Now, Fighton is devising a "masterplan" through 1970. But initial estimates said it would take three to five years for the factory really to get on independent feet, and officials see little reason to change that estimate now.

Despite the claims that Fighton subsidizes white-owned industry, factory officials recognize the important role played by white-controlled industry, government and finance in Fighton's formation. But McEwen is explicit about what the white role should be:

"It's like doing mouth-to-mouth resuscitation. You have to quit when the victim starts blowing back in your face."

[From the Rochester (N.Y.) Times-Union, Sept. 9, 1969]

**HOURS ARE LONG, PITFALLS ARE MANY—II**  
(By William D. Tammeus)

Before Frank McElrath got into the plastics business last year, he told his wife and two children that he wouldn't be at home much for about two years.

So far, he's been true to his word. He's at work now a minimum of 12 hours a day.

McElrath, for 15 years an organic chemist with the Eastman Kodak Co., left his 40-hour-a-week job to take about a 20 per cent cut in income so he could work that hard.

But the 36-year-old black businessman

thinks he has made the right move. His P. A. Plastics, 350 Whitney St. showed a "modest" profit in the first six months of this year, he says, and he expects that in five or six years his new firm will be grossing more than \$1 million.

Nobody exactly handed McElrath a ready-to-go business, but he did (and is still getting) a lot of help.

As part of its connection with the Rochester Business Opportunities Corp., Kodak mapped out the possibilities of establishing a shop to produce vacuum-formed plastic parts, many of which it uses itself. McElrath heard about it and decided he wanted a shot at running the business. Kodak and RBOC said okay.

Before he left Kodak last fall, however, McElrath spent three or four months learning the technical and business ends of the plastics field. Being an organic chemist, he found that a lot of it was new to him, but he was ready to strike out on his own in September.

"Not a soul, including myself, came here with any experience," McElrath chuckles.

Kodak, RBOC and McElrath figured it would take \$100,000 to get P. A. Plastics (named for the boss' daughter, Patricia Ann) off the ground. RBOC put up \$20,000, McElrath kicked in \$5,000 of his own and the rest came from a Central Trust Co. loan, guaranteed by the Small Business Administration.

McElrath figures he probably could have started for less money, but he was aware of one of the big reasons a lot of small businesses fail: Under capitalization.

Another reason for failures, McElrath believes, is that small businessmen often don't know what it costs them to do business—to make deliveries, mail letters, clean the plant or operate manually as opposed to by machine.

"We've gone to great lengths to avoid these pitfalls," he says, explaining that RBOC and Kodak have helped his awareness of them.

Kodak promised McElrath two years of business and technical assistance. Kodak now buys about 90 per cent of what McElrath's plant (about as big as large three-bedroom apartment) produces.

"And any time I want something—advice, information—I just pick up the phone and call Kodak," he says.

"My principal problem now is trying to broaden my base of customers," he says. He has talked with other large Rochester industries and hopes to drum up new business.

He was hampered in that effort earlier because his time was taken up worrying about a large worker turnover, including the loss of his foreman, who is back now. For a while McElrath was his own foreman.

The company has grown from three to 13 employees, including McElrath. Recently, a 4 p.m. to midnight shift was started.

Most of the men McElrath hires are black and in their early 20s. Eight of his employees are in an on-the-job training program, sponsored by the Urban League of Rochester. Other employees come to him from the State Employment Service and Rochester Jobs, Inc.

The new company makes plastic parts for industrial users. Most of the orders are for 10 to 2,000 parts and from one-sixteenth to one-fourth of an inch thick. A large percentage of the employees' time is devoted to trimming the pieces once they are formed by heat and vacuum.

P.A. Plastics bids competitively with other plastics firms for jobs, but McElrath admits he has a local advantage because his competition is in Canandaigua, Auburn and Buffalo.

"We can beat the pants off anybody else's delivery costs," he says.

McElrath thought he was doing well individually at Kodak, "but I wasn't doing anything for others."

"I didn't need all the headaches I've got

now, but this offers me a chance to employ people, train them and teach them about the industrial psyche," he says.

So McElrath, one of Rochester's new black businessmen, gets to work every day about 8:15, goes home a little after six, stays there for an hour and a half or so and then comes back to the plant until about 11.

He and his family have learned that black capitalism can mean a lengthy leave of absence from home.

Joan Lockhart, who has sewn most of her life, started making African-style clothes for her husband, Gene.

"Everybody wanted them," she says. So they went into business, opening Uhuru Fashions at 620 Jefferson Ave. on Sept. 12, 1968. They sell African fashions (most of which now are made in New York or elsewhere, not on Joan's sewing machine), earrings, wigs, incense, books and other things closely connected to what Gene calls "an increased black awareness."

Customers are of all ages and colors, they say, and the small store (crowded with unusual merchandise and resounding with rhythmic background music) is becoming something of a community gathering place to rap about problems and ideas.

The store is open six days and nights a week, and the young couple, parents of two children, budget their time between the store and home.

Joan spent the first two weeks prior to opening in the Rochester Public Library learning more about African fashion and culture. A former secretary-bookkeeper, Joan now keeps the store's books.

The Lockharts got a direct Small Business Administration loan to help get them set up, a loan which they say took several months to arrange because of slow-moving bureaucracy and paper work.

They now have applied to get an SBA-guaranteed bank loan as a refinancing measure. That, too, is taking more time than the Lockharts think it should.

(RBOC officials, who have been involved in the Lockharts' finances, say the regional SBA office in Syracuse is so undermanned that it can barely handle applications just from Syracuse, much less from Rochester.

(James H. Blow Jr., RBOC general manager, has been active in efforts to get minority business loans. He reports that Marine Midland Trust Co. has been involved in the financing of nearly half of the nearly 60 businesses RBOC has helped get off the ground with bank help. Lincoln Rochester and Security Trust Co. are about even in second place in loans, with Central Trust third. First National has just granted its first loan.)

Even now, when the Lockharts think of expansion, they get discouraged thinking about all the paper work.

The Lockharts' business, they say, is "beginning to move." They recovered most of the \$1,300 worth of merchandise they lost earlier this summer in a burglary, and although they're reluctant to talk about exactly how much money they gross in a week, they think they have built the foundation of a successful business.

But, thinking about the store's role as a community gathering place, Gene, a former YMCA Outreach and Montgomery Neighborhood Center worker, says:

"We're interested in being community-oriented; we don't hope to make a million dollars."

[From the Rochester (N.Y.) Times-Union, Sept. 10, 1969]

A LOOK AT THREE FIRMS: RHETORIC DOESN'T PAY RENT—III

(By William D. Tammeus)

Rochester's new group of black businessmen are finding out that they need more than good intentions, best wishes and friendly smiles.

They are learning that rhetoric about

black capitalism doesn't pay rent or meet payrolls or produce widgets.

Consider the experiences of three businesses started with help from the Rochester Business Opportunities Corp. (RBOC), which was set up more than a year ago to help members of minority groups get into business for themselves.

Tarant Contractors got started in 1964, several years before RBOC. Its two prime movers were then holding down other full-time jobs and trying to run the business as a sideline.

For a while, Robert Smith and Beverly King were operating out of Smith's home in Chatham Gardens.

But Smith and King decided they could make full-time money in the contracting business, so in early 1968, they applied for a Small Business Administration loan, which they received in the summer.

Smith won't say how much it was, he says it wasn't enough. Later last year, the new firm got a direct RBOC loan and Tarant worked out an agreement with RBOC and Lincoln Rochester Trust Co. by which the firm can get smaller loans to cover contract work as it goes along.

However, the money from those loans is not available until after the work is nearly done, so in effect Tarant used the money to finance the next job.

The decision to go into the contracting business full-time was made with more care than the decision on what to call the firm. Smith says he and King spun a globe and named the firm after the place they pointed to. (However, they've not been able to locate the place since.)

Before they went full time, Smith was a mechanical designer and King was an apartment manager. At first their contracting business employed about 10 men. Now, they employ about 45 people. Much of the expansion, Smith says, was made possible by "hand to mouth" work.

Eastman Kodak Co. supplied a marketing team through RBOC, which helped Tarant determine what kind of business it could expect to do and where customers could be found.

Smith says the team did a good job. But he's unhappy because industry hasn't given him very many good contracting jobs.

"They've asked us to do petty stuff, for the most part, like boarding up a window or two or repairing a canopy," Smith says.

Some information on contract possibilities was coming to RBOC, Smith said, but it wasn't getting any further, apparently because of a lack of staff, according to RBOC officials.

Much of Tarant's work now is done under a one-year contract with the city to fix up houses that are in violation of municipal codes. But the firm has run into troubles which have given its officials "very mixed emotions" about rebidding for the contract when it expires in November.

City code inspectors visit properties and list violations which must be fixed. If the property owner fails to make the repairs, the city sends Tarant and charges the owner for the work done.

But the problems start when Tarant begins interpreting its work orders, Smith says.

If, for instance, a window has to be fixed, Tarant may begin to fix the window and discover that the wall surrounding it must be replaced, too. Do the men fix the wall and risk not being paid because the wall wasn't authorized? Or do they call the city for instructions and waste time while city men come to look at the situation?

Whichever decision the firm makes, Smith claims, ends up being wrong and Tarant takes a "financial beating" on some jobs. And that, Smith says, makes code enforcement work for the city not very profitable.

Tarant says it is not showing the profit it wanted, although it is not about to collapse financially, Smith says.

James L. Harris Jr., 36, owns Cardinal Cleaners, which opened about a year ago. Harris manages the cleaning plant on Cottage Street and has two stores, one on Hudson Avenue and one on Jefferson Avenue.

Although there is a difference of opinion about what happened, Harris expected a lot more industrial dry cleaning and laundering than he got.

But Harris is making it financially on a neighborhood cash and carry basis.

Harris recently totaled how much laundering and dry cleaning he had done for local business since he opened: Less than \$1,500 of its more than \$150,000 in total business. That \$1,500 included \$300 worth of cleaning from two federally funded programs, Action for a Better Community and the Concentrated Employment Program.

Kodak's total bill came to \$99.90, although Kodak was the first industrial customer for Harris.

John L. Blake, then RBOC general manager, and now deputy manpower administrator for the U.S. Department of Labor in Washington, says Harris misunderstood how much industrial business he could expect.

When he opened for business, Harris had 14 of 15 employees; now that has been cut by several because, he says, the volume of business did not justify keeping them.

But Harris is making it. Harris made it before. Formerly, he worked successfully for four years to get the old Cardinal cleaning business out of the red. It's just that Harris believes he was promised more business from local business and industry, than he got.

Before they opened their own employment service, Herbert T. Thornton Jr. and Robert L. Milgate worked for the State Employment Service and for Rochester Jobs, Inc., which helps to find jobs for the hard-core unemployed.

They dealt with local business and industry, feeding them potential employees.

But they decided to go into business on their own because they felt they knew the market as well as anyone. Last November they formed Thornton-Milgate Associates and opened Tempa, which supplies temporary help to employers.

Because of their previous work, they knew the importance of making people who work as temporary help feel like valuable humans. Tempa hires people and then charges employers for the people's services. Thornton and Milgate say that someone who works for Tempa is treated as an individual, not as a number or a job description, and this "personal basis" has produced good results.

In March, the two opened the professional placement part of their business. In May, they say, they showed a profit, and "we're in the ball park now, we're on our way."

The business got off the ground with about \$48,000 in two personal loans from Marine Midland Trust Co., plus use of about \$2,500 in Thornton's and Milgate's own money.

But their problem is finding more clients to hire the good workers they feel they can produce.

Thornton-Milgate can't advertise that it will produce qualified black professional workers. Discrimination laws forbid filling all-black or all-white job orders. But the firm can and does say it will help companies meet requirements of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission.

Companies should be looking for qualified minority group employees, Milgate says, "and I'm willing to make money off what society needs."

"The bulk of our placements have been to out of town," they say. Many people have been sent to jobs in New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts.

But Herb Thornton, black, and Bob Milgate, white, are confident about the future: "We'll get the business because we'll bang doors down to get it."

And that is the kind of resolve the new businessmen are finding they need to succeed.

**CONGRESSMAN LANDRUM SPEAKS  
AT DEDICATION OF NEW POST  
OFFICE AT JEFFERSON, GA.**

**HON. ALBERT W. JOHNSON**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, December 20, 1969

Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, recently our colleague, PHIL LANDRUM, of Georgia's Ninth District, was the principal speaker at the dedication of a new post office building in Jefferson, Ga.

His remarks are noteworthy because they were not limited to justified pride in this new facility. In a typically incisive manner, PHIL LANDRUM discussed the growing postal crisis and the efforts of many dedicated individuals to find a solution to this perennial dilemma.

As a cosponsor of progressive postal reform legislation, and a leader in efforts to revitalize the postal service, PHIL LANDRUM is well qualified to discuss this crisis.

His pertinent remarks follow and I urge all Members to take a few minutes to read them:

ADDRESS BY CONGRESSMAN PHIL M. LANDRUM

Mr. Chairman, Mayor Bailey, Mr. Postmaster Ellington, distinguished platform guests, my warm friends from Jefferson and Jackson County, and from surrounding counties and towns, I'm delighted that I could have the opportunity to come to Jefferson this afternoon and share with you the joys of this occasion marking another step in the advancement of this area.

Advancement HERE. But what I would like to talk to you about today . . . is the impaired advancement of the Post Office Department as a whole. It will be my thesis that the Post Office is a perfect example of an organization out of the past trying to serve the needs of the last one-third of the twentieth century.

In the 17 years that I've been your representative in Washington, we have literally emerged in these mountains of north Georgia from former store building post offices to facilities like those we are opening today. This is the second new post office you've had here. You've been lucky. Too many post offices have to continue to operate in vacated store buildings rented for post office purposes, but not adjusted to take care of the needs of efficient postal services. If we had not had dedicated employees in the Department, inadequate facilities would already have caused a breakdown.

The problem is that the Post Office Department has no funds to supply its needs except for what we can wheedle out of Congress. The result is that, except in a few instances, working conditions have not been improved to meet the demands of the last one-third of the twentieth century. Moreover, inefficiency causes this department to lose over \$1 billion a year—over \$1 billion annually of the American taxpayers' money. And while we're losing all of this money, we're not improving the working conditions; we're not improving service; we're not meeting the demands of modern times; and again, except for the dedicated efforts of postal service personnel, there would be a complete breakdown. Our service is neither fast nor dependable. I dare say there is no one in this audience—including postal employees—who can't relate some experience

either of his own, or of some patron that would not verify my statement.

Nevertheless, mail volume is booming. It is predicted that the postal service will handle 82 billion items of mail this year. Eighty-two billion. I don't know how much that is, but I've heard some of my friends from the Regional Office describe the train that would be necessary to transport this much at one time. It seems to me they've said that it would reach from the west coast to the east coast—or something of that nature. Eighty-two billion pieces of mail. If I've ever seen a recipe for disaster, the postal organization as structured from Washington and the Postmaster General's office is such a recipe. And again I'm not pinning the responsibility on any individual employee or any of the local post offices. I'm talking about the total structures.

Let's think a little more about what's wrong and why. Who controls the Post Office Department? Congress. Why do you think they have Congressmen down to dedicate post offices? Let's be frank . . . we're grown folks . . . No need to kid ourselves. The control of the Post Office Department is in Congress. Congress controls the wages of the postmaster. Congress controls the wages of rural mail carriers, clerks, and janitors. Congress controls the rate you pay for sending mail and the fees you pay for its delivery. But that's not the worst part of it: Congress controls capital investment in equipment and facilities. The Post Office Department doesn't have any more to say about its capital investment than my grandbaby—and maybe not as much, because when Laura finds out what sort of situation we're in, she influences a certain Congressman while she's grandbaby sitting.

Yes, Congress simply controls the whole business of the Post Office Department—not from the Postmaster General's office, not from the Regional Office in the various regions . . . but from Capitol Hill. That's playing with a \$7 billion business that's simply unmanageable. Can you imagine going to the most successful business executive in America today and telling him that you want him to manage this \$7 billion business, this public service business of the people? Tell him what you want him to manage, and then say: "But you can't control it. You can't have anything to say about what's paid your employees. You can't have anything to say about what rates you charge for the service you render. And beyond that, Mr. Prospective Manager, you can't have a word in the world to say about how much capital, new capital, you can invest."

He knows that the ordinary business today invests about \$35,000 in capital for each employee. You tell him the Post Office Department invests \$1,100 per worker. And then you go on to tell the prospective manager that he won't even be able to carry on an adequate research program to find out where his problems are . . . or to seek solutions . . . without first getting the approval of 435 members of the House of Representatives and 100 Senators.

Can you imagine anyone taking a job like that? Well, what's the remedy?

When Larry O'Brien was named the Postmaster General, he persuaded the Congress—I don't know how he did it—to come along and establish what became known as the Kappel Commission. This Commission studied the postal monstrosity, and came up with some recommendations. Some Democrats immediately introduced a bill to adopt these proposals involving the creation of a public corporation. But many other Congressmen said, in effect, "no, we don't want to make it a public corporation. We don't want anything to do with these ideas. We're afraid of this and afraid of that. We just don't want to change."

Now it's a natural thing to resist change. I can think of no human quality more natural than a resistance to change. I don't like

these wide ties they're selling today, for instance. I just don't like the idea of changing to a big, wide tie. Furthermore, while I may like a pink shirt on someone else, I just haven't been able to get used to the idea of wearing one myself.

Resistance to change always reminds me of when I was up here in Stephens County when I was about 17 years old—hauling oil for my uncle. My uncle and I were down in Mize pouring gasoline into the tank at Mr. Dellesup Smith's Country store. Just a week or two before, we had installed an air compressor for Mr. Smith . . . and in those days, you may remember, air compressors were just beginning to be accepted and common.

Well, an old gentleman, a friend of mine, walked around the back of the truck where I was pourin' out the gas and said: "Phil, have you got a pump in your truck?"

"Yeah, Uncle Ben," I said, "there's one up there in the cab . . . just get it out. But," I continued, "no need of that if your tire's down. We put in an air compressor for Dellesup last week. Just pull the hose around and blow up your tire."

But he answered: "Nope, nope, nope, I don't want any of that. I was up here in town the other day and they put some of that free air in . . . and it's been giving me trouble ever since." Well, that's how we resist change. I suspect that much of the opposition to the Kappel Commission recommendations is like this, and many people hoped the new administration would feel the same way.

The opposition didn't consider the new Postmaster General, however. His name is Blount. He spells it B-l-o-u-n-t, but pronounces it like his personality: just plain blunt. And Mr. Postmaster General Blount, who's known among his friends as "Red," looked over the Post Office and said: "I don't want any part of it unless I can have a voice in its management, unless I can have something to do with reorganizing it . . . unless I can bring this essential public service to the level of competence it must have to meet the demands of the twentieth century and the twenty-first century."

And so he launched a campaign in the Congress . . . and, frankly, I was glad to join him because I had made some studies and I felt he was correct. But that campaign ended in a 13-13 tie in the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee . . . and because of that tie, no new legislation is immediately possible.

Now why have I told you all this? It's printed in the Congressional Record in a 10 minute speech I made several weeks ago. I've told you because you are the source of all change, all improvement. As citizens and as employees of the Post Office you have a stake in this matter and you can be a powerful force in bringing about improvements. It is the duty of a public servant who is close to a problem to analyze it and to try to let others know what he is thinking . . . and why. Then, if others agree with him, they can help move a solution forward. If they disagree with him, they can also let this be known . . . and give their reasons. It is often out of disagreements based on logical reasoning that improvements are made.

I don't think this bill is perfect—although I'm one of its cocauthors. I think there're flaws in several of its sections. But I believe it's so essential, so important to the future of this great organization—the Post Office Department and the wonderful people who serve it—that we must somehow accomplish necessary change.

Who should be against this? I don't know any taxpayer, including any employee of this department, who is for losing, absolutely losing, sending down the drain, a billion dollars a year. I don't know anyone who's against making the changes necessary to speed up the service that our modern population so drastically needs and demands. But I do know many well-intentioned individuals who are

disturbed that we may be doing something that would get us into deeper trouble down the road. I think this is entirely possible. They may be correct. But we're in a situation where we've got to make some major change. As employees of the postal service, I believe you should analyze the proposals carefully. When you see from your study that your Civil Service rights will be preserved, that you may even be moving toward better working conditions and that you may be in a position to earn promotions and increases in salary without having to have the approval of your Congressman or your Senator, I believe you will be impressed. Actually, every taxpayer should also study these proposals to find some way to promote the needed change.

Now, having said this . . . let me emphasize again that the responsibility for change is on no one department of government or agency of the government except the Congress of the United States . . . and the Congress of the United States will move only when the public moves it. The source of all political power is, therefore, right at your feet as tired as your feet may seem at this moment. The strength of this government lies in you. And when the United States Senate takes up this subject early next year, consider what is being debated, and let your Senator know what you think. Don't hesitate to write your Congressman either . . . I might add . . . in conclusion.

Storey, I'm grateful to you for inviting me. I'm grateful indeed to all of you for indulging me and beyond that . . . I'm grateful to you for giving me the wonderful opportunity and privilege that I've had over the last 17 years to study the problems of a nation from the standpoint of a public servant. And while I have been, as many of my friends say, a little too anxious to step into controversial matters, I find that it's a little easier to sleep, and, frankly, a lot more pleasure to live when you meet 'em head on than when you try to run and hide from the issues. This is such an issue. Your Postmaster General deserves at least your studied consideration. Your Post Office Department needs the improvements and the Nation demands that we get it.

Thank you again.

## NURSING HOMES DROP MEDICARE BECAUSE OF U.S. PAYMENT DELAYS

**HON. JAMES A. BURKE**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, December 20, 1969

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this time an article written by Judith P. Enright, staff reporter of the Quincy, Mass., Patriot Ledger, on problems being faced by extended care facilities operating under Medicare. I intend to take this matter up with Health, Education, and Welfare officials, as I have in the past, to see what can be done to correct a problem that is causing great suffering among the elderly. The article follows:

[From the Quincy (Mass.) Patriot Ledger, Dec. 16, 1969]

### NURSING HOMES DROP MEDICARE BECAUSE OF U.S. PAYMENT DELAYS (By Judith P. Enright)

Nursing home owners involved in the Extended Care Facility aspect of Medicare, are dropping the program in increasing numbers because they claim they are having trouble getting paid by the federal government.

#### CALLED IMPRACTICAL

They describe the federally-funded health insurance for the elderly as impractical and unprofitable for them and they say that the accompanying paperwork is unreasonably time consuming.

But probably more than anything else, it is the element of uncertainty pervading the Medicare program and costing the nursing homes money that has convinced the administrators to drop out.

Uncertainty for nursing home owners has meant unpaid bills and patients who are denied Medicare benefits retroactively after they have received as much as a month's rehabilitative care in an Extended Care Facility.

Treatment for Medicare patients in an ECF is expensive. When the patient is termed ineligible, the cost of his treatment must be absorbed by the nursing home because the federal government will not recognize bad debts.

There is also the uncertainty of the Medicare reimbursement formula. The way Medicare works, a patient is treated in an ECF and then the nursing home bills the federal government. The bills are audited and then the nursing home is reimbursed for the patient's care.

However, nursing home owners and administrators say that the payments are not in proper proportion to the actual costs and that audits of their accounts are running as much as two years behind.

So with the retroactive denial of benefits and the undue delay in reimbursements, nursing home owners aren't willing to take the chance anymore.

When Medicare certifications first went into effect three years ago, about 100 nursing homes in Massachusetts sought and received the ECF certification. Since then, 17 homes have dropped their certifications and more are rumored or planned.

As one owner said "It's just isn't a good business deal. We're not getting any return on our investment. Not that money is our primary interest, you understand, but when we have to pay for Medicare patients, charges for other patients just must be adjusted."

Medicare is so expensive because of additional services the nursing home must provide for the patient.

#### MANY SERVICES

For instance, to be certified as an ECF, nursing homes must have physical therapy rooms, be fireproofed (with sprinkler systems which administrators say are not even required of hospitals), have doctor treatment rooms, a podiatrist, a dental facility, occupational and recreational therapy.

The homes are required to structure themselves with five degrees of professional help such as social services, occupational therapists, registered physical therapists and certified dietitians.

There must also be a Utilization Review Committee, composed of physicians and other professionals, to constantly check the Medicare patients' progress and eligibility for the benefits.

Basically, the concept of Medicare is rehabilitation, or, in other words, restorative rehabilitative services. And, rehabilitation requires a lot of money that would not ordinarily be spent in equipping a nursing home.

Nursing requirements are also cited as being above average for Medicare, presenting not only monetary problems but also a problem in obtaining enough nurses with the current and severe shortage. There must be a registered nurse or a school-trained Licensed Practical Nurse (LPN) on each station for each of the three shifts. Orderlies and nurse's aides are also required.

The nursing home is also required to give continuous inservice training to all personnel and show evidence of the same.

#### SERIOUS PROBLEM

The nursing shortage was termed by one administrator as "the most serious problem

and the most difficult ECF status to maintain."

To alleviate the shortage, some administrators have tried innovations such as creating new positions for all non-nursing functions. Thus, the nurse is freed for strictly nursing duties.

A nursing home without an ECF rating is not required to have any professional personnel except one nurse, who can be a LPN licensed by waiver who may not have had any professional training, according to nursing home spokesmen.

Another in the list of complaints about Medicare comes from the administrator of a Braintree nursing home, Mrs. Florence E. Logan who, with her husband, runs Elihu White Nursing Home. She said that Medicare extras, such as physical therapy, are available to all patients but that Medicare (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare which pays for Medicare) will pay only in proportion to use of that service by the Medicare patients. "Thus, they are actually only paying 30 per cent of the cost of all services directly attributable to Medicare patients."

She added that the fiscal intermediaries, who determine what payments should be made and who qualifies for the benefits, determine reimbursement on a Medicare patient's ratio to the total patient cost.

#### MANY COMPLAINTS

Sidney Ostroff, of Braintree, a certified public accountant with a Boston firm that audits the books at Elihu White Nursing Home, presented still another complaint from nursing homes about the Medicare program. "Where nursing homes formerly had one person doing their bookkeeping, they must now hire three to do a proper job with Medicare's extra paperwork."

Mrs. Virginia McGrath, director of nursing at the home, cited the problems her profession has had with the federal program. "A doctor certifies that a patient is qualified for Medicare and I am supposed to determine the minute he comes to the nursing home whether or not he qualifies for benefits."

She said, "The certification of the doctor doesn't seem to mean anything anymore. The fiscal intermediary questions his certification through me."

Mrs. McGrath also complained that persons in the office of the fiscal intermediary are accepting or disqualifying patients without ever seeing them. The persons making the decision may not be professional people but secretaries. "They will usually go along with our certification," said Mrs. McGrath. "If the doctor uses the proper terminology in his report. The wrong description of an illness and the patient won't be certified even if his illness does make him eligible."

Mrs. Marguerite Dolan of Quincy, director of Social Services at Elihu White, said that hospitals could formally send patients to nursing homes for rehabilitation if needed.

But, where they could formerly be admitted to an ECF and qualify for Medicare benefits for an old injury, they can now only be admitted for a recent injury or illness such as a stroke.

Mrs. Dolan said she has been asked whether or not a patient is senile. "If the person's potential is good, he or she will be kept on Medicare. If not, I have been led to believe by the intermediary that the patient will be declared ineligible for the benefits."

The Elihu White home has Medicare and will keep their ECF rating, Mrs. Logan said, because "we have been dedicated to giving the highest quality of care from maximum to minimum since our inception in 1959. To make this facility available for persons on Medicare we must be an ECF."

Another nursing home, administrator Charles J. Kelley of Franvale Nursing Home, 20 Pond St., Braintree, said his home no longer participates in Medicare as of Dec. 1.

He dropped the program, he said, "with a combination of relief and frustration."

The Franvale Nursing Home has 26 beds for Medicare patients but Mr. Kelley said "at no time was there more than 50 per cent occupancy."

Another area nursing home, the Newfield House in Plymouth, is reported to be dropping Medicare. However, administrator Mrs. Elizabeth Longhi, would not confirm or deny the report.

According to many nursing home owners, Medicare is running into so much trouble because the actual cost of the program far exceeds the projected cost and HEW is now trying to economize.

So, according to Mr. Kelley HEW is attempting this economy by making ECF entrance requirements so strict that many doctors simply keep patients in hospitals.

Acute care facilities, he said, cost from \$60 to \$80 per day, while nursing home care costs from \$20 to \$30 per day.

Nursing homes "can provide nursing care at a fraction of what it costs a general hospital," Mr. Kelley added. "So, what's happening is that the economy drive is zeroing in on proprietary interests rather than on the real costs."

He likened the economy cut to a housewife trying to economize by limiting sugar purchases rather than meat.

Cornelius A. Bottomley, of Norwood, executive director of the Nursing Homes, agreed that there is trouble aplenty between nursing homes and Medicare.

"The public has bought a fantastic fraud," he said referring to Medicare. "The American public has bought Medicare and paid for it but they're not getting the benefits. There's no such thing as service in an ECF anymore."

The state public health department has verified that nursing homes are dropping out of the federal program. However, a spokesman, Dr. David Kinloch, director of medical care, said the public health department has not yet begun to worry about a shortage of beds.

He explained that 100 nursing homes primarily sought certification, and that from 25 to 30 additional homes have been certified since 1966. In January this year, there were 131 ECF's in the Commonwealth with a total of 8,761 beds.

Since that date, 13 have been certified, adding another 681 beds.

The Commonwealth has also lost 867 beds from the nursing homes that have dropped the certification.

Dr. Kinloch said they are not concerned because there may not be enough beds for Medicare patients but that public health is concerned about patient care in general.

Mr. Kelley summed the feelings of many nursing homes and public health spokesmen in concluding that, "in the final analysis, it's the patient who suffers."

#### PATRIOTISM A BAD WORD TO OEO

### HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, December 20, 1969

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

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Tribune, Dec. 20, 1969]

#### PATRIOTISM A BAD WORD TO OEO

(By Willard Edwards)

WASHINGTON, December 19.—The principal of the Church Rock, N.M., elementary school was staggered last Nov. 12 to receive a threatening letter from the government. It warned him that he was polluting the youthful minds entrusted to his care and might be the subject of legal action if he persisted in his "offensive" tactics.

The letter was signed by Stephen B. Elrick, an attorney employed at taxpayers' expense in the legal services section of the office of economic opportunity. He is one of 1,850 lawyers now on the federal payroll who provide "legal assistance" to poor people.

Claude Hinman, principal at the school, which has an enrollment of 99 per cent Indian children, learned that he had been guilty of the crime of stimulating patriotism in his charges. He had approved a program to give them "an awareness of the greatness of their country."

"They ought to have an awareness of the faults and errors of their country, as well," wrote Elrick. "It is especially appalling that Indian children are being forced to participate in this program, when it is their people who have been treated most shabbily of all by the United States."

Elrick expressed his horror at a statement by a Mrs. Stafford, a Negro teacher in the school, who had said: "We should indoctrinate every child with the idea of being loyal to his country."

That was a "sorry philosophy," Elrick declared, for a public school "which should be dedicated to the concept of . . . the presentation of all sides of disputed issues." He continued:

"I find it particularly offensive that you are apparently associating 'patriotism' with support of the war in Viet Nam, which is unquestionably the most controversial war of our time and, in the opinion of many, the most brutal and unjustified."

Elrick then turned his attention to the school bulletin board on which some child had printed "God Bless America."

"It is deplorable," he wrote, "for you to stimulate the expression of what is, in effect, a prayer in violation of the Supreme Court's ruling that public schools are to refrain from such activities."

"There is simply no need to offend the sensibilities of some persons by indirectly stimulating the establishment of the Christian [or Jewish] faith among a people who have traditionally held conflicting religious beliefs."

The letter concluded with an ultimatum. If "balance" was not restored to the school programs, "I shall take whatever steps I can to investigate the matter myself and, if necessary, institute legal proceedings."

Principal Hinman referred the letter to School Supt. W. B. Fitzsimmons, who appealed to Sen. Paul J. Fannin [R., Ariz.].

"This is both incredible and awesome," remarked Fannin. "Here we have an OEO staff member who apparently thinks that loyalty to one's country is a 'disputed issue.'"

He fired off a letter Dec. 8 to Donald Rumsfeld, OEO director, suggesting that he inquire into "the continued usefulness of Mr. Elrick in this or any other program in which he is paid by tax money."

Such incidents, he noted, had caused the Senate to approve an amendment to the OEO authorization bill, sponsored by Sen. George Murphy [R., Cal.], giving governors of states control over legal programs for the poor. The House balked and the amendment died in conference.

Rumsfeld, who has been busy fighting for the life of his agency, hasn't yet replied, but Fannin is confident that the former Illinois congressman will join him in agreement that the teaching of loyalty to the United States is not taboo in American schools.

## SENATE—Monday, December 22, 1969

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian and was called to order by the Acting President pro tempore (Mr. METCALF).

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal Father, we thank Thee for this holy season and the reality of "Immanuel—God with us." Grant that we may know the fullness of Thy presence not only at worship but at work. Teach us the invincibility of goodness and that love is the strongest force in the universe—stronger than hate, stronger than evil, stronger than death—and that the blessed life which began in Bethlehem nearly 2,000 years ago is the image of the eternal love. So prepare us to keep Christmas. Amen.

CXV—2556—Part 30

### THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Saturday, December 20, 1969, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

### LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that statements in relation to the transaction of routine morning business be limited to 3 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

### EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session to consider the nominations on the Executive Calendar.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The nominations on the Executive Calendar will be stated.

### NOMINATIONS PLACED ON THE SECRETARY'S DESK—THE COAST GUARD

The bill clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the Coast Guard which had been placed on the Secretary's desk.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tem-