

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE

HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, each year the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and its Ladies Auxiliary conducts a Voice of Democracy essay contest for school students. This year over 400,000 students participated in the nationwide competition, and almost 6,000 students took part in the contest in North Carolina. An outstanding young man from the congressional district I represent was the North Carolina State winner. He is Mr. Brent McKnight, a junior at Myers Park High School and the son of Mr. and Mrs. Harold F. McKnight of 409 Sharon View Road, Charlotte, N.C. Mr. McKnight's script on this year's theme, "Freedom's Challenge," won him a \$50 U.S. savings bond for first place in local competition, and a plaque for first place in the contest district composed of Mecklenburg, Gaston, and Union Counties. As State winner he was also invited to Washington, D.C., March 1-4, as a guest of the VFW for its annual congressional dinner. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am inserting Mr. McKnight's inspiring essay in the RECORD and commend it to my fellow Members:

FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE

Every person on earth must have a certain degree of freedom of thought and action if he is to improve himself and the world about him. If one is to speak of a degree of freedom, then the word "freedom" itself must be defined. However, upon examination, freedom evidences itself in so many ways and connotes so many things to all people that it becomes an abstraction of the mind, an ideal to be defined within a sphere of location and population. In America, freedom is the ideal goal of each person. It is the privilege of a man or woman to walk up to a voting booth and help decide who will rule the country. It is the privilege of a poor man to start a small business and see it grow to success. Freedom is that ecstasy which comes with looking at the stars on a clear night and knowing that each individual has the right to exist and be happy in such an immense universe. On the other hand, freedom is not the privilege of a minority to forcefully impose its will on a majority. It is not the privilege of anyone to run rampant in the streets, killing and looting. The question thus presented is how this freedom evidences itself in the lives of Americans today.

Freedom can be compared to a beacon light atop a search tower facing out to sea. A man alone in a small boat is caught in a tempest in that sea. Though the tempest rages, the light from this beacon is able to penetrate the fog and rain to reach the boat. With a joyful heart, the man is able to steer his boat shoreward past obstacles. As this man was lost on the sea, so are Americans bewildered in a sea of troubles. They must rely on the light of freedom, and never taking their eyes from it, steer forward to a safe shore free from tyranny.

The determination of America's future depends upon the actions of men and women today. The United States has not been known as the land of the free because it passively accepted tyrannical and foreign rule.

Throughout the history of the United States, the freedom-loving dwellers in America have fought oppression in all forms. For them, to be free signified the right to choose, to promote, and to defend those ideals which, they held to be true, to be right, and to be for the betterment of mankind. Americans today must follow in the lead of these crusaders of the past in several definite ways.

First, freedom must be maintained. It must be kept whole and solid within the due confines of the law—the law created by a majority of the people. No one must be allowed to take the law into his own hands and thus smear the freedoms of others. Americans old and young can join this crusade by helping to elect responsible leaders, by serving to defend America, and by helping the unfortunate to support themselves responsibly and to contribute to society.

Second, all young people in America must receive education. They must be instructed in the freedom ideals which America's honored forefathers fought to attain: those embedded in the framework of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, those which hold that unity maintains strength, and that freedom within unity creates new ideas. Thus, each individual young person in America must learn the true meanings and limitations of freedom and from this use his initiative to define his position in society.

Third, freedom must be engendered in the hearts of those oppressed by poor rulers or inferior economic conditions. The history of civilization has been one of many failures and few successes. Kingdom after kingdom has risen up, only to fall because of the combination of socio-economic conditions which deprived people of their basic freedoms. Greece was divided into many small states, but one, Athens, rose to greatness because of the liberty of its people. The creative energies of all citizens were channeled into the building of a better city.

Our challenge is to maintain a free society where individual initiative is reaffirmed and where indigent poverty and prejudice is uprooted. Only free, creative people can utilize our many resources fully.

Freedom certainly presents itself as a challenge to every individual. Americans must work to maintain their precious freedoms and not let these freedoms be preempted by false illusions. Young people must be instructed as to the true meaning of freedom. Finally, Americans must transport the ideas of freedom around the globe with the hope that freedom bestowed upon each individual will bring peace and prosperity upon the entire earth for the remaining generations to come.

HICKEL BANS MUSK OX HUNTING IN ALASKA REFUGE

HON. THEODORE F. STEVENS

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I commend to Senators the action taken on March 10 by Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel. Secretary Hickel once again proved himself to be a progressive conservationist by banning the hunting of musk oxen on the Nunivak Island National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska.

Secretary Hickel's announcement was prompted by action in the Alaska State House of Representatives, which last week passed a bill to allow the State de-

partment of fish and game to issue big-game hunting tags for the taking of musk oxen on Nunivak, a national wildlife refuge.

The Secretary vetoed a similar bill a year ago when he was Governor of Alaska.

I ask unanimous consent that his cogent remarks be printed in the RECORD.

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

HICKEL BANS MUSK OX HUNTING IN ALASKA REFUGE

"We have no intention of permitting such a hunt," Hickel said. "The musk ox is not a game animal and should continue to be developed for domestic purposes." "To permit such a hunt," the Secretary added, "would be contrary to the intentions of the conservation-minded people who worked so hard in the 1930s to import the first of these gentle animals to this country from Greenland."

"The musk ox is a rare animal and one which, through careful breeding and domestication, offers an excellent means of developing new industry in the Arctic."

"Any short-term profit which might accrue to the state through the sale of big game hunting tags for musk oxen would be more than balanced by the potential danger inherent in opening the door to possible further easing of hunting restrictions in the future because of pressure to increase the number of available trophy animals."

The musk oxen herd on Nunivak now numbers about 750, developed from 34 animals purchased in Greenland and established on the island in 1936.

The island, 18 miles off the Alaska coast on the Bering Sea, was set aside as a National Wildlife Refuge in 1929 under an executive order signed by President Hoover.

The land was withdrawn to permit the U.S. Department of Agriculture to conduct experiments in the development of musk oxen for domestic purposes, and also to conduct research on crossing and propagating reindeer and caribou to provide food for Alaska's native Indians and Eskimos. The program was transferred to the Department of the Interior in 1939.

The federal government and the state of Alaska have an agreement covering cooperative efforts in game and habitat management on Nunivak Island. However, any decision to permit hunting on the federal land would require the Secretary's approval.

"Eight years ago responsible authorities recognized the probability of the musk ox population on Nunivak Island reaching the carrying capacity of the available range," Secretary Hickel said. "At that time a management agreement was worked out with the state providing for position actions to limit further growth of the herd when it had reached a total of 750 animals."

"A seven-step program to handle additional animals was developed, with top priority going to projects to relocate and establish musk oxen in other parts of Alaska—including the Arctic North Slope—and to provide others to husbandrymen who would work on their domestication."

"Public hunting, even on a restricted, permit basis, was fifth in that list of priorities," Secretary Hickel said. "There is no indication at this time that we have taken care of restocking projects, zoological gardens and zoos, and other conservation programs to a point where we should destroy any animals for sport."

The Secretary said that the question of range condition on the island is such that the department is conducting a range sur-

vey, supervised by Dr. John Tener, chief of the Canadian Wildlife Service.

Tener, one of the world's outstanding authorities on musk oxen, surveyed the range both at Nunivak Island and on Alaska's North Slope in July 1968, and he is continuing a winter survey at the present time.

Hickel said he expects to receive Tener's report in a few weeks, at which time the department will prepare further recommendations on animal transplants.

"If it is determined that transplants are needed, we will cooperate fully," Secretary Hickel said.

DOROTHY LEHMAN BERNHARD

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I regret to inform the House of the death last week of a distinguished citizen of my State, Dorothy Lehman Bernhard. She will be greatly missed not only by members of her family and by her many friends, but by the entire community for which she did so much.

The eulogy delivered at her funeral on Sunday by Rabbi Perilman of the Congregation Emanu-El was a beautiful tribute to Mrs. Bernhard by one who had been a friend and associate in good causes for many years. Under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I insert it in the RECORD, together with the obituary article which appeared in the New York Times:

DOROTHY LEHMAN BERNHARD FUNERAL EULOGY
(Delivered by Rev. Dr. Nathan A. Perilman, Temple Emanu-El, March 9, 1969)

Friends: We are gathered here this morning in the kinship of human sorrow. We come to say farewell to the earthly presence of a valiant woman, a gracious lady. The beautiful lines which we read a few minutes ago from the Book of Proverbs describe the qualities that the ancients thought were made for valor. Most often we reserve these lines for someone who has reached a great age, one who has had plenty of time to prove the valiant qualities that made her the model of excellence for her time. Dorothy Lehman Bernhard did not attain that great age, but she has merited the accolade for most of the years of her all-too-brief life.

We come to say farewell to her, to pay the tribute of our hearts for all that was fine and good in her blessed life and by being here to bring comfort not only to those who are bereft of adored mother and grandmother, darling sister, beloved aunt and cherished friend, but to comfort one another in the loss of a great force in the life of our community. We are all diminished by her passing, made less because she will no longer be with us. Not only those who were privileged to know and work with her in the many areas of life that drew her, but uncounted numbers of people, now some of them grown to middle-age and old age, who might perhaps never know her name, and yet knew the benefit of the warmth, the love and wisdom that she brought to their need.

Nothing human was alien to her interest. But most of all she was drawn to children; those who were abandoned, neglected, forgotten, uncared for; those who needed help, found help in her.

The ancient prophet could say, "here am I, send me". She could say, "if I'm needed, I'll be here". And when she was needed, she was always there. Not just as "Lady Bountiful", but as one who involved herself com-

pletely in the needs of those to whom she gave so much of herself. If she needed the help of the State Legislature, or the City Council to ease the way of the neglected children of our community, she turned to them. Because she believed that it was not proper for children to be brought up in the cold walls of an institution, she gave herself, many years ago, to the work of foster parents, and herself was a foster parent to a number of children from other countries and from our own. She built in so many ways monuments that we can find if we but look about.

Dorothy Bernhard went to every part of the world to see where things were done better and then tried to improve upon them here in our own community, in our own country. To list the activities that she engaged in would surely be to omit too many. And yet there were some that were very precious to her—Jewish Child Care, Foster Home, the Institution of International Education. She could be the most generous person in the world when it came to human needs, when it came to ideals, to principles, to rules for living; she turned to those things that time had tested, values that were proved and practiced in her own life.

How should one speak of the very special love that was in her heart, that bound her to family as loyal, loving and devoted daughter who honored her parents in their lifetime and revered them in memory? As the darling wife of him whom she now joins in the life beyond, as that wise and good mother of her sons and the daughters who came to her in marriage. To them she was not only loving mother, but wise counsellor, good companion and understanding friend. Their friends became a part of her own larger family. They knew the warmth and the hospitality and welcome of her beautiful home where they found not only things of great beauty and excellence in the world of art, but a profusion of flowers that gave expression to life in every nook and corner. It was their home as it was hers.

So it was in her Canadian home which was haven to old friends and to neighbors and to new friends who always found warm welcome because warmth issued so affectionately from her.

Almost always when I saw her in whatever company, it was always in some good cause, she was surely one of the most distinguished persons present by almost whatever measure one could possibly apply. And yet there was a quiet dignity, a simplicity and great humanity about her which made her presence felt in a very special way. With all of her knowing about the work and needs of children, she never acquired the crispness, or even hardness, of those who know so very much.

I first came to know Mrs. Bernhard in 1932 when she was Chairman of Patronesses for our then Emanu-El League, which put on very bad musical shows for a very good cause. They worked for scholarships for young people. At that very time when she was yet a very young woman her family asked her to take charge of a most important task, to bring out those who were caught in the furnace of German fury and terror and destruction. She brought out more than a hundred and didn't stop with that. She involved herself in their lives, followed them to every part of the country to which they went, watched with joy and pride their quick accommodation to American life, and watched with loving care over those who couldn't make their way. A woman of valor, a gracious lady.

To her we say, go in peace, may peace and quiet be thy portion in life eternal. To her children and grandchildren, to her sisters and brothers who came to her in marriage, to the nephews and nieces, to all who were bound to her by whatever tie, the best of her will remain right here in the treasure-house of loving memory. Not because memory

is so unfailingly good, we forget a lot of things, but we will always have need of those who care and those who do, those who can say, "if you need me, I'm here", and are always there when called upon. Such was the life of Dorothy Lehman Bernhard. Amen.

[From the New York Times, Mar. 7, 1969]

DOROTHY LEHMAN BERNHARD DIES; CIVIC LEADER AND PHILANTHROPIST

Mrs. Dorothy Lehman Bernhard, civic worker and philanthropist and the widow of Richard J. Bernhard, investment banker, died of cancer yesterday. She was 65 years of age and lived at 46 East 71st Street. She also maintained a home on Penguin Island, New Brunswick.

Mrs. Bernhard, who was born in New York, was the daughter of Arthur Lehman and the niece of Herbert H. Lehman. Her mother was the former Miss Adele Lewisohn. Mrs. Bernhard was educated at the Horace Mann School and was graduated from Wellesley College. Her husband, who died in 1961 was with Wertheim & Co.

Mrs. Bernhard was active in child welfare and social work. At one time she was a member of the State Board of Social Welfare, and in 1960 Mayor Robert F. Wagner appointed her to the city's Advisory Board of Public Welfare. She was also chairman of the Advisory Committee of the Hunter College School of Social Work.

For more than a quarter of a century she was a moving force in the Child Welfare League of America, serving as president and vice president. In 1962 she received the organization's first Child Welfare Award. It was presented to her by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt at a dinner at the Plaza.

Mrs. Bernhard was also vice chairman of the Institute of International Education and was a trustee of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies. She was also a member of the board of directors of the New York Philharmonic, a post to which she was appointed last June.

Mrs. Bernhard was the owner of a notable art collection and was quite knowledgeable about painting. Her collection, included works by Cézanne, Van Gogh, Renoir, Sisley, Fantin-Latour, Seurat, Picasso, Corot, Manet, Monet, Degas and Pissarro. She was a benefactor of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Mrs. Bernhard is survived by two sons, Robert A., a partner in Lehman Brothers, and William L.; two sisters, Mrs. John Loeb and Mrs. Benjamin Buttenwieser, and four grandchildren.

A funeral service will be held on Sunday at 11 A.M. at Temple Emanu-El, Fifth Avenue and 65th Street. Burial will be at Salem Field Cemetery, Brooklyn.

REPEAL OF THE PRESIDENTIAL SALARY REVIEW COMMISSION

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill to repeal that section of the postal salary and revenue bill of the 90th Congress which authorized the Presidential Salary Review Commission of top Federal officials and to void the very recent outlandishly high salary increases which resulted from this back-door type of legislation.

As many of you will recall, this amendment, which established this hidden route of increasing salaries of Congress-

men, was only approved by a narrow margin of 12 votes in the 90th Congress. Not only were these increases oversized, they are completely out of step with the need for this Congress and administration to provide leadership in fighting inflation, balancing the budget, and in showing restraint at this time.

In addition, I believe it is imperative that Congress reestablish themselves as serving as the legislative body only at the will of the governed. I believe that any future salary increases for Congressmen should not be voted for the incumbents, but for the holder of that office after the people decide who should hold that office.

THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN LEGION

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, on March 11, 1969, some 2,600,000 Legionnaires across the Nation were joined by Members of the Senate and House of Representatives in commemorating the 50th anniversary of the American Legion. As a Legionnaire of long standing, I am proud and happy to join my comrades in recognizing the dedication and service of those who have worked long and hard on behalf of the American Legion and our Nation.

As a highlight of this golden anniversary, the American Legion's anniversary gift to the Nation will be the permanent lighting and maintenance of the Tomb of the Unknowns and the Temple Facade at Arlington National Cemetery. This gift is exemplary of the pledge found in the preamble to the American Legion constitution, drafted in 1919, "to preserve the memories and incidents of our associations in the great wars." It is a fitting tribute by a great organization of war veterans to their comrades who have paid the supreme sacrifice.

At the time of the ceremony at the Tomb of the Unknowns, hundreds of "flames of freedom" torches will be lighted across the Nation, as a tribute to the dead of all wars. May these torches serve to remind all of us of the great service performed during the past 50 years by the American Legion and guide it to greater achievements in the years ahead.

Let us also remember as we pay tribute to this organization of millions of war veterans that the ideals upon which the American Legion was founded are being tested to a greater degree than ever before.

Our Nation is faced with a continuing conflict in Vietnam, with serious international problems in Europe and Africa, and a new crisis grows to alarming proportions in the Holy Land.

At home we have witnessed other problems of major import, that of civil disobedience, defiance of the draft laws, concentrated efforts to stem our own efforts in Vietnam and all Asia. These

are not isolated incidents. We have even seen the symbol of our heritage, the flag of the United States of America desecrated.

It seems to be a fact of life that there are those among us today who are willing to taste citizenship, but who recoil in horror when it is suggested that they, too, must shoulder their share of citizenship responsibility.

While we are sending young men 10,000 miles from home to fight, and perhaps die, in the cause of freedom, here on the home front many of us are too pathetic and lethargic about preserving the very virtues and principles for which we are asking those young Americans to risk their lives.

These are not the words and deeds of the men who founded the American Legion 50 years ago. Certainly not the words or deeds of those joined in celebrating this 50th anniversary.

The national commander of the American Legion, William C. Doyle, has sounded the key note of this golden anniversary with "50 years of 100 percent Americanism."

Commander Doyle explains this as a calm reasoned approach to and concern for our beloved America. An earnest effort to seek sane and sound solutions to our problems within the framework of law. It is a love of country and respect for its institutions. It is the respect for the rights of our fellow men; it is a concern for the freedoms of men, as God-given rights, but with a recognition that every right carries a responsibility.

This simple declaration of duty to and love of our country, is the ultimate demand of good citizenship. To work, to honor, and when necessary fight for those principles we all hold dear.

This the American Legion has done through 50 years and four great conflicts. For this, I am proud to salute the American Legion and wish Godspeed in the next 50 years.

Mr. President, the American Legion magazine of March 1969 contained an excellent article on the founding of the American Legion in 1919. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

THE PARIS CAUCUS, MARCH 15, 16, 17, 1919

Exactly 50 years ago this March 15, what turned out to be the first meeting of The American Legion was held in the American Club, 4 Rue Gabriel, Paris, France.

Present were a number of WWI officers and enlisted men then on active duty overseas, four months and four days after the Armistice of Nov. 11, 1918.

Nobody today knows how many people were present. One vote was recorded on that Saturday, March 15, 1919, as "279 to 72 with many not voting," so there were "many" more than 351 in the hall then. The names of 463 are preserved, but others came and went without registering. It is known that many who were not registered among the 463 were there, for they served on committees. For instance, the late J. Monroe Johnson, of South Carolina, served on several committees but wasn't registered. He was for many years later a prominent national official, one of Harry Truman's political stalwarts in the Democratic party, and a tower of strength

in the Legion (where he always removed his political cap and donated abounding good humor, priceless wisdom and impartial influence).

Lt. Col. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr.,* son of the 26th President of the United States, had joined with 19 other officers to call the Paris meeting for the purpose of forming a veterans' organization. They connived (chiefly by getting dubious orders written) to bring into Paris officers and enlisted men from as many different military units then in France as they could.

The U.S. high command didn't authorize the meeting. In fact it had to look the other way, because one of the ground rules of that first Legion meeting was most unimilitary. As men from brigadier general to private walked into the hall they shed their rank and debated as equals. (Few if any of the officers were Regulars. Like the enlisted men present the officers were already viewing themselves as civilians-soon-to-be.)

The enlisted men weren't the only ones to enjoy the "no rank here" rule and to abuse it with occasional snide remarks about officers. Even a major would now and then say something on the floor about colonels that he wouldn't repeat outside. Thus, in the second meeting, two days later, the 36th Division's Major Maurice K. Gordon (now a Madisonville, Kentucky, lawyer in his 90's), moved to adopt the name "American Legion." His chief reason was that it was the fifth and last choice of a committee named by "the brass" to recommend a name. Major Gordon's logic was so delightful that the name "American Legion" carried unanimously. When pleasingly plump Sgt. Alexander Woolcott, of later literary fame, objected to the name "American Legion" someone else called him a "fat medico" and he subsided.

But if the delegates had such fun and sport with one another, they were deadly serious about forming a veterans organization that would (1) continue in peace the comradeship that war had thrown them into, and (2) continue in peace the sense of service and dedication to America that in war had led them to offer their lives for their country.

They were determined not to create another Grand Army of the Republic or United Confederate Veterans, both of which got into partisan politics after the Civil War.

In this aim, Teddy Roosevelt, Jr. (a leading young Republican) and Bennett Champ Clark (a leading young Democrat from Missouri, later to serve long in the Senate and spearhead the WW2 GI Bill) joined hands together in a non-partisan gesture as early leaders of the embryo Legion.

The March 15 meeting in Paris took much time to do little business. The secretary, the late Major Eric Fisher Wood, of Pennsylvania, took the chair because Roosevelt had already been returned to the States by the Army.

Wood (whose son, Eric, Jr., was to become one of the legendary heroes of the Battle of the Bulge in WW2, fighting on alone to his death when his regiment was overwhelmed and surrendered) explained for what purpose the members of the caucus had been called through the efforts of Roosevelt and his 19 officer friends. That took a long time, as few there yet knew what was up.

Then Bennett Clark took the chair, Wood reverted to secretary, and Captain Ogden Mills moved that committees be named to draw up and submit plans for (1) permanent organization, (2) a constitution, (3) a name, and (4) a later convention in the States in 1919. Mills, scion of a wealthy New York family and later U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, also helped finance the Legion in its difficult formative months in 1919.

* He died of a heart attack as a Brigadier General on the Normandy beachhead one war later.

With the naming of committees, the March 15 meeting adjourned shortly before 6 p.m. It had been a long day.

On Sunday, March 16, the committees deliberated and prepared their reports, and there was no general meeting.

The second, and final, general meeting of the Paris Caucus assembled in the Cirque de Paris, an amusement hall that had been taken over by the Y.M.C.A., at 9:25 a.m., Monday, March 17, 1919. The only known existing photo of the Paris Caucus, is of that March 17 meeting. Bennett Clark called the meeting to order, but as he had to leave on military business the chair was taken by Lt. Col. Thomas W. Miller, then of Delaware and the 79th Division. Of all of those with leading roles at Paris, only Miller is still an active national Legion official 50 years later. He is the National Executive Committeeman for Nevada. In 1968 he became the sixth of the Legion's early founders to be voted the honorary title of Past National Commander never having been National Commander.

A five-man delegation was sent to wait on President Woodrow Wilson and invite him to the caucus. Wilson was then in Paris for the peace conference. The five-man committee included three brigadier generals, a sergeant and a private. The last two—who worked on the Army newspaper *Stars and Stripes* in Paris—were Private Harold W. Ross and Sergeant John T. Winterich. Both were later editors of the American Legion's magazine, and Ross left it to found, publish and edit the New Yorker magazine until his death. They returned from their mission empty-handed. Wilson would not see them, and writer Laurence Stallings later complained of something aloof in Wilson's character which led him never to visit any of the battlefields or establish any personal rapport with the WWI Doughboys.

Down through the years, many Legion founders have lodged one complaint about Eric Wood (who was also named an honorary Past National Commander before his death). As secretary, they said, he didn't record half of the salty stuff that was said on the floor on March 17. Perhaps Wood is to be commended for exercising a little judicious censorship in his minutes. There was intense suspicion that the 20 officers under Roosevelt who'd called the meeting had something up their sleeves. From what has come down in history by word of mouth, these suspicions were often expressed in plain language.

Even the Chief of Chaplains of the AEF, Bishop Charles Brent, came to the Cirque de Paris brooding with suspicion. He was already forming a veterans organization called *Comrades in Service*. But when, on March 17, the caucus approved a preamble not unlike the present Legion preamble, Bishop Brent seconded the motion, said he'd been afraid that an organization without purpose was being formed, and on the spot threw *Comrades in Service* into the Legion.

Though far from perfect, the reports of the four committees that had worked on Sunday are remarkable for how much they conceived in one day's work that was right, and endured.

The present structure of the Legion, with state, territorial and overseas Departments, all enjoying a large degree of self-rule, was fairly spelled out by the 13-man Committee on Constitution. It included Tom Miller, Ross, Winterich and others who for years continued to give the Legion a large degree of leadership. Among the 13 were Lemuel Bolles (later National Adjutant), Milton Foreman of Chicago (also later made an honorary Past National Commander) and Frank A. White, later Treasurer of the United States.

Foreman, a wealthy lawyer (born during the Civil War and a Spanish war veteran), was the "father" of the Illinois Legion. He personally saw to it that no Illinois delegate

lacked funds to attend the first national convention in Minneapolis the following November. Without personal contributions to the Legion in 1919 by such men of means as Roosevelt, Foreman, Franklin D'Olier, Mills and others, the Legion might have died, or become an ex-officer's organization. The enlisted men were turned out of the Army with little money in their pockets and often jobless. They hardly had the means to see the Legion through its expensive first year.

The Committee on Constitution in Paris wrote a preamble in one day's work which, though it differed from the final preamble, contained four of the fundamental statements that still endure.

No clear history exists that explains in detail how the Legion became semimilitary in its trappings and titles. The view of Legionnaires from the start was that the Legion is a civilian organization. Military sounding titles and uniforms were not conceived in Paris. The Committee on Constitution proposed that the officers be a president, vice-presidents, a secretary, a treasurer and a board of directors. The substitution of commanders, vice-commanders, adjutants, finance officers and judge advocates came later. The next caucus, in St. Louis in May, drafted a much more detailed proposed constitution, but strangely made no suggestion for national officers at all.

Sometime between May and November, the idea of military sounding titles came into being. The familiar commanders, vice-commanders, etc., were written into the official constitution at the first national convention in November without debate or anything on the written record to explain the switch from "president" to "commander." One permanent effect of that change has been that many outsiders have ever since supposed the Legion to be quasi-military—a sort of *bund* to its enemies and a loyal, reserve militia to its friends. The military titles and uniforms obscure the fact that there are only blanks in the ceremonial rifles, and that the Legion's main concern is with selfless and responsible American citizenship and service.

The delegates at Paris completely and wisely, reversed the majority report of the Committee on Convention, headed by Col. J. H. Graham. The majority report called for selecting representatives to a later convention in the States on the basis of military units. It offered a complex plan whereby delegates should be chosen from battalions, divisions, corps, armies and supply units, etc. The same Major Gordon who sold the name "American Legion" because it was the last choice of the leadership, resisted the majority Convention report by writing a minority report. He urged that another meeting be held in the States to bring off a convention, and that representation be based on the "place of residence," not military units. This tallied closely with the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization, chaired by the same William J. (Wild Bill) Donovan who headed our "cloak-and-dagger" O.S.S. in WW2. Donovan's committee urged that at Paris an Executive Committee be named to go back home and organize locally, then have another caucus with a broader base. It agreed with Gordon's warning not to try to settle too many matters until a more representative meeting could be held. This sat very well with the more suspicious members of the Paris Caucus. The upshot was that in Paris both the Convention and Permanent Organization reports were scrapped. A special committee was given a few hours of recess to bring in a new report. Its report was adopted. The heart of it was that an Executive Committee be named, made up of men from every state. Its members should get local organization going all over the country to supplement work Roosevelt was already doing in the States. Then, in six weeks, a much larger meeting should be held in the States

to iron out the problems of calling an official convention, and to make more considered suggestions for permanent organization.

Six weeks still seems pretty ambitious as a target date to have been set in Paris, but the St. Louis caucus was actually held only seven weeks later. By then there were Legion units formed or forming all over the country.

If anything is more remarkable than the speed with which the Legion leaped from a groping idea in Paris to a nationwide body in being, it is the enormous amount of ground covered in three days in Paris by a large, unwieldy and sometimes contentious group. The organizational skill of the Legion's founders, as put into practice, may have no parallel in America history. Eight months after Paris, at the time of the first national convention, the Legion had roots all over the country with nearly 700,000 paid up members.

CONGRATULATIONS TO MEMPHIS OFFICIALS FOR REMARKABLE ACHIEVEMENT

HON. DAN KUYKENDALL

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, the time now has come to compliment and congratulate a group of individuals who have done their duty with the world looking over their shoulders and who have done it well.

Since an assassin's hand struck down Dr. Martin Luther King in Memphis almost a year ago, the harsh glare of the public spotlight has focused on Memphis, Tenn., and its citizens. In the intervening months we all have watched and read avidly as each step in the succeeding drama has unfolded and been duly chronicled.

Throughout it all, there has been a quiet and stubborn determination on the part of many people to carry out the ends of justice without being stampeded; to investigate the crime and seek out the guilty; and to leave no room for the cry of bias, vigilante justice, or whitewash.

The list of these people is a long one: The Memphis City Police, under the direction of Frank Holloman, who worked untiringly to protect their city against those who would have torn it apart in their anger and frustration, and who still had a murder to solve; the Shelby County officers and their able Sheriff William N. Morris, Jr., who stood shoulder to shoulder with their brother officers in the time of trouble and later guaranteed one of the world's most famous prisoners his safety; the Federal Bureau of Investigation, whose Agent-in-Charge, Robert Jensen, was acting directly under the orders of Director Hoover to help solve the case; and the Tennessee National Guard task force, under the command of Gen. Hugh B. Mott, who came to a stricken town offering an outstretched hand and asking only "What can we do to help?"

Judge W. Preston Battle's scholarly domination of his courtroom may well become a hallmark for other jurists to follow in the future, and the painstaking care with which our district attorney general, Phil M. Canale, built the case

against James Earl Ray resulted this week in a guilty plea and a conviction.

Whether the case of the State against James Earl Ray is yet closed, these citizens of Memphis, Shelby County, Tenn., and the Nation who banded together in the pursuit of only one goal—justice for a defendant and a wronged citizenry.

And in the pursuit of that goal, they left a message for all to read—that justice for all means more than just the last three words of the pledge of allegiance to our Nation's flag.

CONDITION OF JEWS IN ARAB COUNTRIES

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, there is deep concern regarding the fate of the Jewish residents left behind in Arab countries. For many of them, occupants of communities dating back many centuries, the question of emigration is no less than a matter of life or death, for the situation is, especially in Iraq, deteriorating at an ominous rate.

President Nasser, of Egypt, indicated in an interview published last week that Egyptian Jews were free to leave if they wished to do so. As Iraq has been called on to permit the Jews to emigrate to freedom, so the United Arab Republic should be called on to do the same.

The Buffalo Jewish Review of February 14 published an interesting and informative article by Prof. Joseph A. Hasson of the State University College at Buffalo on the condition of Jews in Arab countries. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

THE CONDITION OF JEWS IN ARAB COUNTRIES (By Dr. Joseph A. Hasson)

The civilized world has been shocked and indignant at the hanging of fourteen men, nine of whom were Jewish by the Iraqi Government on charges of spying for the Israeli Government. These hangings have been characterized as barbaric and inhumane and have served to focus widespread attention on the plight of Jews in Arab countries. More than 10,000 Jews are still living in these countries under difficult and threatening circumstances. The Israeli Government has issued an impassioned appeal to save their lives.

Since the eve of the Six Day War in June, 1967, Jewish Communities in Syria, Iraq, Egypt, Libya, Morocco and elsewhere have been exposed to a grim sequence of constantly mounting persecutions, harassments and imprisonment. The once flourishing Communities had already been greatly reduced and impoverished in Arab countries where they have resided for hundreds of years. Large numbers had fled to Israel which was for them a haven of refuge, with a deeply religious messianic and nostalgic significance. Not all Jews chose or were able to leave, however.

At the Islamic Congress in Amman, Jordan in September, 1967, a resolution was adopted on all Moslem peoples to boycott Jews in

their lands and to treat them as sworn enemies. Jewish persecution in Syria, Iraq and Egypt, in particular, are a violation of obligations assumed by these States under the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The treatment of Jews in Arab countries contrasts unfavorably with the treatment of Arabs under Israeli rule. Extensive efforts by various groups, public and private, have been made to relieve their position. Public bodies, including the Governments of Greece, Spain, Italy and, even, France as well as private bodies—the Jewish Agency, the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, the B'nai B'rith, the World Sephardic Federation, the International Red Cross and others—have been persistent in their attempts to obtain the release of Jews who have been held hostages in Arab countries.

Some comments on the Jewish position in each of several countries follow:

Egypt: The Jewish Community here is down to about 2,500 persons from about 80,000, about twenty years ago. Hundreds were arrested in 1967, confined in jail and, according to some reports, treated inhumanely, deprived of food, water and subjected to physical mistreatment and indignities. About 600 Jews were thrown into the prisons of Abu Zaabal and Turah near Cairo and La Burrago near Alexandria. Some have managed to leave, but frequently they have been compelled to go without their families. The Egyptian Government has since banned the exit of the remnants of what once was a large and prosperous Jewish Community. Most synagogues are closed and Jewish persons not imprisoned are scattered in small groups and in great danger. The country that once welcomed a harassed Maimonides has hardened its heart and refuses to let our people go.

Libya: The Jewish Community in this country of North Africa has been maligned and after the Six Day War was victimized by mob violence. Families sought refuge behind barricaded doors in their homes. They were confronted with severe shortages of food. Their shops were burned; their apartments were gutted; their houses of worship desecrated. The Government of Libya initially was adamant against permitting Jewish persons from departing. Subsequently, they reversed their positions so that now there are less than 100 Jews in Libya.

Syria: The Jewish position in this country was extremely grave even before the June, 1967 War. Repeated reports of a brutal policy by Kameshli officials were leaked to the world. Jews were exposed to unannounced night arrests, interrogations and torture. They were restricted in their movements; their opportunities for employment were limited. Starvation has been imminent amongst them. Yet the Government of Syria has repeatedly refused to grant the Jewish people exit permits.

Iraq: Two decades ago, Iraq had the largest, most flourishing Jewish Community in the Middle East. It had a history that reached back 2,500 years to Biblical times. At the end of the 1940's, its total population was about 130,000. By 1967 at the outbreak of the War, its numbers had been drastically reduced to about 3,000, largely as a result of a mass exodus of persons airlifted to Israel via Cyprus. The emigres had first been stripped of all their property by the Iraqis. Hence, the positions of those Jews who had remained behind had been bad before the War. Since the Arab-Israeli conflict, approximately one hundred Jewish heads of families and community leaders have been incarcerated. The Grand Rabbi of Iraq, Lasson Khadouri, has intervened for their release without success. Jews have been searched in their homes, forbidden to travel freely, subjected to constant surveillance and subjected to confiscation of remaining belongings by the Iraqi

Court of Cassations. They have suffered tremendous economic losses and been on the brink of complete impoverishment. While they have existed under such severe conditions, the Government of Iraq has brought espionage charges against Jewish and other persons. Despite an outraged world public opinion, led by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, who deplored the Iraqi hangings on humanitarian grounds, the Government has refused to declare the evidence which led to the conviction and condemnation of the persons involved, Jewish or non-Jewish.

Jewish persons in other Arab countries are in varying degrees of uncertainty and danger. While the Moroccan officials have sought to allay its Jewish Communities, there is anxiety and isolated incidents entailing physical assault have been reported. In Tunisia, President Bourguiba had denounced riots which led to the sacking of synagogues. Algeria, despite its opposition to Israel, has not mistreated its Jewish population, most of whom are French citizens. Terrorist outbreaks against Jews have occurred in Aden. The Community has been evacuated. Jews have been protected by public authority in Lebanon.

Meanwhile, the Israeli Government has issued an impassioned plea for the rehabilitation of Jews from Arab countries, especially, Syria, Iraq and Egypt. The issue has been raised in the United Nations. The cautious hope and careful negotiations have given way to anxiety and gloom for the remnants of Jewry in the Arab World. In the Israeli Knesset, Prime Minister Eshkol in a special memorial session, read the names of the nine Iraqi Jews and referred to them as "harugey malchut" (martyrs of the kingdom), a Talmudic term denoting those executed by a hostile master for the sole reason of being Jews.

MESKILL SENDS QUESTIONNAIRE TO SIXTH DISTRICT CONSTITUENTS

HON. THOMAS J. MESKILL

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. MESKILL. Mr. Speaker, today I am once again sending a questionnaire to every postal patron in the Sixth Congressional District of Connecticut.

At a time when voters are increasingly aware of world and national events, I think it is vitally important for a Representative to know his constituents' views on some of the major issues coming before the Congress. Polling my constituents in the Sixth District will help me to do a more effective and responsible job of representing them—of making good decisions based on their needs and aspirations.

From past experience, I can testify that people do want to be asked their opinion. They appreciate being included in the governmental process; they want to have the opportunity to tell their Representatives how they feel about issues that affect their everyday lives.

When I mailed out my last questionnaire, I received many complaints that there was no space provided for a spouse's response. This questionnaire has been designed in an attempt to rectify this situation. There are boxes provided on the same card for the responses of both the husband and the wife to allow them

to express different opinions if they wish. This year I am looking for an even higher percent of response.

As soon as tabulation of the questionnaire is completed, I shall publish the results along with my own answers and comments.

The 10 questions to be asked are:

1. Should the Federal Government develop laws to help prevent strikes by public employees?
His..... Yes ☐ No ☐ Undecided ☐
Her..... Yes ☐ No ☐ Undecided ☐
2. Do you favor Federal aid to private and parochial schools?
His..... Yes ☐ No ☐ Undecided ☐
Her..... Yes ☐ No ☐ Undecided ☐
3. Should the voting age be lowered to 18 years?
His..... Yes ☐ No ☐ Undecided ☐
Her..... Yes ☐ No ☐ Undecided ☐
4. If a satisfactory peace in Vietnam cannot be secured in the foreseeable future which of the following, if any, would you favor?
(a) Withdrawal of U.S. forces, even if this means a Communist takeover..... ☐ ☐
(b) Adhere to holding operations by joint United States-South Vietnam forces..... ☐ ☐
(c) Bring increased military pressure to bear on North Vietnam..... ☐ ☐
(d) None of these..... ☐ ☐
5. Would you favor a constitutional amendment which would allow Congress to override a Supreme Court decision by a two-thirds vote?
His..... Yes ☐ No ☐ Undecided ☐
Her..... Yes ☐ No ☐ Undecided ☐
6. Should the electoral college be abolished and the selection of the President and Vice President be purely and simply by popular vote?
His..... Yes ☐ No ☐ Undecided ☐
Her..... Yes ☐ No ☐ Undecided ☐
8. Should the United States adopt a 12-mile offshore territorial limit against other nations which impose more than a 3-mile limit?
His..... Yes ☐ No ☐ Undecided ☐
Her..... Yes ☐ No ☐ Undecided ☐
9. Should the Federal Government try to slow the population migration from rural to urban areas through programs of economic incentives and aids to private industry to help create jobs in rural areas?
His..... Yes ☐ No ☐ Undecided ☐
Her..... Yes ☐ No ☐ Undecided ☐
10. At the conclusion of the Vietnam conflict, would you favor granting amnesty to those who fled the country or were imprisoned because of conscientious objection to the war?
His..... Yes ☐ No ☐ Undecided ☐
Her..... Yes ☐ No ☐ Undecided ☐

PUBLIC INTEREST IN POLLUTION PROBLEMS

HON. J. CALEB BOGGS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, an article published in yesterday's edition of the Christian Science Monitor is encouraging to those of us who are concerned with the prevention of pollution of our air and water.

The article, written by Mr. Robert Cahn, told of a recent Gallup poll which indicated that that concern is shared by great numbers of the American people. It also showed that concern over pollution is not the province of any special group of people. It is shared by city people, rural people, and the young and old alike.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

PEOPLE ROUSED ENOUGH TO PAY MORE TAXES—
POLL FINDS ALARM OVER POLLUTION

(By Robert Cahn)

WASHINGTON.—Most Americans—not just the nature enthusiasts—are troubled about pollution of their environment.

This is the major conclusion of the first Gallup Poll ever taken sampling national public opinion on the effects of environmental deterioration.

About half (51 percent) of all persons interviewed said they are "deeply concerned" about the effect of air and water pollution, soil erosion, and destruction of wildlife.

About one-third (35 percent) said they are "somewhat concerned." Only 12 percent said they are "not very concerned."

And three out of every four people interviewed backed up their concern by stating they would be willing to pay additional taxes to improve natural surroundings.

The poll was commissioned by the National Wildlife Federation, and its conclusions were the highlight of the federation's 33rd annual meeting here.

PUBLIC THINKING REFLECTED

Thomas L. Kimball, executive director of the federation, said it sponsored the Gallup survey in the face of increasing criticism from some people, including members of Congress, that organized conservation groups don't truly represent the general public's thinking.

"Conservationists are accused of talking only to themselves," Mr. Kimball said. "But this poll puts us in the category of knowing on a sound statistical basis how the public really feels about the total environment."

He urged the delegates of regional wildlife groups in the federation, who represent a combined membership of 2 million persons, to take the issues "to the guy in the street. We now know that they care and will pay for what is needed."

In announcing results of the survey, Dr. George H. Gallup, president of the American Institute of Public Opinion, told delegates that the statistics on willingness to pay additional taxes to improve natural surroundings were especially significant.

FUND AVAILABILITY SEEN

"People are never eager to pay additional taxes, so these figures must be regarded as very encouraging," he said. "When these percentages are projected to the national adult population, it is clear that large potential funds are available to improve our environment."

The keynote speaker for the conference, Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D) of Washington, said that economists have estimated it will cost between \$26 billion and \$29 billion over the next five years to clean up streams, lakes, bays and rivers, and \$15 billion a year to get clean air in Metropolitan areas alone.

"A new attitude of concern for values which cannot be translated into the language of the marketplace or computed in cost-benefit ratios is being felt and seen in citizen efforts to save parks, open spaces, and natural beauty from freeways, reservoirs, and industry," said Senator Jackson, chairman of the Senate Interior Committee.

ONE OF NATION'S BIG ISSUES

"People are no longer complacent about the quality of their surroundings, about the use of the environment, and the way in which public resources are administered," he added.

Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel also took note of the conservation trend.

"The impact of environment on people has become one of the nation's big issues," he told federation delegates.

One has to be zealous about conservation, he said, and "attack the problem as if it were war, because it is. The potential extinct species are not certain animals and birds, but people—you and me."

An oil spill off Santa Barbara, Calif., and disastrous flooding in that state, air pollution, the destruction of Lake Erie are not just freakish incidents, he said.

"Nature is reminding us that with all our technical and scientific progress, we dare not ignore natural forces. We cannot shut ourselves off from the natural world. In our cities and suburban complexes more of us are more vulnerable to a failure of the environment than ever before."

Dr. Gallup said the survey was conducted during the last part of January by personal interviews with a national sample of 1,503 adults, 21 years of age and over. The results can be projected to the national adult population of the nation with a high degree of accuracy, he said.

NONURBAN AREAS PREFERRED

In addition to questions about concern over natural surroundings and willingness to pay added taxes, questions were asked about which environmental problems were most severe, possible corrective measures, the necessity to limit human population, areas thought to be most pleasant for living.

Results included these highlights:

More men (56 percent) were "deeply concerned" over the environment than women (46 percent).

Although most Americans live in urban areas, the overwhelming majority, when asked where they would like to live if they had a choice, said they would prefer non-urban areas.

The most pressing conservation problems are air pollution (36 percent) and water pollution (32 percent).

Only 5 percent of those polled rated wildlife preservation as the most urgent conservation problem. (Mr. Kimball expressed disappointment over this result, and warned delegates they needed to work harder to convince the public of the need for wildlife preservation.)

Respondents were evenly split on the question of the need to limit human population in order to maintain present living standards. Dr. Gallup said that, surprisingly, the breakdown among Roman Catholics and non-Catholics also was just about even on the subject.

A huge majority (75 percent) is in favor of setting aside more public lands for conservation purposes.

Following are some of the statistical results:

You may have heard or read claims that our natural surroundings are being spoiled by air pollution, water pollution, soil erosion, destruction of wildlife and so forth. How concerned are you about this—deeply concerned, somewhat concerned, or not very concerned?

	Deeply concerned	Somewhat concerned	Not very concerned	No opinion
National results.....	51	35	12	2
By sex:				
Men.....	56	31	10	3
Women.....	46	38	14	2
By age:				
21 to 34 years.....	51	41	7	1
35 to 49 years.....	50	38	10	2
50 years and older.....	52	28	16	4
Undesignated (19)				
By size of community:				
1,000,000 and over.....	51	36	8	5
250,000 to 999,999.....	52	35	11	2
50,000 to 249,999.....	55	35	9	1
2,500 to 49,999.....	52	31	16	1
Under 2,500.....	46	37	14	3
By region of country:				
East.....	46	38	12	4
Midwest.....	56	34	9	1
South.....	44	36	16	4
West.....	59	31	10	0

How much would you be willing to pay each year in additional taxes earmarked to improve our natural surroundings—a small amount such as \$10 or less, a moderate amount such as \$50, or a large amount such as \$100 or more?

[In percent]

	Small amount	Moderate amount	Large amount	None	Don't know
National results.....	51	18	4	9	18
By sex:					
Men.....	49	21	6	9	15
Women.....	53	16	2	9	20
By age:					
21 to 34 years.....	53	25	5	5	12
35 to 49 years.....	52	20	3	8	17
50 years and older.....	49	13	4	12	22
By annual family income:					
\$10,000 and over.....	45	28	10	6	11
\$7,000 to \$9,999.....	52	20	3	10	15
\$5,000 to \$6,999.....	59	15	2	8	16
Under \$5,000.....	52	10	1	11	26
Undesignated (18).					
By region of country:					
East.....	49	17	6	9	19
Midwest.....	56	19	3	11	11
South.....	51	15	3	6	25
West.....	47	24	3	9	17

In this country, which one of these do you think is the most pressing problem connected with our natural surroundings?

[National results in percent]

Air pollution.....	36
Water pollution.....	32
Pesticides (chemicals used to kill insects).....	7
Preservation of open green spaces.....	6
Wildlife preservation (birds and animals).....	5
Soil erosion.....	4
Don't know.....	10
Total.....	100

In your opinion what can be done to correct air pollution?

Find way to control auto exhaust.....	24
Control chemical and industrial wastes.....	17
Provide filters, smoke-control devices.....	16
Enforce law or pass new legislation.....	10
Careful study, research.....	7
Do away with gasoline engine.....	6
Control burning of rubbish or garbage.....	3
Move industry to the suburbs.....	2
Educate the public.....	1
Other answers.....	3
Don't know.....	31
Total ¹	120

In your opinion what can be done to correct water pollution?

Stop industrial pollution.....	26
Enforce law or pass new legislation.....	23
Keep sewage out of water.....	12
Individuals should be more careful.....	8
Careful study, research.....	5
Sewage conversion plants.....	5
Educate the public.....	3
Chemically purify the water.....	3
Use filters.....	2
Other answers.....	2
Don't know.....	27
Total ¹	116

In your opinion what can be done for preservation of open green spaces?

Set aside land for parks, forests.....	31
Better zoning.....	31
Limit the spread of commercialization.....	11
Other answers.....	4
Don't know.....	30
Total ¹	107

In your opinion what can be done to correct the problem of pesticides?

Use different, improved pesticides.....	26
Government controls, laws.....	18
Use with discretion.....	14
Stop using pesticides.....	7
Other answers.....	6
Don't know.....	31
Total ¹	102

¹ Total exceeds 100 percent due to multiple response.

It has been said that it will, at some time, be necessary to limit the human population [number of people] if our present living standards are to be maintained. Do you think this will be necessary or not?

[In percent]

	Necessary	Not necessary	Don't know
National results.....	44	43	13
By sex:			
Men.....	47	42	11
Women.....	41	45	14
By age:			
21 to 34 years.....	55	37	8
35 to 49 years.....	44	43	13
50 years and older.....	36	48	16
Undesignated (19).			
By education:			
College.....	60	34	6
High school.....	45	44	11
Grade school.....	29	51	20
Undesignated (8).			
By annual family income:			
\$10,000 and over.....	53	38	9
\$7,000 to \$9,999.....	52	39	9
\$5,000 to \$6,999.....	41	45	14
Under \$5,000.....	32	50	18
Undesignated (18).			

Which of these kinds of places [respondent shown card] would you find most pleasant as a place to live?

[National results, in percent]

Rural area.....	30
Small city.....	25
Suburbs.....	18
Mountains.....	15
Seashore.....	9
Large city.....	6
Other.....	1
Don't know.....	1
Total ²	105

² Totals exceed 100 percent since a few respondents named more than one area.

Are you in favor of setting aside more public land for conservation purposes such as national parks, wildlife refuges, bird sanctuaries, and so forth, or not?

[In percent]

	Yes	No	Don't know
National results.....	75	19	6
By age:			
21 to 34 years.....	83	13	4
35 to 49 years.....	76	18	6
50 years and older.....	69	24	7
Undesignated (19).			
By size of community:			
1,000,000 and over.....	79	15	6
250,000 to 999,999.....	78	17	5
50,000 to 249,999.....	80	16	4
2,500 to 49,999.....	78	19	3
Under 2,500.....	66	25	9
By region of country:			
East.....	82	12	6
Midwest.....	76	20	4
South.....	68	24	8
West.....	75	21	4

JAPAN-UNITED STATES PARTNERSHIP IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, all of our citizens should be aware of the constructive progress being achieved in Southeast Asia. No small credit for much of the advance is due to the effective partnership of United States and Japanese assistance to the underdeveloped nations of the Pacific area.

The amazing recuperation of the Japanese is one of the miracle performances in the postwar period. As the newly created power base emerged the far seeing leadership in Japan has shown an increasing interest and commitment to the advance of all of the Pacific basin nations.

Recently Ambassador Shimoda visited in my district and delivered a very interesting and educational address to the World Affairs Council. The practice of going to the country with the important stories of international affairs is one that should be applauded and encouraged. When the message is as effectively stated as in the instance of Ambassador Shimoda's presentation it is particularly noteworthy.

I commend to the attention of every Member of the House the timely and cogent comments of the Japanese Ambassador and include his remarks in full below:

ADDRESS BY AMBASSADOR TAKESHI SHIMODA, OF JAPAN, AT THE DINNER MEETING OF THE WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL OF ORANGE COUNTY, ON FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1969

It is a great honor and a pleasure for me to be here with you at the World Affairs Council of Orange County which has been addressed in the past by a number of internationally-famed people. The subject which has been given to me today is "Japan and Southeast Asia".

In my opinion, if I may state my conclusion first, the core of the many problems confronting Southeast Asia at the present time lies in how to ensure the common goal of "no more Vietnams".

Today not only Americans but almost all the people in the world heartily welcome the Paris Talks. Great efforts are being continued under the new Administration with a view toward giving the talks substance. It is also satisfying to note that the Paris Talks seem to have begun, not only with support and endorsement from the Western Allies, but also with those, both explicit and tacit, from the Soviet Union and the other East European Communist nations.

However, it is not my intention here today to make a complete analysis of the Vietnam problem or a full study of the problems of Asia in general. As a representative of Japan, I think it appropriate to confine the scope of my discussion to the problems of Japan and its immediate neighborhood.

People often say that the future of the whole world depends upon Asia, where lives approximately two-thirds of the entire population of the world, and where the immeasurably rich potential in natural resources still remains largely untouched. But the real importance of Asia should be examined from a historical perspective.

History shows that the difference between Asia and the other developing areas on earth lies in the fact that Asia has had its own

remarkable traditional civilizations. In Africa, the dawn of a new civilization has just set in for the vast majority of the countries. In Latin America, the old civilization of the Incas, like the one under the Empire of the Incas, was almost completely destroyed by the impact of European civilization. On the contrary, in Asia, at least a portion of its traditional civilizations, possibly some of the oldest ever set up by mankind, has been successfully conserved up to the present day by descendants of the founders.

In the past few centuries, however, the European powers, armed with modern war equipment, started a strong colonization drive against the Asian countries dormant amidst their old traditions. As a result, only Japan, China and Siam came to be counted as independent nation-states in Asia at the beginning of this century.

The Victory of Japan over Czarist Russia in 1905 startled awake the whole Asian people. They came to realize that even a tiny Asian country could match, and win against, a great Imperial power. In addition, as a statement of pure historical fact, the experience of the Southeast Asian countries during World War II provided the Asian peoples with a golden opportunity to turn their dream of independence into reality.

After the War, though, what did we find in Asia? We saw the emergence of the two most powerful Communist nations, that is, the Soviet Union and Communist China, in the north and in the central part of Asia, surrounded by a group of newly-independent countries still crippled by perennial political and economic instability, including a Japan completely disarmed and on the brink of starvation.

The optimism, on the part of the Allied Powers, that everlasting world peace could be obtained simply by means of disarming Germany and Japan was severely betrayed. The military vacuum which resulted from the disarming of the Axis nations gave rise to the Berlin Crisis in Europe and to the Korean War in Asia.

The situation in Asia was actually worse than that in Europe where NATO, of which Germany is a member, was established, and where a balance of power between the East and West has been fairly rapidly restored. Due to the lack of homogeneity and equivalence of social as well as economic standards in the European sense, it was found impossible to establish in Asia a powerful single collective security arrangement such as NATO. Therefore, the balance of power in Asia was only attained and maintained by means of a number of bi-lateral and small-scale multi-lateral security arrangements hurriedly concluded between the countries concerned. The burden and sacrifices borne by the United States in order to accomplish the restoration of a balance of power in Asia, as is the case in other areas of the world, are by far greater in magnitude than those any other single power in history has ever been able to shoulder. For this, Japanese people, together with the people of other free nations, are most grateful.

At this point, let us take a brief look at the main paths which Southeast Asian countries have taken after the War. By Southeast Asia we mean the area extending eastward from Burma to include Japan, where live approximately three hundred million people. Japan and Indonesia have a population of approximately one hundred million each, while another one hundred million live in the rest of the area. Ten Southeast Asian countries are scattered on the periphery of Continental China, which alone has a population of about seven hundred million.

As the Angkor Wat in Cambodia and Borobudur in Indonesia so eloquently symbolize, almost all these Southeast Asian nations have their own rich cultural traditions. After a considerable period of humiliation as colonies for the Great Powers, these coun-

tries joyfully celebrated their independence after World War II, but their future prospect was far from being bright.

The people of these nations had optimistically believed that economic prosperity and a high standard of living, in the European sense, would automatically be attained once independence was accomplished and exploitation by the colonialists was eradicated. However, it was not long before they realized, to their great disappointment, that this hypothesis was a sheer illusion.

Due to various reasons, including lack of capital and insufficient technical skill, the productivity of these countries was still extremely low. With the shortage of food and other necessities of life, famine and malady proved impossible to control, and, by then, the inflation had been getting worse and worse.

The situation of Japan was no better immediately after the War. Its territories had been reduced in half, while its population was increased by five million repatriates from its former colonies. To make matters worse, a war reparation amounting to two billion dollars was imposed upon Japan.

The miserable plight of Southeast Asia provided the Communists with a golden opportunity for propaganda and agitation. A number of these countries became the targets of their active infiltration. Whole continental China soon fell under Communist control. Korea came close to suffering the same fate. Only the superlative efforts by the late General MacArthur was able to check the Communist infiltration at the 38 degree parallel.

Then followed the situation which led to Vietnam.

Almost a quarter of a century has passed since the termination of World War II. As a matter of fact, the rapidity of the changes which took place in the political, economic and social life in Asia during the period was astounding. Such changes would have taken several centuries to bring about in an age other than our own.

During this past quarter century, Communist China has experienced a massive turmoil in the Great Cultural Revolution. On the other hand, its military power has constantly been strengthened. Especially, the development of nuclear weapons has been much faster than we expected. Communist China has by now succeeded in seven nuclear tests including a hydrogen bomb explosion.

Indonesia was once on the brink of being taken over by the Communists, and managed to escape the danger only by the fall of Sukarno. Countries neighboring Vietnam have not been actively involved in the war. But they have consistently been exposed to the fear of political and military infiltration by the Communists.

In spite of these continuous and conspicuous changes in the international situation, however, ladies and gentlemen, the basic structure and the background of the problems of Southeast Asia remain the same. This will continue to be so, even if the Paris Conference turns out to be a success and the post-Vietnam era becomes a reality.

At this point, I should like to probe deeper into the question of what kind of policy alternatives are available for us in order to cope with the present situation of Southeast Asia in such a way that the danger of a second Vietnam War, or a second Korean War, may be avoided.

In my opinion, we can theoretically prescribe two entirely different policy alternatives. The first is so-called "military-oriented" policy. This policy is based on the assumption that all the troubles and uneasiness in Southeast Asia are caused by, or caused in connection with, the threat of Communist China and its developing nuclear weapons. Therefore, this policy envisages, among other objectives, the establishment of an overall collective security organization in East and Southeast Asia which would be the equivalent of NATO in Europe.

The second is a "politico-economic" policy, and emphasizes the position that the true source of the majority of Southeast Asian problems is "poverty". All famines, maladies, lack of education and social unrest can be attributed to this underlying "poverty". The line of the argument for this policy is, further, that whether or not poverty in Asia can be overcome depends primarily upon the realization of this problem and the efforts on the part of the people residing in this area themselves, but that, on the other hand, assistance from foreign powers is also indispensable.

As a matter of practical measures, differentiation between these two policies will, in reality, be subtle. Both are identical in so far as they recognize that all the political, economic, and military aspects of the problem cannot be ignored. The difference is only that one gives priority to the military factor, while the other gives precedence to the politico-economic factor.

The Government as well as the people of Japan choose the second alternative.

Today, economic aid to Asia is far from being sufficient. On a per capita basis, Asia receives only half as much in foreign aid as is granted to the African countries, much less than that provided to Latin American countries. If the future of the world is to depend upon Asia, a rescaling of the present magnitude of economic aid to Asia must be a prerequisite.

In Southeast Asia and in the Western Pacific areas, such multi-lateral military arrangements as SEATO and ANZUS as well as such bi-lateral agreements as those between the United States and, respectively, Japan, Korea, Nationalist China, the Philippines have already been in effect for years. In view of the existence of this network of regional security arrangements, it seems more appropriate to spend the funds, materials, and energy for the purpose of the conquest of poverty in Asia, rather than to spend them to establish a more powerful military wall against China.

In Europe, West Berlin has been often referred to as the "show-case" of the Western world to Communist, East Germany. Prosperous West Berlin, in comparison with desolated East Berlin, was a most eloquent witness of the superiority of the free West over the Communist dictatorial system.

In Asia, an even sharper contrast than that between East and West Berlin can be seen between Continental China and Japan. Though Communist China, with the development of its nuclear weaponry, has emerged as the strongest military power in Asia, Japan today enjoys being the third greatest industrial power in the world, following only the United States and the Soviet Union. Japan had to start its post-war economic reconstruction from scratch. In spite of its small land area and its scarce natural resources, Japan, under its democratic political regime, managed to achieve its economic recovery by making the best of its free enterprise system and its technical development.

The outstanding success of Japan has caused many voices to be raised urging Japan to assume greater responsibility and leadership in Asia. Under Article 9 of the present Constitution, however, Japan is prohibited from maintaining any war potential including army, navy and air forces which would be capable of aggressive attack against other nations. After the war, a deep-rooted anti-militaristic feeling has also prevailed among the Japanese people. Therefore, the only policy alternative left for Japan is to seek a role in the politico-economic field.

Only a few years ago, Japan, after long years of hesitation, first took an initiative in the field of regional economic cooperation. The rationale which prompted Japan to take this initiative was the fact that the post-war economic policies adopted by some newly-independent countries did not always

seem to be well-chosen. A number of ambitious projects were pressed hard by some Southeast Asian leaders in an attempt to catch up, at a leap, with the advanced industrial powers, but failed in the absence of a systematic economic policy sustained by the necessary technology.

Under the circumstances three years ago, in 1966, the Government of Japan proposed that a conference of economic ministers of Southeast Asian countries be held in Tokyo. This conference proved most encouraging. Until then, some Japanese people had felt that such a proposal might be rejected by other Asian countries who might suspect that Japan's true intention was economic encroachment into Southeast Asia. It actually turned out, however, that the participants of that meeting heartily welcomed Japan's initiative and even said that they could not understand why Japan had delayed in taking such an initiative. Almost all of the cabinet ministers who participated in this conference advocated a very sound and realistic approach to the economic problems of their own countries, without the excess of idealism or impatience which used to be noticeable.

The Tokyo Conference in 1966 was followed by the second Ministerial Conference in Manila in April 1967. At this meeting, the establishment of, among others, the Agricultural Development Fund, and the Southeast Asian Fisheries Development Center was agreed upon. The third Ministerial Meeting was held in Singapore last year. The fourth meeting will be convened in Bangkok this year, at which time many more useful and realistic projects are expected to be discussed.

In addition to the meetings I have just mentioned, the Ministerial Meeting of the Asian and Pacific Council is held each year to discuss various political, social and cultural problems in Southeast Asia. The Asian Development Bank, for the establishment of which Japan took a strong initiative, has already commenced operating in Manila.

The growing trend to promote regional cooperation in Southeast Asia led The Honorable Dean Rusk, the former Secretary of State, to say a "new wind" has started blowing in Asia. Our present goal is to let this "new wind" blow even harder in Southeast Asia. Indeed, this movement toward mutual cooperation may be called a renaissance of Asia in the sense that it is a concerted effort by the Asian people themselves to construct, on a sound economic basis, a new culture fitting the requirements of modern times on the foundations of their old traditions; in other words, through the revaluation and adoption of the old Asian philosophy of harmony and cooperation.

While the overall trend in Southeast Asia is clearly toward cooperation among nations, Communist China still continues to be an exception, by holding fast to such an alien philosophy of confrontation as that of Marx and Engels. Nobody in Southeast Asia stands to gain by keeping alive the antagonism between these two different philosophies. On the contrary, our ultimate hope is that Communist China will, sooner or later, return to international society and recognize the existence of common interests by cooperating with others.

In order to make such trends bear fruit, the responsibility and burden of the countries in the area, especially Japan, will become increasingly heavier. At the same time, assistance and cooperation from other areas, particularly from the United States, will continue to be of the utmost importance.

After the War, a strong inward-looking trend emerged in Japan, and it has taken some twenty years for Japan to overcome this tendency and to exercise initiative in the direction of a "new wind" in Asia. Even at present, however, not a few Japanese people find strong attraction in trying to re-

treat from the affairs of the world. Today, a similar tendency has just begun to appear in some circles within the United States as well. What would happen in Asia, if both the United States and Japan were to return to isolationism?

On the occasion of the last visit of Prime Minister Eisaku Sato of Japan to this country, Mr. Lyndon Johnson, then President of the United States, described the relationship between the United States and Japan as a "partnership of responsibility".

It has now become necessary for both of our countries to cooperate closely with one another, not only for our own mutual benefit but also to make a joint contribution toward the accomplishment of Asia's reconstruction and stabilization, and, ultimately, toward the attainment of world peace.

As the members of the World Affairs Council of rapidly growing Orange County, you will have the deepest understanding of the necessity of cooperation on the part of the United States in this aspect. I sincerely hope for your assistance and support in our present and future endeavors.

Thank you.

NEW RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENTS AT VISTA

HON. CHARLES E. GOODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. President, a recent article, entitled "VISTA Overtakes Peace Corps at Colleges," written by Eve Edstrom, and published in the Washington Post, points out the new record of participation and accomplishment at VISTA. The program does a great service for our country in providing American youth with a relevant and constructive outlet of their desire to participate actively in the affairs of the Nation.

I recently read a memorandum written by the acting director of VISTA, Padriac Kennedy, in which he outlines the present status of the program. A great deal remains to be done, but VISTA is definitely moving in the right direction.

Mr. Kennedy and his staff are to be complimented for the fine work that they are doing.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

VISTA OVERTAKES PEACE CORPS AT COLLEGES (By Eve Edstrom)

College campuses were turned on eight years ago this weekend. That's when the Peace Corps, stardust child of President Kennedy's New Frontier, was born.

Now its domestic prototype, VISTA, is attracting equal attention.

A Gallup poll conducted for the Office of Economic Opportunity at the end of the last college year showed that VISTA and the Peace Corps were neck and neck—47 per cent each—in student preference for voluntary service in the two programs.

This represented an amazing gain for VISTA, a lackluster appendage to President Johnson's War on Poverty.

VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) was born four years after the Peace Corps and had a hard time competing with the Peace Corps for volunteers.

WHERE ACTION IS

But more and more students now want to be where the action is—in the urban and rural poverty pockets where VISTA volunteers work.

This is a plus for the Nixon Administration which is committed to enlisting millions of citizens volunteers to attack the Nation's social ills.

The Administration particularly wants to appeal to young people. And there is a huge untapped reservoir of them.

The Gallup projections showed that 4.3 million of 6.5 million college students last summer were interested in either VISTA or Peace Corps service.

But both programs can absorb only several thousand, and both are getting more selective in their recruitment policies.

They want volunteers with skills and judgment as well as ideals. VISTA, with almost 6000 full time volunteers, no longer seeks 18- and 19-year-olds. The number in that age group has dwindled from 20 per cent to less than 5 in the last 18 months.

HIGHER PRIORITY

And the Peace Corps, with more than 11,000 volunteers on duty, has put an increasingly high priority on those who have knowledge in the agricultural, construction, nursing and teaching fields.

Even so, the pool they have to draw from far exceeds available slots. Peace Corps training openings this spring number 1261, but there are 3004 qualified applicants.

Vice President Agnew, in a Feb. 15 speech, credited a renewed interest in the Peace Corps to President Nixon's Inaugural address.

"The President's enthusiasm for America's youth is well known," Agnew said. "And there is gratifying evidence that the feeling is reciprocal."

"Immediately after the President's inaugural message, Peace Corps recruitment showed a sudden surge."

Actually, the surge occurred before President Nixon's speech. The Peace Corps was swamped with 700 applications on Jan. 21, but they represented an accumulation of mail that had piled up over the long inaugural weekend.

The applications reflected the culmination of recruitment drives begun last fall, and the decisions that many college seniors make in January concerning their post-graduate plans in June.

MOMENTUM FROM SHRIVER

Although the Peace Corps got its initial momentum from the Pied Piper-like qualities of its first director, Sargent Shriver, interest in the Corps has remained almost constant over the last few years.

Its current and relatively low-keyed director, Jack Hood Vaughn, attributes a slight decline in applications last year to the more refined recruiting techniques that now reach more "prime applicants" and weed out those who are not qualified.

Service in Upper Volta, Dahomey or the 57 other countries where the Peace Corps now operates may seem quite remote from life as it is at home.

Yet the Peace Corps is having a sizable impact on institutions here.

About 27,000 volunteers have returned. Of those who are working, one out of every three is teaching, primarily in ghetto schools.

Almost equal numbers are with governmental or social service agencies. And last November saw the election of the first Peace Corps volunteer to public office. Anthony Hall, 27, is now a member of Ohio's State Legislature.

NEW PRESTIGE LIKELY

The glamor of the Peace Corps has never rubbed off on VISTA. Yet VISTA, despite some serious shortcomings, may soon enjoy a new prestige, simply because voluntary ac-

tion is slated to be a "central theme" of the Nixon Administration.

Furthermore, many of the VISTA projects are in tune with Administration goals for the economic development of the ghettos.

In California, for example, the Stanford School of Business Administration sponsors a team of VISTA business school graduates and volunteers recruited directly from a poverty area. Backed up by the Stanford Business School faculty, they are assisting ghetto businessmen with a wide variety of economic development projects.

MORE LAW GRADUATES

VISTA also is recruiting an increasing number of law school graduates. They have helped negotiate building loans, scrutinized loans contracts and have succeeded in getting better terms for ghetto businessmen.

In the health field, VISTA volunteers are working to improve the distribution of emergency food in low-income areas, and to organize classes in pre-natal care and nutrition.

VISTA still has a long way to go. As its acting director, Padraic Kennedy, pointed out to volunteers on the program's fourth anniversary, many "deadwood" projects have to be eliminated, and the supervision, selection and training of VISTA volunteers has to be strengthened.

PREPARATION NEEDED

VISTA is learning what the older Peace Corps has learned. The will to give service is not enough. Practical preparation is needed.

This is why the Peace Corps shifted a large portion of its training to sites in host countries, and this is why VISTA is now training its volunteers in the community which is to be served.

And for the first time last summer, the Peace Corps asked representatives of host countries to help in the recruitment of volunteers. Similarly, VISTA's professional recruits—the lawyers, business school graduates, architects, teachers and nutritionists—are working with ghetto volunteers to design projects that the latter want.

Requests for VISTA volunteers now number five times as many as its budget can support, and applications for service continue to soar, indicating there is no limit to the youthful human resources available to the Nixon Administration.

NEWSPAPER PRESERVATION BILL

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the newspaper preservation bill would correct a basic anomaly in the antitrust laws. Under existing law, if two newspapers in the same city have totally merged, and at least one of these papers had been in a failing condition at that time, there is no violation of the antitrust law for the single ownership to publish morning and afternoon editions, with combination advertising rates and even combination circulation rates. However, if these same two papers merger only their commercial functions, but maintain two separate news and editorial voices by entering into a joint newspaper operating arrangement, then they have committed a per se violation of the antitrust laws.

The newspaper preservation bill would simply allow two newspapers, one of which was in a failing condition, that have entered into a joint operating ar-

range ment to be treated as a single entity would be treated under the antitrust laws.

There are 22 cities, with 44 newspapers, involved in joint operating arrangements. In each of these cities, there was not an adequate advertising market to economically support two commercially competing papers. Rather than have the failing paper sell out to and be merged into the other paper, the two papers merged all of their commercial functions, but maintain two separate papers with independent news and editorial staffs. Thus, each of these cities is provided with competition in news services, which is so vital to our democratic system.

TONGUETIED JUSTICE

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, the recent "trial" and sentencing of James Earl Ray reveals a travesty of justice of which we as American citizens believing in trial by jury should be ashamed.

The prenegotiated deal between judge, jury, and defense is a contemptible show of disrespect and mockery for our courts of law. By depicting his goal as that of saving Ray's life, the lawyer for the defense is avoiding the issue, for those of us who decry the trial do not advocate the death sentence. Rather, we ask only that justice may be served by a searching probe of the whole truth by formal legal procedures, which would in this case include doubts and charges of conspiracy.

Whether or not Ray was part of a conspiracy to kill Martin Luther King is a matter to be determined by the court alone, not on the basis of a few public statements by the defense, but in court and by procedures including examination and cross-examination, with a jury committed not to a prearranged deal with the judge, but rather to hearing the full story and making an unbiased judgment thereon. A snuffed-out trial will raise doubts across the Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I insert yesterday's New York Times editorial on this subject in the RECORD:

TONGUETIED JUSTICE

The aborted trial of James Earl Ray for the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is a shocking breach of faith with the American people, black and white, and of people the world over still numbed and puzzled by the gunfire that struck down this international leader.

Ray is entitled by all legal means to avail himself of the defenses open to him under the law. But by no means, legal or pragmatic, should the doors of the courtroom and the jail be slammed shut on the facts, the motives and the doubts of this horrible murder.

And yet that is just what has occurred with stunning suddenness in a Memphis courthouse. By pleading guilty, Ray has been sentenced to 99 years in prison. The jury had to go along with this prearranged deal between the prosecution and the admitted killer's at-

torney. Circuit Judge W. Preston Battle went along with this deal, treating the whole matter as if it were a routine murder case.

Nothing but outrage and suspicion can follow the handling of this long-delayed and instantly snuffed-out trial. Percy Foreman, the defense lawyer, tells the public that it took him months "to prove to myself" that Ray was not part of a murder conspiracy. Ray himself acquiesces in the deal made on the guilty plea—then says publicly that he refuses to go along with the statement that there was no conspiracy.

Why should this assassination case be tried by statements instead of formal legal procedures, subject to examination and cross-examination, the presentation of all the evidence by the prosecution, the appearance of the accused in open court? What in either sense or jurisprudence does it mean that the defense attorney convinced himself? In the ghetto and in the world outside the ghetto, the question still cries for answer. Was there a conspiracy to kill Dr. King and who was in it?

The state's case has been read to the jury. But that is hardly enough in a case of this magnitude. This was not a street crime but, on the surface, a racist or quasi-political assassination. It is not enough to say that the state accepted the guilty plea and agreed to end the case because the death penalty has not been used since 1961 in Tennessee.

No one was demanding blood; everyone is demanding facts. Are we going to get the facts from Ray's lawyers, past or present, one of whom is trying to peddle the story to magazines? Are we going to get the facts from William Bradford Huie, the author who has "bought" the "rights" to Ray's story? What a mockery of justice for the facts to emerge in marketed justice!

Unless proceedings are convened in court—Federal, if not state—we shall never know the adjudicated truth. There should be no Warren Commissions necessary—a month or a year from now—to still our doubts and do what a Tennessee court has failed to do.

ENGINEERING: PARTNER IN RE-BUILDING URBAN AMERICA

HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, solving the many problems associated with the growing urban crisis in the United States should have a high priority with all of us. It seems to me that all Americans, in whatever trade or profession they find themselves, have a great stake in this matter.

Recently, an interesting address regarding this subject was delivered by the dean of the College of Engineering and Technology at the new State University in east central Florida, Florida Technological University, between Orlando and Cape Kennedy. The remarks of Dr. Robert C. Kersten, before the Indian River chapter, Florida Engineering Society—Engineer's Week banquet—Cocoa Beach, February 21, 1969, are worth passing along to all Americans.

I recommend Dean Kersten's comments about the vital role the professional engineers of America can have, and must have, in our national attempt to solve the mushrooming urban crisis all about us. I present his remarks at this time for insertion in the RECORD:

ENGINEERING: PARTNER IN REBUILDING
URBAN AMERICA

As a Professional Engineer, it is indeed a pleasure to address this august gathering on this topic. The theme of Engineers Week—1969 is reflected therein. Let us examine it carefully.

Engineering: I can think of no better statement of definition than that of Herbert Hoover.

"It is a great profession. There is the fascination of watching a figment of the imagination emerge through the aid of science to a plan on paper. Then it moves to realization in stone or metal or energy. Then it brings jobs and homes to men. Then it elevates the standards of living and adds to the comforts of life. That is the engineer's high privilege.

"The great liability of the engineer compared to men of other professions is that his works are out in the open where all can see them. His acts, step by step, are in hard substance. He cannot bury his mistakes in the grave like the doctors. He cannot argue them into thin air or blame the judge like lawyers. He cannot, like the architect, cover his failures with trees and vines. He cannot, like the politicians, screen his shortcomings by blaming his opponents and hope that the people will forget. The Engineer simply cannot deny that he did it. If his works do not work, he is damned. That is the phantasmagoria that haunts his nights and dogs his days. He comes from the job at the end of the day resolved to calculate it again. He wakes in the night in a cold sweat and puts something on paper that looks silly in the morning. All day he shivers at the thought of the bugs which will inevitably appear to jolt its smooth consummation.

"On the other hand, unlike the doctor, his is not a life among the weak. Unlike the soldier, destruction is not his purpose. Unlike the lawyer, quarrels are not his daily bread. To the engineer falls the job of clothing the bare bones of science with life, comfort and hope. . . .

"The engineer performs many public functions from which he gets only philosophical satisfactions. Most people do not know it, but he is an economic and social force. Every time he discovers a new application of science, thereby creating a new industry, providing new jobs, adding to the standards of living, he also disturbs everything that is. New laws and regulations have to be made and new sorts of wickedness curbed. . . . But the engineer himself looks back at the unending stream of goodness which flows from his successes with satisfactions that few professions may know.

"But he who would enter these precincts as a life work must have a test taken of his imaginative faculties, for engineering without imagination sinks to a trade."

Partner: (One who has a share with others in some undertaking). This is tremendously important. Let us not be so innocent and naive as to think or expect any one occupation, profession, or calling to solve the urban crisis. Some people keep hoping for a simple, quick, or painless solution. It will never emerge. The technical, economic, legal and social factors involved are immensely complex. As professional engineers we have in the past built what others decided we needed. It is about time we shared in the decision process and helped others decide what should be built.

Rebuilding: (To build again). To a degree the course of empire may be traced through the ruins of cities of civilizations past: From Babylon in the Mesopotamia to Angkor Wat of Thailand to the Inca ruins of old Mexico to the Indian Pueblos of the American West. I shall leave to my friends in history and the humanities to explore this point further—but suffice it to say the decay of cities and the failure of man to live in an urban setting is not new in our day. Many contemporary

historians view our present urban crisis as the greatest test of our economic, social and political system since the Civil War. Lincoln recognized it very well when he said, "A nation divided against itself cannot stand—half slave, half free," and we might add today, half affluent suburbia, half ghetto—half neat, clean, and beautiful, half slovenly, filthy, and ugly. We have learned to build faster than we can rebuild. Perhaps here is a lesson for engineering designers to learn—to be more concerned about the life of their product, to have a planned life instead of planned obsolescence.

Urban: (Belonging to or included in a town or city). There is little doubt that we are an urban society. Nearly three-fourths of all the people in the United States (approximately 150,000,000) live in 200 densely packed urban centers, occupying only about 3½ percent of our land, or 120,000 square miles. Compound this picture by emphasizing the diversity of these people's economic, educational and cultural background, combined with their immediate needs and growing aspirations—all being fanned with the help of our modern mass media communications—and just perhaps we begin to see the complexity of the problem.

THE PROBLEM

The present state of affairs is the consequence of our "non-systems" approach. In times past, we attempted to conquer nature, exploit her resources, and moved on when they were depleted or polluted. Now there is no place else to move. Hopefully, we have come to understand that we must coexist with nature.

We can't avoid some alteration of the natural world we live in. But man, even industrial man, is a part of nature, and must find some limit to the headlong destruction and fouling of his natural environment. How much fouled air can we breathe? How much filth can we spew into our rivers and lakes without disastrous consequences? How much bleakness and ugliness can we tolerate around us? How much congestion and bumper-to-bumper madness will we endure?

Several examples will serve to illustrate the "non-systems" approach of the past. One, in water supply we too frequently took raw water from a stream, treated it, used it, put it in the sewer, and flushed it back in the same stream and let the next town downstream worry about the consequences. That Jacksonville cesspool called the St. John's River is a good local example. Second, the modern commercial jet aircraft travels at about 600 miles per hour while the old DC-3 could do about 200 m.p.h. A recent Lockheed study shows that on the average it takes 45 minutes longer to get from downtown Washington to downtown New York than it did 20 years ago. Third, our governmental agencies are spending about \$16.5 billion per year on transportation items, 75% of which is spent on highways. While we now can get from city to city easily, the urban traffic crush gets worse by the day. Again, a "non-systems" approach, no strategy, no attempt to optimize the system. Today, one out of seven gainfully employed Americans is involved in highway transportation. It would seem that "automobiles only" is not the solution to the urban transportation problem.

CHANGING TECHNOLOGY

There is no question but what our society has benefited from modern science and engineering. In effect, these professionals have been organizing and directing technological changes in our way of life. We have "almost" reached the state wherein we can "almost" have any technological entity we desire—if someone can be found to pay for it. (Although, strangely, money may no longer be of primary importance in obtaining problem solutions, but rather people, i.e., our institutions, have become the focal point of our frustration.)

Unfortunately, not all the technological changes wrought by our professional colleagues have served to improve the quality of our way of life. I can buy a new car but I cannot buy a good transportation system. I can buy a new home but I cannot buy a beautiful city. I can buy the best of medical services but I cannot buy clean air to breathe. What then?

ENGINEERING RELEVANT TO SOCIETY'S NEEDS

I suggest the professional engineer must assume an active role in all of society's affairs—he must become a participant in the decision making process. For example, the Interstate Highway system was and is a wonderful engineering achievement, but it has not solved our urban traffic problems. Similarly, the space effort culminating in the Apollo program is a singularly outstanding achievement—but it has not solved our urban traffic problems either.

The point is, that surely the nation which produced these two programs can solve the urban traffic problem. As Mr. Webb has indicated, maybe it's equally important "how" we did it as "what" we did. Perhaps the engineering-management team of the space program could teach some other governmental units "how" to do it.

An old Danish proverb reads, "Prediction is difficult, especially if it deals with the future." Everyone wants the government to do many things and especially to be bold, imaginative and infallible, all at the same time. It just will never happen that way. Professional engineers have always been "problem solvers." Why can't we help government solve a few of its (our) problems?

LET GEORGE DO IT

Probably because as a professional group, we are too timid and want to "let George do it." That has been our problem for a good long while. However, the problems demanding solution in our very complex economic, social, cultural, urban environment just will not grant us this luxury any longer.

Most organizations have a structure that was designed to solve problems that no longer exist. Our governmental institutions are blind to their own defects, they suffer not because they can't solve—but because they won't see problems. Professional engineer-consultant, modern government needs you.

GOVERNMENTAL UNITS

Our ability to create governmental units in this democratic society is simply astounding. For example, to completely solve water and water pollution problems in the United States we would have to effectively deal with 40 Federal Agencies; 53 States, Territories and Possessions; 3,047 Counties; 17,214 Townships; 50,453 School Districts; 14,423 Special Districts; for a total of 102,397 units.

In East Central Florida the problem reduces slightly: 40 Federal Agencies; 1 State; 19 State Boards and Commissions; 7 Counties; 70 Municipalities; 7 School Districts; 6 Special Districts or Boards; for a total of 150 units.

Now, I am not suggesting that we consolidate all of these into some form of super agency, but surely there is a more effective way. It seems to me that we are afraid to fix responsibility in some particular agency. We are afraid of the possible concentration of economic and political power that might develop therein. (In this regard, the forthcoming Florida Legislature has my sincere best wishes and sympathies in view of the job they have to do in consolidating state agencies.)

This proliferation of governmental units has made it nearly impossible to achieve any desired end in a coherent, logical, rational, timely manner. Responsibility for a given project cannot be fixed. There is no place for the "buck passing" to stop.

To quote John Gardner (former Sec. HEW), "We are going to have to do a far more imaginative and aggressive job of

renewing, redesigning and revitalizing our institutions if we are to meet the requirements of today. . . . But it is the work of our generation. Each preceding generation had its great work to perform—founding the nation, conquering the wilderness, settling the land. Ours is to make this a livable society for every American.

I suggest "leadership" just can't happen with such a multiplicity of agencies trying to deal with so large a problem. Nearly 100 million automobiles and trucks are drawn into and repelled from the core of our metropolitan areas daily; 30 billion gallons of drinking water must flow in and 22 billion gallons of liquid wastes must flow out daily; some 600 million pounds of solid waste/trash must be disposed of every 24 hours; 7 million cars and trucks go to the junk pile each year.

We live in a throw-away society. Everything is disposable. Now this philosophy is about to be imposed upon our cities. Some parts of them literally should be disposed of. What then—are we to become a society to be remembered for how many cities it created, desecrated and abandoned? Surely not.

Broader social involvement for the professional engineer

Nearly everyone else has had a try at the problem. Isn't it about time professional engineers got in the game? Again, to quote John Gardner, "The air is only part of our total environment and pollution only one of the ravages that our civilization has wreaked upon it. We also have garbage dumps, dying lakes and poisoned rivers, noise, crowded communities, absence of green space, ugliness all around us. Surely this is not the net gain of our technology nor the legacy we want to leave other generations."

Where are those creative professional engineers? Where are those innovative problem solvers? Engineers by the very nature of their work are problem solvers—even problem seekers—problem requirers. Society in general, on the other hand, is a very primitive problem solver and indeed seeks to avoid problems. Our society needs our help to see through the jumbled mess to problem definitions and possible problem solutions.

It is my impression engineers are happiest when solving someone else's problem—particularly when it's never been done before. The urban crisis presents a problem of first magnitude—one that no past society has solved. Therefore, fellow engineers, the solving of that problem ought to give you great delight. In my opinion, that would be living! Let's get on with the task.

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ON KEEPING ONE'S PROMISE: A
DECENT HOME FOR EVERY AMERICAN

HON. SHIRLEY CHISHOLM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Mr. Speaker, last year it appeared that Congress was on the verge of recognizing the true di-

mensions of the Nation's housing problems. It passed the 1968 Housing and Urban Development Act and authorized unprecedented millions of dollars to alleviate many of the horrifying conditions existing in the country.

But then the appropriations machinery went to work, and nearly every program in the 1968 act was slashed unmercifully. The housing program was maimed from its start. Degrading slum conditions still exist in the Nation's cities: two, three children often sleep in one bed; rats still prowl the run-down tenement houses. And neither has rural housing been aided to any real extent: rotting houses without plumbing still abound.

Gentlemen, some 7.8 million American families still cannot afford to pay for decent, wholesome housing. One in eight American families cannot afford the market price of standard housing without paying more than 20 percent of their total income for it. And for non-white Americans, if you are poor and rent, the chances are one in four that you live in substandard housing. This means the slums, the rats, the outhouses, and disease for millions of people.

We cannot blame the failure to meet the Nation's housing needs on the Federal bureaucrats. The responsibility is ours. It is all very well to draw up and approve innovative programs to meet these needs; it is all very well to authorize money for these programs. But we have to follow up these promised authorizations with hard, cold cash. The guts of legislation is in the appropriations. It is time the U.S. Congress lived up to its promises and put its money where its mouth is.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, today I join my colleague from New York (Mr. RYAN) and 29 other Members in cosponsoring an omnibus supplementary appropriation bill to fund fully several of the vital housing and urban development programs of the 1968 act which did not receive the full amounts authorized by Congress for the fiscal year 1969. This bill would show the American public that Congress means what it says. It was in 1949 that Congress called for "a decent home and a suitable environment for every American family." We now must show the American people that we mean it.

The bill I introduced today would appropriate the additional \$927.5 million which was authorized, but never appropriated, by Congress under the 1968 Housing and Urban Development Act. The bill would appropriate an additional \$100 million to the homeownership and rental programs—sections 235 and 236 of the 1968 act—an additional \$35 million to the rent supplement program, \$187.5 million more for model cities urban renewal, and an additional \$650 million for overall urban renewal. This is a great deal of money, Mr. Speaker, but it is well worth our while if it leads us toward our goal of a decent home for every American.

Let me summarize each section of this vitally important bill.

SECTION 235

This section would help provide a massive attack on slum housing in providing subsidy payments based on the difference

between 20 percent of the homeowner's monthly income and his monthly mortgage payment.

This section of the bill would add an additional \$50 million—the full amount authorized by Congress—to the \$25 million already appropriated. The 3-year authorization of the 1968 Housing and Urban Development Act proposed a production goal of 500,000 housing units in that period of time under this program. But only 33,000 units can be funded under the current \$25 million appropriation level. By adding the additional \$50 million to this appropriation, this bill would bring the production level up to 100,000 units.

SECTION 236

This section also would appropriate an additional \$50 million to the \$25 million already appropriated. The benefits of section 236 reduces the market interest rate—which includes principle, interest, and cost of insurance premium—to an amount commensurate with an interest rate of 1 percent. The tenant pays no more than 25 percent of his income, thus aiding him in securing a decent home for his family.

The 1968 act envisioned a total of 720,000 units of housing to be funded under this section over a 3-year period. But at the present \$25 million level, only 33,000 to 40,000 units could be funded during the current fiscal year. At the full \$75 million level, 99,000 to 120,000 units could be produced.

RENT SUPPLEMENTS

Each year the rent supplement program lacks the necessary funds to do a good job, and this year was no exception. The administration's budget for rent supplements was slashed by more than 50 percent—from \$65 million to \$30 million. Sometime this month the authority of the Department of Housing and Urban Development to enter into contracts for annual rent supplement programs will be completely exhausted. By increasing the program to the requested \$65 million, 35,000 more housing units could be financed during the fiscal year 1969.

The rent supplement program is the private sector complement to the low rent housing program. Under the program, the Federal Government pays an amount equal to the difference between 25 percent of the tenant's monthly income and the market cost. The aim of the program is to enable private enterprise to take a larger measure of responsibility in fulfilling our housing needs. But inadequate funding has made this nearly impossible.

MODEL CITIES AND URBAN RENEWAL

This section would appropriate an additional \$187.5 million for the fiscal year 1969 for use in model cities neighborhoods and an additional \$650 million for the urban renewal program. This section will help the double-duty aspect of the model cities program—providing both housing and jobs at the same time—to be realized. It will create a large number of job opportunities for low and middle income persons while it helps to increase the amount of decent housing that is so desperately needed. This is an investment in the future, and it should be given top priority by Congress.

Gentlemen, we have told the American

people that we will provide a decent home for every person. Let us not neglect our responsibilities. We must keep our word.

NEW ENGLAND IS DISAPPOINTED BY FOREIGN TRADE ZONE DELAY

HON. PETER N. KYROS

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, over the past several months there has been considerable interest in Maine and throughout New England regarding a proposed foreign trade zone in Portland, with a special subzone at Machiasport, Maine. New Englanders are most distressed about the extremely high fuel costs in their region, and the continuing delay in gaining any measure of relief from this problem. The possible establishment of an oil refinery at Machiasport has been viewed as a means of meeting this fuel cost issue.

The establishment of a refinery is deeply enmeshed in the question of national oil import policy. It is possible that a full-scale review of this policy would militate against the establishment of a refinery at Machiasport, although I remain unconvinced about the merits of such a possible decision. The point, however, is that the request for granting of a free trade zone must legally be considered as entirely separate from the oil import issue. This was recognized several weeks ago by the Foreign Trade Zones Board Committee of Alternates, which approved the requested free trade zone and subzone in Maine.

The decision of Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans to relate the free trade zone request to the oil import question has now brought justifiable dismay to New England. I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues an editorial which appeared March 9, 1969, in the Maine Sunday Telegram. This independent newspaper has evidenced a high level of respect toward the new administration during the latter's first 2 months in office. The recent editorial, however, is typical of the disappointment and disenchantment which has arisen in New England over the continued unfair treatment of Maine's Free Trade Zone request. This editorial follows:

MORE MISHANDLING OVER TRADE ZONE

Now Secretary Maurice Stans of the Nixon administration is making an ass of himself and his boss by the bungling way he has mishandled Maine's application for a Free Trade Zone.

There is not much excuse for Mr. Stans' stupidity. When he was grilled by the Senate before being confirmed in his new job, Stans said he would give Maine's application priority treatment. The issue, so mishandled by his predecessor, Commerce Secretary Smith, had blighted the last days of the Johnson Administration. Stans was well aware of the national as well as Maine and New England attention which would be focussed upon his ruling for the Foreign Trade Zone. Senators Margaret Smith, Edward Kennedy, Edmund Muskie, George Aiken, Edward Brooke, as well as House members, had worn a path to Maurice Stans' door, urging he promptly ap-

prove Maine's application. Stans thereupon publicly indicated his decision would be prompt and probably positive. His subcommittee quickly ruled favorably. And Stans ordered a meeting of the top-ranking Foreign Trade Zone Committee to act upon the long delayed application.

Suddenly, in an off-hand corridor remark to Reuters, Stans declared the meeting off, some 24 hours before it was to take place. He said he would wait until after the White House had completed a long, full scale review of the whole oil import problem—an item which is separate from and must not govern the Foreign Trade Zone application.

Consternation resulted in Maine and New England.

The oil lobby rubbed its hands with glee. Senator Dirksen, according to reports filed by Mr. Don Larrabee of our Washington Bureau, claimed dubious credit for blocking action upon Maine's Foreign Trade Zone. And the fat was in the fire!

Now, lo and behold, at the Press Club, Stans admits he has handled Maine's application "badly". "We all learn from experience", says Stans, who had experience enough in the Eisenhower administration to know better. Then, to put his foot in his mouth again, Stans went on to compound his first error by saying "The Machiasport proposal (for a Foreign Trade Zone) depends entirely upon an oil import allocation."

No, it does not! And our good Senator Margaret Smith promptly told President Nixon so plainly at a White House meeting. As soon as the President returned from Europe, the New England Senators called on Nixon to gripe strongly to Nixon about Stans' "snafu".

To cap the whole gaffe, the President apparently said he had no knowledge of the actions taken by Secretary of Commerce Stans! While the boss was in Europe, Stans had jumped off the deep end all on his own! "All on his own"? There is the nub of the question . . . How much arm-twisting is the oil lobby doing? Is Stans damned with an arm as weak as his predecessor's?

The answer will be clear only when the Nixon administration grants Maine's application for a Foreign Trade Zone on its merits.

A BILL TO PREVENT THE IMPORTATION OF ENDANGERED SPECIES OF FISH OR WILDLIFE

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill to prevent the importation of endangered species of fish or wildlife into the United States and to prevent the interstate shipment of reptiles, amphibians, and other wildlife taken contrary to State law.

A recent New York Times editorial pointed out that there is now a booming trade in alligator skins, since the demand for shoes and other articles of "genuine alligator" has made it profitable for poachers to invade the Everglades National Park and other areas where these reptiles are protected to steal and kill them. In addition, hunters and poachers in Africa and Latin America are decimating the wildcats in an effort to meet the demand for coats made of spotted fur. As the Times pointed out:

Since the countries where these animals live have been unable to control this trade, it is up to Congress to come to their aid by

providing the indispensable cooperation of the United States, the principal buying country.

I hope that the Congress will take prompt action on this legislation.

FCC COMMISSIONER NICK JOHNSON LOOKS AT THE TELEVISION INDUSTRY OR "THROUGH THE VIDEO SCREEN DARKLY"

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, Nicholas Johnson, a highly effective member of the Federal Communications Commission has taken a long look at the television scene. His views have been published in a paper entitled "Television and Violence—Perspectives and Proposals." This paper, submitted to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence is a detailed account of how an industry licensed to serve the public interest in return for the use of the public airways has perhaps failed at its job. Television has had an enormous sociological effect on the country in the last two decades. It has changed the eating and sleeping habits of America and consumes an average of 22,000 hours of our children's waking hours by the time they are 18 years old. A media with this audience could be a factor in the betterment of living in this country—but the concept of profit uber alles has inundated the airwaves with trash. For too long the Federal Communications Commission sat by and automatically relicensed television stations without a cursory look at the public service performance of the stations.

The situation may change now. Commissioner Johnson has become a forceful advocate for the public interest, and a forceful advocate for change. It is indeed fortunate that the FCC has the talents of a man who has the courage to take the industry to task and the intelligence to present his views clearly and with persuasive effect.

I include here for the benefit of my colleagues a summary of Commissioner Johnson's report as the same appeared last week in the Christian Science Monitor:

THROUGH THE VIDEO SCREEN DARKLY

(By Nicholas Johnson)

(NOTE.—Television is "one of the most important influences on all attitudes and behavior," declares Federal Communications Commissioner Nicholas Johnson. But the nature and scope of this vast force are little understood. Appearing before the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, Mr. Johnson discussed TV's impact. Substantial excerpts from his remarks follow.)

There are 60 million homes in the United States and over 95 percent of them are equipped with a television set. (More than 25 percent have two or more sets.) In the average home that set is turned on some five hours and 45 minutes a day. The average male viewer, between his second and 65th year, will watch television for over 3,000 entire days—roughly nine full years of his life.

There is a common ingredient in a great

many of the social ills that are troubling Americans so deeply today—the impact of television upon our attitudes and behavior as a people—and we ought to know much more about it than we do. One cannot understand violence in America without understanding the impact of television programming upon that violence. But one cannot understand the impact of television programming upon violence without coming to grips with the ways in which television influences virtually all of our attitudes and behavior.

PROGRAMMING MYTHS

Whenever the question arises of the impact of television programming upon the attitudes and behavior of the audience, industry spokesmen are likely to respond with variants of three big myths:

1. We just give the people what they want. The "public interest" is what interests the public. The viewer must be selective, just as he would be in selecting magazines. He gets to choose from the great variety of television programming we offer. He can always turn off the set.

2. Entertainment programming doesn't have any "impact" upon people. It's just entertainment. We can't be educational all the time.

3. We report the news. If it's news we put it on; if it's not we don't. It's as simple as that. We can't be deciding what to put on the news or not based upon its impact upon public opinion or national values. We can't be held responsible if someone sees something on television and goes out and does the same thing.

When Dean George Gerbner of the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania testified before you he said:

"In only two decades of massive national existence television has transformed the political life of the nation, has changed the daily habits of our people, has molded the style of the generation, made overnight global phenomena out of local happenings, redirected the flow of information and values from traditional channels into centralized networks reaching into every home. In other words it has profoundly affected what we call the process of socialization, the process by which members of our species become human."

SELF-CONTRADICTIONARY ARGUMENT

I share Dean Gerbner's sense of television's impact upon our society. Many spokesmen for the broadcasting establishment, however, do not. And so I would like to anticipate their rebuttal with a little more discussion of the matter.

The argument that television entertainment programming has no impact upon the audience is one of the most difficult for the broadcasting industry to advance. In the first place, it is internally self-contradictory.

Television is sustained by advertising. It is able to attract something like \$2.5 billion annually from advertisers on the assertion that it is the advertising medium with the greatest impact. And it has, in large measure, delivered on this assertion.

At least there are merchandisers, like the president of Alberto-Culver—who has relied almost exclusively on television advertising and has seen his sales climb from \$1.5 million in 1956 to \$80 million in 1964—who are willing to say that "the investment will virtually always return a disproportionately large profit."

The manufacturer of the bottled liquid cleaner Lestolil undertook a \$9 million television advertising program and watched his sales go from 150,000 bottles annually to 100 million in three years—in competition with Procter & Gamble, Lever Brothers, Colgate, and others.

The Dreyfus Fund went from assets of \$95 million in 1959 to \$1.1 billion in 1965 and concluded, "TV works for us."

BILLIONS IN ADVERTISING

American industry generally has supported such a philosophy with investments in television increasing from \$300 million in 1952 to \$900 million in 1956 to \$1.8 billion in 1964 to on the order of \$2.5 billion this year.

Prof. John Kenneth Galbraith, in the course of creating and surveying "The New Industrial State," observes: "The industrial system is profoundly dependent upon commercial television and could not exist in its present form without it . . . [Radio and television are] the prime instruments for the management of consumer demand."

My point for now is that television's salesmen cannot have it both ways. They cannot point with pride to the power of their medium to affect the attitudes and behavior associated with product selection and consumption, and then take the position that everything else on television has no impact whatsoever upon attitudes and behavior.

Nor is our evidence of commercial television's influence limited to the advertising. Whatever one may understand Marshall McLuhan to be saying by the expression "the medium is the message," it is clear that television has affected our lives in ways unrelated to its program content.

PARENTS DISPLACED

Brooklyn College sociologist Dr. Clara T. Appell reports that of the families she has studied, 60 percent have changed their sleep patterns because of television, 55 percent have changed their eating schedules, and 78 percent report they use television as an "electronic babysitter."

San Francisco State College president Dr. S. I. Hayakawa asks: "Is there any connection between this fact [television's snatching children from their parents for 22,000 hours before they are 18, giving them little 'experience in influencing behavior and being influenced in return'] and the sudden appearance . . . of an enormous number of young people . . . who find it difficult or impossible to relate to anybody—and therefore drop out?"

A casual mention on television can affect viewers' attitudes and behavior.

After Rowan and Martin's "Laugh-In" used the expression, "Look that up in your Funk & Wagnalls," the dictionary had to go into extra printings to satisfy a 20 percent rise in sales.

When television's Daniel Boone, Fess Parker, started wearing coon-skin caps, so did millions of American boys.

The sales of Batman capes and accessories are another example.

Television establishes national speech patterns and eliminates dialects, not only in this country, but around the world. "Tokyo Japanese" is now becoming the standard throughout Japan. New words and expressions are firmly implanted in our national vocabulary from television programs such as Rowan and Martin's "Sock it to me," or Don Adam's "Sorry about that, chief."

Television can also be used to encourage reading. The morning after Alexander King appeared on the late-night Jack Paar show, his new book, "Mine Enemy Grows Older," was sold out all over the country. When the overtly "educational" Continental Classroom atomic-age physics course began on network television, 13,000 textbooks were sold the first week.

CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION

Politicians evidently think television is influential. Most spend over half of their campaign budgets on radio and television time, and some advertising agencies advise that virtually all expenditures should go into television time. When Sig Mickelson was president of CBS News he commented on "television's ability to create national figures almost overnight"—a phenomenon which by now we have all witnessed.

What do we learn about life from television? Watch it for yourself and draw your own conclusions. Here are some of my own:

We learn from commercials that gainful employment is not necessary to high income. How rare it is to see a character in a commercial who appears to be employed.

We learn that the single measure of happiness and personal satisfaction is consumption—conspicuous when possible. Few characters in televisionland seem to derive much pleasure from the use of finely developed skills in the pursuit of excellence, or from service to others. "Success" comes from the purchase of a product—a mouthwash or deodorant, say—not from years of rigorous study and training.

How do you resolve conflicts? By force, by violence, by destroying "the enemy." Not by being a good listener, by understanding or cooperation and compromise, by attempting to evolve a community consensus.

Who are television's leaders, its heroes, its stars? Not educators, representatives of minority groups, the physically handicapped, the humble and the modest, or those who give their lives to the service of others. They are the physically attractive, glib, and wealthy.

What are these network executives doing? What is the America they are building? What conceivable defense is there for the imposition of such values upon 200 million Americans? What right have they to tear down every night what the American people are spending \$52 billion a year to build up every day through their school system—just to serve the greedy striving for ever-increasing profits by three corporations? Giving the people what they want? Nonsense.

SEARCHING QUESTIONS

No, I think we must listen to William Benton:

"I can only ask, if this alleged 'wasteland' is indeed what the American people want, is it all they want of television? . . . is it all they are entitled to . . . are not . . . these dwellers of the wasteland . . . the same Americans who have taxed themselves to create a vast educational system . . . are they not the same who have established an admirable system of justice, created a network of churches . . . when they turn their TV knobs do they not by the millions have interests broader than the entertainment which is so complacently theirs? . . ."

"I think the American people should expect that the greatest single instrument of human communications ever developed must make its due contribution to human security and human advancement. . . . A high common denominator distinguishes our people—as well as a low one—and both denominators apply to the same men, women, and youngsters. Television has crystallized into the low road. . . ."

"TRASH: 100 TO 1"

Indeed, it has. Charles Sopkin concluded his "Seven Glorious Days, Seven Fun-Filled Nights" of watching New York City's television with the observation: "[Television] is dreadful, make no mistake about that. If I did not convey that feeling throughout this book, then I have failed rather badly. I naively expected that the radio would run 3 to 1 in favor of trash. It turned out to be closer to 100 to 1."

Given the great unfulfilled needs that television could serve in this country and is not, given the great evil that the evidence tends to suggest it is presently doing, one can share the judgment of the late Senator [Robert F.] Kennedy that television's performance is, in a word, "unacceptable."

The popular outrage and cries for reform are warranted. They must be heeded. If they are not, I fear for popular remedies that will be unfortunate from everyone's point of view.

Responsible broadcasters know what must be done. I pray they will get on with the task.

NAM-JOHNSON FOUNDATION CONFERENCE ON URBAN AND RURAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: A DESIGN FOR ACTION

HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, while a good many others are just talking about our economic future, something is being done about it in Racine, Wis., one of the fine cities in my district.

The Johnson Foundation, whose parent company manufactures household products known throughout the world, in conjunction with the National Association of Manufacturers, has just concluded a 3-day conference in Racine to design a plan of action to meet the problems of black capitalism head on.

Because of the need in this area of our economic progress, I feel certain the details and structure of this excellent conference will be of interest to Members:

URBAN AND RURAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: A DESIGN FOR ACTION, SPONSORED BY NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS IN COOPERATION WITH THE JOHNSON FOUNDATION, MARCH 4 TO 6, 1969

The purpose of this conference is to design a plan of action that will provide guidelines for Urban and Rural Economic Development. To make this conference meaningful, representatives have been invited from the Black Community and Rural America, from Business, Industrial, and Financial Institutions, from the Educational System, and Behavioral Scientists.

A variety of concepts will be explored that must be considered if inner city and rural entrepreneurial and capital formation activity is to be launched into a position of being truly representative of the principles of sound private enterprise.

The conference must reflect two realizations: first, there is a need to consider those concepts that might be relevant to any form of economic development; and second, that the effective programs already in existence need to be examined with care in terms of their successes and their failures.

This conference will pose two basic questions that reflect many ramifications.

First: What elements are involved in defining Economic Development in Urban and Rural America?

Second: What must be done to achieve meaningful results and best carry out various aspects of the strategies involved?

WHAT ELEMENTS ARE INVOLVED IN DEFINING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN URBAN AND RURAL AMERICA?

Black capitalism: What is it?

Are we only concerned with "entrepreneurship" (i.e. small business, started and managed by black people)? Are we thinking primarily of companies as subsidiaries launched by larger corporations and eventually owned and operated by members of the black community? Is "black capitalism" different from "capitalism" as traditionally defined? Does "black capitalism" imply "sheltered markets" and "guaranteed loans"? Should these concepts be limited to the urban areas only? Is "black capitalism" feasible?

What is meant by rural economic development?

Can we ignore the need for economic development in Appalachia or other non urban areas where economic conditions are less than stable? What is the state of capital formation and new business development in our rural areas? What can be done to improve the situation while we direct so much apparent effort to our urban areas?

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Robert Smith, Director, Program Development and Public Information, North Carolina Manpower Development Corporation, Chapel Hill, N.C.

Thomas C. Stevens, President, Dominican College, Racine, Wis.

James H. Tinsley, Assistant to the President, Warner and Swasey Company, Cleveland, Ohio.

Dempsey Travis, President, United Mortgage Bankers of America, Inc., Chicago, Ill.

H. W. Wallace, Director of Public Relations, Eli Lilly and Company, Indianapolis, Ind.

John H. Wandless, Senior Urban Affairs Advisor, Midwest Research Institute, Kansas City, Mo.

James Ward, President, Special Market Resources, Washington, D.C.

James Watts, Impact Chemical Products, Inc., Chicago, Ill.

Mayfield K. Webb, President, The Albina Corporation, Portland, Ore.

Wilford L. White, Director, Small Business Guidance and Development Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

Roger Wilkins, Program Officer of Social Development, Ford Foundation, New York, N.Y.

John D. Whisman, States' Regional Representative, The Appalachian Regional Commission, Washington, D.C.

Harry H. Woodward, Jr., Director of Education, Stone-Brandel Center, Chicago, Ill.

Fred Zulack, Director of Home Planning, The Singer Company, Inc., New York, N.Y.

Leonard Storey Zartman, Assistant to Patrick Moynihan, Urban Affairs Council, The White House, Washington, D.C.

National Association of Manufacturers staff
J. J. Bieher, Vice President, Midwest Division, National Association of Manufacturers, Chicago, Ill.

William F. X. Flynn, Assistant to the Vice President, National Association of Manufacturers, New York, N.Y.

W. P. Gullander, President, National Association of Manufacturers, New York, N.Y.

William H. McGaughey, Senior Vice President, National Association of Manufacturers, New York, N.Y.

Paul Slater, Director Urban Affairs Study Group, National Association of Manufacturers, New York, N.Y.

Robert H. Waechter, Program Director, Urban Affairs, Midwest Division, National Association of Manufacturers, Chicago, Ill.

The Johnson Foundation staff
Leslie Paffrath, President.
George Goss, Senior Program Associate.
Rita Goodman, Program Associate.
Sister Rosita Uhen, Senior Program Associate for Urban Affairs.
Kenneth A. Kautzer, Administrative Assistant.
Sonia Christie, Program Assistant.

Observers
Elmer Anderson, Director, Milwaukee Urban League, Milwaukee, Wis.
Betty Bahl, The Bridge, Chicago, Ill.
John H. Batten, President, Twin Disc, Inc., Racine, Wis.
Allan Birndorf, Special Assistant on Urban Affairs, Milwaukee Jewish Council, Milwaukee, Wis.

R. T. Bryant Carr, Associate Director, Urban League of Racine, Inc., Racine, Wis.
Ernest Denny, Executive Director, Racine County CAP, Racine, Wis.

William K. Eastham, Executive Vice President—United States Operations, S. C. Johnson and Son, Inc., Racine, Wis.

Charles Engman, Vice President, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Sig Gissler, Editorial Staff, The Milwaukee Journal, Milwaukee, Wis.

James Hamilton, President, Greene Manufacturing Company, Racine, Wis.

Wilbur Johnston, Executive Director, Urban League of Racine, Inc., Racine, Wis.

Dennis C. Kelsey, Branch Manager, Small Business Administration, Milwaukee, Wis.

James L. Ketelson, President, J. I. Case Company, Racine, Wis.

Harold H. Lentz, President, Carthage College, Kenosha, Wis.

Roger D. Mulhollen, Assistant to the President and Chairman, S. C. Johnson & Son, Inc., Racine, Wis.

James Page, Project Assistant, Human Relations Institute, University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee, Milwaukee, Wis.

Bernard H. Regenburt, President and General Manager, Belle City Malleable Iron Company, Racine, Wis.

Harold Stassen, Stassen & Kephart, Philadelphia, Pa.

Julian Thomas, J. I. Case Company, Racine, Wis.

Israel Unterman, D.B.A., Project Director, Education in Business Administration for Negroes, Harvard Graduate School of Business, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

PROGRAM

March 4, 9:30 a.m.: Plenary session, Terrace Room.

Welcome: S. C. Johnson, trustee, the Johnson Foundation.

Introduction: William H. McGaughey, Senior Vice President, National Association of Manufacturers.

Opening Statement, Conference Moderator: William F. X. Flynn, Associate Director of Urban Affairs, National Association of Manufacturers.

The Role of the Black Community: Floyd B. McKissick, President, McKissick Enterprises, Inc.

The Role of Behavioral Science: David McClelland, Chairman, Social Relations Department, Harvard Business School.

11:00 a.m.: Coffee and Tea will be Served.

11:15 a.m.: Plenary Session, Terrace Room.

The Role of the Private Sector: Daniel Parker, Chairman of the Board, Parker Pen Company.

Discussion.

12:30 p.m.: Hospitality.

12:45 p.m.: Luncheon will be Served.

2:00 p.m.: Group A discussion with Mr. McKissick, Library; Group B discussion with Dr. McClelland, Cypress Room; Group C discussion with Mr. Parker, Theatre Conference Room.

2:45 p.m.: Group A discussion with Dr. McClelland, Library; Group B discussion with Mr. Parker, Cypress Room; Group C discussion with Mr. McKissick, Theatre Conference Room.

3:30 p.m.: Refreshments.

3:45 p.m.: Group A discussion with Mr. Parker, Library; Group B discussion with Mr. McKissick, Cypress Room; Group C discussion with Dr. McClelland, Theatre Conference Room.

4:30 p.m.: Plenary Session, Terrace Room.

Feedback Observations from each Group.

Details of Group Sessions to develop "A Design for Action" presented.

5:30 p.m.: Hospitality.

6:00 p.m.: Dinner will be Served.

7:30 p.m.: Plenary Session, Terrace Room.

9:30 p.m.: Adjourn, Return to Racine Motor Inn.

March 5, 9:00 a.m.: Plenary Session, Terrace Room.

The Role of Education: Robert McKersie, Professor of Industrial Relations, University of Chicago, Graduate School of Business.

The Role of Government: Walter A. Hamilton, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Domestic Business Policy, Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.

The Role of Financial Institutions: Donald M. Graham, Chairman of the Board, Continental Illinois National Bank & Trust Company.

10:30 a.m.: Coffee and Tea will be Served.

10:45 a.m.: Plenary Session, Terrace Room.

Discussion.

11:30 a.m.: Hospitality.

11:45 a.m.: Luncheon will be Served.

1:00 p.m.: Group A discussion with Dr. McKersie, Library; Group B discussion with Mr. Graham, Cypress Room; Group C discussion with Mr. Hamilton, Theatre Conference Room.

1:30 p.m.: Group A discussion with Mr. Graham, Library; Group B discussion with Mr. Hamilton, Cypress Room; Group C discussion with Dr. McKersie, Theatre Conference Room.

2:00 p.m.: Group A discussion with Mr. Hamilton, Library; Group B discussion with Dr. McKersie, Cypress Room; Group C discussion with Mr. Graham, Theatre Conference Room.

2:30 p.m.: Plenary Session, Terrace Room.

Feedback Observations from each Group.

3:00 p.m.: Refreshments.

3:15 p.m.: Resume Group Design Sessions.

5:15 p.m.: Plenary Session, Terrace Room.

5:30 p.m.: Adjourn, Return to Racine Motor Inn.

6:30 p.m.: Return to Wingspread.

6:45 p.m.: Hospitality.

7:15 p.m.: Dinner will be Served.

8:30 p.m.: Pro Arte Quartet University of Wisconsin.

9:30 p.m.: Return to Racine Motor Inn.

March 6, 9:00 a.m.: Plenary Session, Terrace Room.

Final Group Design Session.

11:00 a.m.: Coffee and Tea will be Served.

11:15 a.m.: Plenary Session, Terrace Room.

Group A Design Presentation.

Group B Design Presentation.

Group C Design Presentation.

12:45 p.m.: Hospitality.

1:00 p.m.: Luncheon will be Served.

2:15 p.m.: Plenary Session, Terrace Room.

The Next Step: W. P. Gullander, President, National Association of Manufacturers.

Discussion.

3:15 p.m.: Departure.

A FREE BALLOT—A FREE COUNTRY

HON. JERRY L. PETTIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. PETTIS. Mr. Speaker, Freedoms Foundation of Valley Forge has awarded Capt. Jon M. Samuels, one of its top freedom awards.

The Air Force captain received the George Washington Honor Medal and a \$100 cash prize for a letter he wrote on "A Free Ballot—A Free Country" while serving with the 35th Security Police Squadron at Phan Rang Air Base, Vietnam.

Captain Samuels was born in San Bernardino, Calif., and is a graduate of the University of Southern California.

He was designated a distinguished Air Force ROTC graduate and was commissioned on June 10, 1964. Later he was assigned to the 441st Air Force Squadron at Yokota Air Base, Japan. While there, he attended the Basic Airborne School. In August 1966 he attended the American University graduate program in correctional administration in Washington, D.C. In January 1968 he was assigned to Vietnam and returned in January 1969. He is presently assigned as an exchange officer with the Royal Air Force in Caterick, England.

Among his decorations are the Bronze Star Medal with "V" device, the Air Medal, the Purple Heart, the Air Force Commendation Medal, and the Vietnamese Gallantry Cross with Silver Star. He has been nominated for the Korean Army Commendation Medal.

Captain Samuels' award-winning letter reads as follows:

OCTOBER 23, 1968.

The night enfolds me in an unwelcome embrace. Outside my bunker, across the wire, the enemy flirts with the darkness.

Sweeping, searching, my eyes seek the invisible, the sounds, the shapes, lurking just beyond in the shimmering elephant grass. Is that "Charlie"? I am ready—weapon clean, ammo dry, claymores set, courage primed. Ten lonely hours each night.

I fancy myself a good soldier, come here to rescue freedom or at least a chance for it. Freedom, something that in America is as common as the morning paper.

America, how far away tonight! There, in spite of a few for whom anarchy is Eden, we

still solve our problems in the sanctity of the voting booth. For we have learned that though democracy can be won with bullets, it can only be sustained with ballots.

To vote is a quiet act of courage. The voter, standing alone, confronts the world's insoluble problems and selects those men to whom he will trust his destiny. In that moment he too mounts the barricades. The free ballot is the heir of Patrick Henry rising to address the Virginia House, George Washington standing firm in the face of sunshine patriots, Lincoln at Gettysburg, and John Kennedy challenging a new generation.

The secret ballot is the great weapon in a free man's arsenal. With it, he makes one voice a symphony, tells his leaders where they shall lead him, silences the demagogue, and gives new life to the Republic.

Should his courage waiver, should he cease to employ this weapon, there are forces at large who will fill the void stealing his freedom.

Dissent expressed at the ballot box garners no cheers, accrues the dissenter no public honors, and gives him entrance to no sanctuaries. It merely breathes life into a governmental system that logically should not have survived these past 180 plus years. The ballot exercised freely and responsibly earns no profit except the establishment of an environment where freedom flourishes.

America, how far away tonight! A time of great strife is upon you. Your path appears clouded and only your citizens singing out their decisions can clear your way. Their free ballots are their free country.

Morning light—I have stood my post. Today, I must mail my absentee ballot for my free tomorrow depends upon it.

COMMISSION ON GOVERNMENT PROCUREMENT

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, I want to compliment the gentleman from California (Mr. HOLIFIELD) and to express my appreciation for the explanation of the background and purpose of H.R. 474, the bill to establish a Commission on Government Procurement. This bill has been referred to the Military Operations Subcommittee, and as the ranking Democratic member of the subcommittee I expect to participate actively in the hearing program that the chairman has mentioned.

We know that improvements can be made in Government, and especially military procurement and contracting, and it is interesting to point out that in a \$50 billion volume of annual procurement \$1 billion can be saved by a mere 2-percent improvement in efficiency, an amount that is equivalent to three times the annual appropriation for the entire Headstart program. The improvements must come from both buyer and seller. The Government, as buyer, needs more trained personnel, more efficient purchasing and inventory management. The contractor, as seller, needs to do a better job of contract performance and management, judging by frequent reports of cost overruns of up to 200 to 300 percent and failure to meet performance standards on our major new weapon systems.

I would hope that the techniques and methods for systems management could

be improved to the point where problems are identified much earlier in the procurement process, before things get out of hand and before the Government—and the taxpayer—are faced with large financial burdens not anticipated or planned for.

In this connection it is my hope that the subcommittee will examine in some depth, the unique, and rather disturbing way that the Bureau of the Budget fails to scrutinize the Defense budget and military procurement programs in the same way and to the same extent it does the budgets of domestic agencies.

This is the result of both inadequate manpower and the nature of the Defense budget process itself.

For example, there was one BOB examiner assigned to the Headstart program, and one examiner assigned to the anti-ballistic-missile system. There is something basically wrong when a government gives equal Budget Bureau attention to an ABM system, with projected expenditures of anywhere from \$5 billion to \$50 billion, or as high as \$400 billion, and the Headstart program which has an estimated expenditure of \$338 million in fiscal 1970.

Furthermore, domestic agency budgets are given different and less intense scrutiny than the Defense budget. In all departments of Government except for the Defense Department, budget examiners conduct an independent analysis and review which is submitted to the Director of the Budget. In Defense, budget examiners work not independently, but with their Defense counterparts, and the analysis and review are submitted first to the Secretary of Defense rather than to the Budget Director. Only after the Secretary has approved it, is the review submitted to the Budget Director. The result of this procedure is that whereas other Secretaries must go to the President to have him overrule the Budget Director, in the case of Defense, the Budget Director must go to the President to overrule the Secretary.

This process, of course, shifts the whole budget process power structure and renders the Bureau almost impotent as a force for independent analysis of military procurement programs.

In any case, we hope to get more information and insight into the Government procurement process as a result of the hearing program which the chairman has announced. Our subcommittee wishes to be objective and fair, not to avoid controversy, but to hear all sides. We do not propose to utter all the words of wisdom on the subject but hopefully to get a better understanding of the procurement process and to lay a foundation for the work of the expert commission which H.R. 474 would establish.

PASS "PREVENTICARE" NOW

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, a "preventicare" program would save and prolong millions of lives in America. Delay

in enacting this urgently needed program is not only senseless, but tragic. I say this not because I am one of the cosponsors, but because I have known thousands of persons who would be alive today if "preventicare" was law.

"Preventicare" would enable persons 50 or older to receive a free medical examination regularly at health protection centers where diseases could be detected—but not treated. Results of the examinations would be sent to physicians who care for the persons.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly believe that the Federal Government has a duty to assist the adult population of the United States—especially the aged and aging—in protecting, maintaining, and improving their health.

The existence of modern equipment and techniques make possible the efficient and rapid appraisal of large numbers of persons for signs of chronic diseases, including heart and vascular diseases, cancer, diabetes, tuberculosis, glaucoma, and kidney disease. A "preventicare" program would utilize such equipment and methods.

Under the bill, which is being chiefly sponsored in the U.S. Senate by the legislative pioneer of "preventicare," HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., U.S. grants would help plan, establish, and operate regional health protection centers to provide health appraisal and disease detection services.

Another section would provide Federal funds for specialized training in operating the centers through working internships for physicians, nurses, health counselors, referral specialists, medical technicians, and other skilled health personnel.

In addition, the measure would enable the Surgeon General to enter into contracts with educational institutions and other organizations for developing and executing programs to improve the effectiveness of personnel involved in operating the centers.

I would also like to point out, Mr. Speaker, that it was very gratifying to read that Wilbur Cohen, the outgoing Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, also advocated the passage of "preventicare" in the medicare report he issued.

Because of past delays in enacting "preventicare," millions of persons have either died prematurely, or suffered diseases that might have been prevented. There should be no further delays. "Preventicare" should be passed by this Congress, so I hope that many more Members of this House will help cosponsor it. Good health and long life are too precious to be taken for granted or be ignored.

IMPROVED PROFESSIONAL STATUS FOR AIR TRAFFIC CONTROLLERS

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill to promote the pro-

fessional level of the Nation's air traffic controllers.

The safety of all air passengers, crews, pilots, and planes falls ultimately upon less than 10,000 controllers in the Federal Aviation Administration. Their responsibility is staggering because of the unprecedented growth of air travel. Not only are about six jets per month added to the many fleets in this country, but dozens of planes each month are purchased and flown by general aviation users.

Last July, these air controllers pointedly and forcefully called our attention to the overburdened and cumbersome air traffic control system. Many decided to follow the rules of the FAA pertaining to spacing for safety. As subsequent investigations proved, these air controllers were not then or now solely responsible for the lengthy delays in the air, flight cancellations, and general tieups in the passenger airline industry. They felt they were, moreover, forced to take the actions they did as a direct result of oversaturation of the air traffic system.

The buck stops at the air controller's console. With split second timing and precision accuracy, they must discharge their responsibilities for safety the instant aircraft comes into their system. They must restrict the movements of air traffic to reduce demands upon the system. Without hesitation, they must space air traffic according to the dictates of safety. Anything less than total effort by the air controller invites, and probably results in, disaster and deaths.

We are faced with a horse-and-buggy approach to the most sophisticated form of travel history has known. What possible utility is there in flying nonstop across the continent in a matter of hours, only to circle like great flocks of migratory birds for hours above an overcrowded airport approach path?

Air technology is constantly creating bigger, faster, sleeker planes. Soon we will have the jumbo jets and supersonic aircraft. And they will be landing in the same manner of their predecessors—eventually.

Obviously, there are other aspects to this problem. There are other solutions. Some of these problems will require engineering studies before remedial action can be prescribed and taken. Other problems will require technological breakthroughs in airport design.

But one step can be taken today. We can improve the conditions under which air controllers must labor. They work in a sweatshop of tension. We can help by recruiting able people, retaining the qualified controllers, and adequately compensating air controllers commensurate with the demands placed upon them.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I introduce a bill designed to raise and maintain the standards and qualifications for air traffic control personnel.

We must accept our responsibility and act now. The number of frontline traffic controllers has actually declined over the past few years, while the remainder of the air travel industry is running rampant with growth. The technique of air control simply has not kept pace with the technological revolution throughout the remainder of the industry.

The safety, then, of the public and the industry is ours by default.

The bill which I present today will: Upgrade the entrance requirements for trainees by requiring controllers to have either a bachelor's degree in an accredited institution offering a course in air traffic control or a mixture of experience and 2 years of college; require annual physical checkups and semiannual proficiency examinations; increase the minimum salary equal to the job and the responsibilities; allow retirement benefits with declining abilities as age retards competence; establish three categories of control proficiency, training and compensation; require continuing training for all controllers to take place in the cockpit of an aircraft; distribute workload through the adjustment of personnel and the placing of facilities; and will penalize the FAA when controllers must work in excess of a 40-hour week.

Mr. Speaker, we need more controllers. We need to give them better training and better hours of work, and better equipment. What we in Congress can do is pass basic legislation. But we need to do more. The shortage or shortcomings of the controller system is not alone the fault of FAA, or Congress or the controllers. We need a unified and concentrated and cooperative effort of an entire industry, seeking the help of the public. Good controllers can be found by a broad-based public relations program, and I do not think that approach has been properly used. Here is a way for all of us to help. I am convinced of the need. I have visited twice with the controllers of Austin, Tex., and I know that much needs to be done. We need legislation to help, but we also need the cooperative effort of the public, and all allied and related industrial segments of aviation.

ALBERT PRUDENCE, OF CLEVELAND PRESS, WINS FREEDOMS FOUNDATION AWARD

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, the credo of Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge is:

To personally understand and maintain the American way of life, to honor it by his own exemplary conduct, and to pass it intact to succeeding generations is the responsibility of every true American.

Each year this nonprofit, nonpartisan, independent organization, using its credo as the sole basis for judging nominations, makes Freedoms Foundation awards to good citizens who have substantially contributed to the goal set forth in the foundation's charter:

To create and build an understanding of the spirit and philosophy of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights and of our indivisible bundle of political and economic freedoms inherent in them. To inspire love of freedom and to support the spiritual unity born of the belief that man is a dignified human being created in the image of his Maker and,

by that fact, possessor of certain inalienable rights.

Albert Prudence, who is the world news editor of the Cleveland Press, was a well-deserved winner of one of the foundation's coveted awards this year. Al—in addition to being one of the outstanding journalists in the country—is also an Air Force Reserve colonel, a member of the Reserve intelligence staff of the Pacific Air Command and chief admissions representative in northeastern Ohio for the Air Force Academy. I have known, liked, and admired Al Prudence for many years and I am pleased at the recognition he has achieved for a combination of two of his many fine qualities: His ability as a fine writer and a devoted American.

His moving letter, "A Free Ballot—A Free Country," which won him his award, follows:

A FREE BALLOT—A FREE COUNTRY

Just because that ballot you marked in the last election was free, don't get the idea that it was cheap. It was paid for in blood—at Valley Forge, Verdun, Berlin, Tarawa, Okinawa, Chosin Reservoir, Khe Sanh, and dozens of other bitter places where youthful dreams are drowned in tears and terror.

Those tears are nothing compared with the agony shared by others who were subdued or tricked into political and economic slavery in dictatorship nations far from America. They would gladly pay any amount for the privilege of a free ballot through which they could change their leaders, shake off censorship, eliminate secret police, and end harsh prison sentences for criticizing government officials and their actions.

Millions have risked death or jail by "voting with their feet" to get to places where a truly free ballot meant a free country. They climbed the Berlin Wall, crawled and prayed their way across mine fields between Soviet satellite nations and the Free World, and painfully made their way through mountains and jungles of Asia.

Some of them died in the dash to freedom. But most of them survived to live in the Free World, where they know they can change the government by a free ballot without bloodshed or fear. They know for a certainty there is no price tag on the ballot. The blood of others has paid for it many, many times. But they know—and have learned the hard way—that unless they work to keep the ballot free, their country will not be free. And their dreams, too, will be drowned in tears and terror.

FLOOD CONTROL SUBCOMMITTEE RESPONSIVE TO NEEDS

HON. GEORGE H. FALLON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable ROBERT E. JONES, of Alabama, who is chairman of the Flood Control Subcommittee of the House Public Works Committee, and members of his subcommittee recently conducted hearings in east Texas on the potential flood dangers along the Sabine River. In addition to Congressman JONES, members attending the hearings were Hon. FRANK CLARK, Hon. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN DORN, Hon. RAY ROBERTS, Hon. DON H. CLAUSEN, Hon. WILLIAM H. HARSHA, Hon. ROBERT V. DENNEY, Hon. JACK H. Mc-

DONALD, Hon. JOHN PAUL HAMMERSCHMIDT, and Hon. ED EDMONDSON.

Our distinguished colleague and members of his subcommittee created a favorable impression for the Congress in their hearings and in their evidences of appreciation for the severe flooding problems of the east Texas area.

We on the House Public Works Committee intend to be responsive to the great needs of proper development of our Nation, and we will particularly acquaint ourselves with the requirements for water resources development in all parts of the United States.

The Flood Control Subcommittee hearings in east Texas were marked by considerable public attention as attested by an editorial in the Longview, Tex., Daily News commenting on the hearings.

So that all my colleagues will have a chance to know of this important work being conducted by the Public Works Committee, I am including this editorial as a part of my remarks:

BRIGHTER OUTLOOK FOR SABINE

Proponents of full development of the Sabine River were greatly encouraged with the statements made during and after the hearing conducted here last Friday by the Flood Control Subcommittee of the House Public Works Committee.

Rep. Robert E. Jones, chairman of the group, said on two different occasions during the hearing that Congress is now concerned with total benefits from water projects rather than partial benefits, such as flood control. He went on to say that planning today must consider the well-being of an entire area through the best use of water and related land resources and the preservation of the natural resources to meet all foreseeable short and long range needs and goals.

Congressman Jones said that "through our efforts in Washington and your untiring efforts here in Texas, we hope to expedite the Corps of Engineers report on protective measures in order that these items may be considered in the next Omnibus River and Harbor Flood Control Bill." This would be a big step toward our ultimate goal.

The subcommittee's favorable reaction was augmented by the announcement by Reuben Johnson, deputy director of the Water Resources Council, that as soon as a study of the Sabine River Comprehensive Basin report prepared by the U.S. Corps of Engineers is completed, both its finding and the report will be sent to the governors of Texas and Louisiana and federal agencies. After getting their comments, the council will forward the final recommendations to the White House for consideration and transmission to Congress, possibly this summer.

In the meantime, the Water Development Board is committed to sponsor and otherwise support construction of the Mineola and Lake Fork reservoirs, two of the three projects proposed by the Corps of Engineers in its comprehensive report.

The more than 400 persons who attended the hearing were obviously impressed with the exemplary manner in which the subcommittee and witnesses functioned.

Everyone was generous in praise of Congressman Jones and his colleagues, and grateful to them for their interest and enthusiasm in the Sabine River development program. Many who had the opportunity of hearing the questions and comments of the congressmen said the proceedings, and the way in which they were handled, gave them a better and greater appreciation of how Congress works.

Rep. Ray Roberts, a member of the Flood Control Subcommittee, came in for a large measure of praise from his colleagues for his tireless efforts in behalf of his constituency, the state of Texas and the nation. It was at his invitation that the group came to Longview to see and hear evidence of the damage wrought by the Sabine.

We are confident that as a result of this congressional hearing, the first ever held in Longview, we shall see within a reasonable time the authorization of projects on the Sabine River that will bring total benefits, including navigation, to the people of this area.

It can truly be said that last Friday and Saturday were "red-letter days" in the history of East Texas, because more hope was held out to us than ever before insofar as full development of our water resources is concerned.

NELSEN PROPOSAL WOULD STEM FLOW OF SMUT TO MINORS

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, I join today in introducing a measure aimed at curbing the flow of obscene and pandering materials being sent to juveniles.

The Supreme Court has liberalized almost to an absolute degree the standards printed material must meet in order to be protected by the constitutional rights of "freedom of the press."

The Court has been clear, however, that the freedom of the press does not extend to sexually offensive materials when minors are involved.

My proposal provides for a fine of up to \$5,000 or imprisonment of up to 5 years for the first offense, and a fine of up to \$10,000 and imprisonment of up to 10 years for subsequent offenses.

It prescribes these penalties to persons who use the mails to sell, offer for sale, deliver, distribute, or provide to a minor any picture, drawing, sculpture, motion picture, or similar visual representation or image of a person or portion of the human body which depicts nudity, sexual conduct, or sadomasochistic abuse, in a manner designed to primarily appeal to the viewer's prurient interests, or materials containing explicit descriptions of such things.

The problem of pandering literature offered in "plain brown wrappers," used to be a joke. Today, the dimensions of the problem have gone far beyond the laughing stage.

Because of broad Supreme Court interpretation of obscenity as being "utterly without redeeming social importance," the contents of the plain brown wrapper can contain things of such description as to make washroom walls seem like Robert Frost.

We are empowered, and I feel we are obligated, to defend youngsters and defend the right of parents and guardians to protect their children against such materials. This bill will go a long way to preserve those rights and stop the flow of unsolicited, objectionable materials to the young.

CONGRESS AND THE COMPUTER AGE

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, my able colleague from Pittsburgh, Pa., Representative WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD, spoke Monday, March 10, to a Conference on Electronic Data Processing sponsored by the American Management Association in New York City. I have read the speech and find it a most useful and informative one. Congressman MOORHEAD quite aptly speaks about a need of the Congress to make comprehensive use of information retrieval systems. But he quite properly cautions it should be done rationally and carefully so that incompatible systems are not brought into being. It follows:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ladies and gentlemen, I understand that your Chairman is not only an expert in electronic data processing, but is also a loving husband; and he proved both of these when he complimented his wife by saying, "Honey, after they programmed you, they broke the tape."

Mr. Rude is an expert—all of you are experts—and it is very humbling for me, a politician, to talk with you about a field in which all of you are experts.

Of course, you know that an expert is a man who gets to know more and more about less and less until he knows everything about nothing; whereas a politician is one who gets to know less and less about more and more until he knows nothing about everything.

I was particularly pleased to receive an invitation to address the 15th Annual EDP Conference of the American Management Association, which this year is taking a good look at the management requirements of the Nation in the 1970's. The splendid program which you have created will do much to alert the leaders both in public and private sectors to the proper role of electronic data processing in the next decade. And it is appropriate that this be done, as some economists are predicting that by the year 2000, the computer industry will be the largest employer in the United States.

Today, I am going to talk with you about the congressional need for improved information handling, and in doing this I hope to set forth the challenge which faces my colleagues and me, and the potential which EDP offers the decision-makers within the United States Congress.

As you know, the Member of Congress is called upon to function in several ways. First, he is responsible for rendering judgments on issues of national and international importance. Second, he serves as the prime representative of his district or State and in this capacity must see to it that its interests and future are protected. Finally, he strives to fulfill the role of an ombudsman—a servant of the people—who is accessible to one and all, to help any constituent with the most critical or trivial problem.

The Congress of today is different in many ways from its predecessor bodies.

In the first Congress, the 65 Members of the House of Representatives came from constituencies averaging 33,000 persons. The total work load of that group resulted in 118 public and private acts and resolutions being enacted.

Today's Congressman represents an average of 450,000 constituents, and the number may double in the next 40 years.

When the Congress came into being, there were less than 4 million people concentrated mostly between a narrow 50-mile long coastal strip between the Atlantic Ocean and the Appalachian ridgeline.

Today there are nearly 200,000,000 people spread all across the United States.

In the 90th Congress, there was a record total of 29,000 bills and resolutions introduced in the two chambers. In the House alone, there were 395 quorum calls, 478 Yea and Nay votes, hundreds of division, teller and voice votes, and mailbags of letters from constituents which included as many as 5,000 letters daily to many congressional offices.

Ours is a growing nation, with all that that implies. We are bigger, more complex, and on the move! The demands of the citizens for security against foreign and domestic threats, their expectations of a continually improving standard of living, and their need for an unprecedented range of public services are placing stresses on the fabric of our society which require imaginative and immediate action by those who govern.

The Congress, as a reflection of our society, finds the problems confronting it to be numerous and serious. At any point in time, my colleagues and I are forced to consider not one or two, but several issues of significance, and these can be decided only with accurate, timely, relevant information. In 1965, I called attention to the "information explosion" and the potential of EDP in helping to cope with the problems of our age. At that time, I said:

"Responsible decisionmakers in Government and in industry need new techniques and systems of organizing, storing, retrieving, integrating, analyzing and testing the multiple of factors upon which a rational decision must rest. Now is the time to use these techniques at the highest level of Government where the mass of relevant and important information is the largest, where the complexity of the interrelationships is the greatest and hence, where the decisionmaking is the most difficult."

The executive branch of the Federal Government has adopted the computer with enthusiasm, and today has more than 4,600 electronic devices to serve its needs. In defense, space, atomic energy and urban problems, the power of the computer is being harnessed to our needs. But the problem facing us, all of us, today is not that of too little information, but of too much. We must be able to distinguish between the significant fact and the inconsequential detail, and we in the Congress must have equal access to those data which will allow us to function effectively. On many occasions I have spoken out about the balance which must be maintained between the executive branch and the Congress. This balance has been jeopardized as the result of the fantastic demands upon the time and energies of the Members of the Congress.

In 1966 I made a study of congressional computer capability in preparation for a speech before the National Colloquium on Information Retrieval. As a result of my study I was able to make the following shocking remarks to the Colloquium. In 1966 I said:

"Today except for one small unit which the Library of Congress uses to handle its payroll, the Congress of the United States does not own one penny's worth of ADP equipment."

"When I tell you this I am expressing my concern for the future of representative government in the United States."

"Secretary of Defense McNamara, over at the Pentagon can conclude, with the help of computers, that it should be our national policy to phase out our bombers, that it should be our national policy NOT to develop an anti-missile system."

"But how can the Congress agree or disagree with him? How can the Congress provide or deny him the necessary funds, when

the information on which the legislative decision is made comes out of horse-and-buggy procedures?"

Even today, I invite you on your next visit to Washington to look in on the musty document room in the Capitol where papers are handled in about the same way they were when George Washington was President. Bills are filed away in rusty old metal boxes in floor to ceiling slots and accessible from an old oaken ladder that slides sideways on rollers.

For several years, I have been attempting to instill in Members of Congress a desire to seek new tools and techniques which can allow Congress to serve the people of this country in a more responsive, meaningful fashion. One resource that will insure this type of effectiveness on our part is the computer. From the days when I supported Congressman Jack Brooks of Texas your distinguished speaker at this conference last year, as he worked successfully to establish a rationale and guidelines for Federal procurement and agency use of computers, to the present, I have considered it my duty to inspire Members of Congress to modernize many of the administrative and legislatively-oriented routine activities of the Congress. In my presentation in 1966 before the National Colloquium on Information Retrieval I noted:

"Our constitutional government with its delicate system of checks and balances depends on the development of computer capability in the legislative branch. I propose that we bring Congress from the horse-and-buggy age into the age of the computer."

Even these efforts to create an interest on the part of Congressmen met with criticism, and from people in the electronic data processing field.

One EDP magazine wrote a very critical editorial asking me, "... how will computers supply the integrity, the sincerity and the conscience required by the Congress?"

However, Professor Kenneth Janda of Northwestern University, in a letter to the magazine corrected the over-zealous editor and insightfully instructed the writer that I was not making the naive assertion that computers would make a bad congressman good, but merely that computers could make a good congressman better, and that the job at that time was to make other Members of Congress aware of the challenge and the potential of computer systems for Congress.

To help create computer interest in Congress my friend and honored colleague Robert McClory of Illinois and I last year co-hosted a special seminar conducted by the Brookings Institution on the subject of Congress and its use of computers. At that meeting, a score of serious legislators from both parties discussed candidly their hopes and feelings about using a computer-oriented information system. Their reaction was encouraging, and a number of these men have written or spoken about the importance of bringing this new capability to Capitol Hill.

Outside of Congress a few farsighted individuals and organizations have begun to urge—through books, articles, television shows, and at forums such as this—that Congress "get on with it" and adapt EDP to its own uses. Commentator David Brinkley, in the introduction to the book "Congress Needs Help," offered this observation about the importance of institutions adjusting to changing conditions:

"Congress has great power, more than any other branch of the government. But effective use of power or leadership certainly requires change to accommodate to the changes in society. A leadership institution that fails to change will become an interesting and perhaps charming irrelevance, like the founder of the hardware business now grown into a huge corporate enterprise, an elderly gentleman whose oil portrait hangs in the boardroom, who mouths 19th Century platitudes, who is ceremoniously honored for his early

achievements and always remembered on his birthdays—and otherwise ignored."

Similar messages were contained in such books as "We Propose a Modern Congress," by the House Republican Task Force, "Congress, the First Branch of Government," published by the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, and "Information Support for the Congress," written by Chartrand, Janda and Hugo.

Last year there were two computer seminars—designed to establish lines of communication between systems technology and the government—held on Capitol Hill. These were sponsored jointly by the Washington Operations Council and the Institute for Management Science, and each seminar attracted about 100 Members and staff.

The Legislative Reference Service held introductory computer seminars for interested staff members, and approximately 60 attended from the Committee and Member offices of the House and Senate.

One large, nationally-known corporation has developed a fascinating seminar on the concepts of computers. To date, several hundred Members and staff have attended this innovative seminar at the company's Washington Presentation Center, and more are enrolled for future seminars.

The Legislative Reference Service—which handled over 130,000 requests for Members last year—has also completed and made available several studies to aid Members and staff. Some of these are "Automatic Data Processing for the Congress", "Systems Approach, A Tool for the Congress", "Application of ADP in Legal Information Handling", and "The Planning-Programming-Budgeting System". More importantly, this has resulted in more face-to-face consultations between LRS, Members of Congress and staff.

All of this spade work accomplished the objective of creating congressional interest, and there are various "happenings" that indicate that Congress may be about to enter the computer age. In fact, the problem may have shifted from creation of interest in computers to coordination of that interest.

Let me cite some of the developments.

Under the leadership of the Clerk of the House, William "Pat" Jennings, steps have been taken to establish a machine capability for doing the payroll and maintaining an inventory of mechanical and electrical equipment, furniture and property. Consideration now is being given to the merits of an automatic voting system, computerized addressing service, and the possibility of an information retrieval system.

In the Senate, the Sergeant at Arms has been using a computer to perform computerized mailing for Senators.

Of particular interest to me, as a Member of the House Banking and Currency Committee, has been the installation of a terminal in the administrative office of that group. The device is being used, through a tie-in to the Library of Congress computer, for the handling of the Committee's legislative calendar and also affords access to the synoptic and status data of other public bills and resolutions.

The House Democratic Caucus very properly expressed an interest in computer technology for the Congress, and I was one of eight Congressmen, who under the leadership of Representative John Brademas of Indiana, presented to the Caucus the following resolution:

"Resolved, that the Committee on House Administration be fully supported by Democratic members in efforts to improve the efficiency of operations of the House of Representatives, and we urge that these efforts include, but not be limited to, the use of computers and of a centralized mail processing system."

I supported this resolution even though I believe that it is but one step, and much more is required if we are to bring Congress from

the "quill and snuff box age" into the age of the computer.

The largest computer installation on the Hill, and one to which both the Senate and House have access, is located in the Library of Congress. In support of congressional requests for information support, which topped 130,000 last year, the Legislative Reference Service has consulted with congressional personnel about those priority areas of activity where EDP could be useful. One of these is the publishing of the "Digest of Public General Bills," which provides Members with key information on the contents, in summary form, and status of the thousands of pieces of legislation which have been introduced. More than a dozen typewriter terminals are linked to this computer, providing researcher access to certain categories of information.

What we are seeing is a gradual proliferation of computer facilities which is a usual trend in a given working environment as many of you well know.

Although the function of continuing to create interest in congressional computer capability must go forward, the emphasis must now shift to coordination.

As Congress moves into the computer age, it is my feeling that the biggest mistake we can make is to acquire one machine for mailing services and then find that another is required for research, another for file maintenance, another for publication of the Calendar, another for the Digest, etc. The result will be an expensive, inefficient group of incompatible machines and programs which still fail to accomplish the job and which will leave the Congress little better served and probably as far behind as it is now.

A strong inclination among most organizations is to jump in quickly without carefully considering long-term needs. One installation may be great for a limited application, but leave software and personnel out in the cold when more advanced applications are required. I hope that Congress will avoid this pitfall.

Capitol Hill computer systems must be compatible. They must be able to "talk to one another."

Coordination on Capitol Hill is not the easiest of tasks. You start with a bicameral legislature with one House having 435 members and the other 100 members, and you must recognize that there is no single leader over both Houses.

In addition, on Capitol Hill there are semi-autonomous bodies such as the Library of Congress, the Comptroller General, the Public Printer, and the Legislative Counsel of both Houses.

In the 90th Congress, and again in the 91st Congress, with Representative McClory, I introduced a bill (H.R. 7012) designed to achieve this coordination.

The bill features the creation of an independent, "dedicated" computer center, staffed by a highly professional staff. The purpose of the center, as set forth in the bill is to:

"... assist the two Houses of Congress, their officers, committees, joint committees, Members, and supporting services in the performance of their respective functions by making available to them automatic data processing services."

Under our bill, coordination between the Senate and the House will be achieved through a Joint Committee on Legislative Data Processing made up of 5 representatives from each body, with House Members appointed by the Speaker, Senators by the President pro tempore of the Senate, with party representation prevailing that in the respective bodies.

The Computer center itself would be supervised by a Director appointed by the Speaker of the House and President pro tempore of the Senate, after consultation with the Joint Committee.

For expertise and further coordination, the Joint Committee would rely on an independent Advisory Board made up of 8 ex-officio

members (the Director of the Center, the Librarian of Congress, the Comptroller General, the Public Printer, the Secretary of the Senate, the Clerk of the House, and the Legislative Counsel of both Houses of Congress), and 4 data processing experts—two appointed by the Speaker of the House and two by the President pro tempore of the Senate.

If the Moorhead-McClory bill or some similar legislation is passed, Congress can begin to initiate a rational, integrated, compatible first phase of a modern congressional computer capability.

Even the first phase cannot be achieved overnight.

Certainly we should not buy the hardware first and then look for the personnel and systems thereafter—quite the contrary.

There should be a two-year design and implementation period to develop such a system as I propose. Consultants have estimated that the initial cost for this period would range from \$1.4 to \$1.7 million.

After Phase One has been in operation and proved its worth, Congress can decide whether it should move onward into even more sophisticated systems, simulated environments and so forth—but it is very important that Phase One be designed and coordinated so that it can be expanded when more sophisticated usages are needed and desired.

What I am proposing is scarcely revolutionary, for several State legislatures are well along in their development of fairly sophisticated computer-centered systems. The State of New York has demonstrated leadership in this regard, with many services being offered the State legislators; other advanced systems have been implemented in my home State, Pennsylvania, and in Florida, North Carolina, and Texas. Thus, there is evidence on every hand that Congress must make use of the versatility, adaptability, and capabilities of the electronic computer. Last year, I urged that—

"With private enterprise, the executive branch and the State legislatures in the computer age, Congress must change its ways or it will fail the American people. Computers cannot make congressional decisions, but as our world gets more complex, Congress will be unable to make rational decisions without computers."

One obvious focus of attention must be on the projection of congressional needs versus anticipated capabilities of legislative branch components.

When we speak of "needs," and many of these are very real, we should attempt to redefine what the Members and committees do which might be enhanced by computerized support. I have noted the heavy volume of requests for information on pending legislation—and keep in mind that during the 90th Congress a record 29,000 bills and resolutions were introduced—and told of how effective the use of EDP would be in handling such data. In my way of thinking, information on the status and contents of bills should be up-to-the-minute and available by a telephone call or through dialing in a request through a terminal with a television-type screen.

Committee activity information is susceptible to machine handling. With dozens of standing, special, and joint committees, not to mention the numerous subcommittees, the lawmaker is hard pressed to know when he is to be present for a meeting or hearing, where it is to be held, the topic to be discussed, and in some cases which witnesses are slated to testify and on what subjects.

The importance of current, properly structured budgetary data scarcely can be overstressed. Accessibility to these data often is difficult at best, and with the advent of the PPB Systems in the executive branch, the Congressmen responsible for budget review must adjust to the new form of presentation. Further, we need information which will allow us to determine the policy bases on

which the budget was submitted, and the real reasons why agency reductions were made by the Bureau of the Budget or the President prior to forwarding the budget to the Congress. I have bemoaned the fact many times in the past that we have no means such as that available to the executive branch for setting priorities to determine alternative programs affecting the tax dollar. The Bureau of the Budget maintains key budgetary information in computerized form, and the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research has placed the last four years of the "Budget Index" in random-access storage. Yet, the Congress has no support at all in this vital policy area!

Access to topical research information, whether situated in an executive branch or the Library of Congress, is a continuing need of the Congressman. I have proposed that there be read-out devices or closed circuit television screens in the offices of Senators and Representatives and in all committee offices. Since most of the desired data comes from the Legislative Reference Service—and I have been outspoken in urging an upgrading of that organization—there must be additional staff of an uncommonly high calibre. The creation of a Selective Dissemination of Information (SDI) capability in connection with what I believe must be called the "Legislative Research Service" is a next logical development. This would allow each Member to create his own "profile" of interests, and through a keyword matching technique within the computer, generate notices of new acquisitions such as books or articles which could be checked by his staff.

Would you believe that we do not even have a comprehensive index to congressional documents, although partial listings are prepared by the Government Printing Office? Here again, the computer is "a natural" for this type of service. The Congressman, besieged by constituent requests for information and simultaneously striving to prepare himself for committee assignments and floor debate, must be able to check quickly existing documentation and associated material. The computer can be the instrument by which these operations are performed.

Join me for a moment as I sit in my office, reordering my schedule to meet the demands of the day. Think how helpful it would be to retrieve, through my own console, information on issues up for vote, histories of my committees' activity which I can use for a self-briefing, and such useful information as that on Federal contract awards and lobbyist activity. And yet another area looms large where the computer can serve; that of handling constituent correspondence. In some offices on the Hill, staggering volumes of mail arrive each day—as high as 5,000 letters to a single office! Files are kept manually in virtually every office, files which show not only which voters have written, but what type of response has been sent in fulfillment of a request. The problems related to indexing, storing, and retrieving such data are well known to an audience such as this.

And so we see that there is a very real need for EDP within the congressional environment. Gradually, we are learning what the new machines can and should do. The ability of man to master his tools has not changed. He must study his needs and plan accordingly. Prior to establishing a master computer support system for the Congress, I would recommend that these steps be taken.

First, a thorough orientation and education for all involved in the management, operation, and use of the EDP-centered system. Second, careful planning by qualified persons, including outside consultants. Third, a serious consideration of all possible alternatives as to equipment location and configuration, level and type of staffing, and functioning of the interface group responsible for receiving, reviewing, and possible transcribing congressional requests for data. Fourth, the creation of a responsible monitor

of the system, with authority sufficient to make and impose priorities for system use and performance. Without these logical, interdependent steps, the achievement of a useful service for the Congress will be impossible.

In closing, may I ask that each of you consider the problems which I have enumerated, in the light of your own experience and perception. Management problems in the realm of information use are not unique either to the corporation president or the United States Congressman. Let us work together to solve these problems. Let us communicate our findings and recommendations to the improvement of the Nation at large.

Ours is the greatest Nation in the annals of man. To survive and attain even greater stature it must be guided by men who make the right decisions. In a democracy decisions are made by the populace acting through its duly elected representatives. How effectively they govern is contingent upon their judgments based on valid, obtainable information.

We have the skills and resources, human and mechanical, to achieve more than we can imagine. We must not fail to use them effectively. There is nothing for Congress to fear from the new technology, but only in our own uncertain grasp of how best to use it. Yet, as the social scientist, Michael Polanyi has said, "we're in a totally new place no one has explored before, and we can make our own map."

We have today at our fingertips the technology which can aid us in controlling our surroundings and planning our destiny.

The computer has become man's information machine . . . giving curious, resourceful, intelligent men more time to think, encouraging him to soar to the farthest reaches of his imagination.

Man enjoys a heritage of freedom in action and thought. Let us work together to meet the challenges of the future through an expression of will and intelligence and the humane use of our promising new tools.

ABM: WHOSE FINGER ON THE NUCLEAR TRIGGER?

HON. OTIS G. PIKE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. PIKE. Mr. Speaker, on February 26, during the discussion of the ABM on the floor of the House, I raised for the first time the question of the command and control problems involved in making the decision to utilize an ABM.

Most of the debate in the past has been geared to the technological aspects of the system—whether it could be made to work, or the psychological aspects of the system—whether it would simply trigger a rapid escalation of offensive weapons in the hands of our enemies.

Yesterday, however, the command and control problem was again brought to the attention of the American people by the testimony of three eminent scientists, Dr. James A. Killian, Jr., Dr. Herbert F. York, and Dr. George B. Kistiakowsky before a Senate subcommittee.

These three experts agreed that deploying an anti-ballistic-missile system would mean quite simply that the control of our nuclear weapons would pass out of the hands of the President into the hands of middle-grade military officers or even computers. As I pointed out on February 26, assuming the very best—

that a hostile missile is detected the moment it is launched, and properly identified as hostile at that point—no small assumption—less than 30 minutes remain before impact. Who, then, makes the decision to fire the ABM's? The President may be in Europe, asleep, in an airplane, sailing on Biscayne Bay. The Vice President may be in New York, or Hawaii, or fishing.

ABM's must be, as the scientists said yesterday, a hair-trigger operation. America has never been geared for a hair-trigger response to a surprise attack. We were not at Pearl Harbor, the *Liberty's* messages did not get through, nor did the *Pueblo's*. In order to maintain the "hair-trigger" posture, said Dr. York:

The power to make certain life-and-death decisions is inexorably passing from statesmen and politicians to more narrowly focused technicians, and from human beings to machines. The direction we are going is not toward the ultimate weapon but toward the ultimate absurdity. We are getting to the point in complexity and in the time scale where there is no time for humans, and decisions are made by machines.

While the President might sleep better nights with this awesome burden removed from his shoulders, all Americans must sleep a little worse at the thought of deploying a hair-trigger nuclear system under the control of hundreds of nervous officers and thousands of indifferent machines.

STATEMENT OF COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED KINGDOM IN THE FIELD OF NUCLEAR PROPULSION OF NUCLEAR SUBMARINES

HON. WILLIAM H. BATES

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, Congressman CHET HOLIFIELD, chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, yesterday reported to the House the results of deliberations of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy on an amendment to the United States-United Kingdom Mutual Defense Agreement concerning the use of atomic energy. This agreement covers the transfer of enriched uranium to the United Kingdom for use as fuel in their submarines which will be utilized for our mutual defense. The statutory requirement of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, provides that no cooperation in the military field with any nation or regional defense organization, covering the transfer of classified atomic energy information or material, may be undertaken unless a proposed agreement for said cooperation has been submitted to the Congress and referred to the Joint Committee, to lie before the committee for a period of 60 days while the Congress is in session. This 60-day period ends at midnight tonight.

I am pleased to note that U.S. assistance to the United Kingdom in nuclear submarines during the 1970's will be

limited to supplying enriched uranium for British submarines. This would indicate that the United Kingdom, with U.S. assistance, has achieved a capability in this difficult field.

This also means, however, that the United Kingdom is likely to be subject in coming years to requests from other governments for assistance of the sort they have received from the United States. The United States, of course, has been asked for such assistance on numerous occasions in the past; we have considered it in our interest to limit our assistance in naval nuclear propulsion to the United Kingdom only. We continue to believe it is in our interest—and in the best interest of our allies as well—to minimize the dissemination abroad of this sensitive technology.

I, therefore, believe it is highly important that the United States reiterate to the British Government the importance that we attach to the protection of naval nuclear propulsion information. This will require continued consultation on all contacts from other countries concerning requests for U.S. nuclear propulsion technology. We must make sure that this technology is safeguarded.

PROBLEMS ATTENDANT TO A GRAZING FEE RAISE

HON. MANUEL LUJAN, JR.

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. LUJAN. Mr. Speaker, the livestock industry is one of the most important industries in the district which I represent, and it is of paramount importance to many of my constituents that a fair and equitable solution be arrived at in this problem of grazing fee increases. It is my feeling that the current increase has been hurried into effect, and this is unfortunate.

Many of the livestock growers in northern New Mexico are extremely small operators—the average permittee on Carson and Santa Fe National Forests, for example, runs only 17 head—and for them this increase may possibly mean the difference between economic survival and extinction. Larger operators may be adversely affected also, and a healthy livestock industry is clearly essential to a healthy economy; but I do not think due consideration was given to the effects this increase will have on marginal operations.

Further, I find it difficult to find reasons why this entire matter could not have waited until the report of the Public Land Law Review Commission was published. I am sure that the Commission, headed by the honorable Chairman, has studied all the problems attendant to a grazing fee raise carefully, has gathered a great deal of important evidence on the subject, and I think that the Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management would do well to hold their fee-increase program in abeyance until the Public Land Review Commission study is made public.

CONGRESSMAN GONZALEZ INTRODUCES TWO BILLS TO AID SCHOOLS SERVING CHILDREN FROM LOW-INCOME FAMILIES

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased today to sponsor two bills to aid schools serving children from low-income families. One bill would count children from federally financed public housing units toward a local school district's entitlement for Federal impact aid. The other would assist in the construction of schools serving children of low-income families, or schools experiencing sudden increases in enrollments. The latter also authorizes funds for the construction of supplementary educational centers.

Both of these pieces of legislation are currently under consideration by the General Subcommittee on Education of the House, which held an opening day of hearings on both the construction bill—H.R. 517 is the "lead bill"—and the amendments to the impacted areas laws—H.R. 1285.

These bills are of highest importance to the school districts in San Antonio. The school districts I represent are in desperate need of the means to expand and upgrade their quality of instruction. These districts cannot expand their boundaries and thereby increase their indigenous source of funds, which is a tax on real property. Many have a substantial amount of tax-free Federal land. The growth in the value of the real property in these landlocked districts is totally inadequate to finance the services needed. The tax school rates on the real property range from 45 to 70 percent of assessed value—with one exception—further rate increases are almost intolerable. It thus becomes a tragedy for these school districts to have a public housing project in their districts within their boundaries, whatever the need may be for decent housing. A project would remove land from the sorely pressed tax rolls. The Federal payment in compensation for the loss in property taxes is ludicrous—\$11 for each school-aged child in a public housing unit is the national average.

Public housing units are thus a double blow to school districts. They reduce the tax base, while increasing the number of children in school, with the Federal payment a negligible increase in resources.

The purpose of the federally assisted public housing program is to provide a suitable living environment to all Americans. This goal is subverted if the children from these units contribute to a breakdown of their school environment, to the point where they have no chance of participating in the great opportunities our Nation affords the well educated.

The equity and the desirability of adequate payments to local schools for children from public housing units is obvious. The legislation I am introducing today would extend the impact aid benefits under both Public Law 815—construction assistance—and Public Law 874—maintenance and operation assistance.

The second bill I am introducing today is entitled the "Elementary and Secondary School Construction Act of 1969." Title I of this act establishes a formula for assisting school districts with a high proportion of children from low-income families in the construction of schools and the acquisition of facilities. The formula is based upon the number of children from families with incomes lower than \$2,000, or from families whose total income is from AFDC. This school construction aid would be of great benefit to Edgewood Independent School District in San Antonio which has been forced to extend its bonding capability for new construction to a critical degree.

Edgewood, incidentally, with an assessed property valuation per pupil of \$2,208 receives less in State funds than a neighboring school district with 10 times more in assessed property values per pupil to draw from.

Title II of this act deletes that section of Public Law 815 which assists school construction in areas experiencing sudden increases in school population due to a new military installation or some other Federal activity, and as a substitute proposed that any school district which experiences an increase in enrollment that puts undue financial burden on its resources—from whatever cause—be eligible for Federal assistance in proportion to the impact of the increase. This title would be of great value to Harlandale School District, which last year found it had grown by 900 students instead of the average of 400 students per year. This doubling was due largely to the influx of children from newly constructed multifamily dwellings which received mortgage insurance under the 221(d)(3) program of the Federal Housing Administration. A building assisted by 221(d)(3) sends a lot of children to the local schools, but supplies little increase in the assessment base. These children could not be counted toward Federal impact aid under Public Law 815 as now in force, but they would count for Federal grants under my bill.

Title III of the bill authorizes funds for the construction of supplementary educational centers through fiscal year 1975.

Both of these bills have open-ended authorizations. With no money figure authorized, there is no ceiling set on expenditures, nor anything to serve as a guideline of the national need. The level of funding for these bills would, of course, be determined by the congressional appropriation process.

Mr. Speaker, these bills by themselves are no panaceas of the diverse ills which face many of our Nation's schools. But they are logical and equitable responses to well-documented problems. I urge their passage.

THE PORNOGRAPHY PROBLEM

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing legislation to prohibit

the interstate dissemination of pornographic materials of all kinds to juveniles under 18.

Recent court decisions have brought into sharp focus the need for corrective and definitive legislation. Our outstanding San Diego Police Department has been conducting a series of open houses to acquaint the public with current police problems. The displays on narcotics and pornography by the San Diego Police were particularly effective. All of us who saw these displays came away with a greater awareness of the seriousness of the pornography problem and the alarming and disgusting nature of the smut material now on the market. The courts have torn down much of the legislation that has been enacted to control the flow of pornography. New legislation, in line with recent decisions is imperative. The need for such corrective legislation is magnified by the fact that the young are the prime targets of the smut dealers. Seeing firsthand the type of material being pushed on our children and grandchildren greatly emphasized the necessity for immediate corrective action.

Of particular note in this instance is the Supreme Court decision of last year which held constitutional a New York statute to prohibit the sale to minors of materials defined as obscene, although these same materials might not be declared obscene for adults. This is a promising first step in pornography control and a sound basis for legislative action.

For this reason I am introducing legislation which explicitly defines the meaning of obscene materials and prohibits the dissemination of such obscenity to juveniles under 18.

Under this bill, first offenders could receive a prison sentence of up to 5 years or a \$5,000 fine, or both. These penalties would be doubled for a second offense. The time has come for a get-tough policy with smut peddlers.

Affirmative legislation to protect our young from further assaults by the pornography mills is needed immediately, and I sincerely hope that the Judiciary Committee will schedule early consideration of this legislation.

THE BIGGEST PROBLEM FACING OUR COUNTRY IS THE LOSS OF HONESTY

HON. FLETCHER THOMPSON

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, recently the Mutual Broadcasting System, Inc., through its 500 affiliated radio stations throughout the country, offered over \$7,700 in savings bonds for answers to three searching questions confronting the Nation. Twenty-five winners were chosen who answered the following questions:

First. What do I think is our biggest problem?

Second. If I were President, what would I do about it?

Third. What can I do about it personally here and now?

It was with great pleasure that I learned from Stephen J. McCormick, vice president for news at MBS that a third-prize winner was selected from my congressional district and he received a \$500 savings bond for his answer on what he believed is our biggest problem. This award was given to Mr. James F. Armstrong of 3012 Morningside Drive NW., Atlanta, Ga., because the judges thought his thinking and presentation were excellent.

He declared that the biggest problem faced by our country is the loss of honesty. Because so many of us, I am confident, will agree with his statements, I am pleased to enter into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD today a copy of his entry which was selected for this award by the judges. It is a truthful but sad commentary upon conditions in our society today. We would all be remiss in our responsibilities to ourselves and to our Nation if we did not carefully consider his words and do our best to follow the advice suggested in his entry.

Mr. Speaker, his entry is submitted below:

GENTLEMEN: The biggest problem our country faces is the loss of honesty.

As one grows up in America today, he comes to realize there exists an unwritten law which exempts us from being honest with one another. This posture is evident wherever we look . . . hypocrisy in the pulpit and the classroom . . . slanted and distorted news . . . false advertising claims . . . doubletalk and deceit between races . . . mistrust between labor and capital. We passively approve of dishonesty everywhere. We all accept the system to one degree or another. We all participate in it.

We jokingly accept the fact that "there's no such thing as an honest politician" without stopping to evaluate the consequences of tolerating dishonesty in our political campaigns. We vote for candidates after hearing them make speeches containing little but claims and phrases so grossly exaggerated they border on lies, or so full of innuendoes and half-truths about their opposition as to constitute dishonesty. In fact, our acceptance of this system virtually forces candidates to participate in this sort of thing if they are to get any appreciable support, with the tragic result that the voter is forced to attempt to determine which of the candidates is distorting the truth less.

In such a climate of dishonesty, we are raising generations increasingly disenchanted with the hypocrisy they see everywhere . . . and this is stifling (and will eventually extinguish) individual initiative and personal integrity, resulting in increased delinquency and moral degradation.

I believe most of us have no thoughts or ambitions of which we should be ashamed, and this should also be true of our country's objectives. Why, then, don't we (as the kids say) "tell it like it is" and begin to tell each other only the truth and require this of our political leaders and our society?

SUPPLEMENTAL VIEWS ON INCREASING PARTICIPATION OF UNITED STATES IN THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, today the House by a vote of 247 to 150 passed

H.R. 33, a bill which authorizes the appropriation of \$480 million—40 percent of the total—to the International Development Association, an affiliate of the World Bank. Briefly, the IDA makes development loans on 50-year terms at no interest other than a nominal three-quarter percent per year service charge to meet administrative costs. No repayment is required for the first 10 years, following which 1 percent per year for the next 10 years, then 3 percent per year for the final 30 years is required.

In the light of our present financial situation, and with the likelihood of another debt increase just around the corner, it is hard to understand the increase in this particular area.

House Report No. 91-31 of the Committee on Banking and Currency contained supplemental views on H.R. 33 which deserve consideration, and for this reason I insert them in the RECORD at this point:

SUPPLEMENTAL VIEWS ON H.R. 33 FISCAL ZIGZAG

With Federal spending at an alltime high, and with devastating balance-of-payments deficits, it is painfully evident the United States financially is overextended. That is why the Congress voted a 10-percent tax increase coupled with \$6 billion reduction in expenditures and reduction and rescission of obligatory authority.

After that action, along comes this proposal calling for an increase in a particular type of foreign aid obligatory expenditure of 54 percent per year over the next 3 fiscal years. In place of our \$104 million participation in the International Development Association (IDA) for each of the past 3 years, this proposal would increase our contribution to \$160 million per year for the next 3 years. To say the least, such action would be totally inconsistent with the action the Congress recently took on the tax bill.

The expenditure controls contained in title II of the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 would be reduced to meaningless gestures if the new obligatory authority for most domestic and international programs contained in the January 1968 budget and called for doubling existing program levels (\$240 million per year new obligatory authority in fiscal year 1969 versus \$104 million appropriated in fiscal year 1968), as was the case with IDA.

Certainly the intent and the spirit of the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act was aimed at holding new obligatory authority for all programs at roughly the same levels as those that prevailed in the current fiscal year (\$191.7 versus \$186.5 billion). We would like to remind our colleagues that, because IDA is an international institution, if the House passes this bill, IDA will be immune from the statutory expenditure reduction requirements in title II of the tax bill. The only appropriate opportunity for the House to act in a manner consistent with the responsibilities we imposed on the administration and ourselves in the tax bill will be in connection with the action we take on H.R. 33.

Moreover, how can we explain to the American people the need for a whopping increase in IDA, when hospitals, highways, water, and sewer, and other forms of Federal-aid projects here at home are being postponed or canceled.

IDA

IDA is the soft-loan affiliate of the World Bank. IDA makes development loans on 50-year terms at no interest other than a nominal three-quarter percent per year service charge to meet administrative costs. The repayment terms are most generous. No repayment is required for the first 10 years, then 1

percent per year for the next 10 years, and then 3 percent per year for the final 30 years.

IDA formally came into existence in the fall of 1960 and made its first loans in mid-1961. There are 98 member countries, of whom 18 are economically advanced countries. Initially, these 18 countries contributed IDA's hard-currency resources in the amount of \$750 million over a 5-year period. The first replenishment of these resources occurred in 1964, calling for the payment of an additional \$750 million over a 3-year period. The proposed further replenishment of funds calls for the payment of \$1.2 billion over the next 3 years beginning in November 1968.

THE GOOD AND BAD OF IDA

Like most institutions, IDA is not without its good points—nor is it without its bad.

On the favorable side, IDA is a multilateral aid organization which generates \$3 of aid funds from other sources for each \$2 that the United States contributes. Of the proposed \$1.2 billion increased resources over the next 3 years, the U.S. portion is \$480 million, or 40 percent.

Make no mistake about it. This is pure grant assistance. None of the repayment of loans made with these funds will come back to this country as long as IDA is a functioning institution. In this respect it differs from our bilateral aid program where, although we provide all of the loan funds, we also hopefully will be the beneficiary of any future loan repayments.

The new proposal calling for a \$480 million increase in the U.S. contribution to IDA purports to give recognition to our difficult balance-of-payments problem. For the next 3 years, drawdown of the new U.S. contribution would be limited to procurement in this country. What this amounts to is a temporary holdback on use of the U.S. contribution. Sometime after the 3 years, U.S. dollars again would be utilized for non-U.S. procurement. We are simply stockpiling future U.S. balance-of-payments deficits to the tune of approximately \$200 million (42 percent of \$480 million). The action proposed is but another in a long list of gimmicks aimed at postponing the impact on our balance of payments. As the National Advisory Council observed, this innovation will allow IDA to operate "without impairment of IDA's fundamental principle that the role of competitive international bidding should prevail in its procurement operations . . ."

Postponement of the impact on the U.S. balance of payments for 3 years assumes that our deficits are temporary rather than chronic. We would contend, however, that our balance-of-payments deficits most assuredly are chronic, and will continue to be so long as we ignore the effects of expenditures on Government account. As members of the minority of our committee have stated on numerous other occasions, we had better wake up to the fact that we no longer can look forward to huge balance-of-trade surpluses financing Government overseas expenditures. We had better trim our sails before it is too late.

One of the simple, basic facts to remember with respect to our international accounts is that about 25 percent of total U.S. expenditures abroad are on Government account. In absolute figures, this ranged between \$7.5 and \$8.5 billion up to 1965. Since then it has jumped to \$9.9 billion in 1966, and more than \$11 billion in 1967. The major components of this are foreign aid, including contributions to international institutions such as IDA, and military expenditures. There are other items, such as interest payments on Government bonds held abroad, pension payments to retired Americans living in foreign countries, and so forth.

There are offsets against the Government expenditures; about \$3 billion of exports resulting from "tied" aid, including Public Law 90-480, and \$1.2 billion of military hardware sales, and a few other smaller

items. But these receipts on Government account always have fallen far short of total expenditures. Thus the Government's needs for net transfers of resources to foreign countries for political, economic, and military reasons have been in deficit by between \$2.9 and \$3.9 billion in the years 1960 to 1965, and then jumped to \$4.1 billion in 1966 and \$4.7 billion in 1967.

Private international transactions, even taking into consideration capital movements and tourism, have consistently earned a surplus for the United States. This has been true, more specifically, in foreign investment and income. Unfortunately, these surpluses have not been sufficient to satisfy the Government's mounting needs for transfer or acquisition of resources abroad. The shortfall up to 1966 has been between \$2.9 and \$3.9 billion, if one excludes special transactions, such as prepayments of debts and shifting liabilities from less-than-1-year to more-than-12-month notes, devices or gimmicks which we have stated are little more than statistical deferrals of the day of reckoning. If one disallows similar temporary statistical reallocation of items, the 1967 picture was much worse than generally known.

In recent testimony, Secretary of the Treasury David Kennedy made the statement, "I think you can still say that we are not out of the woods on the balance of payments; in fact, we are still in difficulty * * *. We still have a serious balance-of-payments problem."

THE INDIA-PAKISTAN DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

We would like to direct our colleagues' attention to a particular matter. Unless IDA substantially alters its allocation of loan funds, its name more appropriately should be the "India-Pakistan Development Association." By the close of 1967, IDA had authorized development credits in the amount of \$1.7 billion. Of this total, \$889 million, or 52.3 percent, was for India, and \$331 million, or 19.5 percent, went to Pakistan, for combined totals of \$1.2 billion, or 71.8 percent of its operations. Now, in 1969, IDA has already committed \$125 million to India.

It is also relevant to discussion of this proposal to suggest that the use of IDA funds (together with Public Law 90-480 and foreign aid grant and loan assistance) in these two countries indirectly has permitted the large-scale diversion of resources from peaceful economic development to the purchase of sophisticated weaponry. It is entirely possible that in 1967 India and Pakistan spent far more in hard currency for weapons than IDA and bilateral grant agencies contributed for peaceful economic development.

Since the India-Pakistan war in 1965 (fought largely with U.S. arms on both sides), the United States has, for the most part, placed a moratorium on arms sales and military grants to these two countries. We should keep in mind, however, that prior to 1965 most U.S. arms sales and military grants to India and Pakistan were restricted to relatively inexpensive and somewhat outdated equipment. Since 1965, the situation has radically altered. India and Pakistan have made large-scale purchases of up-to-date weaponry both in Europe and in the Soviet Union and Red China. Although details on most of these weapons purchases are classified, a few examples from recent published reports highlight the situation.

Recent arms purchases by India are even more interesting. In 1967, India reached an agreement with the Soviet Union under which Soviet technicians would assist in the construction of three Mig 21 jet assembly plants at an unknown cost. In addition, in 1967 India purchased 100 SU-7 supersonic jet fighter-bombers from the U.S.S.R. at a cost of at least \$100 million. The exact extent to which diversion of resources from peaceful

development to military weaponry has occurred as a result of multibillion-dollar soft loans and grants mostly from the United States probably will never be known. On the other hand, in raising this question we do not suggest for a moment that IDA, any other multilateral lending institution, or for that matter our own State Department has any control over such diversion of resources.

Nevertheless, we certainly take this opportunity to express our frank opinion that the "India-Pakistan Development Association" (IDA) should begin to look elsewhere for potential soft-loan recipients, at least until such time as India and Pakistan come to their senses.

PROGRAM SHOULD BE HELD TO EXISTING LEVEL

One of the interesting aspects of the IDA operation is that since other nations are also contributors to the fund, they serve as a check on the spending. Negotiation of the current proposal bears out this statement.

Two years ago Mr. George Woods, then President of the World Bank and its affiliate IDA, proposed that the donor countries support a \$3 billion addition to IDA funds at the rate of \$1 billion a year for 3 years beginning in fiscal year 1969. This country countered with a proposal for a \$2.4 billion increase over a 4-year period (see p. 105 of the Budget of the United States for fiscal year 1969). Apparently, the other donor countries would have none of that and cut the proposal to \$1.2 billion over a 3-year period.

In our opinion, the proposal still is too high. Surely the Congress has as much right to adjust the program downward as do the other foreign nations involved. We believe the program should be cut back to the existing level of \$750 million over a 3-year period. With a 40-percent U.S. participation, that would mean \$300 million over the next 3 years, or \$100 million a year contrasted with the \$104 million per year (41.6 percent) of our participation in the existing program. Such action would be consistent with our budgetary problems and in keeping with the spirit and intent of the tax bill. The proposed 54-percent increase in our contribution most assuredly is not.

Holding the program at the existing level, of course, would require renegotiation of the new proposal. Since the other donor nations drastically reduced the starting proposals of both the President of IDA and the administration, that should present no problems. As a matter of fact, we wouldn't be surprised if the other donors would be such ready takers that a new agreement could be negotiated.

We must bear in mind that we have not, as yet, finished fiscal 1969, and we do not know what deficit or surplus, and it will probably be a deficit, will result by June 30, 1969. Further, the 1970 fiscal budget has not been presented by the present administration, and this cannot be done until the entire fiscal situation has been reviewed. In just a few weeks, we will be asked to increase the national debt limit from \$365 to \$382 billion, and we will be asked to continue the 10-percent surtax for at least another year, and include the expenditure controls contained in title II of the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968.

There is a complete absence of statistics or other information pertaining to the success, or lack of success, of IDA. Since nothing is paid on the IDA soft loans for the first 10 years, IDA has no loan repayment history. It is quite possible, in fact, quite probable, that the majority of the IDA loans will never be repaid.

We urge that this proposed 54-percent increase in our contribution to IDA be defeated, and the U.S. annual contributions remain at \$104 million annually.

DEL CLAWSON.
BEN B. BLACKBURN.
LAWRENCE G. WILLIAMS.
CHALMERS WYLLIE.

DICKEY-LINCOLN SCHOOL PROJECT

HON. WILLIAM D. HATHAWAY

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, an interview with former Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall in the American Public Power Association's Public Power magazine, indicates the importance of the Dickey-Lincoln School project. Secretary Udall was hopeful about the future of the project, as he stated:

I think it's so right that I find it hard not to be optimistic in the long run. I just can't see a basic, valid reason why it should not be built. Because in essence what we're proposing is to do in New England what we've already done in other parts of the U.S., and it's highly successful.

Advance engineering and design of the Dickey-Lincoln School project would continue with the \$807,000 request in the fiscal year 1970 budget. This project has a proven benefit-cost ratio of 1.9 to 1, and, as Secretary Udall noted, there is no good reason why it should not be completed. High power rates in New England indicate the necessity for Dickey-Lincoln, and I hope that it will be retained in the budget and supported by my colleagues this year.

I wish to insert at this time the complete text of the January 1969 Public Power interview with former Secretary Udall:

EIGHT YEARS OF POWER POLICY

(NOTE.—Retiring Interior officials cite accomplishments, note electric utility industry trends.)

(Eight years ago this month, Stewart L. Udall took office as Secretary of the Interior in the Cabinet of President John F. Kennedy. One morning last month as he prepared to turn the reins of the Department over to a new Administration, Secretary Udall and his Assistant Secretary for Water and Power, Kenneth Holum, sat in front of a crackling fire in the Secretary's office and discussed with Public Power editors developments in electric power during the past eight years and what they see ahead in the power field. Interviewing the retiring Interior officials were: Public Power publisher Alex Radin, general manager of the American Public Power Association; APPA assistant general manager Lawrence Hobart, a Public Power contributing editor; and Ron Ross, editor of Public Power.)

Question: Secretary Udall, what do you regard as the outstanding accomplishments of your administration in the power field during the past eight years?

Secretary UDALL. I believe that these eight years coincide with a very dynamic period and a turning point in power technology. I think when I recall eight years ago that we probably expected more hydropower development than we have gotten, and some of that is to be regretted. I don't think any of us realized just how rapidly steam technology was developing and would develop, not only in terms of nuclear power moving faster but of the significance to the whole industry of the very large units and big transmission lines.

I know, Alex, you and others talked about giant power grids. Even eight years ago this was pie in the sky to a lot of people. They viewed this as visionary. Yet one of the achievements in which I think we can take some of the greatest satisfaction was the West

Coast intertie, which is exactly what you were talking about. In singling out the benefits to be gained by interconnecting regions and systems through the West Coast intertie, we also have to key it in with the Columbia River Treaty, because this was a development of significance to the whole West Coast and its electric power future.

Although it's a national organization and it's always been a bellwether along with the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Bonneville Power Administration in the way it's grown and broadened is, I think, a very important story. The private segment of the industry is leaning on Bonneville and is encouraging BPA and going along with BPA playing the major role in terms of the future with regard to transmission lines and interconnections. There will be the third powerhouse at Grand Coulee and the region will move towards large steam plants. This will be in a region with an economy that has always had a degree of inflation built into it, and BPA will be holding its power rates in the future. They've always had the lowest rates in the country. I think the strengthening and reinvigorating of Bonneville and its role is one of the major stories of this Administration.

We've had some very significant accomplishments in the Missouri Basin, and I'd like Ken Holm to comment because he's much more knowledgeable on the detail than I am. I don't know whether you realize it or not but of the original Presidential appointees at the Department's Under Secretary and Assistant Secretary levels, Ken is the only one staying the full eight years with me. I want to say for the record that I have been very fortunate, because no one has been more loyal. Secretary Holm brought a lot of insights with him that I needed. He had a background on power that I didn't have. It has also been a tremendous help to me to have people like Jim Carr (first Under Secretary under Secretary Udall), Charles Luce (former Under Secretary of the Interior) and (Under Secretary) Dave Black in the Department. These people were students of the electric power industry, and I believe, to be honest about it, in whatever this administration has done in electric power matters, these people deserve more credit than I.

Secretary HOLM. First, I want to say that Secretary Udall is the one who has provided the leadership and support which has resulted in our accomplishments during the past eight years.

In addition to what we have done elsewhere, I do take a great deal of satisfaction in what we've accomplished in the Missouri Basin. When we came to work eight years ago the power supply situation and the whole water development program in the Missouri Basin was in a shambles. Congress had taken the position, and appropriately so, that nothing should happen over there until the Department of the Interior could provide Congress with the assurances that we were going to meet our payout obligations. We couldn't provide those assurances on the basis of the situation as it existed in 1961. First, we had to face up to the problems associated with payout. We spent a lot of time on it. The solution that we found did result in a small 5% increase in power rates, but it also resulted in applying to the Missouri Basin the same payout principles that had been applied to the rest of the country. It put the project on a sound financial basis so that Congress would be willing to move ahead and make appropriations for transmission lines and to operate water resource development programs.

We also were confronted with a situation, which we inherited from our predecessors, in which preference customers (there are over 200 of them in the Missouri Basin) had been told that the project couldn't meet their power requirements and they were pretty

much on their own individually to do something about it. The first step that we were able to take, after analyzing their resources very carefully, was to extend the period that the project would carry their requirements, so that they could work together and take advantage of the new technology.

The first result was necessary contracts with the Interior Department and the Rural Electrification Administration which made possible the construction of a 200,000-kw, lignite-burning steam plant by Basin Electric Power Cooperative. This with Federal hydro meets the requirements of preference customers through 1973 or 1974. In the last three months we have completed new contractual arrangements so that they can build a 400,000-kw addition to the steam plant, linked by the Bureau of Reclamation transmission system to seven states. With that accomplished, preference customers in the Missouri Basin can look forward to an assured supply of low-cost power for at least 10 years into the future.

Question: You have discussed some of your accomplishments, but what do you consider your greatest single disappointment in the electric power field during the past eight years?

Secretary UDALL. I would say that the thing that leaves me with the greatest feeling of frustration and disappointment is the failure to move forward rapidly on the Dickey-Lincoln School Project and to bring the benefits of Federal hydro power to the northeast part of the country. We have talked glowingly about other regions where the Interior Department has a very strong and dominant presence. These regions have done very well. The one region in the country that has suffered from lack of competition in electric power, from the failure to develop its hydro potential, is New England. I think the one thing we—along with APPA and some regional spokesmen such as Governors Hoff and Curtis and Senator Muskie and others—is that we've made the region much more aware that one of the reasons its economic growth has been retarded as compared with the rest of the country is that it has the highest power rates. It hasn't realized the benefits that can be gained from a diverse and competitive electric power industry.

We had hoped at one time, of course, that we could go with the Passamaquoddy project. I don't regard that as a failure, necessarily. Secretary Holm was in France two weeks ago and was very much impressed with the new horizontal turbines. But our failure to really get the Dickey-Lincoln School project under construction, the fact that it's under a cloud today and its future is uncertain, has to be a major disappointment to all of us.

Question: Do you feel hopeful about the future of the Dickey-Lincoln School project?

Secretary UDALL. I think it's so right that I find it hard not to be optimistic in the long run. I just can't see a basic, valid reason why it should not be built. Because in essence what we're proposing is to do in New England what we've already done in other parts of the U.S., and it's highly successful. I guess the debate and discussion has to continue, and I would hope that in New England they will see the light.

You also see developing something that I believe is a wave of the future—the sharing of benefits of the very large thermal plants. This has to come in northern California where the municipal utilities have a strong, new, aggressive organization. They are in the process of negotiating on this matter now, and I'm optimistic that they will succeed. A type of cooperation has been developed by public and private power entities sharing in the output of very large thermal units in the Southwest. And I learned in October from an official of Northern States Power Co. that the company is buying the surplus power from a large thermal unit being built by Dairyland Power Cooperative in western Wisconsin. To get the economies

of scale, Dairyland is building a larger plant than they themselves need, and the private power company is purchasing the excess power. That's one pattern.

The other pattern is for a private, or joint arrangement, where a private company might build a large plant and one or more public entities could acquire ownership and part of the output. I think that this is what we're going to see develop. The reason it has to move in this direction is that it's good for everyone. If you build large, you get economies of scale, you get cheap power, and everyone shares in it. I think it is important that we have begun to develop this pattern.

It looked to some of us a few years ago that the prospect was that public power would be tied to diminishing hydro resources, private power would build all the large thermal units, and the public power movement would, in effect, be squeezed against the wall because its power would be increasingly high-priced. Because of these very large units, there would be significant competitive advantages to the private segment in terms of the total picture. But there has been a degree of statesmanship and an awareness—certainly in most parts of the West—that the smart thing to do is to work together and let everybody have a piece of the action and do what is most economic.

Question: How do you view the role of the Department of the Interior in the changing power industry?

Secretary UDALL. I think and I hope that the Department will play an increasingly strong role as a kind of balance wheel—even a broker, or midwife—in many situations. Our leverage in the past has been the fact that we had sources of hydro power with new sources coming on the line, and, of course, this will continue to be important. The leverage that we have can increase, if we use it wisely, because using hydro for peaking purposes would be the most economic use for it in terms of total systems.

On the other hand, we have protected the western part of the country, and the fact is that we always will have a say about rights-of-way. In terms of such things as water quality control and thermal pollution problems, we're going to be increasingly in the picture in a way that we weren't a few years ago. The Department is going to have a say in regard to plant siting plans, how they're carried out. We're going to be in the picture—even in the eastern part of the country—in ways that we were not before.

When it comes to pumped storage projects, which again is hydro, this Department is going to have a say on these matters. We have one pumped storage project pending at Tocks Island, on the Delaware River right now, and there are others where we undoubtedly will be involved from the standpoint of conservation values and other things.

So, I would think that our role is going to be larger, not smaller, nationwide. Maybe it will be less regional, less confined to the West and to the areas where traditionally the Department has had a strong influence on electric power policy. I would hope the Department also could be influential in appealing to the enlightened element in the private sector to point out to them the values and the benefits to be gained from new patterns of cooperation.

Certainly, on the other hand, there are still some undeveloped hydro resources that should be developed. Dickey-Lincoln School is only one of them. I would hope that these will come on the line, and I would predict, too, that just as we were able to restudy and use a new technology to come up with a fantastic increase in the capacity of Grand Coulee, we may be looking at all of our hydro resources and how we can recast them and reuse them to maximize their values to the nation as a whole.

Question: While the Federal government has been of great assistance to the smaller

electric systems as a source of hydro power, are you now saying that government can use other techniques to be of assistance to these smaller utilities?

Secretary UDALL. What I'm talking about is, I think, exemplified by the northern California situation today. The new organization that exists there is trying to plan for the future to take care of the power needs of a group of municipalities that are an important part of a fast-growing state. Here we find the Department in a situation where, as a part of the intertie arrangements, we have already committed and mortgaged, as it were, the future hydro that comes on the line. So we don't have that card to play. But we do have another card to play, and we must play it as well as we can. We had a meeting in October in Sacramento to provide some thrust and guidance. We indicated essentially that we want to make our system as versatile as possible and to accommodate it to these needs, and we tried to include the large private utility that has worked with us on other matters. We say here's a group of people and they've got problems and we think the three of us working together can solve these problems. Even though we don't have a great amount of hardware to throw on the table, we do have a system that can be adapted to needs, and I think we find ourselves increasingly playing this role—not to the detriment of anybody, but to the benefit of everybody.

Question: You have worked actively with various groups that were interested in projects and programs and provided dynamic leadership in getting them through Congress, but another Secretary might adopt the philosophy that it was up to the interest groups to carry the ball. How do you view the role of the Secretary of the Interior in visibly being an activist in pushing for new projects and programs rather than merely administering programs?

Secretary UDALL. You've opened up a new door in terms of departmental accomplishment, and I think we ought to duck into it. You reminded me of some of the things we've overlooked. Certainly when there is a rock in the road, you figure a way around it. Maybe this is the kind of hope that people ought to have with Dickey-Lincoln School. Thinking of the Hanford power project and of the Colorado project transmission lines, which was one of our significant victories in Congress, we haven't had too many head-to-head showdowns in the Congress.

The Sixties have been good years in terms of project authorizations. They've tended to run ahead of appropriations too much, and that's one of our problems. We've had the Frying Pan-Arkansas Project in Colorado, the Auburn-Folsom South Project in California, the San Juan Chama Project in New Mexico and now the Central Arizona water project. All of these, of course, involve hydro to one degree or another.

The Upper Colorado transmission decision has led to a significant change in the whole region, with regard to the transmission of power, with the presence of public power as a balance wheel agency. While I know there was a lot of disappointment by some with regard to the Arizona water project and the dams on the Colorado, the one consolation prize for public power in this is that I see no reason why the Bureau of Reclamation should always be tied to hydro power. The fact that we got Congress to agree to tie one project to thermal generation and the fact that Salt River Project is going to build a major thermal unit there, will be beneficial not only to water projects, but beneficial to the electric power industry generally. I think this may be an important precedent. It could lead to doing the old things in a new way and not merely confining ourselves to one set formula.

As to departmental philosophy, we like to think of ourselves as activists, and I believe that there has to be aggressive leadership. Some of us spent weeks on the Canadian

Treaty. This was an extremely difficult problem. The Treaty was ratified, but implementing was nip and tuck because we had some very hard bargaining Canadians. It involved very large amounts of money in the sale of downstream benefits of Canadian power, and this posed a lot of questions. But again, if executives are vigorous and if we conceive our role as one of making things happen rather than waiting for people to bring decisions to our desk, you can achieve maximum effectiveness. At least that's what I think our experience has been for these eight years.

Question: You said that you don't think that the Bureau of Reclamation should be tied to the hydro program and that it might go into thermal generation. In view of the very tight budget situation which may continue for some time, do you see any possibility of the Federal government going into thermal generation, either by the appropriations process or through converting some of the existing government entities to corporations like TVA which could issue revenue bonds and finance their generation without going to Congress for each specific plant?

Secretary UDALL. Certainly in the present climate of Congressional opinion I wouldn't see any drastic changes of that type occurring. It's obvious to us that were going to have to solve problems, and were going to have to be adaptive and creative. I thought the solution we arrived at for the Colorado River development was a good one. We used thermal power instead of hydro power since the hydro power question became inflamed and controversial. I would simply like to express the hope that everyone be flexible enough and wise enough to consider new solutions to old problems. I hate to see us, in an industry that has to be dynamic, get tied to one or two ways of doing things. I'm addressing all segments of the industry when I say this. If we are to maintain a dynamic electric power industry, I think we need to have people who are open minded and who will consider new solutions to old problems.

Question: Secretary Holum, you came to the Department of the Interior after having been a grass roots power leader and the first executive secretary of the Mid-West Electric Consumers Association. After eight years, what is your feeling about the role of such organizations?

Secretary HOLUM. I think these groups are tremendously important, looking more to the future perhaps than to the past. We were talking a few minutes ago about how the smaller municipal systems participate in the benefits of large-scale technology, and I doubt very much that they're going to be able to do it individually. The smaller publicly owned utilities must work together to find a position of strength. The pattern that first emerged, I believe, in Utah was that the small cooperatives and municipal utilities banded together in order to get the benefits of Colorado River Project power. More activities of this sort followed in northern California, in Iowa and Minnesota, and they are just beginning to emerge in the Southwest. While Dickey-Lincoln School was an acute disappointment, one of the good things from that effort was the organization of the Northeast Public Power Association. I think that the small municipal utilities are going to participate in the big technology, but first they have got to learn to work together more closely than they have in the past.

Question: The Department has helped groups like the Northern California Power Agency to get organized and assisted them once they are organized. Do you foresee this as a continuing role of the Department of the Interior?

Secretary UDALL. I would hope that the Department can and would play an important role in encouraging and abetting these kinds of organizations, where people are essentially trying to pool their needs and their resources in order to get the benefits of new tech-

nology. I felt no resentment from those in the private sector to our taking such leadership, and I think this is an important gain. Looking back about five years when it looked like public power was going to draw a blank in terms of participating in large thermal units, I think it was in the national interest that these systems did participate and I think we started the move down this road. I believe it's in everyone's interest that the pattern that we see emerging continue and be enlarged. I hope that's the result. Anytime we see utilities, public or private, insisting that they are going it alone and not going to work with other people, they're not going to achieve benefits and they're going to find in the long run that this is detrimental now that we have the kind of transmission technology to interconnect everyone. This isn't a go-it-alone business anymore.

Question: Secretary Udall, you've spoken many times about the increased concern that everyone has to feel about the environmental, ecological and esthetic problems of the country, and the electric utility industry anticipates a seven- or eight-fold increase in plant capacity in the next 30 years. What impact do you think this situation is going to have on the way the electric utility industry deals with the problems of supplying the electric requirements of its customers?

Secretary UDALL. I see many problems for a big, vital industry such as this in terms of the danger of diminishing and intruding on the environment. I think that is going to tax the creativity of the industry, because I believe most of these problems are solvable. I think the industry has to face the prospect that it may mean that expenditures will have to be made and research will have to be done and that there will be extra costs attached to keying electric power to conservation. If this means that it's going to add 4%, 5%, or 7% or 8% to costs, I think the consumer will be willing to pay it. It's his environment after all. I sense this in the country today.

Rather than utilities feeling that they can heat up rivers or pollute air to make a mess out of the countryside, I think they have to be aware that if they just spend whatever extra money it takes to come in with the best solution possible within reason, that the consumer will be willing to pay the extra cost as the price of having a good, long-run solution. This may mean, of course, a lot more research and a lot of results we don't even anticipate today in terms of underground lines and things like MHD.

Question: Where do you think emphasis should be placed in legislation that might help solve some of our power problems?

Secretary HOLUM. In terms of legislation that's been drafted and received some preliminary consideration by Congress, I think that the Reliability Bill, sponsored by the Federal Power Commission with the Johnson Administration's support, and the Aiken-Kennedy Bill, with respect to nuclear power, are two of the most significant pieces of legislation before the country.

Question: Secretary Udall, what qualifications do you think a Secretary of the Interior ought to have?

Secretary UDALL. He'd certainly have to like hard work, but I think this is one of the happy jobs in the Cabinet. You're doing constructive things—or have an opportunity to—for the country in many ways. You're the guardian of most of the resources, and, therefore, I think it is important to have a well-developed sense of what the public interest is and be willing to speak up for it. If you don't have such a philosophy, you're going to be constantly in trouble, because most decisions that come to you don't relate any longer to what do we do about this piece of land or that resource. Everything affects everything else in the kind of country we have today, and we must have a total environment concept of conservation.

I think the country is best served when you have men who are forthright and outspoken. It was one of Ickes' great strengths. Everybody always knew where he stood and what his views were. I hope that any Secretary, even though I might disagree with him from time to time, would be forthright, because this at least opens the way to vigorous debate and discussion.

Question: There's no single spokesman in the Federal government today for energy policy. Should there be centralized within the government some agency with authority for power and energy?

Secretary UDALL. You can make a strong case for this, and I would like to see wide discussion of this idea. We have fewer cabinet offices than many of the other governments such as Canada, Britain or Japan. Some of these breakdowns make a great deal of sense. Of course, at the present juncture we have added two new cabinet departments within a year and a half or two years. It may very well be that in this complex world of ours where things move rather rapidly, that something like this might be a rational solution to the problem.

GOVERNMENT'S PROBLEM OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the folks back home just would not believe the things that happen here in the Nation's Capital. I have news clippings from the several local newspapers over the past 2 days which I feel illustrate the Alice-in-Wonderland environment of the nerve center of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, the news clippings follow:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Mar. 12, 1969]

HOLDUP SUSPECT SLAIN; HOMICIDE TOLL NOW 64

(By Alfred E. Lewis)

A holdup suspect was slain at 10:30 a.m. yesterday in an exchange of shots with a clerk at Shankman's Market, 400 Kennedy st. nw.

Homicide Squad Lt. Patrick Burke said the death of Francis DeS. Ross, 33, of 1414 Girard st. n.w., on the sidewalk in front of the market went into the records as the city's eighth homicide in less than three days—its 63d since Jan. 1.

The ninth homicide—and 64th for the year—occurred last night at 7 p.m. when James Nussman, 29, of 1809 19th st. n.w., was shot to death in an apparent robbery attempt on the sidewalk at 18th Street and Wyoming Avenue nw. Three youths, one armed with a shotgun or rifle, were seen running from the scene, police said. Nussman was employed at the American Council on Education.

Burke said this is 23 deaths ahead of the toll at this time last year, which set an all-time high of 209.

Lt. Burke said it was Ross's second visit to Shankman's Market in the last few days. Last Saturday morning, police said, Ross was carrying a shotgun when he and two companions escaped with about \$400.

Since then, the Shankman clerk, William Belton Jr., 23, had been carrying his boss's .22-caliber pistol in his belt, police said.

Belton told police he came out of the store's back room and saw his boss, Sidney Kattler, 51, pulling money out of the cash

register and putting it on the counter. A man Belton couldn't see very well was stuffing it in his pockets.

Belton shouted at the man, "Hold it!"

The man whirled and fired one shot. Belton fired back. Belton told police he thought he had missed because the man grabbed a customer who was just coming in the door and whirled him around, apparently as a shield. The customer, however, wrenched away and ran off before anyone could get his name.

Ross collapsed and died on the sidewalk. Police said Belton's shot had hit Ross just above the mouth and entered the brain. No charges were filed against Belton after a police conference with the U.S. Attorney's office.

Lt. Burke said police records on Ross show only that he was sentenced to a 4-to-12-year term for housebreaking and rape 15 years ago.

In a homicide Monday, John H. Littlejohn, 42, of 1830 C st. se., was shot in the chest in an apartment at 334 18th St. ne. He was pronounced dead at D.C. General Hospital.

Police charged the occupant of the apartment, Julia A. Woodward, 40, mother of four, with homicide. Mrs. Woodward was released on her personal bond pending a hearing April 8.

Shortly after 11 p.m. Monday, John J. Kondratavicz, 46, an electrical worker living at 531 9th st. se., told police he was attacked from behind as he approached the rear of his home. He fired three shots from a pistol he told police he had been carrying since a previous street attack, fatally wounding James N. Gaston, 19, of no fixed address.

Police said Gaston had been charged with a street robbery on Feb. 3 but the charge had been reduced by the U.S. Attorney's office to petty larceny and simple assault. He had been released on \$100 cash collateral posted by his mother and was due in court on April 18 for a jury trial.

The weapon in still another of the recent homicides, Lt. Burke said, was a bottle of gasoline. It was thrown in the course of a domestic argument, Burke said, by Bennie E. Barnes, 47, of 934 M st. nw. on Sunday.

Barnes' wife, Ella Mae, 48, suffered 1st- and 2d-degree burns in the fire that resulted and five children in the home were slightly injured.

Mrs. Barnes died early yesterday in Freedmen's Hospital. Her husband was charged with homicide and released in \$2000 bond for a hearing April 8.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Mar. 11, 1969]

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA RIOT LOSS NEARLY DOUBLE FIRST ESTIMATES—NEW REPORT SETS PROPERTY DAMAGE OVER \$24 MILLION

(By Winston Groom)

A new report has revealed that property damage and financial losses suffered during the April rioting in Washington will run nearly twice as high as previous estimates.

The first half of the report, which will officially be known as the Washington Civil Disorder Survey, was released today by the National Capital Planning Commission. It is the product of a 10-month-long collaborative research effort by the NCPC, the District government and the D.C. Redevelopment Land Agency.

Among the principal conclusions of the survey released today are that some 1,199 properties were damaged in the riots with losses amounting to more than \$24 million. This is in contrast to the initial report by RLA last April which found 645 properties damaged for an estimated \$13.3 million loss.

WHITES OWN 97 PERCENT

In addition, the report found that almost all of the damaged properties not previously reported by the RLA—in fact, 41 percent of the total number—lay outside the major corridors of concentrated damage. It

also found that 97 percent of the damaged properties were owned by whites, most of whom live either in the suburbs or elsewhere in D.C.

Today's release is a 30-page summary of data compiled only on real properties involved in the rioting. A spokesman for NCPC said the second half of the report, which will deal with business and job losses is forthcoming within the next few weeks.

The business losses, which include stolen or damaged inventories, damaged and destroyed equipment and lost business, are expected to run even higher than the property losses.

FIRST REPORT ON MAJOR CITY

According to NCPC, the report's purpose is to analyze the economic and social costs of the disturbance, partly for the purpose of planning to rebuild these areas.

Robert Gold, assistant director of NCPC of social and economic research and head of a 14-man staff which compiled the survey, says it is the first report of its kind to be prepared by a major city hit by rioting.

Among the survey's 23 separate tables, some of the principal findings are:

Although the most extensive damage was done in the four "corridors of concentrated damage," other damaged properties were found outside of these areas—scattered all over the city east of Rock Creek Park.

The survey defined the four major corridors as (1) 14th Street NW (2) 7th Street-Georgia Avenue NW (3) H Street NE and (4) downtown NW.

Of the \$24.75 million in property damage, \$17.56 million in insurance claims has been filed. Even if the insurance companies pay that amount, this leaves over \$7 million in losses which must be absorbed by the property owners themselves. Although most owners did have some insurance, many were grossly underinsured.

Some 26.4 percent of insurance policies on properties not totally demolished were canceled, the survey found.

Before the riots there were 1,590 businesses housed in the damaged properties, but only 879 remained afterwards. Therefore, there were a total of 711 businesses lost—nearly 45 percent decided not to reopen. In addition, 17 percent of the residential properties that were damaged stopped leasing after the riots.

Of the 1,199 damaged properties, 368 were either totally demolished or only a shell or ruins were left standing. This can be compared with the original estimate of 223 buildings listed in this category just after the riots. An estimated 768 properties incurred extensive glass breakage and over 300 suffered damage from fire, water, smoke or a combination of these.

Seventy-four percent of the damaged properties incurred damage on only one day of the riot, 18 percent had damage on two days and only 7 percent had damage on three days or more. Ten percent of the properties were damaged after the official period of rioting was over. Forty-four percent of the damaged properties were single ownership properties, 26 percent were partnerships and the rest were either corporations, or parts of trusts or estates.

Only 5.2 percent of the property owners lived within 10 blocks of their property. Forty-three percent, the survey reports, live outside the District in the suburbs. However, some 48 percent of the property owners had a business address either on or within 10 blocks of their property—indicating at least some tie with the community.

In 68.8 percent of the cases, the owner also managed his property. In the 31.2 percent of the cases in which the owner did not manage his own property, 29.2 percent of the managers were white.

Twenty-nine and four-tenths percent indicated they intended to sell their property and go into business elsewhere, only 8 percent were undecided and the rest said they would

either repair their buildings, build a new building or lease the site.

Gold explained that he and his staff began work on the survey immediately following the end of the official period of the civil disturbance which began April 4, the night Dr. Martin Luther King was assassinated, and ended April 15. The report is based on questionnaires filled out by property owners and businessmen on 531 properties.

That data was then projected into survey estimates by three statisticians—one from the U.S. Bureau of the Budget, one from the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence and one from the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments.

The final figures were then tabulated and rechecked with the American Insurance Association, the General Adjustment Bureau and other interested agencies.

A spokesman for NCPC indicated that when the part of the survey dealing with business losses is complete and the full impact of the disturbance is realized, the total costs could run upward of \$60 million and the job losses will run into the thousands.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Mar. 12, 1969]

EIGHT HUNDRED STORES DAMAGED IN RIOTS STILL CLOSED

(By Claudia Levy)

Nearly half the estimated 1,600 businesses looted and damaged in last April's riots have not yet reopened, a survey showed yesterday.

Damage was widely scattered. Nearly a third were outside the four focal areas of the disorders—14th and 7th Streets NW., H Street NE., and the downtown shopping district.

The estimates were based on interviews with 550 property owners, about half the owners of the total number of buildings believed damaged.

The report sets damage to the 1200 buildings housing the 1600 businesses at \$24.7 million, a figure close to that earlier calculated by the American Insurance Association and the General Adjustment Bureau, Inc.

The study was prepared by researchers from the National Capital Planning Commission, the District government and the D.C. Redevelopment Land Agency. In addition to the summary of real property damage made public yesterday a survey of business losses was compiled. It is to be released later this month.

Those findings, including figures on stolen and destroyed equipment in inventory, as well as lost business, are expected to exceed property loss.

The report found that an estimated 97 per cent of the damaged property was owned by whites, most of whom live in suburbs or outlying areas of Washington.

Insurance claims of \$17.5 million have been filed. An estimated \$7 million of this is property loss. Insurance was later canceled for more than a fourth of the buildings that were damaged but not demolished, it was estimated.

The survey, begun immediately after April 4-15 rioting, was conducted by mail, phone and personal interview.

OTHER FINDINGS

Other points made by the study: Nearly a third of the 1200 buildings were destroyed. Fewer than half are still partly or completely occupied.

Of the estimated 374 real estate agents and property managers of damaged buildings, 18 were black.

About 45 per cent of the buildings were owned by an individual, 27 per cent by partners.

Fewer than 1 per cent of the building owners in corridors are thought to have abandoned their property. Almost half of the

owners said they would retain ownership and repair their buildings.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Mar. 11, 1969]

UPO JOB, LUXURY CAR—FORMER DRUGS FIGURE IS IN TROUBLE AGAIN

(By John Flalka)

Catfish Turner is in trouble again—this time because of a custom-painted lavender Lincoln Continental Mark III.

Until last Tuesday, Randolph (Catfish) Turner was getting ready to direct a \$100,000 experimental narcotic-addict rehabilitation program for the United Planning Organization.

Well-heeled, flashy and fond of new Cadillacs, Turner was almost a legend in Washington's underworld until 1952. That year he was convicted as the head of the largest narcotics dealership ever uncovered in the city.

According to testimony at his trial, the Catfish had ties with syndicate leaders in New York that may have helped him import as much as \$1 million worth of drugs into the District each year.

In 1967, Turner returned to Washington, out on parole from the U.S. penitentiary in Atlanta. He took a \$6,000-a-year job with UPO, the local antipoverty agency, and announced he was going to help others get jobs and go straight.

On the theory that he and other ex-convicts knew the problems of addiction best, the Catfish worked up a program and sold it to the Department of Labor. Labor had given the UPO tentative approval to give the Catfish, now 53, a \$10,000-a-year job as director, and permission to set up a staff and begin operating a "halfway house" to treat addicts.

Last Tuesday, The Star has learned, Catfish turned himself in when he heard the U.S. marshal's office had a warrant for his arrest.

Within the next few days, the U.S. Parole Board will grapple with the question: How can a man making \$6,000 a year afford to drive a brand new Mark III Lincoln Continental, costing about \$8,600?

A spokesman for the U.S. Parole Board, asked to comment about the case, would say only that Turner is being detained in the jail for a hearing at which he must explain charges brought against him by parole officers.

He said the charges include alleged involvement in illegal gambling activities and "failing to adequately explain various sources of funds and income."

The spokesman said that unless Turner can explain adequately the sources of his money, his parole might be revoked and he could be sent back to Atlanta to complete his sentence.

Sources at UPO said parole officers were puzzled about several of Catfish's recent activities, including the purchase of the Continental, the purchase of a 1968 Continental last year, which he traded in on the new one, and the movement of "several thousand dollars" in and out of Turner's account in the UPO credit union.

They added that Turner was arrested after he explained the funds to parole officers as resulting from a bet on a "lucky number." During his 1952 trial, Turner insisted that he never dealt in drugs. His money came from gambling winnings, he stated repeatedly.

William Davis, acting director of the manpower division of the UPO, is Turner's supervisor. He said that Turner's job as director of the addict program will be held open pending the result of the Parole Board hearing.

Davis denied rumors that several other employees working with Turner on the program were recently asked to resign. He added that one employee, Mrs. Odessa Madre, "resigned of her own free will."

Mrs. Madre, a longtime friend of Turner's, once was called "The Queen" of the Washington numbers racket. She was convicted of narcotics dealing in 1949, and convicted on stolen property and lottery charges in 1960.

Davis defended Turner, calling him "one

of the best job coaches that UPO has." He said he knew Catfish was driving the 1969 Continental. "I never investigated that because it was a private affair. This man came up on his own, without anything. This program gave him the first sensible break he ever had. Nobody knows how much debt the man was in or how much he owed on the car."

Petey Green, a well-known former dope addict and ex-convict, is Catfish's immediate superior and helped him draw up the addict rehabilitation program.

Contacted at home, Green was upset about Turner's arrest.

"To take Catfish from the job that he's been doing for so long would not only be unfair to him, but would be unfair to the kids who are now beginning to use dope. Catfish is not a saint, but he is well equipped to lend assistance to help people," he said.

He explained that as a "job coach," Turner counseled youths attempting to find jobs, went with them to interviews and even visited them at work to see that they would keep their jobs.

Green, who is director of job coaches for the Washington Concentrated Employment Program, funded by UPO, said the charges against Catfish were unfounded, a result of the resentment of "middle-class blacks and whites who saw he was going to make \$10,000 a year."

"When are these people going to get off the ex-convicts' backs?" Green asked. He pointed out that ex-convicts now successfully operate a number of programs to rehabilitate convicts in the city, including Bonabond, also funded by UPO, which recently was singled out for praise by a Senate committee for its work in supervising defendants out on bail.

"A lot of people are going to go to bat for Catfish to help him get out of this," Green added.

Turner's addict rehabilitation program, designed to remove the craving for heroin from addicts after a six-month stay at the halfway house, caused some consternation among officials of other city agencies assigned to deal with drug addicts.

"A lot of the program's functions seemed to overlap with other ones. Some of us wondered what a dealer could do to help understand the addict's problems. Catfish was never hooked himself," commented one former addict.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Mar. 11, 1969]

NIXON PLANS HIT—OEO WORKERS SOUND OFF

(By Richard Critchfield)

Leaders of the war on poverty's community action agencies appear bent on persuading President Nixon that the taste of power is more easily acquired than given up.

A demand for even greater community control of public services is dominating a four-day annual meeting of some 500 members of the National Association for Community Development at the Shoreham Hotel.

Almost every aspect of the President's program for continuing the battle against poverty has been under fire, from its chief priority on rescuing infant children from the mental and physical handicaps of poverty to its substitution of the politically more attractive "minority business enterprise" for "black capitalism."

Some delegates have voiced fears that the planned consolidation of all federal manpower programs under the Labor Department would mean turning all local efforts to finding jobs for the poor over to the state employment agencies, which were described as "hidebound and mismanaged."

In a typical reaction at yesterday's meeting, one man shouted from the floor, "It's a lot of nonsense. You can't even get a phone call or letter out of the Labor Department, so what business do they have taking over all the manpower programs."

But the main fear voiced in speeches and lively open discussions by the antipoverty workers is that Nixon plans gradually to phase out the community action agencies themselves.

Cited as evidence of "a systematic emasculation" of the Office of Economic Opportunity was the planned shift of the Job Corps to Labor and Head Start to Health, Education and Welfare. The removal of Head Start, a popular program for preschool education of poor children, would leave the community action program all the more vulnerable to attack, the delegates said.

Others noted that the White House, by not submitting its over-all poverty proposals until later this spring, will have the benefit of public reaction to a General Accounting Office study of OEO, due to come out Saturday.

According to leaks, the GAO will disclose hair-raising discoveries of local mismanagement, pilferage and swindles in some of the community action programs.

Although Dr. Daniel P. Moynihan, Nixon's adviser on urban problems, seemed to be widely credited with encouraging the President to give OEO itself another year's lease on life, he had been critical of the community action program, charging that it has stimulated and encouraged a rebellious attitude among some of the poor.

The three main speakers at yesterday's meeting dramatized how serious the problem has become.

John McLaughry, who served on Nixon's task force on voluntary action, urged patience. He said he is convinced that "the concept of community action" will not be dismembered.

But Howard Fuller, a bearded black power advocate who once worked as an OEO consultant, said the attempts at integration by community action agencies were "a flop" because "if you get ready to fight a war, you do not bring your enemy into your discussion on strategy."

When a man in the audience asked if Fuller meant that blacks should pull out of community action agencies, he said no, that "if you're out to destroy a system you can do it both from within and without."

But he added, "If you don't destroy the community action programs but instead try to help institutionalize them, then I will try to destroy you."

Fuller's remarks, which drew cheers and shouts of approval at the government-sponsored meeting, were challenged by Leon Shull, national director of the Americans for Democratic Action, who seemed to speak for the kind of liberals who originally created the program.

With visible emotion, Shull opposed racial separation on grounds that it is "morally wrong, ethically wrong and will fail."

He told Fuller, "I believe in an integrated society. I will continue to believe in it all my life. We don't want two nations, separate and unequal. That is the road to defeat and disaster."

His plea failed to draw applause.

HELPING STUDENTS FLY

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill which specifically authorizes the CAB to permit reduced air fares for students and military personnel on a space-available basis.

A CAB examiner has held that standby fares enabling youths between the ages of 12 and 22 years to travel at rates far

below standard are discriminatory. He stated that the lowered fares violate section 404 of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 which prohibits "unreasonable" discrimination in fares.

According to what I believe to be faulty logic of the CAB examiner, the students get service substantially similar to that of full-fare passengers. I strongly disagree. The fact is that students do not get substantially similar service. A student may be deprived of his seat at the last minute if a full-fare passenger arrives; on a multistop flight, a student can be removed at any of the stops. Frequently a student is not able to get a flight during peak travel times, or he may have to wait hours before he knows whether he will be seated. He cannot fly during certain heavily booked holiday periods. He does not have the usual wide choice of seats.

The student accepts this unequal treatment because he is paying a reduced rate. He recognizes that because he is not entitled to substantially similar service, he has to accept delays, inconvenience, and the insecurity of not knowing whether he will be flying or when he will be flying.

Since 1966 when the youth fare standby plan went into effect, youth fare traffic on the airlines increased from 2,100,000 to 5,760,000 passengers.

Air travel to and from school and for work-study programs is not a luxury; it is a necessity. The abolition of the student fare will greatly reduce the ability of many students to fly; revenue losses resulting from the elimination of this rate could mean an increase in fares for all passengers.

Everyone benefits from standby fares. The student is able to travel to and from school—attending educational conferences, visiting his family, witnessing major events in person. The airlines fill a seat that otherwise might go empty. This program is far too valuable to be abolished.

WHEN A COMMUNIST ISN'T

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, an especially intriguing column in the Elgin Daily Courier-News on February 18, by Copley Press Washington correspondent Dumitru Danielopol, has come to my attention.

The point emphasized in the article is well worth pondering and I include it in the RECORD at this point:

DEVIL'S CHILDREN: WHEN A COMMUNIST ISN'T
(By Dumitru Danielopol)

WASHINGTON.—The devil's best ally is the liberal intellectual who doesn't believe in the devil.

The German poet Heinrich Heine wrote that over 100 years ago.

Had Heine attended Washington's conference of "Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam" he might have written:

"The principal ally of the Communist conspiracy is the liberal intellectual who doesn't believe in the Communist conspiracy."

The liberals I have in mind include three U.S. senators who were prominent at the conference—Sen. George McGovern, D-S.D.; Sen. Vance Hartke, D-Ind., and Sen. Mark Hatfield, R-Ore.

Had they better investigated the nature of the organization and its aims they might have abstained. The theme of the conference alone, "Vietnam and the future of the American Empire," should have been enough to open their eyes.

Who but the Communists call the United States an "empire"?

Who but Communists talk about "American imperialists"?

The 1969 position paper adopted by the organization advocates nothing less than a complete abandonment of South Vietnam to the Reds.

It calls for the "halt of the bombing of South Vietnam," unequivocal rejection of any talk of a "military solution" in Vietnam, rejection of the claim that "the Saigon regime is the legitimate government of South Vietnam," and so on.

It calls for American support of "whatever forms of government emerge from the Vietnamese people"—even a Communist regime.

It calls for an amnesty for U.S. resisters, draft dodgers, defectors, deserters, etc.

The whole paper could easily have been written in Moscow or Hanoi. The committee includes many who have long been connected with pro-Communist and Communist front organizations.

Among the most notorious are Dr. John C. Bennet of the Union Theological Seminary who is a member of such organizations as the National Committee to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—described by the Subversive Activities Control Board on July 26, 1957, as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist party," and many others.

Another is Dr. Edwin Dahlberg, a long time denouncer of congressional investigations of communism.

The conference was obviously called to embarrass the new administration and apply pressure for a soft policy not only in Vietnam but in other countries threatened by communism.

"Now is the time . . ." the paper says, "for those who have been opposed to this country's Vietnam policy to study in depth the whole of our foreign policy and to pressure the government to change where it is lacking."

The performance of Sen. McGovern, a would-be president of the United States, was particularly tactless.

He shared the podium with the Rev. William Sloane Coffin, convicted on conspiracy charges related to anti-draft activities; Vincent McGee, convicted on four draft violations; David Harris, a founder of the student resistance movement, who is appealing a three-year sentence for refusing induction into the armed forces; and others of the same ilk.

How can the American people be asked to respect the laws of the country when their lawmakers consort with the lawbreakers.

WAR ON CRIME—AWARENESS AND SELF-DEFENSE—A GUIDELINE

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, as Congress moves forward in its war on crime, sometimes we are prone to forget the obvious. Unless a citizen takes reasonable care to protect his own person and af-

fairs, all the Federal laws and funding programs will certainly be ineffective.

The problems connected with crime in our cities prey particularly upon merchants. It is very difficult for the businessman, especially the owner of a single small store or shop to defend himself and his property against attack or exploitation by the criminal.

Jack E. Stiltz, chief of police of Vallejo, Calif., has prepared a series of instructions to merchants to assist them in warding off theft and other forms of aggression upon their businesses.

I think that Chief Stiltz' guidelines are excellently presented and would be helpful to merchants throughout the country. It is with this in mind that I present them for the review of my colleagues, as follows:

CRIME PREVENTION BULLETIN

(By the Vallejo, Calif., Police Department)

The Vallejo Police Department is a municipal service and law enforcement agency, responsible for your safety and for the security of persons and property. Every law breaker has infringed upon your security by violating laws your representatives have enacted for the protection of all citizens. Your problems in this field and the use of lawful authority to solve them are police matters. This department undertakes to assist you in any anticipated infringement of law endangering you or your property. Law enforcement activities are confined to the field of law violations that have already occurred, and in those instances where action is required to prevent threatened violations. Police officers are on duty twenty-four hours a day, and in a year's course respond to hundreds of calls to the scenes of crimes, disturbances, accidents, and many other places where their services may be needed. The department's effectiveness depends in a large measure upon the prompt and intelligent cooperation of all citizens. The following are some suggestions to help prevent crime in order to better protect your business.

RECOMMENDED PROCEDURE WHEN CASHING CHECKS

The following procedure is recommended when cashing checks. When the check is presented for payment, for instance at a grocery store, the manager should take the check and place his name and the date and time the check is presented in the upper left-hand corner. He should then turn the check over and have the payee endorse the reverse end of the check in his presence. The payer should demand positive identification. If a driver's license is presented, the description, signature and address of the license should be checked to make sure they fit the person presenting the check. All information should be placed on the back of the check, including the driver's license number. If other identification is accepted, place all numbers contained thereon on the back of the check. Temporary driver's licenses are often obtained for the purpose of giving fictitious identification and should be accepted with caution.

If this procedure is followed and the payer is called to testify in criminal proceedings, he or she will be able to positively identify the check without any hesitation, and will also be able to testify as to the procedure followed in the transaction. It is not the intention of this system to question persons who are known to you personally, but only those who are not known to the person accepting the check and who do not have positive identification.

After cashing a check, if you are in doubt of the payee, it is suggested that a clerk or another person follow the payee and obtain the car license number; also, the number of persons in the car, their sex, etc., placing

this information on the check below the endorsement. Make certain that the proper license number is obtained and that the payee actually drives the car away. If the car is driven away by the payee and he has stated that he does not own an automobile or possess a driver's license call this department immediately, giving all available information.

During the holiday season, check passers work in pairs, male and female, to give the appearance of man & wife. In this case, if possible, get the identification of both.

If you have the slightest doubt of the authenticity of a check, refuse to cash it.

If any assistance is needed at any time concerning checks, phone the Police Department Investigation Division, and a plainclothes officer will be dispatched to your location immediately.

Most check passers are strangers, but all strangers are not check passers. It is suggested that signs be placed in conspicuous places in the store, reading, "We reserve the right to require positive identification on all checks."

SHOPLIFTERS

Shoplifting has become an increasing problem to businessmen. Many hours of time are lost in prosecuting these offenders, as well as the tremendous amount of loss of property taken from business places.

The police are well aware of the problem, and all measures are taken to protect the merchant against this type of crime. Every city throughout the nation has a similar problem, and it is impossible to provide a police officer for each place of business to guard against these thefts.

In order to prevent shoplifting, the merchants should select trustworthy employees to police their stores, paying particular attention to suspicious persons who loiter around counters where goods are on display and clerks are not available. Wherever merchandise is left unguarded, it attracts and invites persons who have a habit of taking things which do not belong to them. Greater assurance of protection would be for the merchant to hire qualified persons as Special Officers with this department to police their places of business, particularly during peak shopping periods.

If merchants immediately report to the Police Department all suspicious persons or loiterers, including juveniles, officers will make an investigation and this type of crime can be greatly reduced.

Too often merchants feel that shoplifters are responsible for the total amount of loss, but this is not always the case. We find in our investigations that many employees remove merchandise from the stores for their own use.

Full cooperation between the merchants and the Police Department in signing complaints against persons apprehended will assist us in prosecuting these cases properly, and public warning through the press will definitely assure greater crime prevention.

SAFE AND TILL-TAPPERS

During the past year there has been an increase in safe and till tapping throughout the State and Nation. This type of thief is very clever and operates during regular store hours. He pretends to be looking over merchandise and counters in the store, sizing up the situation, at all times observing the activity of the clerk or clerks, and particularly the type of safe or cash register used. He generally operates during the time when only one clerk is on duty. If he is approached by a clerk he will make a very small purchase and then remain in the store as though he intends to purchase something else. Sometimes they work in pairs, and when the clerk's attention is drawn by one to another part of the store out of sight of the safe or cash register, the other thief accomplishes the theft.

Safes, money drawers or other money containers should be locked at all times. Day

locks, (sleepers), on safes are not a secure protection against safe tappers. It takes only a second to spin the dial for security and a very few seconds to open the safe, compared to the time and money lost in case of a theft. Cash register drawers should be locked when it is necessary for the clerk to leave the area of the cash register. Please take all precautions and notify this department immediately when suspicious persons are noticed loitering in your place of business.

MAGAZINE ADVERTISING SOLICITATION

In the past, several Vallejo merchants have purchased advertising space in so-called law enforcement magazines which were misrepresented and had no connection with, nor were they beneficial to this department or any other authorized official peace officers' organization. A false impression was gained during telephone solicitations, and it is known that on occasions when the solicitor called to collect for the advertisement his manner of speech was such as to indicate that he was not an officer. This man was not a member of the Vallejo Police Department.

It is our suggestion that if magazine advertising is solicited by telephone and you have any interest in the matter, the solicitor be asked to call in person. You will then be in a position to determine if he has proper credentials from the publication he represents and if the placing of an advertisement would be a good investment for you.

Because we highly value our cordial relationship with Vallejo businessmen, we want you to know of the situation described above so that you may be forewarned. If any question arises concerning magazine advertising solicitation, you are invited to call this office.

SANITATION

Numerous reports and comments have been received by this department pertaining to cluttering sidewalks and gutters with papers, wrappers, and other debris. This can be eliminated by sweeping the sidewalks in front of your business establishment and placing the rubbish into garbage cans, rather than sweeping it into the gutters where it is blown back onto the sidewalks if not picked up. This condition is not only unhealthy and unsightly, but is in violation of Vallejo Ordinance 12 N.S. In an effort to assist our Street Department to keep our sidewalks and streets clean and to have a better appearance around your place of business, it is requested that all persons concerned conform with this ordinance.

EMERGENCY SERVICE

Emergency cards in store windows with the proprietor's and assistants' names, addresses and phone numbers, could be used by persons with ulterior motives; therefore, it is requested that the use of these cards be discontinued.

This emergency service will be given to you by the use of a confidential file maintained at the Police Department. It is requested that you fill out the enclosed form and return it to the Police Chief for filing. This information will be used for reference purposes in the event of any emergency during the night, holidays, or other hours when your store is closed.

Should you receive a phone call during the night or closing hours of the store, such as, "This is the Police Department. An emergency exists at your business place—fire, broken water pipes, open window, light out, door unlocked, etc." under no circumstances go directly to the store. Please phone the Police Department and verify the phone call. If the call is authentic a car will be dispatched to your residence and officers will accompany you to your store to investigate and then will return you to your home. In the event you have an occasion to go to your place of business during the night, come to the Police Department first, if you so desire, and an officer will accompany you.

On closing your place of business, always

check the entire store for hideouts. As you know, a hideout is a type of burglar who hides in the store and then prowls and burglarizes it when all have left. A check of the store is also valuable in preventing fires which may start from cigarette stubs, matches, etc. Be certain all windows and doors are closed and locked before leaving. Should anything look suspicious, please phone the Police Department immediately.

Be sure to leave a light on over or near the safe at night so the officers patrolling their beat can observe the safe. In the event the light is out an investigation will be made immediately and you will be notified.

THE FOLLOWING LIST OF "DON'TS" WILL AID YOU IN CRIME PREVENTION

Don't wait for the patrol car to drive by your place of business if a crime has been committed or you see anything suspicious. Telephone the Police Department at once, MI 3-5661.

Don't leave your place of business at night without leaving a light burning. A theft usually will avoid entering a business place where a light is burning.

Don't forget to try your door to see that it is locked when you leave.

Don't neglect to inspect your rear doors and windows, as well as your front entrance and windows. Many burglars gain entrance to stores via the rear.

Don't install fasteners on windows unless they are of an improved type. Those that are easily opened by the use of a knife or other flat instrument are of no value.

Don't neglect to install a new lock if your keys have been lost or stolen.

Don't leave your roof doors or skylights unfastened.

Don't fail to have safes and cash registers exposed to the officer's view as he patrols his beat. Also, have store premises well lighted so that he can observe the interior, thereby affording maximum protection for your property at night.

Don't permit the accumulation of money. Make frequent deposits at the bank.

Don't display valuable merchandise in windows or showcases at night.

Don't store valuable articles in your basement.

Don't leave money in cash registers at night. Leave the drawer of same open. Many cash registers have been destroyed by thieves in search of money.

Don't leave your keys with the janitor or other employee of the building.

Don't fail to notify police upon observing a suspicious character loitering about the premises.

Don't fail to have buzzers installed on doors leading from the street, especially when working in rear of store or alone in store.

Don't admit persons who represent themselves as agents, canvassers, etc. into your place unless they display their credentials. If doubtful, telephone their employer. If suspicious, telephone this department.

Don't trust persons with whom you come in contact because they are prosperous looking, smooth talkers, or with polished manners. Remember, up-to-date thieves do not look like thugs.

Don't fail to observe persons loitering about your place of business. Make a mental note of their appearance and notify this department.

Don't fail to inform the desk officer at the police station of the exact location and the need when you telephone for assistance.

Don't fail to keep a record and thorough description of all marks of identification of all your valuable property.

Don't fail to record the serial numbers of your bonds or stocks in any corporation. If lost or stolen the numbers can be furnished to the police to aid in their recovery.

Don't, after the commission of a crime, permit the handling of any articles which

might contain fingerprints, as they are of great value and assistance to the police.

Don't display a quantity of money when paying bills to collectors.

Don't stop anywhere enroute to your place of business after drawing money from the bank or on your way to make deposits.

Don't fail to have your safe containing valuables securely locked during business hours to prevent a possible holdup.

Don't open the safe for any purpose while there are strangers present. Make a practice of closing the outer door of your business place at the closing of the day before putting valuables into the safe.

Don't carry large sums of money on your person. A check book is safer and more convenient.

Don't omit to check your premises before closing for the night to see that no one is hiding within.

Don't forget to check your safe and see that it is locked before leaving for the night.

Don't leave the combination numbers for your safe in your desk drawer or elsewhere in the premises.

Don't employ anyone until you have investigated his or her character and verified references.

Don't pay for C.O.D. packages until you have examined the contents and are satisfied that the goods have been ordered by you.

Don't fail to notify the police immediately upon discovering the loss of property, whether lost or stolen.

Don't forget that any suggestions or recommendations whereby the police can better serve you will be greatly appreciated by this department.

With reasonable cooperation, many crimes can be prevented. Please be assured of the fullest cooperation of your Police Department at all times, and when in need, please phone this department—MI 3-5661.

JACK E. STILTZ,
Chief of Police.

GROUND BREAKING FOR NEW MODERN ARMY HOSPITAL AT FORT DEVENS, MASS.

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I was very much privileged early last month to participate in the groundbreaking ceremonies for the new Fort Devens Hospital which has been long delayed as a result of freezes by the Pentagon on new military construction.

I include in the RECORD the text of the remarks I made on this occasion:

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN PHILIP J. PHILBIN AT THE GROUND BREAKING CEREMONIES FOR NEW FORT DEVENS HOSPITAL, FEBRUARY 3, 1969

The great and distinguished Commanding Officer of Fort Devens, General Cushman, distinguished officers and guests, distinguished public officials and community leaders, enlisted men and women and friends, to come to Fort Devens is always a heartwarming experience for me, and this groundbreaking ceremony today for the new hospital is certainly a special and gratifying occasion for all of us. I am very grateful for the generous references of General Cushman and Colonel Franklin R. Day of our great Army Engineers.

We can be proud that the construction of this proposed, urgently needed new hospital facility is getting underway.

It represents the fulfillment of our hopes and dreams for a suitable, adequate, modern hospital at Fort Devens.

It also represents a great deal of hard work by our able Commanding Officers of Fort Devens, and our own, outstanding, General Cushman, and their staffs and assistants, and our great Army Engineers, since the need for this type of hospital facility was first recognized.

It also represents the sympathetic cooperation and earnest efforts on the part of high level officials in the Surgeon General's office and the Department of the Army.

While we rejoice today that our continued efforts have been crowned with success, we are still mindful of the fact that along the road there have been trials and tribulations that delayed this highly desirable and badly needed 116 bed Army hospital.

While our struggles for the hospital were long-continued, we were not working alone. Since the beginning, the Fort Devens Minute Men Chapter Association of the United States Army had played an important role, and I salute, commend, and thank them, and all the others, who have helped us, and who through the years have shown commendable zeal and concern for this great Post of which we are all so proud, and its talented, dedicated leaders and fine complement of well-trained, faithful, enlisted personnel, both men and women.

I want to express my gratitude here today to all those—groups and individuals, because their sustained support and effective contributions played a great part in enabling us to start this new hospital here today.

Included in this group, are several high ranking officers and officials of the Defense Department and the Army and the Surgeon General's office who, even in the face of fiscal delays, nevertheless kept up their personal efforts to get this vital project underway.

You will recall that back in 1965 the Congress voted \$4,794,000 to fund the hospital and we thought at this time that it was soon going to be underway, as it should have been.

Unfortunately, there were other delays caused by the so-called austerity program first in 1965 and again in 1967 when military construction projects were frozen by administrative orders.

In the meantime, construction costs were rising all the time, and for that reason, it was necessary for the Congress to appropriate an additional \$1,294,000 so that our great Army Engineers were finally able to advertise for new construction bids.

Happily, the contract was awarded January 23, 1969.

So we can all see, in setting up this ceremony, that General Cushman and the Army Engineers are not letting any grass grow under their feet.

It is with great satisfaction, honor and pleasure that we are now turning over the first shovel of frozen earth on this mid Winter day for what will become a magnificent modern medical facility, designed to give our men and women in the Armed Services the best medical care in the world.

It was only yesterday that the Army proudly celebrated the 68th anniversary of the Army Nurse Corps.

This is the oldest of our wonderful service nursing organizations, and it was officially established by Congress back in 1901.

It would be impossible for any of us to over stress the tremendous contributions to the Army and the nation that these noble women have made.

Some 900 Army nurses are now serving in Vietnam, all volunteers, which is in the finest tradition of the great Army Nurse Corps.

The heroic, courageous service of these women under the most difficult, hazardous conditions is unsurpassed, and never could possibly be excelled.

We are all justly very proud of what these women are contributing in such an unselfish outstanding way, some times with their blood and their lives, for the health, safety and welfare of our boys in Vietnam and elsewhere all over the world.

As we all gratefully participate in this historic memorable, ground-breaking ceremony for the new Fort Devens Army Hospital, let us fervently pray and hope that, by the time this medical facility becomes fully operational, war, and the sacred mission of caring for wounded Vietnam heroes, will no longer be confronting us in the same way that it is today and that we will have peace, understanding and brotherhood in this troubled world.

American servicemen and their dependents are entitled at all times to have the best, modern, up-to-date facilities and the best trained, competent, dedicated Doctors and nurses, and everything else they need to provide for their health, care, treatment and well-being.

That is the mandate of the people of this country.

That is the mandate of the Congress. It should be noted here that we do not intend to permit misguided bureaucrats, or so-called economic prophets to ignore it.

To the many devoted leaders and people, in and out of the military, who have labored so hard and so vigorously to make this great day possible, I want to express my special gratitude.

Today, Fort Devens takes another step forward and it will be our purpose to try to continue this progress in every way that is necessary.

Heartiest congratulations on this great day for Fort Devens, and again, my warm thanks and deep appreciation to all those who have helped.

I am sure our efficient contractors will also honor and please us by building the new hospital in record time.

MARCH 9 PROCLAIMED AMERIGO VESPUCCI DAY

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, March 9, 1969, was declared "Amerigo Vespucci Day" by the president of my borough of the Bronx. This proclamation was made at the request of the Amerigo Vespucci Lodge No. 2159 of the Order of the Sons of Italy of my congressional district. With permission, Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert the proclamation in the RECORD, as follows:

PROCLAMATION

Whereas: Amerigo Vespucci was one of mankind's greatest navigators and explorers to have crossed the Atlantic Ocean; and was among the first to sight the mainland of the Western Hemisphere; and

Whereas: Amerigo Vespucci, flying the colors both of Spain and Portugal on voyages to these shores, calculated latitude and longitude making invaluable contributions to geography; and

Whereas: All those of Italian descent are proud of the achievements of this great man for whom America was named and

Whereas: It is fitting and proper that we all pay tribute to his memory.

Now, therefore, I, Herman Badillo, President of the Borough of The Bronx, do hereby proclaim March 9th, the anniversary of his birth, as Amerigo Vespucci Day and do urge our people to participate in all appropriate observance of this occasion.

Mr. Speaker, I want to also take this opportunity to extend my best wishes to Venerable Orlando Oliva of Amerigo Vespucci Lodge No. 2159 and to the other members of this lodge, who are good friends of mine and reside in my community.

The Sons of Italy is a fraternal society of Italo-Americans that started in New York City in 1905. Its motto is: "Liberty, Equality, and Brotherly Love." The fraternity is nonpolitical and nondenominational in concept and programs, and its membership comprises persons of every profession and occupation. It is the largest Italian organization, with lodges throughout the United States and Canada. The aims of the Sons of Italy are to promote civic education among its members, to uphold the concept of Americanism; to encourage the dissemination of Italian culture in the United States; and to organize and establish benevolent and social welfare institutions for the protection and assistance of its members, their dependents and the needy in general.

I extend to the Sons of Italy Lodges throughout the country my best wishes for the continuation of their civic and social aims and accomplishments.

AIRPORT SAFETY FACILITIES NEEDED

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, I am becoming increasingly concerned over the complete stalemate of activity which appears to characterize the Federal Aviation Administration with respect to taking steps for the protection of airline passengers through the installation of instrument landing system facilities at various airports. Frankly, I think it is time we stopped deceiving the public and admitted that air travel is becoming increasingly hazardous as traffic becomes more dense.

Included herewith are the pertinent portions of a letter from an airline pilot who happens to be one of my constituents and which point up his concern for both his own and his passengers' safety. I believe the incident he relates is worthy of consideration by every Member of Congress since this is a very serious problem which will become increasingly so as the years go by.

Also, I am inserting a copy of a letter which I am today sending to the Federal Aviation Administration regarding this subject.

The material referred to follows:

FEBRUARY 17, 1969.

Hon. CHARLES S. GUBSER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: If you are an occasional passenger on an airline and I'm sure you are, then I'm also sure that you will be interested in the following.

Once again the Federal Aviation Administration has been so busy policing everyone else that they have failed to police themselves. When they do, the investigation is performed by one of their own order, and the

results are never known. It is my opinion that they have built a large organization, with more airplanes than many of our domestic airlines, and which are rarely used. Even the Military Services contract with the Domestic Airlines to airlift men and materials to Viet Nam because it is considerably more economical. I contend they have spent far too much money on a Police force that is relatively ineffective. I have often wondered how an F.A.A. Check Pilot with 2500 hours of Military flying and 600 hours additional can police or instruct an Airline Pilot with the same 2500 hours of Military Flying and 28,000 hours of Airline experience, accident free. The Airline check pilot would be far more competent to do the job. That was the system not too many years ago.

F.A.A.'s money could better be spent on equipment. I refer to Representative Fletcher Thompson, Republican, of Georgia: "I'm appalled that there's nothing in the new budget for I.L.S.'s, when we know that seven out of eight recent landing accidents occurred at airports where there were no I.L.S.'s." New York Times, Feb. 7, 1969.

I, and all of the passengers and crews aboard two airliners narrowly missed death only a month ago, because of the F.A.A. [failed] to provide themselves with adequate equipment. They require all airliners to carry two transmitters and two receivers so that radio failure is near impossible, while they content themselves with only one. Another airliner and the one I commanded were on Instrument Flight Rules departing —. It was pitch dark and there were clouds. The controller had issued Headings to each of us, which turned out to be a perfect collision course. Then his transmitter failed and he was unable to issue further headings. I did not even know that an emergency existed until I saw an airplane pass a few hundred feet directly underneath me. The F.A.A. controller admitted that he only had one transmitter.

I am occasionally in Washington and would be happy to give you a better description of this incident if you so wish.

MARCH 12, 1969.

Mr. JOHN H. SHAFFER,
Administrator, Federal Aviation Administration,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR Mr. SHAFFER: Enclosed please find a letter which I have received from an airline pilot who is one of my constituents. I have every reason to believe that the fears he expresses are legitimate and should be of very urgent concern to the Federal Aviation Administration.

Frankly, I do not believe that enough leadership has been exerted by the FAA in this vitally important area. It would be appreciated if you could meaningfully respond to the points made in the enclosure and also give me some idea of the type of leadership which the FAA intends to display in this field in the immediate future.

Thanking you, I am,

Yours sincerely,

CHARLES S. GUBSER,
Member of Congress.

SCIENCE GROUP URGES CAUTION ON ABM

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, not too long ago, scientists received regular criticism because they seemed to be overly "ivory-towerish" in their relations with everyday political issues. Now the trend is steadily swinging the other way. Much of the recent analysis and debate

regarding the proposed Sentinel ABM system has originated from within the Nation's scientific community.

This week, the Federation of American Scientists, a national organization of approximately 2,000 scientists and engineers concerned with the impact of science on national and international affairs, released a statement dealing with some crucial aspects of the ABM concept. The article follows:

USE OF THE SENTINEL, ABM SYSTEM TO PROTECT OUR RETALIATORY FORCES: SOME CONSIDERATIONS

(Prepared by the Federation of American Scientists)

In its continuing attempt to develop a justification for the deployment of an anti-ballistic missile (ABM) system, the Defense Department has brought forth the idea of using such a system to protect our land-based retaliatory force, consisting of our intercontinental missiles and long-range bombers. Since the radar and missile sites for such a defense could, in principle, be located far from our major cities, the need for a Soviet missile buildup in response, to preserve their retaliatory capacity, might be reduced. This approach would also have the virtue, from the Pentagon's viewpoint, of avoiding the heated reactions from the public that attended the original Sentinel deployment near cities. Since this new role for an ABM system has received little public attention, it seems desirable to examine some aspects of it and to explore its broader implications.

The Sentinel ABM system in this role would use its long-range radars and high-altitude interceptor missiles to detect and destroy incoming warheads directed at our missile sites or bomber bases. Since our missile sites are located in the northern Great Plains of this country, the radars and interceptors could also be located primarily in that area. However, because of the need to protect against attacks coming from different directions, and because of the long range of the radars and interceptors, there would unavoidably be some overlap with cities in the Midwest. The system would thus be able to attack incoming warheads aimed at those cities as well. Most bomber bases are located near cities, and they are distributed over the country from Maine to California. Any attempt to provide anti-missile protection for them would simultaneously imply the creation of a defense for the rest of the country.

An ABM system intended to protect our retaliatory force would require the same types of radar, computers, and interceptor missiles as a defense of our cities, so that the same production facilities would have to be established. From the Soviet point of view, this development, together with the five to seven years it would take to deploy the system (during which our plans could evolve considerably), would make it difficult for them to be certain that the system would indeed be limited to the protection of our retaliatory force alone. They would have to assume that it would be modified and expanded, threatening their ability to retaliate against our cities in the event of a nuclear war, and leading them to respond by further expanding their own missile force.

There does not appear to be any evidence that the Soviet Union is seeking now—or, indeed, has ever sought—a capacity to attack our missile force. For a number of years they have had a force of limited size, clearly suitable only for retaliation against our cities in the event of an attack from us. In order to be able to successfully attack our missile sites and still retain sufficient force to attack our cities, they would have needed a substantial numerical superiority over us. They have never attempted to achieve this.

The Soviet Union today possesses about

1000 ICBMs and a total of about 1200 available warheads and bombs, as compared with our 1054 land-based and 656 sea-based missiles and 4200 available warheads and bombs. According to Defense Department figures, even as few as 200 delivered warheads (for instance, one-third of the Polaris force) could cause 50 million Soviet fatalities and destroy 70% of their industry. Thus the Soviets would need the capacity to eliminate a large portion of our missile force before they could feel capable of carrying out a successful attack on it. However, our ICBMs are each in individual, concrete underground "silos". Using reasonable assumptions for the yield and accuracy of Russian missiles, there is about a 50% chance that one of their missiles could destroy one of our ICBMs; put another way, they would have to use three missiles to have a 90% chance of destroying one of ours. What is clear, then, is that at the present time the Soviet missile force does not pose a danger to our ability to retaliate against them in the event of attack.

In the past we have been assured by the Pentagon that the Sentinel system was intended as an anti-Chinese defense and could easily be defeated by the Russians. The same weakness to Russian attack is present in the version directed at protecting our missile force, but its inadequacy is even more glaring. In order to have a significant effect on our ability to retaliate, reducing it to levels which the Soviets might consider acceptable, they would have to attack with several thousand warheads. Against such an attack, presumably accompanied by a large number of decoys as well, the Sentinel system would be completely inadequate and would probably fall completely. Any ABM system that would protect our missile forces must have several interceptors for each missile being protected. As now proposed, the Sentinel system would have a much smaller number of interceptors, reportedly a total of about 700. Also, if the Soviets were to launch such an attack, they would undoubtedly first use a small portion of their warheads to destroy or black out the long-range detection radars of the Sentinel system, giving their remaining warheads a "free ride" to their targets. One must conclude either that this rationale for the system is not serious, or that the system will be further expanded to have the proposed effect. There is, in short, no such thing as a "thin" defense of our retaliatory force.

Looking ten or fifteen years into the future, and assuming that the arms race continues, our land-based missile forces are likely to become vulnerable to Soviet attack. They may have more ICBMs, guidance accuracies will increase, and multiple individually-guided warheads may be introduced. At that time, if we have not reached an agreement to halt the arms race, there is a possibility that the deterrent capacity of at least the land-based portion of our retaliatory force could be substantially diminished.

There are several ways of forestalling this situation which avoid the numerous disadvantages of ABM deployment. The most desirable, of course, is an agreement with the Soviet Union that would maintain the present stable balance. As a unilateral measure, the Defense Department is currently developing super-hard missile silos which, by providing greater protection for our missile force, would make it much more difficult for the Soviets to attack this force. Dr. Harold Brown, former Secretary of the Air Force, described these new silos as "a form of ABM defense." The Air Force envisages raising the hardness by about a factor of ten, requiring a corresponding increase in the yield, accuracy, or number of missiles which the Soviets would need to carry out a successful attack on our ICBMs. The introduction of such super-hard silos would provide a far cheaper means of protecting our ICBMs than an ABM system, would be far more reliable (they involve only concrete and shock protection de-

vices, as contrasted with the highly complex ABM network which could fall for a wide variety of reasons), and would not launch a new round in the arms race.

We might also continue to introduce multiple warheads as a means of countering any threat to our missiles from the Soviet Union. Such warheads would effectively increase the number of missiles we possess and require the Soviets to destroy a correspondingly greater number of them if their attack was to be effective. These warheads should be introduced, though, only if there is clear evidence that the Soviets are attempting to achieve such a capability. If we were to install them (especially the type that could be individually targeted) in the absence of a Soviet force buildup, we could so threaten their retaliatory capacity that they would be forced to respond by just the expansion we fear. Just as we must preserve our own ability to retaliate, so we must recognize that they will take whatever steps are necessary to retain their capacity as well.

Eventually, we must be prepared to dispense with the land-based portion of our retaliatory force and place primary reliance on our submarine-based missile force. It seems likely that this will remain invulnerable to effective attack for decades to come. As noted earlier, it possesses quite enough destructive capacity to provide a sound deterrent. Attempts to preserve the land-based Minuteman system may please the Air Force, and reassure those strategists who believe in the "mix" approach to deterrence, but they will only delay the inevitable, while adding new fuel to the arms race and requiring vast new expenditures for military hardware.

ENCOURAGEMENT FOR NONPROFIT SPONSORED HOUSING

HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, in recent years the Congress has enacted a variety of housing programs designed to encourage nonprofit corporations to undertake rehabilitation and restoration of housing in our densely populated center cities.

It has been the expression of many nonprofit groups using these Federal programs that the rehabilitation and restoration of housing of itself is not sufficient. Equally important, they have found, is an ongoing program involving the human renewal of the people who are to live in the restored housing.

The suggestion has come from a number of nonprofit sponsors that the Federal Government make available to nonprofit sponsors a minimum of 5 percent of their outstanding mortgage balances to channel into varying social programs. The legislation I have introduced today would accomplish this by authorizing the FHA to remit back from its national insurance fund an amount equal to 5 percent of any nonprofit sponsored housing development's outstanding mortgage balance annually. This money would then be used by the sponsors to carry our necessary human rehabilitation programs, designed locally and approved Federally, that would reflect the particular needs of a given neighborhood.

Mr. Speaker, if we are to continue to depend upon nonprofit sponsors to help

provide decent housing for low income families, we must provide the tools needed to perform the task. It is for this reason that I urge prompt action on the bill I have introduced today.

JACOB BEAM: ALL THE FACTS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Michael D. Jaffe, general counsel of Liberty Lobby, reported today that he was refused the privilege of testifying in opposition to Jacob D. Beam as Ambassador to Moscow.

Censorship and denial of free speech through established conventional hearings can but alarm more and more Americans who must be asking, "What are they trying to hide about Mr. Beam?"

Mr. Speaker, I include the suppressed statement of Mr. Jaffe prepared for delivery before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and a news release by Liberty Lobby following my remarks:

STATEMENT OF MICHAEL D. JAFFE, GENERAL COUNSEL, LIBERTY LOBBY, BEFORE THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS HEARINGS ON NOMINATION OF JACOB D. BEAM, TO BE U.S. AMBASSADOR TO THE SOVIET UNION

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee: I am Michael D. Jaffe, General Counsel of Liberty Lobby. I appear here today to represent the views of the 15,000 members of Liberty Lobby's Board of Policy, on behalf of more than 200,000 subscribers to our monthly legislative report, *Liberty Letter*. The Board of Policy has voted in favor of an "anti-Communist foreign policy" for the United States. In joining the Board, its members specifically authorize the Washington staff of Liberty Lobby to speak for them before Committees of Congress. It is for this specific reason that they join the Board of Policy.

We oppose the confirmation of Jacob D. Beam as American Ambassador to the Soviet Union because Mr. Beam's lack of understanding of the dangers posed by the international Communist conspiracy indicates that he would be incapable of representing the best interests of the United States.

The United States Embassy in Moscow is, we are sure the Committee will agree, the world's most sensitive diplomatic post. A man appointed to the position for which Mr. Beam has been nominated carries a grave responsibility. The wrong man in this position can irreparably injure the national security of the United States. He can set back the cause of peace.

During his campaign for the Presidency, Richard M. Nixon pledged to clean up the mess in the State Department. But Mr. Beam is representative of the individuals who have made the mess. Jacob Beam's career in the foreign service of the United States is replete with instances of tragically poor judgment, if not worse.

It is, we believe, the duty of this Committee to secure the answers to the mystery surrounding Mr. Beam.

Public scrutiny of his approach to the conduct of foreign policy largely centers around his service in the American Embassy in Warsaw from 1957 through 1961. Mr. Beam's antics as our Ambassador to Poland would be hard to believe if they were not fully documented.

It is a matter of public knowledge that,

during Beam's service as Ambassador to Poland, there was, according to journalist Clark Mollenhoff, "the near total destruction of security in the U.S. Embassy." The lurid tales of the Embassy staff holding wild parties with Polish girls—obviously with the knowledge of Mr. Beam—read like a somewhat wacky modern novel.

As Ambassador to Poland, Mr. Beam also served as U.S. Representative to the U.S.-Communist Chinese talks being held in Warsaw. Although the talks accomplished nothing, Mr. Beam achieved a great deal of popularity with the Red Chinese.

In 1958, it became known that a member of the House of Representatives was planning to issue a press release demanding that President Eisenhower remove Beam from his duties as negotiator with the Red Chinese. On hearing this, the State Department became frantic. Walter S. Robertson, then Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, placed a late-night phone call to the Congressman's administrative assistant. He told him, "If your boss makes public his recommendation to President Eisenhower that he replace Beam as a negotiator, he will get every prisoner held by the Red Chinese decapitated." (More than 30 U.S. citizens were at that time being held captive in Red China, and one of the purposes of the negotiations was to secure their release.)

Several FBI agents were then dispatched to find the Congressman at his hunting lodge in the New England mountains. On being told of the probable consequences of the release of his attack on Beam, of course, agreed to withhold it.

We believe that this Committee has the duty to find out why Jacob Beam was held in such high regard by the Red Chinese. We urge that Mr. Robertson, who now lives in Richmond, be called as a witness to give first-hand testimony on this incredible incident.

Another of Mr. Beam's interests while serving as Ambassador to Poland concerned the curbing of Radio Free Europe broadcasts to Poland. The Ambassador's communication to Washington, requesting the State Department to "induce" Radio Free Europe to "cease its Polish broadcasts," was drafted by two Foreign Service officers serving in Warsaw, Edward Symans and Thomas A. Donovan. Mr. Symans was identified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee as a "double agent" of the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

According to the widely credited publication *The Government Employee's Exchange*, Mr. Donovan later became involved "in the controversy he engendered in West Berlin by making 'unauthorized telephone calls' from Communist East Berlin to top Communist officials in the Polish Foreign Ministry. One of these has since been identified as Jerzy Michalowski, the present Polish Ambassador in Washington and then the Director of the Polish Foreign Ministry. Mr. Donovan allegedly placed his telephone calls in Communist East Berlin in order to evade the American security telephone monitors in West Berlin who recorded all calls placed to Communist countries."

Ambassador Beam's reasons for wanting to curb Radio Free Europe, as given in the communication drafted by Symans and Donovan, was that RFE was often at "cross-purposes" with the Embassy, and that his own relations with the Polish Communist government would be "less strained" if RFE "stayed off his territory."

The mention of Mr. Beam's "relations with the Polish Communist government" leads to the infamous "Warsaw sex and spy" scandal, in which Beam was intimately involved. We believe that the national security of the United States demands that the facts of this outrage be brought to the attention of Congress and the American people, as unpleasant a task as it might be.

The Government Employee's Exchange of

Jan. 10, 1968, quoting "a source with over 30 years of service in the State Department," exposed Ambassador Beam's part in the Warsaw scandal. The source stated that Madam Jerzy Michalowski, wife of the current Polish Ambassador to the United States, "without any question of doubt" maintained an "intimate personal relationship" with Mr. Beam from 1957 to 1961.

On the basis of this "intimate personal relationship," the *Exchange's* source stated, "Madam Michalowski, in 1960, obtained from Ambassador Beam details about the dispatches being sent the Central Intelligence Agency by Lt. Col. Michael Goleniewski, an American 'agent in place' who had first revealed to United States authorities the existence of the sex and spy scandals in Warsaw. . . . As a result of her discoveries from Ambassador Beam, Madam Michalowski, her husband, Jerzy Michalowski (then Director General of the Polish Foreign Ministry), and Polish and Soviet intelligence agencies uncovered the identity of 'Lt. Col. Goleniewski' who had to flee to West Berlin on Dec. 24, 1960."

Madam Michalowski is reported to have arranged the Scarbeck case, to take the heat off her friend, Ambassador Beam, by making Foreign Service Officer Erwin Scarbeck the scapegoat of the Warsaw scandal. The *Exchange* reports that she, along with Polish agents, plotted the "discovery" of Scarbeck "in bed with Urszula Discher," who was "already in the employ of Soviet and Polish intelligence."

It will be recalled that Victor Dikeos, the Security Officer credited with exposing Mr. Scarbeck, refused to tell the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee how he obtained the lead on Scarbeck. According to the *Exchange* source, the lead was supplied to Mr. Dikeos personally by Ambassador Beam.

Madam Michalowski, Ambassador Beam's "friend," is a long time and highly experienced Communist intelligence agent, having worked as such since 1936. Her first husband was Professor Ignace Zlotowski, a Communist spy. According to General Lzydor Rudolf Modelski, Minister of War in the last free Polish government before the Communist take-over, Professor Zlotowski was the top Polish-Soviet agent in the United States, seeking to steal our nuclear secrets. He is reported to have succeeded in obtaining the classified blueprint of the atomic bomb "trigger mechanism."

Can any member of this Committee defend Ambassador Beam's performance in Warsaw? We think not! There can be no doubt that a full investigation is called for. To confirm Mr. Beam and send him to the highly sensitive Moscow embassy would be an unpardonable breach of faith with the American people.

The charges have been made and Mr. Beam, of course, should have full opportunity to defend himself against them. But under no circumstances should this Committee tolerate any attempt to cover up Mr. Beam's incredible record.

We appreciate the opportunity to present these facts for the Committee's consideration. Our charges are not motivated by political considerations, or by any personal feeling against the nominee. We merely insist that the American people are entitled to the facts about those officials chosen to serve them.

Thank you.

NEWS FROM LIBERTY LOBBY

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Col. Curtis B. Dall, chairman of Liberty Lobby, the largest conservative group in America, today expressed astonishment at the action of Sen. J. William Fulbright, who denied the group a chance to oppose the nomination of Jacob D. Beam as Ambassador to Moscow.

"I find it hard to believe," Dall declared, "that the Senate of the United States, for

generations the greatest deliberative body in the world, will allow itself to be used as an instrument of one Senator's arrogant and irresponsible intention to suppress facts."

Dall accused the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, chaired by the controversial Arkansas Senator, of denying Liberty Lobby an opportunity to bring out little-known facts concerning the past record of Ambassador-designate Beam. Dall claimed that the decision was made to ban Liberty Lobby's explosive testimony "because apparently neither President Nixon nor Senator Fulbright can afford to have Beam's fantastic record brought to light."

Colonel Dall described the Beam appointment as "the worst ambassadorial appointment in American history." Reviewing Beam's involvement in the notorious Warsaw sex and spy scandals, his "intimate personal relationship" with Madame Jerzy Micholowski, known as the "Polish Mata Hari," his attempt to suppress Radio Free Europe, his "strange diplomacy" that so endeared him to the Red Chinese that in 1958 they threatened to behead 30 American prisoners if he was fired by President Eisenhower as a negotiator; Dall demanded that Beam's appointment be withdrawn by President Nixon.

TELEVISION IN TURMOIL

HON. JOSEPH P. VIGORITO

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. VIGORITO. Mr. Speaker, as one of the cosponsors of the legislation which has been introduced to probe the effects of violence on television on the viewing public, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues the following article which appeared in the February 8 issue of TV Guide.

This courageous publication has presented a most penetrating discussion of the violence we saw on TV screens during the Democratic Convention in Chicago last August and its aftermath.

I feel the article should be read by all interested in this problem and insert it below:

TELEVISION IN TURMOIL

(By Neil Hickey)

Six months after the Democratic convention, the air is still filled with charges and countercharges. Crucial questions about the role played by television in Chicago still remain unanswered. How well did the networks discharge their responsibilities? Was coverage slanted? Were viewers fully and fairly informed? Did many of them deliberately refuse to believe their eyes? The answers to these and other questions will influence the future course of television news coverage.

The twenty-year romance which television has enjoyed with American families was seriously shaken amid the charges and countercharges over whether or not TV news fulfilled its responsibility of reporting news objectively to the public. Tens of thousands of letters flooded the three major networks and the Federal Communications Commission complaining that:

(1) Network coverage of the convention was biased against the Johnson-Humphrey Administration and Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago.

(2) TV newsmen in the streets consistently filmed scenes of police violence and clubbing of dissenters, but never the provocation which led up to it.

(3) Floor reporters for the networks spent a disproportionate amount of time interview-

ing anti-Administration delegates and those favorable to the candidacy of Sen. Eugene McCarthy; floor men were accused of generating and perpetuating rumors having little basis in fact.

(4) TV reporters and anchor men engaged in too much editorializing (at the expense of straight news) without labeling it as such.

(5) Networks too often cut away from the podium to show film of riots and interviews with delegates hostile to the majority view.

(6) TV newsmen were too generous and affectionate in their coverage of the hippies, yuppies and radical leftists who had come to Chicago with the announced purpose of disrupting the convention and creating havoc in the streets.

(7) The networks were bent upon "revenge" for prior restrictions placed by Chicago officials upon their capability for live, remote coverage and their access to the convention floor; and also for the Democrats' refusal to meet in Miami Beach (as had the Republicans) instead of Chicago, a decision which cost the networks millions.

But even such serious charges as those might reasonably fade into distant memory and be blurred by time—except that a series of high-level official investigations promise to keep them in the public eye well into 1969, with effects that will surely impinge upon all future television handling of national political conventions, as well as opening to debate for the first time on a broad scale the very nature and influence of television's involvement in the American political process.

The Senate Commerce Committee and the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee (which have jurisdiction over broadcasting), as well as the House Committee on Un-American Activities, are studying TV's performance in Chicago. So is the U.S. Department of Justice and a Chicago Federal Grand Jury. The National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, whose full report is due later this year, released an interim study (attorney Daniel Walker's report) which—while sternly accusing the Chicago police of wanton pummeling of dissenters and newsmen—noted that television created the stage upon which the young radicals dramatized their anger and that television thus substantially influenced the behavior of both demonstrators and police.

"There is no question that the protestors in Chicago . . . played to the cameras or that they often did it very effectively . . ." the Walker Report says. ". . . What the 'whole world was watching', after all, was not a confrontation but the picture of a confrontation, to some extent directed by a generation that had grown up with television and learned to use it."

The news media, including television, had been reporting for weeks that from 100,000 to one million protestors would converge on Chicago during convention week. But the best estimates now indicate that the demonstrators' recruitment was an almost total flop, and that no more than 5000 of them came to the city from points outside Illinois.

None the less, the advance publicity about their supposed invasion "played a part in conditioning authorities and demonstrators alike as to what to expect . . ." the Walker Report pointed out, and caused the mobilization of 25,000 police and National Guardsmen and Regular Army troops to deal with a major insurrection which simply never materialized but the mere threat of which made law enforcers edgy and nervous before the convention ever got started.

Congress was . . . noisily masticating the whole subject in what Broadcasting magazine called "a climate of almost unanimous Congressional disapproval of the Chicago coverage compounded with the politically potent reaction against televised violence that has swelled since the assassination of Senator Kennedy."

Sen. Russell B. Long (D-La.) claimed: "Unfortunately, the City of Chicago was convicted by the television media without its side ever being seen or heard." Sen. John O. Pastore (D-R.I.), chairman of the Senate Communications Subcommittee, asked the TV networks to consider seriously giving Mayor Daley an hour of free time, as he had requested, to tell his side of the story. (All three refused, eventually) . . .

Those strong sentiments were seconded by Rep. Ed Edmondson (D-Okla.), who rose to say: "Network media personnel such as Cronkite, and Huntley and Brinkley have done violence to the truth by their unfair coverage at Chicago and the public deserves better at the hands of this great industry." . . .

CBS reported to TV Guide that of 9000 letters received after the convention, the ratio of critical letters to favorable ones was 11 to 1. NBC got 8542 letters condemning its efforts and 1092 praising them. (ABC did not air full coverage of the convention.) Mayor Daley claims to have received 135,000 letters supporting him, 5000 against.

The trade newsletter Television Digest noted the mood of Washington in early September. "We've been covering Washington for many years and never have we observed such a mass of Congressional vehemence against broadcasting." A month later, it quoted a veteran Senate employee as saying: "It doesn't make any difference who wins the Presidency; television is in for one hell of a rough time when Congress comes back in January. Your industry just couldn't be in worse shape, despite the fact there'll be many new faces in Congress" . . .

Thus, the vision of Chicago, August 26-29, 1968, which erupted through millions of television sets in the U.S. and the world, will have its wise and reasoned partisans for what may be an endless debate. Sen. Everett Dirksen (R-Ill.), for example, calls TV's handling of both political conventions "an outrage against the democratic process" and describes one particular reportage from the convention floor in Chicago as "a clear and outrageous attempt at editorializing and bias." . . .

Among the angriest of TV's tormentors have been columnists Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson, who, in a series of syndicated reports, claimed inside knowledge of a House Commerce Committee study purportedly confirming that "some of the networks deliberately went out to slant the news"; that TV directors purposefully photographed Vice President Humphrey and Mayor Daley in unflattering poses, even resorting to distorting the TV color; that speeches favorable to the Johnson regime were forsaken repeatedly by the cameras to focus on some dissident eager for publicity; that the networks wanted revenge on the Democrats for costing them \$3 million by their insistence on holding the conclave in Chicago instead of in Miami Beach. . . .

It is a fact . . . that the TV networks did exert enormous pressure on the Democrats to keep the convention in Miami Beach. . . . Many experts felt that—as much as any other single factor—the televised conflict along Michigan Avenue and in the international Amphitheatre had made Richard M. Nixon President of the United States.

Oddly, there seemed even more profound effects than the election of a President; namely, a kind of "social dynamite" (in columnist Max Lerner's words) in the spreading suspicion among both liberals and conservatives that the wells of communication in the U.S. are poisoned. Broadcast news, especially, stood in severe crisis at year's end; fearful of an erosion of confidence among its heretofore loyal viewers (who for long had depended on TV for most of their news); fearful also that its prized journalistic freedoms were about to suffer the most vigorous assaults in television's twenty-year life.

**CHARLES A. MEYER: A NEW
INTER-AMERICAN LINK**

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, at the beginning of the week I made some remarks on the floor of the House regarding President Nixon's selection of Mr. Charles A. Meyer, one of the top-ranking executives of Sears, Roebuck & Co. as the new Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs and U.S. Coordinator for the Alliance for Progress.

Yesterday's New York Times carried a profile of the new nominee. It contains some information which I am certain will prove of interest to Members of Congress. For this reason I place that article in the RECORD, and commend it to the attention of my colleagues in the House:

INTER-AMERICAN LINK: CHARLES APPLETON MEYER

WASHINGTON, March 10.—Charles Appleton Meyer admitted publicly today—probably for the first time in his life—that he was “a little bit frightened.”

A few moments before, at an impromptu news conference, Secretary of State William P. Rogers introduced the tall, elegant New Englander as his new Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, President Nixon, he said, would shortly send Mr. Meyer's name to the Senate for confirmation.

The State Department press corps, puzzled and rumor-ridden for the last eight weeks as to who would eventually fill the post, reacted to Mr. Meyer with unusual benevolence.

“He was good,” said one hard-bitten observer. “He said little—which was smart. He declined to comment on policy questions until he could get briefed. He looks like a diplomat—and he behaved like one.”

GRANDFATHER AN AMBASSADOR

Diplomacy runs in “Charley” Meyer's blood although this will be his first taste of Government service. His grandfather, George von Lengerke Meyer, was President Theodore Roosevelt's Secretary of the Navy and Ambassador to Italy and was a prime mover in persuading Czarist Russia to accept the United States mediation that ended the Russo-Japanese war at Portsmouth, N.H., in 1905.

The Assistant Secretary-designate has risen to eminence not through diplomacy but through retailing. Born into the Massachusetts “establishment” on both sides of his family—his mother was a Saltonstall—he entered Sears, Roebuck at the bottom upon graduation from Harvard in 1939.

He helped the company president at the time, the redoubtable Gen. Robert E. Wood open a company outlet in Havana in 1942. After service in the Pacific as an Army captain, he rejoined the company and spent the next 12 years—from 1947–60—expanding Sears, Roebuck operations throughout Latin America.

“We started out originally hoping to export our products to Latin America and sell them at competitive prices,” he recalled today. “But between 1948–49 the Latin countries had run through the accumulated foreign exchange they'd earned during the war. This resulted in a totally different ball game.”

From then on Mr. Meyer's main task was to travel throughout the hemisphere persuading Latin manufacturers to produce goods for sale through Sears outlets. From 1953–55 he lived in Bogota, Colombia, acquiring fluency in Spanish and coming to know and appreciate the Latin American mentality.

From 1955 to 1960 he was based in Chicago as vice president in charge of Sears' hemisphere operations. Largely as a result of his policies, all goods sold now in Sears outlets in Colombia, Mexico and Peru are locally produced and in other countries the proportion of locally manufactured products is steadily rising.

For the last nine years Mr. Meyer has been vice president for the company's United States Southwest and Eastern areas—with about 85,000 employees under his supervision.

“We chose him,” said a senior State Department official recently, “because we wanted someone who knew Latin America, who spoke Spanish, and who had broad administrative experience. We also thought that Charles Meyer had a personal manner—you might call it a style—that would help in dealing with our Latin American friends.”

Mr. Meyer, who was born June 27, 1918, is tall, courteous and soft-spoken and still has a trace of his New England accent. He is likely to go over well with the Latin diplomats and officials—once they come to know him. The Latins are extremely sensitive to background and Mr. Meyer combines family background with a hard-headed sense of business, Latin politics and economics.

His directorship in the United Fruit Company may prove an initial handicap owing to the company's “big business” image among Latin leftists. But Mr. Meyer took pains today to point out that he has resigned from the board of United Fruit and five other companies to avoid any possible “conflict of interest” problems in his new task.

He is also conferring with State Department legal experts on his holdings in Sears, Roebuck and the Gillette company.

SEEMS “FIRST RATE”

“At least his background is retailing—and not oil or mineral mining,” said one Latin ambassador. “We don't know him yet but he seems to be a first-rate appointment.”

To help him with the complexities ahead—notably the gathering quarrel with Peru over expropriation of United States oil properties—the new Assistant Secretary brings expertise, a sense of humor and a wife and family who share his regard for the Latin American peoples.

His wife, the former Suzanne Seybur, and their two children, Brooke and Nancy, keep up their Spanish with two Colombian maids who have been in their service for 16 years.

“We bought a ski lodge in Vail, Colo., some years ago and it's the nearest to home the kids have ever had,” Mr. Meyer said. “We try to get there several times a year whenever we can. But don't get the idea that there's any conflict of interest between my little ski lodge and skiing interests in Portillo, Chile. There isn't!”

CONGRESSMAN EILBERG INTRODUCES A BILL TO ASSIST THE BLIND

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, today I introduced a bill that will liberalize the conditions governing the eligibility of blind persons to receive disability insurance benefits under the Social Security Act. My bill will do two things: First, it will allow a person who is blind to qualify for disability insurance payments after working six quarters in social security-covered work; and second, it will allow these people to draw disability insurance

as long as they remain blind, regardless of their earnings.

Under existing law, a person must work 5 of the 10 years prior to applying for disability insurance payment benefits in order to establish eligibility for these benefits. The bill, which I have introduced today, will make the disability insurance program a true and effective insurance program for blind persons.

In 1964, the Senate adopted a disability insurance measure for the blind bill by a voice vote with no opposition as an amendment to the bill being considered to amend the Social Security Act. However, the conference committee failed to agree on a social security-amending bill that year and the effort was thwarted. In 1965, a bill was adopted by the Senate by a vote of 78 to 11 establishing the disability insurance for the blind proposal as an amendment to the Social Security Act amending bill which was then under consideration. In spite of the overwhelming support for the bill in the Senate, the conference committee failed again to approve the bill.

When this bill was reintroduced in 1967, there were 57 cosponsors in the Senate. When the Senate Finance Committee met in executive session to consider Social Security Act amendments, it unanimously gave its endorsement to the blind disability insurance bill.

When the conference committee met on the legislation, a portion of the amendment which had been approved by the Senate Finance Committee was adopted establishing the generally accepted definition of blindness—20/200—as the standard of visual loss for the disability insurance benefit payments.

With this established congressional support for approval of the principles included in the bill I have introduced today, I sincerely hope that the 91st Congress will give its full endorsement to this measure.

POSTMASTER GENERAL LAUDS VETERAN POSTAL OFFICIALS FOR AID

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, several key officials of the Post Office Department were honored this week by Postmaster General Winton M. Blount for their great assistance to him and to members of his new staff in the transition period for the new administration.

The high caliber of these officials is well known to me because I have had occasion to work with them and to know of their work for some years. I want to add my own commendation for these public servants:

Former Assistant Postmasters General Edward V. Dorsey, Frederick E. Batrus, Ralph W. Nicholson, and Chief Postal Inspector Henry B. Montague.

The awards which the Postmaster General has given these fine public servants is well merited, and I believe his re-

marks at the presentation ceremony tell a story of dedication that warrants wider circulation.

Following is Mr. Blount's text:

REMARKS BY POSTMASTER GENERAL AT AWARDS CEREMONY, MARCH 10, 1969

This is the first opportunity I've had to participate in an Awards Ceremony like this and I said to those that are going to be honored today just a few minutes ago that this is far more than just a ceremony as far as I'm concerned.

I will say something of this in the remarks that are prepared here but each of these gentlemen have been of tremendous value as far as I'm concerned—they have been unstintingly helpful to me personally and to those of us who are coming in to the Department for the first time, in not only describing the problems to us but, far more importantly, telling us where the time bombs are lying and where the pitfalls are.

They've been very helpful in guiding us in that way and I'm keenly aware of the fact that they have invested a great portion of their lives here in this Department and I have some feeling for what their feelings must be at this time—which, I'm sure are very mixed.

It doesn't take long to get that feeling about the Post Office Department—in the short while that I've been here, these kinds of feelings have been generated within me so that I have some feeling and compassion for their mixed feelings.

But we do really come here to praise them today and I'm reminded of an aunt of mine who has a peculiar philosophy about praise. She says at 20 you blush when a man praises you; at thirty you think he is clever; and at forty you wonder what he wants.

I'm not sure that the four gentlemen we have here today—that we are here to praise—admit to even being in that last age category, but we simply—and very simply—want to express our appreciation and our respect for the job that they have done—not just for the time that we've been here but for the entire time that they've been in the Post Office Department.

As I've stated, their assistance and co-operation during this transition period has really been invaluable to me—and to all of us that are coming aboard.

They have been a stabilizing force in the new Administration during the sometimes hectic weeks that we've had here, as we tried to get a handle on the problems and put together our team.

They've tried to guide us and as we would ask stupid questions, they would straighten us out and tell us about the problems with some of the suggestions that we'd made—but they have considerably lightened the burden during the transition period we have been facing.

I recognize, of course, that their efforts of the last few weeks have been very small indeed when compared to the total service and the total efforts that they have given to the Post Office in their years of service.

If the figures that were given to me are correct, they represent between them a very talented 86 man-years of service in the Post Office Department.

All of us know that the Post Office Department has more than its share of problems but I find myself amazed that, under the circumstances, it performs as well as it does.

The reason it is able to carry out its mission, of course, is because it has been successful in attracting and developing capable executives such as those we honor here today, who despite the difficulties, have managed to accomplish a great deal—and the Postal Service and the nation are indeed indebted to each of you.

Three of them—Fred Batrus, Pete Dorsey and Henry Montague—symbolize the vast store of potential talent that is available

within the Post Office Department—within the Postal Service.

They have worked their way to the top, and along the way they have obtained an intimate knowledge of the Postal Service. This knowledge, plus their own obvious talents, have enabled them to make important contributions at the upper levels of this Department.

The other man that we honor today, Ralph Nicholson, symbolizes the outside source of talent that is available to the Postal Service.

Although after eight years, I don't know who'd say "outside sources," really, Ralph—but men from the outside, from business and other areas who have become experts in particular fields, and who like Ralph, are often willing to make that expertise available in public service at personal sacrifice.

The combination of the career postal management and talented newcomers from outside, seems to me to make for a real vital blend for continued progress in the Postal Service. Both are very important.

In terms of years of service, Henry Montague stands senior among us today. He entered the Postal Service at Poughkeepsie, New York, in 1937 as a substitute clerk and he rose through clerical and supervisory ranks to become an Inspector in 1942. He became Chief Inspector in 1961.

Since that time, he has led the Postal Inspection Service in many of its major investigations and successful criminal prosecution efforts, including vigilance in protecting the public interest through investigations of rackets involving millions of dollars in mail frauds.

During the transition, he has been invaluable in assuring a smooth changeover in the area of enforcement of postal laws.

Fred Batrus and Pete Dorsey both entered the Postal Service in 1946, Fred as an attorney in headquarters, and Pete as a Postmaster of Upper Marlboro, Maryland.

Pete and I have a mutual friend that lives in Upper Marlboro. My mother—when she was in Washington—used to visit there often. I understand that's the hunt country, but I can't imagine Pete Dorsey riding to the hounds!

Fred served in a number of executive positions in transportation, including Deputy Assistant Postmaster General, prior to his appointment as Assistant Postmaster General for Transportation. He has applied this extensive experience to the continued efficient transportation of the mails during this change.

The transition period has been marked by several difficulties, including the longshoremen's East Coast strike affecting international mail—and Fred's assistance was particularly helpful in weathering this event.

Pete Dorsey was named Director of the Bureau of Operations' Post Office Changes Branch in 1962 and was assigned in March, 1964, as staff assistant to the Deputy Assistant Postmaster General for Field Operations.

In May of 1966, he was promoted to be Special Assistant for Policy and Projects, and in August of that same year, moved up to Director of Installations Management Division. In 1967, he was appointed Deputy Assistant Postmaster General for Operations. A few months ago he was named Acting Assistant Postmaster General for Operations.

Ralph Nicholson came to the Post Office Department in 1961 from a New York advertising agency as Assistant Postmaster General for Finance and Administration.

He has been particularly helpful in assisting our new postal managers in obtaining a full grasp of the complex field of postal finance and administration—and to me personally as I have attempted to get a grasp on the problems that I have faced.

I have been told many times of the extreme respect that the people on the Hill have for his intimate knowledge of the financial areas of this Department.

The description on this distinguished Award reads:

"For distinguished public service in the interest of a better postal system for the Nation."

Again, I'd like to say that I'm grateful to each of these gentlemen for what he has contributed, and for the opportunity that I've had to have worked with them personally.

Each of these gentlemen is unselfishly remaining here in one capacity or another at my request—to continue to assist us in our efforts and I deeply appreciate their commitment and the personal sacrifice to them.

GENEROUS CONSERVATION GIFT OF MR. AND MRS. JAMES F. HILLMAN, OF PITTSBURGH

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to call to the attention of my colleagues in the U.S. Congress and the American people the generous gift of 3,654 acres of land to the State of Pennsylvania by Mr. and Mrs. James F. Hillman, civic leaders of Pittsburgh, Pa.

The land, located in Hanover Township, Washington County, about 20 miles west of Pittsburgh, will be designated Hillman State Park.

My hearty congratulations to Mr. and Mrs. James Hillman for this fine contribution. Their enlightened and forward-looking leadership for the public good is a fine advance in the preservation of our natural heritage for Pennsylvania and the American people.

I present for the RECORD at this point an article by Fred Jones, conservation editor of the Pittsburgh Press, which describes the Hillman State Park and Mr. Hillman's long interest in conservation:

CITY LEADER GIVES STATE 3,654 ACRES FOR PARK
(By Fred Jones)

A Pittsburgh conservationist has given the State a 3654-acre tract of land valued at more than \$1 million for use as a park.

The gift from James F. Hillman, of Parish Lane, Oakland, is the largest single land gift for State park purposes in the U.S., according to officials.

IN HANOVER TWP.

The tract is located in Hanover Twp., Washington County, just north of Rt. 22 about 20 miles west of Pittsburgh.

Receipt of the land was announced yesterday by Gov. Raymond P. Shafer who declared that "Mr. Hillman's benevolence manifests his life-time philosophy that conservation of natural resources, wise use and protection, results in benefits that go beyond economic considerations; that lasting value to all people and community, is the primary goal."

"Many times recognized for his responsive and dedicated leadership in community development, Mr. Hillman again demonstrates meaningful and effective expression of his profound humanitarianism. The Commonwealth has gratefully accepted his unparalleled gift in the same spirit as which the Hillman family has bestowed it," the Governor said.

EXPRESSES "PLEASURE"

Mr. Hillman, president of the Harmon Creek Coal Co., in notifying the Governor of his gift, said:

"It is our sincere pleasure to present this land to the people of the Commonwealth with the knowledge that it will be held in perpetuity and developed for public outdoor recreational purposes."

Practically all of the big tract had been stripped and then restored by Mr. Hillman, one of the first coal operators in the nation to advocate complete restoration of the land.

For more than two decades before the passage of the State's strip mine law in 1963, Mr. Hillman was backfilling and grading his strip mine pits and planting trees, shrubbery, and game feeds to restore his lands to useful purposes.

He was one of the leaders in the fight that eventually gave Pennsylvania a strip mine law that serves as a model for the rest of the Nation.

NEAR RACCOON PARK

The land gift lies about eight miles south of Raccoon State Park and is slightly more than half as big as the park itself.

Gov. Shafer noted that for a number of years, the State Dept. of Forests and Waters had been inspecting sites in southwestern Pennsylvania for state park purposes "with little success."

"The Hillman family land gift is beyond our highest hopes since the site is uniquely located in relation to high population centers, has excellent access, and it has topographical features conducive to State Park development," the Governor said.

Gov. Shafer said the Dept. of Forests and Waters is including in its capital budget for fiscal year 1969-1970 a request for funds with which a master development plan for the area could be produced. This money would come from the State's Project 500, the land and water conservation and reclamation fund.

HILLMAN NAME

"It was my distinct pleasure," Gov. Shafer said, "to recommend to the State Geographic Board that this area be named in honor of, and be so designated as Hillman State Park. Although this was a departure from the board's policy of naming state parks, it concurred in that recommendation that this unprecedented bestowal to the people of our Commonwealth by the Hillman family be perpetually recognized."

The big land tract will be placed under the administration of the park superintendent of Raccoon State Park for now. The Governor explained that this would permit immediate public use of the area for snowmobiling, horseback riding, cross country skiing and hiking.

Although the biggest, the land gift announced yesterday was not the first park donated by Mr. Hillman. In 1949 he donated a number of parklets to the City of Pittsburgh and later developed and presented a 2000-acre park complete with swimming pool, picnic areas, and recreational facilities to the community of Burgettstown.

In recognition of this and other gifts, the citizens of Burgettstown erected a monument to him a number of years ago to express their gratitude.

PUBLIC SERVICE CAREER

The park gift was in keeping with Mr. Hillman's career of public service that extends over more than a half a century.

Essentially a modest man, Mr. Hillman worked in the background of many groups that led to a better Pittsburgh. He was the moving spirit in the starting of Pa Pitt's Partners that organized a cleanup campaign in 1947. He served on hospital boards and was president of the Pittsburgh Park and Playground Assn.

He was a supporter and director of the

OCXV—397—Part 5

Civic Light Opera Assn. and a member of the Fine Arts Committee of Carnegie Museum.

Mr. Hillman, who celebrated his 80th birthday a few days ago, is continuing his active interest in conservation matters.

At present, he is working out with Federal and State officials the details of a system of disposing solid wastes in abandoned strip mines.

SOBER THOUGHT ON AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST: AN ADDRESS BY SENATOR BIRCH E. BAYH

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include in the RECORD the eloquent address delivered by Senator BIRCH E. BAYH on Sunday, February 23, 1969, at the New York Hilton Hotel, when B'nai Zion, the American fraternal Zionist organization, honored our former esteemed colleague, Herbert Tenzer. The Senator's address follows:

SOBER THOUGHT ON AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

I do not plan this evening to offer panaceas or magical formulas for what ails the Middle East. I have no cure-alls; nor does anyone else. The complex task of achieving peace in that land of riddles—so aptly characterized by the enigmatic Sphinx—has baffled and eluded the United States and our Israeli friends for nearly two decades. Nevertheless, I would like to suggest some perspectives on America's role in the struggle to insure the existence of a Jewish homeland and produce a Middle East at peace with itself. These perspectives I offer to you of B'nai Zion this evening—and to men of good will everywhere—in the hope that, possibly, they may serve as the building blocks from which that elusive peace can be fashioned.

You in B'nai Zion are dedicated to friendship, peace, the betterment of mankind in the United States and in Israel; the B'nai Zion Home for Retarded Children in Israel and the America-Israel Friendship House in the United States are monuments to your energy. As members of an organization whose focus is set on works of friendship and whose deeds are marked by understanding and compassion for human suffering, I know that you share with me the agonizing knowledge that as long as ploughshares are turned into swords, the peoples of the Middle East—Jews, Christians, and Moslems alike—cannot expect to reap a harvest of peace.

The dramatic story of the creation of the Jewish homeland—poignantly described by Israel Zangwill as "the land without a people waiting for the people without a land"—is particularly relevant to our hopes for a new and peaceful Middle East. For it clearly shows that when the mind and the body and the spirit are devoted to the tasks of creation—and not destruction—the human potential is unlimited. Prophecies can be made into realities. Deserts can be made to bloom. It was done in Zion. I saw it done there. It can be done in other nations of the Middle East. Israel can help them do it. The United States can help.

That is the message we must bring to an Arab world seething with frustrated and starving masses and fed on the inflammatory statements of extremists. But that message must also state, in no uncertain terms, that there can be no economic and social progress without peace—and there can be

no peace until the permanent existence of the State of Israel is recognized by its neighbors.

What can the United States do to assist the nations of the Middle East to move forward to a peaceful settlement of their differences? That is a question to which I have been devoting a great deal of time and thought since my return from Israel in early July, 1967. I wish I could say to you tonight that, yes, the United States can bring peace to the Middle East. In all honesty, in my judgement, it cannot; nor can any other power outside of the area. Nor should it be within the power of an outside nation to work its dictatorial will on this tragic land, which has for too long now suffered the effects of the old imperialism.

A peace is just—and can be permanent—only to the degree that it is voluntarily entered into by the parties directly involved. An imposed peace, however well-intentioned the peacemakers, is an open invitation to renewed hostilities. That is the lesson of 1956. Can we, in good conscience, once again ask Israel to surrender the fruits of victory in exchange for promises, not from its adversaries, but from others? I say no, for history tells us these are empty.

Ten years ago, the maritime powers pledged that the Suez Canal would be open to Israeli shipping and that if Egypt tried to close the Canal they would be prepared to deal with such a situation in a firm and decisive manner. In those ten years, there has been enough diplomatic rhetoric about free transit to float the entire Israeli Navy through the Canal many times over—but there was no action when Nasser acted unilaterally to restrict passage.

More recently, as a prelude to the June War we witnessed Egypt's open defiance of the 1957 United Nations arrangements for free and unobstructed passage in the Straits of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba.

And what of the 1956 and 1957 guarantees of territorial integrity? With a commitment from the Western nations in hand, Israel withdrew behind her previous borders. The Sinai Peninsula was completely evacuated in exchange for the presence of United Nations forces. These troops stayed in the Sinai, as we were to see, only at Egypt's pleasure. When the time came for Nasser to mobilize his armies in the desert, the United Nations forces were told to pack—and they did!

So much for international guarantees.

Upon my return from the Middle East, I said that a strong and secure Israel is the best deterrent to aggression. I think this bears repeating now, particularly in view of the Soviet Union's policy of lavishing armaments upon the Arab states.

Recent estimates put Russia's military aid at \$1 billion since the defeat of the Arab forces in June, 1967. As a result of the steady and continuing arms build-up, Syria and Iraq are now at full strength. The Egyptians are reported to have more tanks now than ever before and their air force is at about 50 percent of its pre-war level.

These reports are cause for alarm. They are also cause for the United States to reassess its policy of military assistance. Simply, we cannot afford to see the balance of power tipped in favor of aggression. For that reason, I have not hesitated to call upon our government to make available to Israel the necessary AF Skyhawks, Hawk Missiles and, most importantly, the F4 Phantom Jets. The prompt delivery of the Phantoms in 1969 is an essential ingredient in the Middle East equation—an equation that was upset decisively by France's high-handed action in refusing to deliver the Mirage Jets already paid for by Israel. I believe the United States must take up the slack caused by France's sudden courtship of the Arab states.

In view of France's recent posture and the Soviet Union's continued policy of re-arming the Arabs, the United States must proceed with extreme caution in any Four Power

talks. In fact, the stepping-up of terrorist activity and the increasing intransigence of Arab extremists may very well turn out to be part of Soviet-Arab strategy. This policy of provocation might be designed to create a false climate for the upcoming talks in which peace at any price appears as the only alternative to further aggression. The aim of this strategy, of course, is to force the United States into a compromising position with its Israeli ally and to pressure us into forcing concessions from Israel.

Before any talks begin, therefore, I suggest that the President of the United States clearly state to the Russians and to the French, our determination to protect the territorial integrity of the State of Israel. That should be the main principle of American policy. The specifics of that policy should be, as I said on June 23, 1967, when I joined my distinguished colleague, Senator Javits, in sponsoring a "sense of the Senate" resolution on the Middle East:

1. Every nation has the fundamental right to exist and to have that right respected by its neighbors.

2. An equitable solution to the thorny refugee problem.

3. Free and unobstructed passage through international waterways, including the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba.

4. A halt to the dangerous and spiralling arms race.

5. Recognized boundaries, voluntarily agreed to by the parties involved.

Point number one calls for an end to the state of war, embodied in a peace treaty, and recognition of Israel. The only way to implement this, it seems to me, is to have the parties themselves sit down face-to-face and negotiate a settlement.

I am not naive. This will not be easy. Winning a peace never is, but as Aristotle wisely pointed out: "It is more difficult to organize peace than to win a war; but the fruits of victory will be lost if the peace is not well organized."

For twenty years, the refugees have been fertile soil for exploitation by Arab politicians. I suggest that this is the one area where Israel can take the lead and by so doing, can demonstrate to a watching world its obvious and sincere desire for peace. By taking the all important step toward the compensation, rehabilitation, and resettlement of these unwitting victims of aggression, Israel can deprive the Arab states of a potent political weapon.

My concern for free and unobstructed passage through the Suez Canal and Gulf of Aqaba is not a new policy. Traditionally, both avenues of commerce have been regarded as international waterways. Of course, until the Arabs are prepared to sign a peace treaty, Israel's holding on to the strategic outpost at Sharm-el-Sheikh is a necessity. It simply cannot afford to have this vital lifeline cut once again.

The answer to the spiralling arms race, as you know, lies not with Israel, the United States or even with the Arabs. It lies with the Soviet Union, now the main source of money and weapons for the Arabs and a new force to be considered in the already confused Middle East picture. This is one area where the Four Power talks can prove useful and where Russia's often stated desire for peace in the Middle East can be tested.

Resolving the many complex and centuries old boundary disputes will be a particularly difficult task—but a task in which there appears to be some room for give-and-take. The ideal solution would be a settlement in which neither Arabs nor Jews gained a decided military advantage—and Israel's borders were secured. But no one who believes in the Israeli cause—and in the cause of freedom and peace—can, in good faith, ask her to agree to a settlement that would permit hostile forces to be arrayed along her borders, as in 1967.

As a visitor to a kibbutz on the Sea of Galilee, I personally witnessed the vulnerability of these borders. I saw the disastrous effects of Syrian artillery shelling on innocent civilians. The Golan Heights must never again be used as a military outpost from which shells are launched on women and children below.

The question of Jerusalem involves more than just land and even security. It is a question of great religious significance for Jew, Christian and Moslem—and for that reason will prove the most difficult of all to resolve. I suggest that while Israel retain the City, it agree to some sort of international status for the Christian and Moslem holy places.

So I say to my Israeli friends: Persist in what is just and we shall have a just peace. As long as the Arab nations are unwilling to recognize Israel and give up the foolhardy idea of driving the Jews into the Sea, Israel is justified in retaining those strategic areas that proved so vulnerable in 1967.

To negotiate a lasting peace in the Middle East, is indeed a monumental task. But as the poet Milton observed: "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war." For if peace comes to the Middle East, all of its peoples will benefit and the works of creation can begin again. I am confident that with Israel's faith, perseverance and justice, we can accomplish this goal.

Tzee Yon B'Meesphat Teepaeh—Zion shall be redeemed through justice.

Shalom, my friends. May peace be with you forever.

THERE IS NO LACK OF GOOD CHARACTER

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, we hear a great deal these days about the lack of character in people and true Americanism as it was understood in our country for many years. Yet from time to time something always happens in one part of the country or another to prove that this is not so, that most Americans are still proud of their country and still very much interested in their fellow men, despite the demonstrations and the violence.

Such an example occurred recently in Norwich, Conn., in my congressional district. During a large public sale at a local well-known retail store, which attracted many people, there was a sudden fire scare and everyone had to leave the building. A brief letter from the owner of the store, Mr. John Meyer, published several days later in the Norwich Bulletin, describes the situation in precise words. I can only add that everyone concerned deserves commendation for their behavior, their honesty, and for preventing a panic. His letter reads as follows:

THANK YOU

Mr. Editor: To everyone who was attending our Annual Public Sale on Thursday evening at the time of the "fire scare," let me extend my personal thanks and gratitude for the manner in which you reacted.

In these days of confusion, demonstration, and rioting, the people from this area are splendid examples of true Americanism. People showed concern, remained calm and when we were sure there was no fire or danger, these people reentered the building with the garments in their arms.

The Norwich Police Department reacted quickly and reported they saw no one leaving with unwrapped merchandise. We had two people call to tell us they had to leave due to problems but would be in Friday to pay for their garments.

The Norwich Fire Department responded to the call within minutes and double checked to assure everyone that all was well.

Again—Thank You—one and all for coming and for being "wonderful people" in what could have been a real panic.

JOHN MEYER.

PVT. HENRY BETHEA, U.S. ARMY,
KILLED IN VIETNAM

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, it is my sad duty to report that another one of my constituents, Pvt. Henry Bethea, U.S. Army, of Montrose, N.Y., died in Vietnam earlier this month.

I wish to commend the courage of this young man and to honor his memory by inserting herewith, for inclusion in the RECORD, the following article:

[From the Peekskill (N.Y.) Evening Star,
Mar. 8, 1969]

MONTROSE PARATROOPER KILLED—PVT. BETHEA
IN VIETNAM ONLY 2 WEEKS

Pvt. Henry Bethea, foster son of Mr. and Mrs. James Jones, of Dutch Street, Montrose, was killed in Vietnam early in March, two weeks after he had arrived in the war zone, the War Department has announced. The youth would be 21 on March 22.

The former outstanding athlete of Hendrick Hudson High School, a native of New York City, had been a member of the Jones family for 12 years. He was a member of the 1967 graduating class of Hendrick Hudson. He entered the service last October, and trained at Fort Gordon, Georgia. Following basic, he had selected paratroop training.

The family was notified on Wednesday that the youth was missing, and a telegram received yesterday advised that he had been killed.

A younger brother, Rayfield Bethea, it was learned this morning, has been notified of his impending induction in the armed services and will have a physical examination next week.

Funeral arrangements have not yet been completed. It is expected that the body will arrive in about five days. A foster brother, Sgt. Ronald Jones, who served in Vietnam for a year and returned home two months ago, is expected to be an escort. Sgt. Jones is now stationed at Fort Huachuca, Arizona, for the balance of his six months in the army.

The first notice from the War Department stated that Pvt. Bethea was missing when his platoon returned from action. He was a member of Co. C of the Third Brigade.

OUTSTANDING ATHLETE

At Hendrick Hudson, Pvt. Bethea played varsity football for four years, and was a halfback on the 1966-67 undefeated team. He was also on the wrestling team, played JV basketball and held the school track records for hurdles and broad jump.

Following graduation from high school, Pvt. Bethea attended Community College at Garden City, Kansas, for several months before entering the service.

Surviving is Pvt. Bethea's brother, Rayfield Bethea; his foster parents, Mr. and Mrs. James Jones, and several foster brothers and sisters.

SEARS MIDWESTERN TERRITORY
MAGAZINE TELLS STORY OF IN-
DIANAPOLIS ANTICRIME CRUSADE

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, in the 7 years that the Indianapolis anticrime crusade has been in operation, mobilizing the talents and energies of 50,000 members of over 1,000 Indianapolis women's organizations, it has become a model for cities all over the country.

The following article from Sears Midwestern Territory magazine for October 1968 describes the crusade and the help they received from the Sears-Roebuck Foundation:

IT CAN BE DONE: THE AMAZING ANTICRIME
CRUSADE OF 50,000 INDIANAPOLIS CLUB
WOMEN

Crime and public apathy toward it were on the rise in Indianapolis the night that Dr. Margaret Marshall, a 90-year-old retired psychologist and teacher, stepped from her doorway into a darkened street. Without warning, a mugger lashed out at her head with a blunt weapon and snatched her purse. When Dr. Marshall died of her injuries, the *Indianapolis News* was deluged with letters from infuriated women. Assistant Publisher Eugene S. Pulliam asked one of the paper's staffers, Margaret Moore, a petite 57-year-old widow, to help 30 prominent, civic-minded women to decide on a course of action.

Within weeks, Moore, with the help of local club leaders, had mobilized the 50,000 members of more than 1,000 Indianapolis women's organizations into an Anti-Crime Crusade. That was in March of 1962.

What has happened since is a modern-day miracle. In 1965, Indianapolis crime dropped 2.2 per cent while the national crime rate was rising 6 per cent. Although in 1966 and 1967 there was a 5.2 per cent resurgence in the city's total crime, this was less than half the 11 per cent rise the FBI reported for the nation as a whole.

Recently, President Johnson's Crime Commission pointed to the Indianapolis Crusade as "the most dramatic example in the country of a citizens' group that has addressed itself forcefully and successfully to the problems of crime and criminal justice."

Last month the Anti-Crime Crusaders, members of the Seventh District Federation of Clubs of Indianapolis, received a check for \$12,500 from Indianapolis Group Manager Vincent Haggerty on behalf of The Sears-Roebuck Foundation as top honors in the 1966-68 nationwide Community Improvement Program.

Following is the story of how these Indianapolis clubwomen—not much different, probably, from the ones in your home town—helped clean up crime in their city with the support of The Sears-Roebuck Foundation.

LOOKING AND LISTENING

"The first six months," says Mrs. Moore, "we went to the power structure and listened to all their problems in crime prevention. Then we listened to outside experts explain ways of dealing with them." The view was the same from the male side of the fence, too. "They were around here for months asking questions before they made a move," says Police Chief Winston Churchill.

To get a better view of the problem, Mrs. Moore and her Crusaders camped at police headquarters for 48 hours, often riding with the police on their neighborhood patrols.

TURNING THE LIGHT ON CRIME

On one of these rides, a Crusade volunteer learned that a high percentage of violent crimes were committed on dark streets. "The

worst," says Crusade Coordinator Moore, "were the semi-commercial, semi-residential neighborhoods near the downtown area."

Soon women were appointed to the lighting advisory committee for the Board of Works, and they appeared at city council meetings to speak in favor of an increased budget for lighting. The result is that well over 9,000 new lights have been installed at a cost of \$1,000,000 since the Crusade began. Police figure that crime has dropped as much as 85 per cent in some of the newly illuminated areas. Further, night accidents have decreased 38 per cent on these same streets.

The Crusaders next turned their attention to the lot of Indianapolis' policemen. They lobbied for pay raises and uniform appropriations. They established quarterly merit awards for policemen. They fought to change a city council ruling that prohibited the police department from recruiting men from anywhere but the city of Indianapolis. And they won a partial victory, too—the department can now accept as recruits men who come from outside the city but live in Marion County, in which Indianapolis is located.

The Crusade also worked to refurbish the image of the policeman. They persuaded the department to let two sharp, young officers give talks at city schools, at the same time passing out pamphlets that discuss laws affecting juveniles. As a result, today most students have formed a new opinion of the police department and its work.

BROOMS AND BUCKETS

In a spruce-up campaign, the Crusaders learned that good housekeeping is a crime deterrent, too. Says Mrs. Moore, "We picked one of the dirtiest blocks we could find and asked the city to close it to traffic one Saturday afternoon and lend us a truck to haul away the junk. About sixty kids came running out to enlist, and pretty soon their mothers were tossing so much junk out of the windows that it took six truck loads to haul it away."

Before very long the women saw the fruits of their labor. "The houses were so clean and there was so much more room," Moore discovered, "that the children had a place to study and made better grades. Their mothers were more content, so the fathers stayed home and didn't get in trouble with the police."

Since then, Mrs. Mattie Coney, a Negro school teacher who was appointed spruce-up chairman, has organized more than 500 citizen block clubs. Last year she spearheaded a city-wide clean-up drive in which 175,000 tons of trash and junk were hauled away.

"People make slums," says Mrs. Coney, who received a top Freedoms Foundation award for her work. "Bad neighborhoods develop because individuals fail."

COURTING IMPROVEMENT

At the end of 1962, the women began a "court watchers" program. Some 3,000 women have sat in on more than 70,000 cases, filled out reports on the defendant, the charge, the plea, the verdict, the proceedings. Was the judge punctual? Were the attorneys prepared with their cases, or did they ask for a continuance? Was the arresting officer present to testify? Some attorneys disapproved, but court efficiency increased. "It's the only honest evaluation we get," says Judge William T. Sharp. "It shakes everybody up and makes us analyze our decisions."

As the women sat in courts, they noted that many juvenile offenders were high school dropouts. So they began a pilot project in which 28 women worked with 28 dropouts on a person-to-person basis, furnishing tutoring help, encouragement, books, clothes and carfare.

When 26 of the 28 went back to school and stayed, the school administrators asked the women to help with 520 dropouts. They have since been able to get more than 2,000 dropouts back in school without city expenditures. Clubs assist by holding benefits, book-

and-author luncheons, apron sales, chili suppers.

The first step in the stay-in-school program is to write a personal letter to the student, offering help with any problems that may have caused him to drop out. About 75 per cent of the students who have responded said they dropped out because no one cared if they stayed. The women showed they cared by visiting the youngsters in their homes or treating them to a soda.

THE "FIVE-FINGER DISCOUNT"

On a bus one day, a Crusade member overheard one girl ask another, "Did you take your 'five-finger discount' today?" They were talking, the volunteer deduced, about shoplifting. A little spade work subsequently revealed that merchants all over the city were despairing about a steadily rising rate of light-fingered theft, but most were afraid to act against possible "boosters" for fear of being sued.

Crusaders joined the city police department and business organizations in sponsoring seminars for merchants, where experts demonstrated ways to spot and discourage shoplifting. The women then wrote an anti-shoplifting guide which has been distributed to more than 10,000 store owners. They also pressed vigorously for new legislation that would allow store personnel to detain and search suspicious customers with impunity.

The law was passed last year and is credited by Police Chief Winston Churchill with increasing shoplifting arrests in Indianapolis more than 30 per cent and hiking the conviction rate to an unprecedented 87 per cent. The number of reported offenses, meanwhile, is dropping.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

To the bewildered lady who asks, "But what can I do about crime prevention?" the women of Indianapolis have prepared the following checklist:

Sponsor a one-day workshop on crime prevention and law enforcement. Invite the mayor, police chief, district attorney, parole and probation officers, police administration professors, and a representative of the Chamber of Commerce to participate in panels.

Visit law enforcement officials on the job.

Take a look at lighting in your town or city. Ask police for help, and conduct a lighting survey correlated with high crime areas. Begin a court-watching program.

Start a crime alert program. Make sure the citizens in your town or city know what the crime rate is and how much it's costing them in human lives and money.

Find out if you have dropouts. Your help may be needed to start a back-to-school movement.

Make sure children in your town or city know the laws that affect them.

Meet with parole officers and other corrections officials to help youths released from correctional institutions. Police records show that approximately 35 per cent of juvenile offenders are repeaters. These youths need to get adjusted to law-abiding life in their communities.

Study legislation affecting law enforcement and crime prevention.

Find out whether your police department has a recruiting problem.

Begin a spruce-up campaign in one area, and enlist the help of women throughout the city to make the program city-wide.

Work with churches. Approximately 50 per cent of the youths in trouble have no church affiliation—but 50 per cent do have some affiliation.

The women of Indianapolis have the blueprint. Do the women in your city have the initiative?

SEARS-ROEBUCK FOUNDATION FUNDS AID FIGHT
ON CRIME

As a result of Indianapolis' outstanding Anti-Crime Crusade, the nationwide Community Improvement Program, co-sponsored

by The Sears-Roebuck Foundation and the General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC), has recently been revamped and expanded.

The \$220,000 Program will now provide educational seminars on community development, national recognition, and incentive grants for outstanding community improvement projects by women's clubs in cities of more than 50,000 population.

Announcing the program's new emphasis, Mrs. Walter Varney Magee, GFWC president, and William F. McCurdy, Foundation president, stated: "The program will offer increased incentives to federated women's clubs to undertake projects dealing with problems arising from the size and complexity of metropolitan communities.

"In past years, the program's major impact has been in smaller communities. Our two-year program for 1968-70 will now include a new national metropolitan category to recognize important contributions by women's clubs in major city areas."

Inaugurated in 1955, the Community Improvement Program emphasizes projects involving the entire community. Two-year projects by women's clubs are entered first in state competition. First-place winners in each state, which also receive incentive grants, then compete at the national level. Nearly 12,000 women's clubs participated in the 1966-68 program.

"Effectiveness of clubwomen in community betterment has been proved by past results of the Community Improvement Program," Mrs. Magee and McCurdy said. "Thousands of communities are better communities today because of clubwomen who cared."

THE FEDERAL COAL MINE HEALTH AND SAFETY ACT OF 1969

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969, which was first introduced by the gentleman from West Virginia (Mr. HECHLER) on February 6.

In my judgment, the Congress must act on this legislation immediately, for we have already delayed too long. When President Truman signed the Federal Coal Mine Safety Act of 1952, he warned that the public might be "misled into believing that this legislation is a broad-gauge accident prevention measure." In fact, the law contained loopholes that permitted the retention of dangerous electrical equipment and faulty ventilation systems. More than 5,500 miners have been killed since the old law was signed and more than 100,000 of the country's 135,000 soft coal miners are affected by "black lung" disease. This is a national disgrace.

This bill would transfer enforcement power from the Bureau of Mines to the Department of Labor, charge the President's Office of Science and Technology with mobilizing the most modern scientific techniques for safe mining and rescue, establish a Disaster Evaluation Center in conjunction with the Office of Emergency Preparedness, abolish the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Board of Review, and enforce stricter coal dust standards to protect the health

of men working in coal mines. Early action by the Congress to enact legislation along these lines is imperative.

JET MAGAZINE'S REPORT ON HUNGER IN THE UNITED STATES

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues an article by Simeon Booker on hunger in the United States which appeared in the March 13, 1969, issue of Jet magazine. Although I am aware that all of you have read about hunger before, I hope you will read this article by a distinguished journalist who has often been able to pinpoint social problems in America long before many others took note of them. Mr. Booker and Johnson Publications have through the years made a great contribution through their incisive reporting on critical issues.

In the past few months many groups and individuals have brought the problem of hunger in the United States to the public eye. Although hunger in America is not new, despite the fact that this is the richest nation in the world, it has only recently become a "popular" problem. Just as the civil rights movement hit its peak as a popular effort a few years ago, now it is not quite so "fashionable." I hope that while the hunger question is before us we can take drastic action to solve it. But, as usual, the disadvantaged, the starving, must wait until masses of bureaucratic redtape can be cut or untangled before their children can receive the adequate nutrition required to make them mature to healthy productive adults.

Hunger takes its toll not only in weakened, undernourished protein-starved bodies and parasitic infestations, but in spirit, psychological development and most importantly, in mental development. Severe malnutrition in expectant mothers can lead to mentally defective babies. Faulty and inadequate diet in childhood can result in a lowered IQ, a slower rate of mental development and loss of incentive. Among the many doctors who have pointed this out to Americans are Drs. Price Cobbs and William Grier, whose book, "Black Rage," is having a major impact on the medical profession. In some cases, the mental deterioration caused by chronic hunger can be reversed or slowed down if the child receives treatment at an early age, but tragically, many, many children can never reach their potential, simply because they lack adequate food.

Mr. Speaker, I do not intend a long discourse on the ravages of hunger because we are receiving reports every day from those who are touring parts of the country and documenting the shame of America. The Department of Agriculture has finally condescended to provide free food stamps to some of the families in three South Carolina counties, but not to enough of them. Free food stamps are

now available to only those families who have practically no income at all. The \$30 per month income limit for eligibility for free food stamps is utterly ridiculous. It is as absurd as a physician's saying to a patient with a chronic, but curable illness, "yes you are sick, but you are not sick enough for me to treat you, yet. Come back in about 6 weeks." The Department of Agriculture, which is on the one hand, paying farmers, many of them with substantial incomes, not to grow food, is fostering the hunger of families throughout the Nation who can barely scrape up something to quiet their hunger pangs. Free food stamps must be available in not just three counties, but in every county in America with reasonable income eligibility standards, otherwise, the entire program is a fraud as it now operates.

I hope that my colleagues will read the article by Simeon Booker which follows my remarks because I think we need to be constantly reminded of the problem until we are prepared to spend the money and provide the food for the millions of starving, undernourished, and malnourished Americans who at this very hour are slowly, but surely, wasting away. Their lack of resources to secure a proper diet has ceased to be their problem alone, it is our problem. It is also our shame, if we continue to ignore the needs which we can so easily meet with the vast resources at our fingertips.

Although Mr. Booker's article tells its story well, I wish it were possible to share with all my colleagues the excellent photographs of Beaufort County, S.C., residents taken by Maurice Sorrell. They are, indeed, worth many thousand printed words.

The article follows:

TRAGIC REPORT: HUNGER IN UNITED STATES—
SENATOR HOLLINGS CRIES "SHAMEFUL"
(By Simeon Booker, Jet Washington Bureau Chief)

"Yes, we all shall be free!" shouted slaves at a freedom meeting in Beaufort, S.C., more than 100 years ago. Minutes later, police came in and arrested the listeners at the church for violating a law that forbade blacks to congregate. When the Union Army reached the area years later, thousands of slaves deserted the plantations and tramped toward the coast to gain their freedom. Many slaves fought and died during the war. The first black unit to fight in the war was a regiment of South Carolina slaves. This unit held the sea islands and greeted Gen. William T. Sherman when he completed his famous march to the sea. After the war, the coastal areas contained a heavy concentration of blacks, determined to start out as freed people. In the ensuing years, the state's white power vintage took over and set out to destroy the band of freedom-loving blacks. The easiest way was to deny blacks education and jobs.

Last week in the nation's capital, a Senate committee, uncovering pockets of hunger in America, highlighted the tragic examples of two South Carolina counties, Beaufort and Jasper. Two campaigning black GIs, William Grant and William Barnwell, told about hunger and disgraceful health and sanitation conditions of their brothers and sisters in the "world's greatest democracy."

This was the area that black troops regained for the Union during the Civil War and these were descendants of the men who fought to keep the nation united. A century later, these people gained the fruits of the

labor of their foreparents—a livelihood amid primitive conditions.

Tears welled in the eyes of Sen. Ernest Hollings (D., S.C.) when he visited the broken-down shanties in the two counties and saw the "hungry look" in the eyes of hundreds of black children. The visit arranged by the two exGIs caused the former governor to reverse his views that thousands of blacks in the state were not victims of malnutrition and poor health. Even before the Senate committee completed its testimony on South Carolina, Secretary of Agriculture Dr. Clifford M. Hardin announced the issuance of the first free food stamps by his department. Previously, low-income families had to pay for the stamps.

In the backwood shanties of the two counties, black families had little knowledge of such a trivial offering—more than 100 years too late. Beaufort County welfare aides admitted that their department reached only about 20 percent of the black poor and most of the daily press' emphasis was on "only the poorest of the poor getting free food." There was little enthusiasm among state officials to face up to the mounting health and welfare problems of thousands of blacks, a situation so critical it could seriously impair the development of the state's highly publicized nearby beach resort areas.

"It's not only food we are fighting for," said 35-year-old William W. Grant Jr., a North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co. representative in Beaufort County and a Korean war veteran with a partial plastic stomach because of gun wounds received in battle. "Now the welfare department has persistently discriminated against blacks in amount of payment and expanding a program to reach all of the poor. More free stamps will give grocers a break. We've got to patrol them so that these people don't receive neckbones, poor-quality meats and leftover vegetables. What we need is a massive program of health, sanitation, home economics, education and job opportunities." Many civil rights, like Grant, feel that the overkill on the free food stamps to a few black poor families is a deliberate public relations stunt to blind the nation's leaders of the South Carolinian tactic of wiping out the blacks. "It took them more than a century and over many generations," said Grant, "but they finally succeeded in smashing the pride and hope of thousands of black people. The blacks refused to leave and they got beaten down into the germ-infested ground."

Today, this "lost colony of poor blacks," scorned by the whites and ignored by most of their more-fortunate brothers and sisters, exist in a pitiable state, skeptical, disillusioned and uncommunicative. Explained John Gadson Jr., director of the Beaufort Neighborhood Youth Corps Center, "One of the biggest jobs is to motivate these families. You've got to start from scratch. Somewhere along the line, you've got to break the vicious cycle—maybe with the children. Some of the old people are too far gone."

The unsung hero of the baring of the plight of South Carolina blacks is a white doctor, Donald E. Gatch, who a year ago testified at a state hearing of the presence of vast amounts of "intestinal worms" among residents in black-occupied, low-country areas. The charge was bitterly denied by his colleagues and he was threatened with ouster from medical societies. When witness Charles Fraser told senators in the nation's capital that a million persons in the Southeast—a huge number in South Carolina alone were infested with intestinal parasites, Dr. Gatch was not present. Jet tried to interview Dr. Gatch in Beaufort, but he was unavailable. Said a friend: "He's taken enough beating from these crackers. He's satisfied that he knew what he was talking about when state aides called his reports untrue. They objected to him trying to help blacks."

UNITED STATES AND STATE DO NOTHING ABOUT WORMS IN KIDS

Even with the known presence of near-epidemic levels of ascarides, a round intestinal worm that grows to almost 14 inches and incubates to totals of 200 in a child, and other parasites, neither state nor U.S. health authorities have taken the first step to control or eradicate the menace in black areas of South Carolina. A summer survey of 177 black children done by the University of South Carolina and Meharry Medical College specialists indicated that 98 were infested with worms. A world health organization report listed among the toll of infestation—stunting and general undernourishment.

In many black communities, the intestinal worm feeds better than the people, and has a more ideal atmosphere for a population explosion. The lack of sewage and water systems in black communities and the lack of sanitation and hygiene methods make it possible for an egg (200 can cling to the head of a needle) to find its way within hours into a human body. Said Mrs. Laura Ann Bush, a health worker for the University of South Carolina summer project: "Just by walking from your car, you have enough eggs on your shoes to become a transporter. Most every black area has contaminated soil dating back for years. Every area is almost hopelessly infested."

In most of the communities, the state government has made no provisions for sewage or a water system. Families tote buckets, barrels and tubs, carrying water for miles for home use. Many of the families have no out-houses, no tubs for bathing. A long-time observer noted, "To relieve yourself, you just squat. Grab a bit of moss to wipe yourself, and trot on. These germs eventually wind up in the water in the few wells. Some of these old people have never taken a bath."

While students rampage on campuses in a black power movement, not one black doctor has established offices in either Beaufort or Jasper County. "A black doctor," said war veteran Grant, "would at least be a symbol of health to these people, many of whom still have faith in herbs and spirits."

A black doctor, James P. Carter, a nutrition specialist at Meharry Medical College and Vanderbilt University Medical Schools, shocked U.S. senators at the hearing about the frightful oversight. Dr. Carter charged that the U.S. government provided more than 392 million dollars from 1960 to 1964 for economically developing countries for water supplies and waste disposal systems. Argued Carter: "Some of the areas I saw in Beaufort County would probably have qualified for this type of assistance had they been overseas in a country friendly to the United States at this time."

Dismal is the world when one makes an on-the-scene inspection trip. Mrs. Julia Boles, 83, rocks beside her leaning one-room shanty. It's a race of time whether the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO)-financed workers can finish building her a new home before the old shack falls down. "I've just lucky," she told JET. A magazine published a picture of the old lady and her home. In Warsaw, Mrs. Blossom Metz furiously objected to a cameraman taking her picture: "It ain't gonna do no good. We been promised water for years." Aging neighbor Mrs. Mary Taylor described the plight of trying to raise a large-size family on less than \$100 a month, "I just want to put my soul to rest. I've just tired now." On St. Helena Island, Mrs. Christine Bradley nurses her oldest son, 38-year-old Nathan Mitchell, who's been in bed in one of the two rooms for 30 years. He fell and broke his back. There is no such thing as welfare sending a nurse or a doctor. "This is my fate," she says smiling. Mrs. Marie Brown, mother of three, talks about the welfare taking \$50 out of her \$87.50 check to pay the rent. "What I need," she declared, "money man." A father and son, James Sweetwine Sr., 70, and Jr., 43, live in

side-by-side ramshackled and rusting school buses. "Best we can do," the father said sadly as he gazed at the bus.

In pulpwood-monopolized Jasper County, 33-year-old former Air Force Sgt. Thomas Barnwell is one of the few leaders who maintains dialogue with all of his people. A Tuskegee (Ala.) Institute graduate, Barnwell is trying to organize co-ops; one, a fishing co-op of ten boat owners, is the largest black business in the county. But Barnwell spends more time agitating for improvement of conditions. Said Barnwell: "We need a new young dynamic leadership now. We've got our backs to the wall."

Typical of the new breed are educators Calle B. Coaxum and Assistant Principal William S. Young Jr. of the St. Helena High School faculty. Parents recommended that the free lunch program, subsidized by the U.S. start with breakfast and include students of all grades, not just the first to sixth grades.

Beaufort's first and only black councilman, mortician Joseph Wright, recalled that black troops liberated Beaufort for the Yankees during the Civil War. But a friend reminded him that the Confederates got 100 years of revenge for that deed—enforcing a primitive civilization for blacks in the two counties.

CAPTIVE NATIONS AND THE UKRAINE

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I am anxious to join my distinguished colleagues and friends, the Honorable DANIEL J. FLOOD, the Honorable EDWARD J. DERWINSKI, and others in the sentiments they expressed during the week-long observance of Ukraine's independence, which was recently held in the House.

As a strong supporter of a proposed, special House Committee on Captive Nations, I hope that this Nation can move toward a more vigorous position in behalf of the suffering enslaved peoples of the Captive Nations Group, and firmly assert a policy that will commit this Nation to continuing its efforts to try to persuade the Soviet Union to recognize ordinary human rights, accepted democratic rights, and the undoubted right of all nations to be free and independent, which these unfortunate people assert so bravely at such high cost.

Now that we are laying the ground for high-level conferences to discuss many matters which are shaping American-Soviet relations, creating great distrust, violence, revolutionary activities and aggression in the world, I hope that this Nation and the other free nations identified with us, all free nations, can make our views and observations felt, and that some way can and will be found to release all captive peoples from the indenture and the denial of ordinary human rights that millions and millions of people in this world are being deprived of and denied under current policies and actions of the Soviet Union.

There is a long history of enslavement and persecution in the world and we have every reason to believe that in this enlightened time and day, recognition can at last be given throughout the entire

world of the basic rights of men and women to live lives of their own choosing under national autonomy, free, democratic patterns and personal liberty.

If we could come to some kind of agreement on these related questions, admittedly, it would be much easier, in my opinion, to press for peace, and perhaps to secure real peace that would be predicated upon the frank acknowledgment by all nations that aggression and aggrandizement against other nations and oppression of peoples, denial of ordinary, human democratic rights to their peoples should be ended by all the nations by common consent, pursuant to the widespread human aims and aspirations of all peoples save those intent upon fastening their dictatorial power upon the helpless and the weak.

After all, man was born free, is entitled to remain free, and when he is oppressed and persecuted, no enduring peace is possible, though cruel force and persecution may be imposed upon him.

This Nation does not want to be throwing its weight around the world, trying to force or wheedle other nations to join our system, or to adopt our form of government. These are questions that must be left to them, but we should make it clearly known, so that everyone can understand it, even the leaders of the Kremlin, that we believe in free government, that we oppose tyranny and oppression of others, that we stand for the liberation of all people from every form of tyranny, enslavement, and persecution.

With these principles in mind, which freedom-loving, freedom-seeking people everywhere embrace, I again urge a sympathetic understanding of the aims for a free Ukraine, and express the hope that, like all other peoples desiring it, that nation, and all nations may soon be released from persecution and oppression, and be allowed to share in the fruits of self-government, democratic control over their affairs, and full enjoyment of those rights which are contemplated by the sacred principle of human freedom.

The hour is at hand when we can make another great crusade to bring all nations together in one vast union devoted to the rights of the individual, whatever his color, creed, or status where the human race can end hatred and killing and conspiracy and finally lay down the charter for enduring, universal peace with justice in the whole world.

A BILL TO ESTABLISH A NATIONAL COMMISSION ON LIBRARIES AND INFORMATION SCIENCE

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I am today cosponsoring with the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BRADEN) a bill to establish a National Commission on Libraries and Information Science.

The creation of such a permanent Commission was the first recommenda-

tion of a report issued last fall by the National Advisory Commission on Libraries. The bill we are introducing today would create a 15-member independent Commission, appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, to study our library and informational needs; evaluate the effectiveness of current programs; develop plans for meeting national needs in this area; provide technical advice to Federal, State, local, and private agencies; promote research and development in the field; and advise the President and Congress on program and policy needs.

This legislation would authorize a first-year appropriation of \$500,000 and continuing appropriations thereafter as the Congress shall determine. The Commission would be independent of any given agency, but the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is directed to provide it with administrative support, to be paid for out of the Commission's funds. I hope that this bill and related legislation will be the subject of early hearings by the Education and Labor Committee.

KRAUSE MILLING CO. OF MILWAUKEE DEVELOPS NEW WEAPON FOR WAR ON HUNGER

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the Krause Milling Co. of Milwaukee has played a major role in development of the high-protein food "CSM," which is helping to feed millions of hungry people throughout the world. I commend two articles on this valuable product to my colleagues:

[From the Chicago Tribune, Feb. 22, 1969]
BIAFRANS GENTLY TAP BOWLS, TIN CANS IN PLEA FOR FOOD
(By David Mazzarella)

UMUOHIAGU, BIAFRA, February 17.—Sister Mary Thomas' breakfast guests begin arriving before dawn.

More than 2,000 of them form lines up and down the field. Most are children, squatting on their haunches, tapping out subdued rhythms on chipped bowls and empty sardine cans. Their colorfully robed mothers and silent fathers stand behind, many of the women balancing babies on their hips.

Sister Mary's helpers appear, carrying three-foot-deep kettles, and the tapping quickens.

SPOON AND SPATULA

The aging nun from Ireland's County Cork walks briskly, a broad-lipped metal spoon in her right hand, a wooden spatula in her left. She dips deeply into the mixture and begins filling the bowls and the cans.

Little fingers plunge into the bowls, dip and lick, dip and lick.

"Ah, a great food this is," the smiling nun remarks. It contains cornmeal, soybean, and milk powder and comes from the United States.

"We add powdered egg, oil and stockfish," said Sister Mary. "They like it. . . and what a world of good for them it does."

The base, known as Formula Two, has been donated to relief agencies in huge quantities recently by the American government.

Sister Mary's feeding center is one of the

largest of more than 1,500 set up in Biafra to aid thousands of persons displaced by the 18-month Nigerian civil war.

ONE MEAL DAILY

It provides one meal a day—breakfast—and the meal possibly is the most wholesome in Biafra.

The Red Cross, and Roman Catholic and Protestant relief organizations are serving 3 million high protein meals a week. Officials agree that the dreaded protein deficiency disease—kwashiorkor—has nearly been controlled, at least among the children.

Six months ago, children with bloated stomachs, gray skin, and reddish hair—the signs of kwashiorkor—were seen in great numbers anywhere in Biafra.

Only 10 kwashiorkor cases were reported this week at Itu Olokoro refugee camp here. At Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, an average of three children a day used to die of malnutrition. Now three or four die in a week from all causes.

Relief workers warn, however, that should the airlift cease the situation would be reversed quickly. They say that while the present supply is keeping Biafra's children on a safe nutrition level, there is not enough for adults who need food desperately.

MEALS ARE LIMITED

"Most feeding centers still can only provide three meals a week to refugees," said Earl Roe, a Chicago schoolteacher who runs a distribution center for the World Council of Churches.

Aged men and shabbily dressed women camp outside the centers. Sometimes they get a bit of food left over after the distribution to refugee camps, feeding centers, and hospitals.

But much of the time the hard-pressed relief officials can give them nothing.

[From the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Feb. 27, 1968]

CSM MEETS MAJOR NUTRITION NEED—REVIEW OF BLENDED PRODUCT BY USDA POINTS TO IMPORTANCE OF FOODS WITH ADEQUATE NUTRITION AS WELL AS FILLING STOMACHS

WASHINGTON.—The story behind the development of CSM, Blended Food Product Formula No. 2 bought by the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service for donation abroad in relief programs, is reviewed by the Department of Agriculture in a special summary for the press, released on February 27, 1968.

Since the summer of 1966, the A.S.C.S. has bought about 4,000,000 cwt of the product for donation to recipients in 90 countries.

The U.S.D.A. review of the CSM program follows:

"There can be a big difference between filling empty stomachs and providing adequate nutrition. And concern for this difference, explain U.S. Department of Agriculture scientists, is behind the shipment of nearly 400,000,000 lbs of a multi-purpose food blend from the United States to more than 90 developing countries.

"The formulated food is called CSM, representing the three main ingredients—corn, soybeans, and milk.

"INEXPENSIVE AND RICH IN PROTEIN"

"CSM was developed to meet an urgent need for a food that is inexpensive, is rich in proteins, stores well, and may be easily prepared in a variety of ways. It can supplement the diet of any poorly nourished person, but especially weaned infants and preschool children.

"Scientists in Agricultural Research Service, cooperating with the Agency for International Development and the National Institutes of Health, developed the CSM formula. A blended food high in the proteins so desperately needed in the developing countries, CSM is manufactured by commercial millers and is purchased by U.S.D.A.

for distribution abroad by A.I.D. and voluntary groups.

"It consists of processed cornmeal (68%), soybean flour (25%), nonfat dry milk (5%), and minerals and vitamins (2%). The cost is approximately 7.5c per lb packaged and delivered to ocean ports.

"ESSENTIAL MINERALS FOR CHILDREN

"Three and one-half ounces of this blend, when made into a gruel or porridge, will supply a child with one-third to one-half or more of the necessary daily nutrients, except for ascorbic acid. These nutrients are particularly important during a period in his life when lack of proper food can irreversibly harm both body and mind. Officials estimate that the death rate for children under five years of age is about 40 times higher for children in undernourished families than for children who are well fed. Those undernourished children who survive face an average life span of 30 years with a lowered capacity to learn and without the energy to help themselves. When children are reached in time they respond rapidly to the improved diet.

"SPECIFICATION AND CONSISTENCY CHECKS

"U.S.D.A. has not stopped with development of the CSM formula. Scientists from the Department's Consumer and Marketing Service check each shipment to be sure the product meets specifications covering protein and fat content as well as texture, and cooked consistency checks are also made to see that the odor and flavor are satisfactory. A.R.S. food specialists prepare and test samples of soups, beverages, gruels, and porridges for flavor and other characteristics which combine to make the blend acceptable. Experience shows that even hungry people will not eat a food if the taste, appearance, texture, or odor offends them—and each country has its own standards. Food habits are hard to change, often reflecting centuries-old religious and social beliefs and superstitions.

"INTO METHODS OF PRE-COOKING MEAL

"Besides developing the formula for CSM and the specifications for the product, A.R.S. scientists have conducted research on different methods for pre-cooking corn meal, the major ingredient. This research has contributed to increased production, thereby making the product more available to the government. The revised specifications assure uniformity regardless of the production method used.

"EXPERIMENTS TO PERFECT FORMULA

"Efforts to develop new uses for CSM are continuing, as are experiments designed to further perfect the formula. Further research is also devoted to composition of the blend (fat content, nonfat dry milk, and inclusion of sucrose or dextrose) as it relates to moisture content and temperatures. Both are very important to "keeping quality" of the product during storage and distribution, and to flavor and texture when it is consumed."

CRAMER ANTIRIOT ACT TO BE ENFORCED AS DETERRENT TO STUDENT DISORDERS

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, as the author of the Antiriot Act—chapter 102, Public Law 90-284—and as an American deeply concerned over the continuing seriousness of student disorders on campuses across the Nation, I noted with great interest the article in the Wash-

ington Post of Saturday, March 1, by Mr. William S. White, entitled "Administration Going All Out on Issue of Campus Disorders."

I have in the past called upon the Attorney General of the previous administration to enforce the Antiriot Act but that administration failed to make use of this potent weapon against professionally organized disturbances. I am therefore especially gratified that the Nixon administration, through its able Attorney General, the Honorable John N. Mitchell, has selected as one of its first principal domestic issues the campus disorders now sweeping the country, and the Nixon administration is devoting top priority to its most effective weapon in bringing these disturbances under control, that is, the use of the Antiriot Act to prosecute the professional outside agitator who travels in interstate commerce or uses interstate facilities for the purpose of inciting riots and public disorders.

As Mr. White points out in his article, and as I have stated repeatedly on the House floor and elsewhere, the professional agitator, bent on fomenting riots, demonstrations, and the like, using whatever cause can help him accomplish his revolutionary aims, is a criminal and must be prosecuted. Without the aid and encouragement of experienced troublemakers, most student protestors would be at a loss to even attempt to organize and carry out disorders of the magnitude and ferocity we are now witnessing. Just recently the press reported that at the very moment students at Howard University Law School in Washington, D.C., were attempting to occupy their school's offices, the leaders of the demonstration were in constant telephone communication with demonstration leaders in California. Obviously, here, as elsewhere, the students were getting their advice on "disorderly procedure" from the outside professional agitators. Such use of interstate facilities "in furtherance of a riot" is a blatant violation of the provisions of the Antiriot Act.

With the active enforcement of the Antiriot Act, resulting in the removal and prosecution of the professional outside agitator, I predict we will witness a sharp decline in the number of campus disorders in America.

The full text of Mr. White's excellent article on this matter is inserted herewith for the information of my colleagues:

ADMINISTRATION GOING ALL OUT ON ISSUE OF CAMPUS DISORDERS

(By William S. White)

From the whole range of home issues President Nixon has chosen campus disorders for his first truly major commitment to action in the domestic field.

The President's denunciation of student rioting made in a letter saluting the strong line taken by Father Theodore Hesburgh of Notre Dame University, was, in fact, the signal for a push involving in one way or another the Administration's total resources. The long and short of it is that the Government has selected the frenzy of the campuses for a display of a great deal more than mere moral disapprobation of academic hoodlumism.

Not only has Mr. Nixon assigned the top member of his Administration, Vice President Spiro Agnew, to monitor the problem,

in cooperation with the Nation's Governors, among others; the entire cabinet, save for Secretary of State William Rogers, has also been brought into the picture.

By necessity, however, the real buck stops at the desk of Attorney General John Mitchell. Mitchell, though fully conscious of the essential constitutional limitations on the Federal Government's power to deal with local disorders, is nevertheless far from weaponless here. He is first of all making cooperative arrangements with the Governors and local officials to give to them indirect assistance wherever he lawfully can. More importantly, he is preparing to exercise one undoubted Federal authority which has never thus far been invoked.

This is a section of the Safe Streets Act of 1968 which makes it a Federal crime—a felony—to cross State lines for the purpose of inciting to riot or public disorder. To make a case here is admittedly not easy since effective prosecution actually requires the hardest job of proof in all the criminal law, that is, the marshaling of unassailable evidence of what amounts to a conspiracy. Still, the thing can be done, and Mitchell is resolutely determined to do it.

The FBI has long since known that while some student "demonstrations" are strictly home-grown, some others are fomented by leap-frogging non-student and thoroughly adult "activists" of the far left who go from campus to campus to exploit fancied or real academic grievances and turn them into violent campaigns aimed at subverting the Vietnam war policy, the military draft and the like.

It is to these types—and really only to these types—that the Attorney General intends to apply the sanctions of the Safe Streets Act. The reasoning is that if out-and-out revolutionaries can be brought to trial, under the full daylight of due process, it can be shown that the undoubted right of peaceful protest and dissent is being perverted.

The end purpose, in short, is to separate the truly bad fellows from authentic students who in any row with the university administration are prone to side with the protesters on the general human inclination to go along with those one believes are one's own.

When Mitchell, a tall, urbane lawyer late of Wall Street, discusses these matters, his concern for genuine civil liberties is as sensitively obvious as is his firm determination to break the long process by which nonstudent revolutionaries have been able to becloud the real issues on many campuses.

The Administration's central motivations in all this are two. The first is simply that sound public policy manifestly requires an end to the destruction of civility in tortured universities. The second is a lively awareness that of all the complex feelings bound up in the phrase "law and order" perhaps the most sensitive to the public is the spectacle of obscene violence in halls of ivy where until lately this sort of thing had been as remote as the moon used to be.

TENNESSEE EXPORTS BOOSTED BY FEDERAL-STATE TEAMWORK

HON. DAN KUYKENDALL

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include an editorial from the Memphis Commercial Appeal of Monday, March 10.

This editorial points out the tremendous contribution the great State of Tennessee is making in exporting American

manufactured goods. Tennessee has a proud record of progress and achievement. Our record in this one area proves again that Tennessee is a good place to work, live, and play.

The editorial follows:

TENNESSEE EXPORTS

Tennessee is contributing to the United States effort to boost sales abroad, which in turn benefit American business, workers and the balance of payments.

This also is true of the rest of the Mid-South. John M. Fowler, director of the Memphis field office of the Department of Commerce, points out that Tennessee-manufactured products exported in 1960 were worth 232 million dollars. In 1966 they had risen to 313.9 million. Mr. Fowler believes the increase for 1966 through 1968 will be even more substantial.

The Department of Commerce is greatly helpful to manufacturers in their export problems. Some 500 economic and commercial specialists in 152 United States embassies and consulates in more than 90 countries keep a lookout for trade opportunities. They visit foreign government trade offices and private firms and attend local trade association meetings. By keeping in close touch, they see where United States products and services can be used and sold.

Embassy and consular officers have found opportunities for American businessmen to sell a wide variety of products. Last year foreign firms offered about 1,400 trade opportunities, each trade opportunity specifying the product wanted and the name and address of the potential buyer.

Trade officials here can be proud of past results. They have shown the value of federal-state teamwork. The need for more Tennessee exports remains, and that means attracting the industries with export potential.

POSTHUMOUS MEDALS PRESENTED TO PARENTS OF L. CPL. SHULER A. HOFFMAN, U.S. MARINE CORPS

HON. ALBERT W. WATSON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, just recently a very poignant ceremony was held in a community in my congressional district which has been enacted in virtually every community in the Nation.

Appearing before the former classmates of their son, Marine L. Cpl. Shuler A. Hoffman, Mr. and Mrs. Virgil Hoffman of Springfield, S.C., accepted in his behalf six medals for gallantry in action. The medals were awarded posthumously because Lance Corporal Hoffman was killed while on patrol in Vietnam last month.

In an article which appeared in the Orangeburg, S.C., Times and Democrat, Mr. John Faust described the presentation of the medals to the parents. Because of the monumental sacrifice of this young man and the deep gratitude owed his memory by every American, I commend Mr. Faust's story to the attention of Congress and the Nation as follows:

SPRINGFIELD MARINE REMEMBERED: POSTHUMOUS MEDALS PRESENTED

(By John Faust)

SPRINGFIELD, S.C.—It was a bitter-sweet day at Springfield High School Thursday.

One of its alumni was being honored by both the United States and South Vietnamese governments, with some of their highest military awards being presented for his actions, but, Lance Corporal Shuler A. Hoffman, USMC, couldn't be present to receive the symbols of respect and honor.

LCpl Hoffman lost his life while on patrol against the Viet Cong, February 5, 1968. Accepting the posthumous awards were Mr. and Mrs. Virgil Hoffman, parents of the former Springfield High athletic star.

Speaking before the entire student body of SHS, Marine Captain Clark H. Rowe said LCpl Hoffman's actions merited the highest respect from his former schoolmates and friends and that it was small tribute in recognition of his ultimate sacrifice that the awards represented.

Hardly a sound could be heard inside the school auditorium save the spatter of raindrops against the windows of the room as Capt. Rowe presented Mr. and Mrs. Hoffman the awards authorized by special order of the Vietnamese government.

The Gallantry Cross with Palm for valor, the Military Merit Medal and the Vietnamese Campaign Medal, Capt. Rowe added that it was unfortunate young men had to die before their lives could be completely fulfilled, but that Americans such as LCpl Hoffman gladly accepted such risks in recognition of their duty and love of country.

Accompanying Capt. Rowe was USMC Sgt. Donald R. Tanner who explained to the silent assembly the meaning of each medal presented the parents of the young Marine.

He also paid quiet tribute to the willingness of the Springfield native in living and dying for his responsibility.

Also presented Mr. and Mrs. Hoffman, by the U.S. government, were the Purple Heart, the National Defense Medal and the Vietnamese Service Medal.

Principal J. E. Bethea, in a few remarks at the close of the solemn presentation pointed out to the students of his school that he hoped they appreciated the sacrifice of their former schoolmate and understood that what he had done for his country and family could not be measured in terms of just life and death.

Bethea pointed out that it was a willingness on the part of LCpl Hoffman to insure the endurance of their peace, security and way of life.

"He understood," said Bethea, "I think, that the American flag you see on the auditorium stage was more than just cloth and colors. He knew the suffering, sacrifice and demands of her history and future."

LCpl Hoffman, a 1967 graduate of Springfield High School, was killed by enemy gunfire while on patrol near Quang Tri, Vietnam, with elements of his unit, E Co., 2nd Bn, 9th Marines.

NIXON OFF TO FINE START

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, Americans as a whole have reason to be gratified by the worldwide acceptance of President Nixon as a fair and forceful leader. The climate of trust and cooperation he has already created is fundamentally important to the resolution of difficult national and international problems.

Typical of public reaction to the President is a recent editorial by John Weber, publisher of the Murray County Herald, Slayton, Minn. I place it in the RECORD at this point:

NIXON OFF TO FINE START

While we have no poll results or other statistics to back it up, we doubt very much whether any American president in recent history has managed to get off to as fine a start as Richard M. Nixon.

His early actions seem to have won the stamp of approval from large numbers of people in both major political parties. We have seen practically no adverse comment in the press of the Upper Midwest.

Nixon has only been in office for a few short weeks, yet he has already demonstrated that he will be a fair and forceful leader. His whirlwind tour of western Europe seemed to capture the fancy of the public, and the manner in which he handled the political leaders of that area is widely respected. Even our French friend, Charles De Gaulle, demonstrated courtesy and friendship toward the American president—something for which LeGrande Charles is not noted.

The tipoff on Richard Nixon probably came several years ago when he wasted no time in out-pounding and out-shouting the then Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev. As vice president at the time, he clearly demonstrated that he was capable of facing the world's political leaders with confidence and authority. He demonstrated that same ability again last week in Europe.

Domestically, Nixon hasn't had an opportunity to do a great deal as yet. He is saddled with the programs of his predecessor and is somewhat bound for the first year of his administration. Even here, however, he has been impressive with his directive to trim the Johnson programs at every opportunity.

All in all, we can think of practically no areas where Nixon has failed during these few short weeks in office. He has served notice on the world that he will be a strong president—and that the authority and power of the United States will remain unchallenged.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FRANCES PAYNE BOLTON PARK

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to introduce today a bill to change the name of the Piscataway Park across the Potomac River from Mount Vernon to the Frances Payne Bolton Park in honor of the long and dedicated service to our country of our former distinguished colleague.

Mrs. Bolton has particularly been in the forefront in protecting the scenic approaches to the area surrounding Mount Vernon and has spearheaded the preservation of Mount Vernon itself. The former Congresswoman from the Greater Cleveland area has donated generously to provide the means to buy the lands required to prevent interests from obscuring the view from Mount Vernon across the river and from the opposite shore to Mount Vernon. Those who live on those shores of the Potomac appreciate very much her noble efforts to preserve the countryside. Ultimately, the Nation is the beneficiary of Mrs. Bolton's generosity and good will. Now everyone in the country can enjoy the scenery of this beautiful area of the country and also the beautifully maintained historic home of our first President, George Washington.

It is my sincere hope that this bill,

which I introduce today, to change the name of the Piscataway Park to the Frances Payne Bolton Park will soon become law. The language of the bill is as follows:

H.R.—

A bill to provide that the park referred to as the Piscataway Park on the Potomac River, Maryland, shall hereafter be known as the Frances Payne Bolton Park

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in honor of Frances Payne Bolton, of Cuyahoga County, Ohio, and in recognition of her long and outstanding service to her community, State, and Nation, her leadership in the creation of Piscataway Park, her distinguished service in the United States Congress for twenty-eight years from the twenty-second Congressional District of Ohio, a district represented by her husband, the late Chester C. Bolton for twelve years, the Piscataway Park on the Potomac River, Maryland, shall hereafter be known and designated as the "Frances Payne Bolton Park." Any law, regulation, map, or record of the United States in which such park is referred to shall be held and considered to refer to such park by the name of the "Frances Payne Bolton Park."

LIMITING FARM SUBSIDIES

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I introduce today an amendment to the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, as amended, to limit subsidy payments and apply most of the savings to the food stamp and rural redevelopment programs. This amendment was introduced last year by my colleague Mr. FINDLEY, of Illinois, whose leadership I follow today.

Its purpose is twofold: to apply an absolute limit of \$20,000 to any farm—\$10,000 for any single program—receiving subsidy payments and to use the funds saved for two other important programs which need expansion.

Limiting subsidy payments is a proper first step toward their elimination. We must rebuild our system of agricultural programs to allow farmers a much greater return on their labors but we have learned that subsidy payments do not effectively serve that end. We must tailor these programs to insure a reasonable and equitable rate of return on agricultural investment and agricultural labor. This means equity for all farmers, not just the few giants of farm production. Limiting subsidy payments will demonstrate our determination to assure equity and justice for the millions of small- and medium-sized-farm owners.

My amendment, which would save about \$300 million, would specify the distribution of this savings as follows: \$100 million would go to an expanded food stamp program; \$100 million would aid the rural redevelopment program, and \$100 million would represent a net budget reduction.

We have learned much in the past months since this amendment was first

proposed about the serious malnutrition problem in America. The Senate nutrition hearings, now underway, will add to that knowledge. But we know enough right now to approve a move to give extra funds to the food stamp program which this amendment provides. In addition, I will support efforts to expand the pilot program to provide free food stamps where needed and to expand the program into those areas, where, for whatever reason, it is not operating and should be.

The extra funds for rural redevelopment are badly needed to provide additional opportunities for rebuilding and improving our rural communities which tend to be neglected in our concerns for urban development. Here again, in the balance between subsidy payments and funds for rural development we have misguidedly overemphasized one area and badly neglected the other. This amendment attempts to restore this balance.

ON SAVING 78TH STREET FROM THE TRANSIT AUTHORITY

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, many of us are becoming more aware these days of the important issue of conservation. Most of us, however, think only of our forests and rivers and other natural resources when considering the problem. I would like to call to your attention today an incident that has occurred in New York City which dramatizes the need to conserve whatever sources of beauty we have remaining in our cities, be they manmade or natural.

The New York City Transit Authority has developed plans to build an electrical power transformer substation to provide extra power for the Lexington Avenue subway line. The substation is to be built underground, below a street adjacent to the present subway tunnel.

Unhappily, the TA never felt that the residents of the area need be advised of these plans in advance. It was not until residents of 78th Street between Lexington and Third Avenues noticed surveyors at work on their street, and consequently made inquiries at various city agencies, that the community realized what was planned.

Of course, the TA's undercover procedures in this case are reprehensible. But what makes this particular instance of governmental insensitivity all the more appalling is that the proposed site for construction of this substation, 78th Street between Lexington and Third Avenues, happens to be an unusually lovely, tree-lined block, bordered on one side by historic row houses which the Landmarks Preservation Commission has termed "outstanding examples of mid-19th Century residential brick architecture."

The construction of a substation will require at least 2 years of digging and blasting, with no guarantee that the trees and houses will not suffer irrepara-

ble damage. And all this is to be done despite the fact that the substation could be built elsewhere. I am given to understand that the location of a transformer station, either below or above ground elsewhere—where less damage would be done—would not significantly reduce its efficiency.

The TA has argued that the 78th Street block was chosen because it would be most economical to build there. However, residents of the block have offered to raise funds to defray whatever reasonable expenses the TA would incur in changing the location. Why is it that money considerations are always paramount when we think of saving our cities and beautifying them, but never a consideration when funds are used to destroy our cities with highways which turn them into open air garages?

Despite this offer to defray costs, the TA insists on its present plans and the mayor has approved the contract. In light of such policy, is it any wonder that families flee our cities for the suburbs? Too great a proportion of our urban centers are overcrowded, overpolluted, and physically unattractive. Must our cities be such total eyesores? They must not; and all governmental bodies—city, State, and Federal—must be responsive to the need to conserve our few remaining urban landmarks and areas of unusual beauty.

This example in Manhattan is a vivid indication of how government, by ignoring the people it is intended to serve, ignores its responsibility to help Manhattan remain a truly habitable place. By ignoring the need for urban conservation, government only speeds the abandonment and decay of the cities.

The residents of Manhattan's 78th Street and other concerned individuals in the community are to be applauded for their efforts to preserve their homes. They have just won a court injunction temporarily barring construction of the power substation. This injunction remains in effect pending the outcome of the trial. Until this matter is decided in court, I shall assist the residents of this area in pressing for a public hearing to reexamine the location and construction plans for this substation. Such a hearing should have been held long before the TA's plans were finalized. And so I commend these citizens who have fought long and hard to preserve their houses and scenic beauty, not only for their own enjoyment but also for that of all those who pass along their street. I say to my fellow citizens—keep up the good fight.

THE AIR FORCE MUSEUM: THE CARETAKER OF A LEGEND

HON. CHARLES W. WHALEN, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to direct the attention of my colleagues to an excellent article which appears in the March 1969 issue of Air Force magazine.

It tells of the Air Force Museum which is located at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base and of the unique contribution it makes to the understanding of the history of military aviation.

The museum is presently located in old quarters on Patterson Field and will be moved in the future to the new facility planned for Wright Field.

I wish to congratulate Air Force magazine and William P. Schlitz, the writer, for making the article possible.

Mr. Speaker, for the information of the Members of the House I herewith insert the article:

THE AIR FORCE MUSEUM: CARETAKER OF A LEGEND

(By William P. Schlitz, news editor, Air Force/Space Digest)

A metal sentinel guards the entrance to the Air Force Museum at Wright-Patterson AFB, Ohio. It is the Douglas A-1E Skyraider flown by Maj. Bernard Fisher the day he bounced to a landing on a rough patch of ground in South Vietnam to rescue a downed fellow pilot being fired on by surrounding enemy troops. For that deed Major Fisher became the first Air Force man of the Vietnam War to be awarded the Medal of Honor (see AF/SD, March '67).

That plane and the story behind it symbolize the recurring theme of the Air Force Museum—the men and flying machines that together created the Air Force legend from Kitty Hawk to the technical marvels and achievements of the space age.

The Museum, then, is much more than a display case for old airplanes. It is an open-ended history book that tells the chapter-by-chapter story of aviation and airpower through the sixty-odd years of manned flight. And thanks to the diligent efforts of the Museum staff, very few pages are missing from the book.

The Museum, under operational control of the Secretary of the Air Force's Office of Information, is located appropriately enough near Dayton, Ohio, home of the Wright brothers during many of their early flights. It is free to the public and open every day except Christmas.

Currently housed in a converted engine-overhaul shop, the Museum dates back to the wood and fabric aircraft brought back from Europe for testing following the end of World War I. Initially established in a corner of a hangar building at old McCook Field near Dayton in 1923, the Museum since has experienced a turbulent history of moves and interruptions.

With its growth through the years, the Museum has become a major point of interest. Last year some 600,000 visitors passed through it. Because of the vast number of people who have been involved in aviation during its brief span, the Museum has almost universal appeal, and the number of visitors is expected to continue to grow. Grayheads of the '30s era bring their grandchildren to admire the planes that helped set altitude and speed records. Teen-age sons are introduced to the types of jets their fathers piloted above the barren Korean landscape.

The Museum's exhibits are arranged chronologically to reflect the development of aviation. And the displays have been set up with considerable thought to make the best possible use of the limited floor space—an excellent job by the Museum staff that is frequently remarked upon by visitors.

At the outset of a tour, one first sees models and scenes demonstrating man's early experiments with and concepts of flight. A blue panel depicting birds in flight bears a message that sets an eloquent theme: "Since the beginning of time, there have been those men who looked to the sky, who envied birds their graceful, soaring flight, who said to themselves, 'If I could but fly. . . .' This is the story of those men, and how they

learned to fly, and the remarkable things that have happened since."

Next is a portrayal of the Wright brothers' achievements, without which no air museum would be complete. A reproduction of the Wright 1909 Military Flyer equipped with an engine donated by Orville Wright brings to mind how the rich adventure of those first hesitant flights by the two brothers drew the era's reckless young men to their banner. Those men surely appreciated the fantastic potential for manned flight, but each certainly would have been astounded to stroll through the Museum's six decades of aviation history and emerge—in the space age.

The backbone of the Museum's collection of memorabilia, of course, are the aircraft, many representing almost miraculous breakthroughs in the progress of aviation. Forty-three are exhibited in the Museum. Youngsters viewing such World War I and 1920s aircraft as the famous Curtiss JN-4D "Jenny," the Standard J-1, and the de Havilland D.H. 4 at last are able to put into context such phrases as "flying by the seat of your pants" and learn what "barnstorming" was all about.

At the opposite end of the Museum's time spectrum is the "now" look of the section devoted to aerospace where reside the X-1B rocket plane and such other space-age hardware as a Discoverer capsule snatched in midair after reentry. Being prepared for exhibition is the space capsule that carried astronauts Virgil Grissom and John W. Young during the historic Gemini-3 mission in March 1965. Other aerospace items will be added as they become available.

It is difficult to imagine, in this technically sophisticated age, the stir that resulted in 1924 when the World Cruiser *New Orleans*, now in the Museum's possession, was one of two Douglas-built aircraft to complete the first aerial circumnavigation of the globe. The trip took 175 days, with fifteen days of actual flying time. Another, more recent, acquisition of the Museum is the Boeing B-52 *Lucky Lady III*, which, in a similar round-the-world flight in 1957, was able to cover the distance in considerably shorter time—forty-five hours and nineteen minutes nonstop. (This aircraft is not to be confused with the *Lucky Lady II*, a B-50 which made the first nonstop circumnavigation flight in 1949.) Of special interest at the Museum also is a Curtiss P-6E Hawk, the last in existence and still considered by many as the most beautiful airplane ever built.

At the outset of both Great Wars, adventurous American lads went off to get in the fight long before their country was openly committed. Consequently, they flew airplanes built by other nations, such as the Spad and Spitfire, both now displayed at the Museum. It was in those planes and others like them that members of the Lafayette Escadrille and the Eagle Squadron helped make air warfare history.

In one area of the Museum, two once-deadly adversaries now at peace face each other across the aisle: a North American F-86 Sabrejet and a Russian-built MIG-15. The MIG was flown to Kimpo Air Base in Korea in September 1953 by defecting North Korean pilot Noh Keun Suk, who received sanctuary and a \$100,000 reward. He has since graduated from engineering school, has married, and is living in the United States.

It is with nostalgia that many visitors view the famous World War II Mustang and Thunderbolt on display. Once again in memory the old arguments are heard regarding the respective merits of the two aircraft. The North American P-51 Mustang had great range and speed, its proponents would say. Yeah, but the ol' Jug was sure to get you home, Republic P-47 pilots would counter.

Where possible, the stories of the men who flew the planes are featured in original photographs and text displayed on panel walls, along with other items of interest. And in a special room is the Aviation Hall of Fame, es-

tablished to give recognition to those who contributed much to the advancement of flight.

Although the Museum is designed for touring without guides, at fifty locations brief electronic messages explaining exhibits can be heard through wireless "By-Word" headsets rented for a small fee from a concessionaire. And on Saturdays, Sundays, holidays, and when otherwise requested, films on a variety of Air Force and aviation subjects are shown in the Museum theater. Contemporary paintings in the Museum's art gallery can be viewed at any time and offer a panorama of Air Force activity from a remote radar station in Alaska to a street scene in Tokyo.

The Museum is constantly on the lookout for vintage aircraft it can add to its collection. But competition from other museums, private collectors, and manufacturers is fierce. Of the thousands of military aircraft produced during the two World Wars, few remain intact. Treaty stipulations brought about the destruction of many following World War I, and vast fleets of aircraft were destroyed after World War II because of the cost of storing and maintaining planes considered outmoded.

The Museum will accept any World War I aircraft. On its shopping list from the 1919-1941 era a Boeing P-12 and B-9; Curtiss A-8 or A-12; Martin B-10 or B-12; Northrop A-17; and Seversky P-35. World War II planes the Museum would like to acquire are a Messerschmitt 163 and a Mitsubishi Zero.

The Museum, of course, can rely on Air Force help in obtaining planes to fill the gaps in its collection. When Charles Gebhardt, head of the Museum's Aircraft Restoration Division, got wind of the location of a pre-World War II O-38 observation plane that had crashed in the Alaskan wilds in 1941, he enlisted Alaskan Air Command assistance in a salvage effort. (See "Operation O-38, A Salvage Adventure in Alaska's Deep Freeze," February '69 issue, p. 56.) The carcass of the aircraft, remarkably preserved during its long sleep, is now in the hands of the Museum, and Mr. Gebhardt hopes to have the plane completely restored and on display within a year or so.

If an aircraft specimen is simply not to be had, the Museum has experts among its staff of forty-three who can build historic replicas from scratch using original plans and designs. They often will incorporate resurrected armament, engines, and other equipment once aboard the original. Fans of comic-strip character Snoopy will be glad to know a Sopwith Camel is being constructed in such a manner.

The stress in such projects is authenticity, as it is in the other exhibits.

Over the years the Museum has gathered together a huge amount of historical material, much of it donated by the individuals involved, such as flight clothing from World War II ace Don Gentile; personal items from the B-25 crews of the Tokyo raid led by Jimmy Doolittle; and items such as compasses and tunneling equipment ingeniously constructed from bits and scraps of material by escape-minded prisoners of the Stalags during World War II. In fact, the activities of the men behind the wire merit much more attention than the Museum is capable of giving them because of its space limitations.

That is a major problem. The infusion of such a large amount of hardware and other material has put a severe strain on Museum space, with the result that many items of particular interest cannot be shown. Adjoining the Museum building is a four-and-a-half-acre airplane park that currently accommodates an air armada of more than forty aircraft, exposed to the deteriorating effects of the weather.

A project to build a new home for the Museum to solve these and other problems has been in the works for some time. The Air Force has set aside a 200-acre site at Wright-Patterson to house a new facility,

and architectural and exhibit designs have been drawn up under the direction of the Air Force Museum Foundation (see "Space for Our Air Heritage," January '65 AF/SD, p. 40). The central problem is funds, and although the Foundation has been successful in generating almost \$4 million in contributions, considerably more is needed before actual construction of a new home for the Museum can begin.

The main architectural feature of the new home planned for the Museum is a huge space-age canopy made of steel cables and topped by a steel deck. It is to cover eight acres or about 350,000 square feet, four times the space of the current facility. The canopy, designed by Kevin Roche John Dinkeloo & Associates (formerly Eero Saarinen & Associates), of Hamden, Conn., will be supported only at the four corners and will form a wedge-shaped arch, running from ground level entry at the narrow end to 130 feet high and 700 feet across at the wide end. Three sides will be open.

Both indoor and outdoor space will be used in the new facility but all will be under cover. As previously, the displays will be arranged in chronological order, with the early, fragile aircraft contained in an air-conditioned enclosed area. Herb Rosenthal & Associates of Los Angeles designed the new structure's interior displays.

Upon being admitted into the new Museum facility at the low and narrow end of the structure, visitors will move past the replica of the 1909 Wright Flyer and the unfolding story of military aviation out of the sunken air-conditioned area to the larger end of the Museum arch. Later model aircraft will be in an open environment but still under the immense canopy. The larger planes will be near the open end where the ceiling is highest. Outside the high end the most modern aircraft will be on display, parked in the open air and on a ramp, thus placing them in a realistic setting.

To present important phases or aspects of such aviation developments as propulsion and armament technology, various clusters of displays called "inner museums" will be seen on promontories and elevated floors. These will provide the thread linking the Air Force story in the flow of time. Smaller "time capsule" clusters will detail specific events such as the Berlin Airlift or development of the atomic bomb.

In talking with the Museum's director, Col. Joseph D. Hornsby, a visitor learns that the long-range goal of the Air Force Museum is not simply to be a repository for items having historical interest in respect to military aviation. One main objective is to serve as an educational facility to teach the young about aviation through a panoramic view of its advancing technology, and to acquaint them with the vibrant excitement of aviation's past.

SYMBOLS IMPORTANT: IT'S TIME TO WAVE FLAG

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, I invite the attention of my colleagues to an excellent article by Ernest Cuneo which recently appeared in the Pittsburgh Press.

In view of the disrespect and outright desecration the American flag, our national symbol of freedom, has been subjected to in recent years, I wholeheartedly agree, it is indeed time to wave the flag.

As a Congressman from Pennsylvania, the birthplace of our flag, I am particularly pleased to submit at this time the article for inclusion in the RECORD:

SYMBOLS IMPORTANT: IT'S TIME TO WAVE FLAG (By Ernest Cuneo)

It has long been noted that the principal problem of 20th Century democracy is the protection of the unorganized majority from the highly organized minorities.

To this day, the Communist Party of Russia is a very small percentage of the population.

A very small and hated minority of Communists, backed by the Red Army, are for all practical purposes the rulers of Czechoslovakia.

Within the United States, various groups have rioted, taken possession of public buildings, looted and terrorized. No less than 113 American cities have experienced arson to the point of conflagration.

Each of these malevolent organizations in one way or another, varying from the white sheets of the Klan to the Black Panthers, has an insignia to identify its members.

It is a fact that in union there is strength, psychologically as well as physically. As Alexander Hamilton noted, men feel fortified when they perceive that others stand with them. This also applies to loyal Americans.

Most Americans subscribe to the view of former Chief Justice Fred Vinson, who declared that freedom as we understand it permits a man to have many loyalties, based on that one loyalty which must be supreme, loyalty to the country itself.

The symbol of the loyalty of the vast majority is the American flag.

It would hearten many and certainly could do no harm if on Flag Day, June 14, each American contrived to wear either a tiny flag or a small red, white and blue ribbon in his lapel or visibly upon his person.

At a time when the American flag has been burned publicly in New York City's Central Park, hauled down and supplanted by the Red flag of revolution and the black flag of anarchy in Chicago, it would seem appropriate that with "malice toward none and charity toward all," American citizens peaceably display their colors.

Appropriately enough, Pennsylvania, the state where it was born, has declared Flag Day a legal holiday. Not one of the other 49 so designates it, though at last report, they too were under its protection.

PARALYZED VETERANS OF AMERICA

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, many American veterans are permanently confined to wheelchairs. One organization, first formed in 1947, was established by paraplegics to serve needs of this segment of our population. The organization, Paralyzed Veterans of America—or PVA—runs a comprehensive program ranging in areas from housing to education and employment.

On February 24 I introduced two bills—H.R. 7439 and H.R. 7441—calling for incorporation and recognition of PVA by the Federal Government. In order to convey a better understanding of the scope and intent of PVA, I include the following publication describing the history, purpose, and program of the Paralyzed Veterans of America:

PVA: THE HISTORY, PURPOSE, AND PROGRAM OF THE PARALYZED VETERANS OF AMERICA

At the end of World War One there was no need for an organization of paralyzed war veterans. Anyone sustaining a spinal cord injury resulting in paralysis, whether from war, accident, or disease, was soon gone, usually within eighteen months. His troubles were over.

Today, thanks to penicillin and other medical miracles, paralyzed individuals live on. Many spinal-cord-injured veterans of World War Two are still alive. Their ranks are increased every year by accidents, disease, and the hazards of military service in peacetime, in "cold war," and in "brush-fire war."

These men and women, more than most human beings, have problems, needs, and unfulfilled hopes. Hence, the Paralyzed Veterans of America (PVA).

WHAT WE ARE

PVA is an organization of veterans, male and female, who have served honorably in the armed forces and who have incurred an injury or disease affecting the spinal cord, causing paraplegia. The organization is non-profit, non-sectarian, and interracial, and is concerned with the welfare of non-veteran paraplegics as well as veterans.

A paraplegic is an individual who, having suffered spinal cord damage, is paralyzed below the point of damage, generally from the waist down. (Persons with paralysis of all four limbs are called quadriplegics.) Paraplegics nearly always cannot walk, have lost control of some internal functions, and are confined permanently to a wheelchair.

The "cord cases" of World War One died off quickly from pneumonia, kidney infections, bed-sore complications, and the like. Those of World War Two were kept alive by antibiotics and by improved methods of surgery. There then remained the problem of restoring them to useful living.

Staying alive, overcoming severe disability, returning to usefulness, being accepted by society—this required the help of many skilled people: nerve specialists, surgeons, internal-organ specialists, psychiatrists, experts in physical medicine, nurses, teachers, and others. It also required the will and initiative of the patients themselves.

This last became evident as early as 1946. Groups of paralyzed veterans organized to help each other solve their common problems. In 1947 representatives of these groups met at the Hines Veterans Administration Hospital near Chicago and formed a national body.

Today PVA is a federation of local chapters that run their own affairs. They cooperate with the national organization and in return receive cooperation and assistance from it. Chapters extend geographically from Boston to Los Angeles, from Chicago to San Juan. They pay the nominal sum of one dollar per member as dues to national PVA. All other chapter income is put to use to serve local needs.

WHAT WE DO

A paraplegic, just after his injury, has a galaxy of needs and problems. Half his body is useless. He requires guidance and encouragement. He must learn or relearn almost all the skills and arts of living—this time from a wheelchair. He must fight his way upward from a hospital bed through many steps to a satisfying life in normal society.

PVA and its chapters attempt to help him in that fight:

In the Hospital. From the moment of his injury or disease until he is discharged from the hospital as "fully rehabilitated," the paraplegic patient must be attended constantly. Watch must be kept against bed sores, kidney infection, bladder infection, and other complications, any one of which will threaten his life. He must also receive an intensive program of physical rehabilitation, to train him in new ways of using his body.

National PVA and its chapters strive unceasingly to help assure the patient of medical and rehabilitation treatment of the highest quality. PVA works with the Veterans Administration in Washington and, through the chapters, with local VA hospitals to maintain and where possible to improve standards of medical care for paraplegics.

In Housing. When a government hospital discharges the paralyzed veteran he has been medically rehabilitated and given certain benefits and assistance. But his fight is just starting. For example, where will he live? The home or apartment he lived in before his injury, even if still available, is almost surely no longer adequate. Stairs, narrow doorways, and small bathrooms will not accommodate his wheelchair.

The chapters of PVA help solve this problem by locating apartments suitable for a paraplegic and by advising members on the purchase or building of homes. They work to influence the design of all new housing, both public and private, to make it practical for wheelchair living.

In Transportation. Transportation is the paraplegic's second immediate problem. He cannot use the usual public transit—bus or subway or street car. He cannot travel by taxi because of the prohibitive cost. A wheelchair and the strength of his two arms can carry him only so far.

A hand-controlled automobile is the only answer. Several chapters of PVA offer their members financial assistance in buying cars. Several sponsor driver-training courses for both paraplegics and quadriplegics.

In Education and Training. To get a decent job and make a contribution to society the paralyzed veteran must start or continue his education or vocational training. Usually this means re-training, in skills he never before had.

A very important function of PVA is to inform and advise the paralyzed veteran on education. Eligibility for training under the GI Bill of Rights and other federal programs is our constant concern. We maintain a file on colleges, universities, and vocational training schools that will accept disabled students, are accredited by the Veterans Administration, and—most important—have the proper facilities for a wheelchair. PVA has worked closely with federal, state, and local agencies to expand our services in this area.

In Employment. The next great concern of the paraplegic is a job. The work place must be able to accommodate a wheelchair and the work must be such that it can be done from a wheelchair. Also, it should be satisfying work. Finally, his job should offer him chances for growth and advancement—no more, no less—than any worker expects, commensurate with his skills.

The chapters of PVA maintain a continuous survey of the employment situation for their members. Through questionnaires, they keep track of those desiring jobs, the types of work they can do, the number of hours they can work, and so on. Armed with this information, the chapters seek prospective employers on behalf of their members.

A major task is educating employers to the fact that the paralyzed person can do productive work at all levels, not merely the lowest ones. National PVA conducts a continuous program of public education through its "Employer of the Year" awards, made on a competitive basis. Chapters give similar awards on the local level. We also work closely with the President's Committee on the Employment of the Handicapped as well as the corresponding Governor's Committee in each state.

In Adjudication. From their beginning, the chapters of PVA have been involved with the problems of members faced with the adjudication of claims before government agencies. At its 1960 convention, PVA authorized the setting up of a National Service Program, in which each chapter utilizes the services of a member experienced in such work to pursue members' claims. The cost is underwritten by

the national organization. The program has grown steadily from year to year and has expanded to give service to many non-member veterans as well as members.

In Social Integration. To keep him from withdrawing into a shell of helplessness and depression, the recently disabled individual must be brought into the normal relationships of human society. Suddenly faced with serious disability, the individual is inevitably subject to deep and longlasting depression. He is fearful for his future and uncertain of his position among relatives and friends and in the outside world.

Our goal in PVA is to bring the paraplegic out of this frame of mind before he becomes so deeply mired that recovery is impossible. Entertainment, sports, and travel are some of the means used. Chapters provide tickets for the theatre and sporting events. We arrange picnics, dinners, trips, and similar affairs to which the wheelchair-bound can come, along with his spouse, other family members, or friends.

PVA and the chapters sponsor an active program of sports for the paralyzed. Basketball, archery, races, field events, and others have proved practicable and enjoyable for the wheelchair disabled.

In Legislation. The paraplegic has received the severest blow, short of death, possible to a human being. Federal government and the states have recognized this; they attempt in some measure to compensate both veterans and non-veterans. PVA has worked to encourage this attitude. It has supported legislation to assist all disabled individuals. It has been instrumental in establishing certain benefits for its members and others:

Financial assistance in buying automobiles for veterans with service-connected disabilities. Financial and legal assistance for the same group in the purchase of homes. Increased compensation and tax abatement for the service connected disabled. Liberalized pension benefits for those with non-service-connected disabilities. Nursing care and medical supplies for the non-service-connected. Special units for the disabled in federally-assisted housing projects.

Further legislative aims of PVA include:

Gaining the official national recognition that will empower us to represent our members in claims before the Veterans Administration. Supporting bills that would extend tax deductions and aid in meeting transportation costs to all seriously disabled individuals. Gaining the grant of VA benefits to all veterans of the armed services, including those serving in peacetime, "cold war," and "brushfire war." Improving programs of medical care and rehabilitation for all of the most seriously disabled. Promoting a sliding scale of benefits under the Social Security program for totally disabled individuals who do not now qualify because of lack of "quarters of coverage."

WE DO MORE

To heal, train, house, and encourage the wheelchair-bound man or woman is not enough. There are many other difficulties he or she must overcome. PVA is also concerned with:

Architectural Barriers. One of the most needless of physical handicaps to the paraplegic is steps, in public and private buildings. PVA is actively engaged with several federal and many local agencies in a drive to eliminate or neutralize (by ramps, for example) outside steps and inside stairs in public buildings, and to make all buildings and other facilities usable by the handicapped.

Spinal Cord Research. From its beginning PVA has realized that adjusting to life in a wheelchair is not the paraplegic's whole answer. He must also have hope for something better. We therefore set as our goal what amounts to the ultimate dissolution of the organization—through the search for a cure for paraplegia and quadriplegia.

In 1947 we founded the National Paraplegia Foundation, of which the chief function is

raising and disbursing funds for spinal cord research. Hundreds of thousands of dollars from PVA's budget have supplied the life's blood of that organization. NPF, as well as PVA, also promotes public education for the prevention of the terrible injuries resulting in paraplegia. Both also seek to interest medical students in selecting this field, so urgently requiring expanded medical effort, for their clinical and research work.

Publications. A monthly newspaper that has gained international recognition, *Paraplegia News*, is a PVA publication. It is important to our members, to other paraplegics, and to all interested in paraplegia. Members receive it as part of their membership; nonmembers pay a nominal subscription fee. With coverage of activities of both PVA and NPF as well as other news *Paraplegia News* is a vital source of information, education, and enjoyment to its readers.

Also published by PVA is "Where Turning Wheels Stop" a guide to living and eating facilities accessible, on a global scale, to wheelchair travelers. With unlimited possibilities, this pamphlet is republished frequently in expanded editions. It is available on request to anyone interested.

A brochure on chapter procedures serves to aid the establishment and maintenance of PVA chapters. Other publications being planned include an employment guide and a pictorial information brochure.

Other Organizations. PVA is interested not only in its own members but in veterans and the disabled all over the world. It is an active member of the World Veterans Federation, the International Society for Rehabilitation of the Disabled, the Congress of Organizations of the Physically Handicapped, and other groups.

A National Office. Just recently, one of our greatest needs has been realized: a permanent central office for the administration of all our programs. This has been set up in the national capital. It provides new stimulus to the activities aimed at achieving our far-reaching goals. The number of new chapters has increased and more increase is anticipated. All chapters have seen growth in their membership. This is evidence of a rebirth of PVA as a dynamic giant with the zest to meet the challenge of its responsibilities and the power to fulfill its aspirations.

We believe that the paraplegic can—in spite of his handicap—live normally as a person and a citizen. He has a multitude of problems to face. They arise every day. They are inevitable, but not insurmountable.

The Paralyzed Veterans of America is dedicated to the solution of every one of these problems.

JOHN R. BLANDFORD, CHIEF COUNSEL OF HOUSE COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES, WRITES ON ROLE OF CONGRESS IN NATION'S DEFENSE

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the phrase "Tell it like it is!" has now become a familiar figure of American speech, and if the person doing the telling happens to know what he is talking about, then no one can ask for anything more.

This is exactly what John R. "Russ" Blandford, chief counsel to the House Committee on Armed Services, has done in the March 1969 issue of Government Executive magazine. Few people are better equipped than Russ to describe, as the title of his article reads, how "Con-

gress Has a Role in Providing for Common Defense." The article follows:

CONGRESS HAS A ROLE IN PROVIDING FOR COMMON DEFENSE

(By John R. Blandford)

(NOTE.—John Russell Blandford, a native of Buffalo, N.Y., was appointed as Counsel to the Committee on Armed Services, House of Representatives, in January 1947, and served continuously in that capacity until his appointment as Chief Counsel of the Committee on December 1, 1963. He is a graduate of Hobart College, Geneva, N.Y. (1939, cum laude, B.A. degree), and Yale Law School (1946 *primi honoris*, LL.B. degree). He is a Brigadier General in the Marine Corps Reserve program, having served in World War II in the Tulagi-Guadalcanal Campaigns and the Cape Gloucester-New Britain Campaigns in the Pacific. He received the 1966 Rockefeller Public Service Award in the field of Law, Legislation, or Regulation, in recognition for his distinguished service to the Government of the U.S. and to the American people. He has been admitted to practice law in the State of New York, District of Columbia and before the U.S. Supreme Court. He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa and Tau Kappa Alpha fraternities.)

Highlights: 1. The great controversies that frequently take place between Executive and Legislative Branches of Government are solved—if they are solved—when the leaders of both branches sit down and discuss practical solutions; 2. Congress is very much aware of its powers and responsibilities but frequently has been frustrated in its efforts to obtain information upon which to base a decision; and 3. Congress has played a significant role in the development of new weapons systems.

In the Carl Vinson Room, the main committee room of the House Armed Services Committee, there appears a plaque with these words:

"U.S. Constitution, Article I—Sec. 8
The Congress shall have power . . .
To raise and support armies . . .
Provide and maintain a navy . . .
Make rules for the government and
Regulation of the land and naval
forces."

Only space limitations prevented the Committee Chairman, Mendel Rivers, from including the words, "And, to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers . . ."

The plaque in the Carl Vinson Room just happens to be located directly beneath the row of seats where Rivers sits when he presides over the Committee.

The plaque just also happens to be on almost eye level with any witness who appears before the Committee to testify.

The plaque is a reminder—and not even a subtle one—to members of the Executive Branch of our Government that the Congress has the power to raise and support Armies and provide for a Navy.

These powers, vested in the Congress by the Constitution, are in turn delegated to the respective Committees of the Congress.

The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 provides that all proposed legislation, messages, petition, memorials and other matters relating to the following listed subjects shall be referred to the Committee on Armed Services:

Common defense generally;
The Department of Defense generally, including the Departments of the Army, Navy and Air Force generally;
Ammunition depots; forts; arsenals; Army, Navy and Air Force reservations and establishments;
Conservation, development and use of naval petroleum and oil shale reserves;
Pay, promotion, retirement and other bene-

fits and privileges of members of the Armed Forces;

Scientific research and development in support of the armed services;

Selective service;

Size and composition of the Army, Navy and Air Force;

Soldiers' and sailors' homes;

Strategic and critical materials necessary for the common defense.

Having established the broad constitutional responsibilities and the legal jurisdiction of the Congress and the House Armed Services Committee in exercising its power to provide for the common defense, the obvious question is how is it exercised?

The answer is neither black nor white, although some political scientists and many candidates for masters degrees have made the effort.

Most of us were taught—at an early period in our education—that "this is a nation of laws, not a nation of men." Philosophically this is a most impressive cliché, but in my opinion, it is not true.

After 22 years of experience as Counsel and Chief Counsel for the House Armed Services Committee, I am fully convinced that this is a nation of men (under complete control of women, of course) with laws as the broad lines.

The great controversies that frequently take place between the Executive and Legislative Branches of Government are solved—if they are solved—when the leaders of both branches sit down and discuss practical solutions.

Sometimes it is a "Walk in the Rose Garden" with the President; other times it's a compromise that is acceptable to both sides, even though it does not fully meet the law.

A case in point is the Act which authorized \$1,605,000,000 for naval vessels but added this language, "of which amount \$249,600,000 is authorized only for the construction of two nuclear-powered guided missile frigates shall be entered into as soon as practicable unless the President fully advises the Congress that their construction is not in the national interest."

This presented an interesting dilemma to the then-Secretary of Defense, who did not favor the construction of two additional nuclear-powered guided missile frigates (a previous frigate had already been authorized and funded).

The Congress, through its legislative committees, including the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and the Appropriations Committee, had made it quite clear that it strongly favored nuclear-powered frigates.

Notwithstanding, the then-Secretary of Defense persisted in his opposition.

But a new Secretary of Defense, more responsive to the position of the Congress, recommended that one of the two new frigates be approved, and that work begin on five smaller nuclear-powered escorts, then called DXGNs.

The appropriate members of Congress were consulted and agreed, the legal requirement placed upon the President was strictly followed. Today the previously authorized frigate and one of the two additional frigates are under construction. And work is proceeding on the DXGNs (which now closely resemble the frigates).

Practical men obliterated the challenge, and both sides appear to be content.

The Congress is very much aware of its powers and responsibilities, but frequently has been frustrated in its efforts to obtain information upon which to base a decision.

Military and civilian witnesses who have appeared before the committees in the past have been faced with a difficult choice if they did not approve the official position of the Department of Defense.

On January 11, 1965, the Deputy Secretary of Defense issued a memorandum of Defense witnesses. The memorandum stated:

"Subject: Congressional Appearances by Department of Defense Witnesses

"I have been asked by prospective witnesses to provide guidance for the benefit of personnel of the Department who, in the course of congressional hearings, are required to give their personal opinions on matters concerning which a Department of Defense position has been established by the Secretary of Defense with the approval of the President. If pressed for his personal opinion, the witness should make clear:

"1. that his personal views were expressed (if such be the fact) to appropriate authorities within the Defense Department before the departmental position was established;

"2. where his views are not in accord with the departmental decision, that, notwithstanding his personal views, he has accepted and will abide by the departmental position; and

"3. the considerations or factors which support the decision; in other words, the pros and cons on the issue involved."

This imposed an almost impossible burden on the witness. He not only had to be pressed for his personal opinion, but when asked, he had to give the pros and cons and then became an advocate for a position which he may have opposed.

How could the Committee members obtain the advice they needed and sought unless qualified witnesses were permitted to express themselves freely?

This problem has been partially solved by the enactment of a new law which requires that future appointments of Chiefs of Staff and Chiefs of Naval Operations will be for a term of four years. Until this law became effective on January 1, 1969, the Commandant of the Marine Corps was the only member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff appointed for a four-year term.

It is logical to assume that there is a considerable difference in appointing a man for four years and appointing a man for one or two years, with the hope of reappointment for another one or two years based upon his ability to vociferously support the decisions of the Secretary of Defense.

This new law providing for a four-year term for all members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff was first recommended by the House Committee on Armed Services, with the expectation that if enacted into law it would widen the scope of the testimony received from military witnesses. The Committee has every reason to believe that after the law has been fully implemented more complete testimony will be received from military witnesses than has been the case in the past.

The decision-making process in our framework of government sometimes produces rather strange results. If a member of Congress, who has been dealing with Defense problems for many years, makes a statement concerning a weapons system or military requirements, he inevitably will be blasted by certain news media. But if a man who has been running an auto plant is appointed a military secretary, any pronouncement he may make, no matter how short a time he had been in office, it is considered by that same media as the Gospel according to St. John.

To paraphrase Vice President Barkley: We know how they are appointed, but we have never been able to figure out how they became anointed.

Notwithstanding, the Congress of the United States has played a significant role in the development of new weapons systems.

We all point with pride to the nuclear submarine. Some people think the Navy invented it. Actually, the Navy was not very favorably inclined toward the nuclear submarine until the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and other committees, as well as the Atomic Energy Commission, got in the act. It was practically forced down the Navy's throat.

As a matter of fact, the reactors for the prototypes and for the *Nautilus* and the *Sea Wolf* were bought by the Atomic Energy Commission and provided free to the Navy.

The Committee on Armed Services fought for nuclear-powered frigates against the objection of the Department of Defense. Anybody who can read, write and add must agree that nuclear power is better than conventional power when it comes to running ships, particularly major combat vessels. But it has been a fight to get nuclear-powered ships.

The Air Force is very proud of its airlift, but they had not moved off dead center until Congressman Mendel Rivers took on our airlift—or lack of it—as a personal project and eventually obtained funds for the purchase of C-130s, and thereafter the C141s and now the C-5As.

Today the Air Force is very proud of its airlift. They believe they have accomplished a great deal, and they have, but it took the prodding of the Congress to do it.

Congress plays a much greater role in providing for the common defense of the United States than many people realize. They have the ability to make decisions and the competence to choose among alternatives. And for those who clamor the loudest for civilian control of the Armed Forces, it is well to remember there is no greater civilian control than the Congress of the United States.

SECRETARY FINCH'S STATEMENT BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Robert Finch, the new Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, appeared before the Committee on Education and Labor Monday to testify on legislation pending before the committee.

Secretary Finch's testimony is a comprehensive, forthright and useful analysis by the new administration and serves as an excellent example of the commitment and concern which President Nixon and Secretary Finch have to improving the Nation's educational opportunities.

Under unanimous consent I place the full text of the statement in the RECORD at this point and I urge my colleagues to review it for a picture of trends in educational policy:

STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT H. FINCH, SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, it is a pleasure to meet with you this morning in my first appearance before this Committee. I would like to take this occasion to emphasize the high priority this Administration places on education.

We firmly support extension of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. We also support the concept of advance funding for education programs in order to assure more orderly planning and expenditure of funds by State and local agencies.

We also support the concept of long-term authorization of proven programs to give greater stability to efforts to strengthen the educational system. However, we are now conducting a careful review of existing programs, and we expect this process to produce some more substantive recommendations for improvements in ESEA. Therefore, at this time I would propose that the legislation be extended only through Fiscal Year 1972,

with the understanding that I will return to this Committee with further recommendations at a later date.

One of our greatest concerns is to find better ways to meet the educational crisis in the cities. School people and board members across the country are frightened by what they are calling the "Youngstown phenomenon"—the complete shutdown of their schools for lack of funds. Cities like Philadelphia, Chicago, Baltimore, Los Angeles, and Detroit, to name a few, are facing severe financial crises. Some, like Baltimore, have made the most strenuous efforts to obtain additional resources, and are still finding their needs to be far beyond their capacities.

The core cities contain the highest concentration of the poor and educationally deprived, and they are experiencing mounting difficulties in finding adequate resources to support their school systems.

According to the study, "Crisis in Education":

"The average Negro student in the core city school is more likely to come from a broken home than the average white student in the school. He is more likely to come from a poor family, more likely to come from a large family, more likely to live in a crowded home, more likely to live in substandard housing, more likely to be forced to work part-time, more likely to change school districts and schools, more likely to attend a school with serious social problems, and more likely to be a dropout."

This study conducted by five Congressmen (four of them members of this Committee) found that ghetto youths attend schools with a poorer academic curriculum and learning environment, generally poorer facilities, and fewer libraries, books, and librarians than suburban schools. Their teachers are also different from those teaching in the suburbs: they are more likely to have attended a college which gives less than a regular teaching certificate, more likely to have scored lower on verbal aptitude tests, they are absent slightly more than suburban teachers, and they are required to teach more students per class.

As a result, the study concludes:

"It becomes obvious that merely offering identical educational opportunities to urban Negroes and suburban whites will not begin to serve the goal of equivalent skills upon entering the job market. The environment of the urban Negro student makes him more difficult to teach than the suburban white student. Identical education systems will leave the urban Negro behind—and they have."

"America must create an urban education system attuned to the environmental disadvantages from which urban students suffer. If the urban Negro and the suburban white are ever to enter the job market with equivalent skills the environmental advantage of the suburban student must in effect be equalized by an educational advantage of the urban student. Put in other words, urban education must be made superior to suburban education if the graduates of both are to have equivalent skills."

I wholeheartedly agree with these conclusions. The necessity for providing quality education for the disadvantaged children in our cities, as in rural areas, rises not only for the sake of poverty's children; it is imperative for the sake of all in an increasingly urbanized America.

This problem will be among the most important priorities in our search for improved ways to respond to the needs of America's schools and school children. We must devise better approaches and methods to assure that needed funds get to our central city school systems.

I would also like to emphasize at the outset that evaluation is a necessary foundation for effective implementation and judicious modification of our existing programs. At

this point, evaluation is probably more important than the addition of new laws to an already extensive list of educational statutes.

Evaluation will provide the information we require to strengthen weak programs, fully support effective programs, and drop those which simply are not fulfilling the objectives intended by the Congress when the programs were originally enacted.

Evaluation in the field of education has not played its part in the management process at HEW in the past, for three reasons: (1) useful, thorough evaluation of educational programs is extremely difficult, (2) such efforts are necessarily long-range and require long lead-time in the accumulation of data, and (3) funds for evaluation have been insufficient for an effective program.

Accordingly, I recommend that a provision be added to H.R. 514 that would authorize the Secretary to use up to 1 percent of appropriated program funds, across-the-board, for program evaluation. Language that would carry out this recommendation is attached.

This approach to the funding of evaluation is, as you know so well, not a new departure. In the health field, statutory authority has been provided and used for setting aside a fraction of appropriated program funds for this purpose. I cannot stress too strongly the importance of extending this concept to the field of education.

There are a number of other important problem areas which we are now reviewing. In the meantime, I would like to suggest some changes which we would recommend in H.R. 514.

Now let me turn to the individual titles of the legislation up for renewal. My predecessor testified earlier about the scope and activities of most of these programs, and I will not take your time today with a repetition of the facts and figures, which I am appending to this testimony (Appendix A) and ask to have included in the record of these hearings. Instead, I would like to offer some of my own views on what these figures add up to in terms of the promise of these programs.

TITLE I OF ESEA

Title I of the ESEA, though representing an extremely small proportion of the annual Federal budget, is HEW's largest effort to focus funds on a single and pressing problem in American education. Since the program's inception 3 years ago, local educators have used some \$3 billion under Title I in their search for more effective ways to educate the children who for decades have come out on the short end of our education process: the children of the Nation's poor.

Last month, President Nixon reaffirmed this Administration's commitment to explore all possible means to attack the human costs of poverty. We know that education must be one of the major weapons for that attack. As the President has said of the anti-poverty effort, "Precedents are weak and knowledge uncertain. These past years of increasing Federal involvement have begun to make clear how vast is the range of what we do not know, and how fragile are projections based on partial understanding. But we have learned some lessons about what works and what does not."

On the education front, it is Title I that has been teaching us those lessons; it is Title I that is making it possible for local educators to put them to work. Perhaps the most important function Title I has served has been to focus the attention of educational leadership at the local and State level on the specific disadvantages and special educational needs of poor children. It has made the public, educators, and legislators alike more aware that our school system has not done enough to ensure poor children a more equal chance in life, and that many more resources and energies are going to have to go into the effort.

Title I has marked the first commitment of resources on a national scale to help combat the inadequacies in schooling presently offered the poorest and neediest of our children. While the current level of Title I funding does not match the tremendous need, it has at least given some 16,000 school districts across the country the chance to face the task with something more than good intentions. It has brought special educational services to millions of disadvantaged children. It has encouraged new and more relevant teaching approaches, bolstered motivation to stay in school, enhanced cultural exposure, and brought medical care and even food to children who had every reason to believe that the bounty and benefits of American life were hopelessly beyond their reach. Title I has also provided important support for the classroom teacher and the school administrator.

At the same time, I think it is important to recognize the hard limitations of Title I. Its effort to upgrade education for disadvantaged children has faced a number of serious obstacles, many of them inherent in the nature of the problem. First of all, since the special needs of disadvantaged children have been so long overlooked, we are only just beginning to come up with some firm ideas about how these children can be most effectively educated. Second, many of the approaches that have emerged are costly, requiring specially trained staff and equipment beyond the reach of present Title I resources. And third, compensatory education must bear the burden not only of compensating for inadequate schooling, but also of compensating for all the other deprivations of the child's total environment.

Administration of Title I funds has in many cases limited the impact of the program. Late appropriations have been a persistent problem for local educators. It is hardly fair for us at the national level to ask that local school systems develop well-planned, comprehensive Title I projects when we cannot even guarantee them a particular level of funds on which to plan. It is hardly appropriate for us to look to local administrators for quality education and for fresh approaches to the problems of the education of disadvantaged youngsters when they receive funds at mid-year or later; when they can hire only the teaching staff passed over at prime hiring time in the spring; when summer activities must be planned and staffed well after June. Therefore, I heartily endorse advance funding of Title I, well before the school year for which the funds are to be used.

Title I's impact has also been limited by the tendency of local administrators to try to reach as many children as possible with available Federal funds. In many school districts, this has meant the dilution of projects to the point that few children receive the full range of services they need to make clear educational progress. Certainly, we would like to see every disadvantaged child in America benefit from Title I. However, we must recognize that this goal is not presently feasible, not only in terms of the level of support, but also in terms of the state of knowledge: we do not know just what approaches are most effective, or how they can be reproduced in other school systems. Therefore, we are currently urging State and local Title I administrators to focus their money on a comprehensive range of services for those children most in need of them.

There are a number of other changes I believe would improve the administration of Title I. One would facilitate joint funding or programs by two or more agencies. This and other minor and technical amendments which I suggest be included in the bill at this time are described in Appendix B of my testimony and I hope they will speak for themselves. The attached language also supplies some omissions from the bill which I understand are inadvertent. These changes

do not represent an exhaustive list of possible improvements to Title I. Many other suggestions for improvement have been made. We intend to give these extensive consideration, and we may want to recommend further improvements or new initiatives at another date.

Finally, I would like to comment on the formula of Title I, an issue that has been running through these hearings. Like all formulas attempting to deal with complex social issues, it is not perfect and will always be to some extent a product of compromise. As I understand the formula, it uses the only national poverty data available. Even though decennial census data do become rapidly obsolete in our highly mobile society, the legislation does utilize annually current AFDC data as a modifier, and under the 1967 amendments, the States are given considerable authority to change the basis for distribution where they can show that they have more realistic data. The fact that this authority is virtually unused may indicate that an alternative is not easy to come by.

I do not have any recommendation for change at this time, but I might add my voice to the many who have called for the establishment of a quinquennial census. Its urgency may be somewhat dimmed as we prepare for the 1970 Census, but if action is not taken, we will not be ready for 1975.

Because of the size of the Title I program, it will be the subject of continuing review, and we will bring before you any recommended changes in the formula which might emerge from such a review, if they offer a promise of improvement.

EXTENSION OF TITLES II, III, AND V OF ESEA

Moving now to the other titles of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, I would like to recommend an extension of the following program:

The Title II program for School Library Resources, Textbooks, and Other Instructional Materials.

The Title III program for Supplementary Educational Centers and Services, and for innovative projects.

The Title V program for Strengthening State Educational Agencies.

Title II provides State allocations for the purchase of school library resources, textbooks, periodicals, films, video tapes, and other printed and published instructional materials. It is estimated that 44 million of the Nation's public and private school children have benefited from Title II since 1966. In addition, Title II has helped to stimulate the establishment of thousands of new public school libraries throughout the country.

Title III offers 100 percent grants to State and local education agencies for the development of innovative and exemplary elementary and secondary education projects (the PACE program: Projects to Advance Creativity in Education). Since the program's inception, over 2,800 Title III projects have been funded, serving some 10 million school children and school personnel. This fiscal year, 75 percent of the funds and about 1,000 projects are being administered by the States. The remainder of the fund, supporting approximately 200 projects, are funded directly through the Office of Education. Next year, of course, the States will be overseeing all local projects, except those continuing from prior years on special projects grants from the Commissioner.

At the national level, top priority for Title III projects has gone to strengthening education for disadvantaged children in core cities, equalizing minority group education, improving educational opportunities in isolated rural areas, and setting up model programs for early childhood education.

These PACE projects were intended to provide new innovative thrusts into the educational process, with successes to become models for general application. The purpose

is critically important; after 3 years and one major administrative turn (from local to predominantly State control), I doubt that we can truly measure Title III's impact. I think the program should definitely be continued, with a special eye, however, to retaining the "model building" emphasis. Once a model has been shaped and perfected, its future funding should not constitute a drain on Title III's seed-money.

Title V authorized grants to State education agencies to help them identify needs in elementary and secondary education and exert State leadership for change. The statistical and supervisory services formerly provided under Titles X and III of the National Defense Education Act are now being funded under Title V of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Five percent of each State allocation is reserved for special project grants, and 10 percent goes to local education agencies for their use in strengthening local leadership and identifying local needs.

With the help of Title V, over 1,000 professionals were added to State education agencies in 1968 alone. Title V funds and the extra personnel they support have enabled States to broaden consultative and technical assistance to local education agencies. They have provided for the coordination of planning, development, and research cooperation at the State level. Funds have also bolstered State management capabilities, and increased other services to local agencies, such as school and teacher accreditation.

Overall, these programs have shown their worth, even under limited funding, and we will be looking with interest at the fully developed State role in connection with Title III of the ESEA beginning next fiscal year. This, coupled with the strengthening effects of Title V, may set the direction for future aid programs.

TITLE VI, EDUCATION OF HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

An extension is requested for Part A of Title VI, the State grant program, for Part B, the Regional Resource Centers; for Part C, Centers and Services for Deaf-Blind Centers; and for Part D, the recruitment of personnel and information on education of the handicapped.

Part A of Title VI of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act authorizes grants to States to assist them in the initiation, expansion, and improvement of programs and projects for the education of handicapped children at the preschool, elementary and secondary levels. It has made an impact both in terms of short-range and long-range objectives and programs, in many States. It has stimulated increased State and local expenditures and programs for handicapped children. At the same time, it has stimulated greater awareness of handicapped children, their needs, and methods to meet these needs on the part of the general public, administrators, both regular and special education teachers, and personnel in various nonschool agencies working with the handicapped.

Altogether, it is estimated that 182,000 handicapped children will receive benefits this school year under this program.

Parts B, C, and D of Title VI are still in the first stages of development.

Part B of Title VI authorizes the establishment of Regional Resource Centers. Four such Centers will be selected for establishment this fiscal year at a cost of \$125,000 each.

These Centers will provide the backup resources to enable the teacher of handicapped children to do more effective teaching. They will handle the work of the diagnostician, curriculum development specialist, educational evaluator, and media specialist.

Part C of Title VI authorizes centers and services for deaf-blind children, 8 to 10 of which will be established this year and next year. These centers will serve the large new

population (an estimated 1,250) of deaf-blind children struck by the German measles epidemic of 1964 and 1965 who are now 3 and 4 years old. Currently, only about 100 of approximately 550 school-age, deaf-blind children are enrolled in special classes with instruction designed for their dual handicap, and preschool programs are almost nonexistent. The new centers will be located strategically to serve a population and geographic region, rather than an area within State boundaries.

Part D of Title VI authorizes a program to establish and support special information centers and to recruit young people for the special education professions.

TITLE VII, BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAM

One of our most popular new programs is the Bilingual Education Program, and we recommend that it be extended. This program is designed to meet the special educational needs of children of limited English-speaking ability in schools having a high concentration of such children from families of low income. These children, who number around 3 million of school age, are deprived of equal educational opportunity because of their limited communication skills. For example, the approximately 1½ million Spanish-speaking children of school age in the five southwestern States average 7.1 years of school as compared with 11.1 years for all school children in the region.

Altogether, the Office of Education received 312 preliminary proposals requesting over \$41 million for projects to deal with this ever-increasing problem. Of these, 78 were selected for funding, this year, at a cost of \$7.5 million. These projects will serve some 139,000 pupils, 64 percent of them in urban communities. The majority of projects will deal with children from Spanish-speaking backgrounds; five deal with American Indian dialect backgrounds, four deal with students from Portuguese-speaking families, and two deal with children from French-speaking backgrounds. The projects are located in 22 States, and include preschool storefront centers, the development of special curriculum materials, inservice education in bilingual methodology for bilingual staffs, and summer bilingual programs. This program holds great promise for children with language difficulties which prevent them from obtaining the full benefits of our educational system. Through bilingual instruction, they will come to speak and comprehend two languages with equal competence and with pride in their bilingual heritage.

One of the amendments I am recommending would make children in Indian schools eligible for services under this title.

TITLE VIII, DROPOUT PREVENTION PROGRAM

Section 807 of Title VIII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1967 (P.L. 90-247) authorizes the Dropout Prevention Program. Its primary purpose is to develop and demonstrate educational practices for the reduction and prevention of dropouts in urban and rural schools having a high concentration of children from low-income families and a high dropout rate. This program holds great promise, and we ask that it be extended.

The Office of Education received a total of 369 preliminary proposals for participation in the Dropout Prevention Program; more than \$67 million was requested by these proposals. Since the total appropriation was \$5 million, only 20 preliminary proposals have been selected. Local educational agencies may receive up to \$20,000 each for comprehensive program planning. Formal proposals will be submitted by each agency in May 1969, and only about 10 will be made operational this year. The rest can be funded for operations in fiscal year 1970 if the increased funds requested are appropriated.

TITLE VIII, DISSEMINATION ACTIVITIES

Section 806 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 authorizes dissemination

activities and new programs of technical assistance to rural areas. All the activities authorized in this section are now encompassed by the more comprehensive provisions for collection and dissemination of information and technical assistance in Section 303 of Title III of the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968, which authorizes the appropriation of such sums as may be necessary through fiscal year 1972. In fact, Congress specified in Section 303(e) that:

"Section 806 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 shall become ineffective the first fiscal year for which funds are appropriated to carry out the provisions of this Section."

The Budget for fiscal year 1970 requests funds under Section 303; therefore Section 806 does not need to be extended.

ADULT BASIC EDUCATION

We support an extension of the Adult Basic Education program. This program has been in successful operation and is meeting the established need for adult literacy and educational deficiency of a population that is increasingly aware of the importance of continuing education for every man and woman.

PUBLIC LAWS 815 AND 874 (IMPACTED AREAS)

My predecessor transmitted to the Congress draft legislation substantially modifying the entitlement formula and making other substantive changes in P.L. 874. I believe that it is important, however, at this point to note that a major study of the Federal impacted area programs is being conducted by the Battelle Institute under authority and funds granted by the last Congress. We expect this study to be completed by the end of the year and, after an evaluation of their recommendations, we may wish to return with proposals for modification of the Public Laws 874 and 815 programs.

In the meantime, and in the light of proposed budgetary levels for these programs, I would urge an amendment to §5(c) of Public Law 874, so that, whenever appropriations are insufficient to meet all entitlements in full, the funds would be applied toward satisfying entitlements under section 3(a), involving so-called "A" children whose parents live and work on Federal property, before funds are applied to entitlements under §3(b) with respect to "B" children whose parents do not live on, but work on Federal property. This amendment would protect the school districts receiving a large proportion of their school budget from this program. (Of the 138 districts where impacted areas grants equal 25% or more of school revenues, 130 received the vast majority of such grants under section 3(a).) Under the amendment we propose, any reduced appropriations would only affect districts which receive a relatively small proportion of their revenues from impacted grants, largely under section 3(b).

CONCLUSION

I have limited my testimony at this time mainly to the issues presented by H.R. 514 and to technical and clarifying amendments which the Department desires. There are, of course, much broader educational issues presented by the extension of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

We recognize, for example, that the need to simplify the administration of programs at both Federal and State levels has been a continuing concern of this Committee and of individual members on both sides of the aisle. While we are not yet prepared to make specific recommendations along these lines, one of the goals of this Administration is the consolidation and simplification of the many categorical grant programs. We would welcome any congressional initiative to consolidate some of the State grant programs without changing their character in ways that would prejudice any future recommendation of this Administration.

There are a variety of approaches that can be taken to consolidate elementary and sec-

ondary education programs. For example, one which could provide major and immediate benefit to the States would be to amend Title V to consolidate the administrative set-asides from the various titles of ESEA into one fund to be used by the States according to a plan approved by the Commissioner.

Another possible area of consolidation, which could greatly simplify and improve the efficiency and effectiveness of Federal programs, relates to those providing equipment and instructional materials. Titles which might be considered for consolidation in this area include Title II of ESEA (library resources, and textbooks and instructional materials), Title III of NDEA (equipment and instructional materials), Title V-A of NDEA (counseling and guidance services), and Section 12 of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act (instructional equipment for arts and humanities). It may even be possible to consolidate these programs into a broader-purpose grant.

There could be a number of advantages to such program consolidation, even beyond the administrative improvements. One of these could well be to make available to non-public school children and teachers instructional equipment on the same basis as we make library resources and textbooks available under Title II of ESEA. Equitable participation of nonpublic schools could be provided by the removal of matching provisions and the addition of a Federal by-pass (as in Title II of ESEA).

Similarly, the Battelle Institute study, which seeks to determine the effectiveness and efficiency of Public Laws 815 and 874, may have significant bearing on the shape of Federal assistance to federally affected areas in the future. It may shed light, for example, on the question of whether children in low-rent public housing should be counted for the purpose of this legislation.

President Nixon has also advised us to welcome the clash of new ideas as a necessary price for educational progress. One way we plan to do this is through the development of experimental schools, where successful approaches and promising new ideas in education can be identified and developed.

Ever since Sputnik, the necessity to improve the relevance and the quality of American education has been apparent, but our efforts to find the most effective ways to accomplish this has proliferated and broadened. The original emphasis on the uses of science and technology has given way to the more recent recognition of the multiple educational handicaps of a third of our Nation's children. ESEA and other Federal programs have helped develop many significant approaches to cure various educational ills, but these have had two serious limitations: (1) a narrow approach to isolated segments of the curriculum or population, and (2) weak or inconclusive findings on the extent of educational impact and the reasons therefore.

No existing approaches or combination of approaches can be confidently labelled as models for educational progress in America.

We believe that this situation can be improved. We plan to establish, in partnership with State and local authorities, a network of experimental schools which will attempt to design models of comprehensive educational environments. These will incorporate the best ideas that have been developed in the past decade and focus them on the most important social and educational issues which face our schools. An important feature of these experiments will be a thorough and rigorous documentation of their educational processes, so that we can know with confidence what educational approaches will likely work, in what circumstances, to overcome the educational disabilities of our children.

I have already stressed our intention of developing educational programs which will better meet the critical problems of our

core cities. There are other major areas which we intend to explore; for example, the need for new and expanded means of educating the handicapped.

Today I urge the Committee to extend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act through fiscal year 1972, rather than fiscal year 1975 as proposed by H.R. 514. This would accomplish the immediate and pressing goal of providing sufficient authorization to allow for advance funding of Title I. It would provide continuity to local school officials, assuring them that programs begun under the Act will not be suddenly terminated. And, such an extension would allow for an orderly phase-in of any new or revised programs which may be suggested by the results of our various studies. When I return to propose more substantive changes or additions to current programs for elementary and secondary education, I would also hope to support a longer extension of this legislation.

STEAM-ELECTRIC POWER AND THERMAL POLLUTION

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the January-February 1969 issue of the Sport Fishing Institutes' Bulletin carries an outstanding article entitled, "Steam-Electric Power and Thermal Pollution." In addition to pointing out the growing threat from thermal pollution, this article discusses some of the steps which are being taken to combat this hazard to our water and fisheries resources. So that my colleagues may be familiar with the points made in this article, with unanimous consent I place its text at this point in the RECORD:

STEAM-ELECTRIC POWER AND THERMAL POLLUTION

(NOTE.—Summary of remarks by R. H. Stroud, Executive Vice President, Sport Fishing Institute, during panel on "Industry and Environment," at the 15th Annual Invitational Conservation Conference sponsored by the National Wildlife Federation, Washington, D.C., December 12, 1968.)

The current expansion-rate of the steam-electric-station (S.E.S.) industry seems to have surprised many aquatic ecologists and conservationists by (1) the rapidity of its expansion and (2) its insatiable appetite for cooling water. The first circumstance generates controversy through competition for sites often otherwise desired for natural resource refugia or outdoor recreation. The second circumstance poses a new threat of widespread massive thermal pollution!

The question when a state of pollution may exist is greatly simplified when tied in with the concept of desired use. Thus, if there is no impairment of desired use by the presence or addition of any man-caused factor, there is no pollution.

Waste Cooling Water is a Pollutant. The term thermal pollution should be applied only to situations where thermal loading exerts some adverse effect on the use of waterways—and upon the occupying aquatic life, which supports a diversity of vital recreation. For example, hot water discharged by a sugar processing plant at Fremont, Ohio, resulted in losses of fish in the Sandusky River during January, 1967, and again in January, 1968. As a consequence the Northern Ohio Sugar Company indemnified the Ohio Department of Natural Resources in the amount of \$3,241—possibly the first case of an indemnity payment for a fish-kill caused by thermal pollution. As a further conse-

quence, a condenser-water cooling system has since been installed at the plant, in order to prevent further recurrence of fish kills.

Steam Plants Heat Huge Water Volumes. The natural runoff in the contiguous 48 United States averages about 1,200 billion gallons per day. Withdrawals of water for various uses aggregated about 22½ per cent of runoff in 1965, expected to rise to 37 per cent by 1980 and to 75 per cent by 2000. Cooling water for steam-electric power plants is much the greatest single withdrawal use of water. This use amounted in 1965 to 7 per cent of total runoff, projected to rise to more than 16 per cent by 1980 and to about 50 per cent by the year 2000—if conventional once-through cooling procedures would still be generally employed at that time. . . .

There is a strong trend toward nuclear-fuel S.E.S., with 14 nuclear plants already constructed, 75 under construction, and 11 in final planning stages. Although nuclear-fuel S.E.S. now account for only 5 per cent of thermal-electric power production, they will be generating 35 per cent by 1980.

Obviously, America stands on the threshold of a new era in the production of electric power. It is estimated that at least 25 per cent more water for cooling purposes will be required in nuclear-fuel than in fossil-fuel S.E.S. Thus, there is an obvious urgent ecological necessity to incorporate means of controlling the discharge of waste heat into the aquatic environment. There is equal urgency to start off with adequate control and not, once again, have to rely on much more costly after-the-fact abatement.

Accelerating Power Production Requires New Planning. The time is here, now, when the S.E.S. industry must accept the principle that provision for dissipation of waste heat, required to protect the aquatic ecology, is fully as much a part of the normal cost of doing business as is the cost of generators that are required to produce the electricity. It should also be recognized that the added cost of cooling S.E.S. thermal effluents, even if it should amount to several million dollars per plant, is a very small fraction of overall plant capital investment—which may total \$200 million, perhaps more!

Actual cost of cooling amounts to about 0.14 mill (¼ of one mill; there being 10 mills per penny) to be added to basic production cost of about ½ cent per kilowatt-hour—i.e., less than 3 per cent additional. As we calculate it, this is the equivalent of adding about \$1.00 annually to average household electric bills.

Several possible methods for handling the waste heat discharged with cooling waters are available, viz:

(1) Some of the more enlightened industry leaders have already publicly rejected *Once-Through Cooling*, or a continuation of the past do-nothing policy. This fact doubtless reflects its nearly universal denunciation by ecologists and conservationists. It seems clear that high discharge temperatures, often at the level of 115° F. (or more), cannot be tolerated on a massive scale either in inland waters or in many coastal situations. The fact that such temperatures could "cook" proteins, deactivate enzymes, stimulate the production of toxic materials within the bodies of fishes, and create many other vital hazards to fish life, seems at last to be gaining recognition.

(2) Use of *Evaporative Cooling Towers* generally represents a distinct improvement over the unacceptable *laissez-faire* practice of doing nothing. Unfortunately, the large, pinch-walsted (hyperbolic) chimney-like structures involved may (as at TVA's Paradise fossil-fuel S.E.S. in Kentucky) be as much as 320 feet in diameter and 437 feet high, possibly larger. Their construction, however, does not assure that temperature of discharge waters will be reduced entirely or even very close to that of intake waters. Normal use of *Evaporative Cooling Towers* would serve to lower the induced temperature differential between intake and outlet

by at least half. With sufficient recirculation, however, a three-fourths reduction might reasonably be expected.

(3) A variant on the open-circuit cooling system incorporates the *Cooling Pond*, which cools largely by heat radiation from the surface, as well as partly by evaporation. *Cooling Ponds* may reduce evaporation rates somewhat, thereby possibly saving some water. *Cooling Ponds* are specially-constructed artificial reservoirs that may be rather large. For example, a 1,000-megawatt plant would require a 2,000-acre lake with fifty-foot maximum depth.

(4) The advanced system design of *Closed-Circuit Cooling* is evidently preferable in many situations. This approach, employing forced-air radiant heat-exchangers in somewhat the same manner as a fan-cooled automobile radiator, may well have the potential capability of eliminating thermal pollution as a byproduct of the S.E.S. industry in suitable climatic locations. It can also save substantial quantities of economically-valuable water that would otherwise be lost through consumptive evaporation.

Some combination of open-circuit evaporative cooling and closed-circuit radiant cooling may prove to be the most satisfactory methodology in many climatically-troublesome situations. Other possible solutions, only superficially researched thus far (and scarcely at all as to ecological feasibility), are largely speculative, perhaps decades removed from practical application—if ever practicable. These include a variety of suggested beneficial uses for this source of low-grade heat in aquaculture, outdoor recreation, home heating, etc. Certain other suggested means of "managing" the waste heat seem to represent little more than minor variations of the unacceptable system of once-through cooling.

PRESENT SITUATION—PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS

As matters currently stand, it would appear that the problem of thermal pollution is amenable to control. The legal machinery, related administrative policy, and necessary technology are all clearly available.

Among a recent listing of 47 conventional (fossil-fuel) new steam plants or plant additions of 500 megawatts or larger, only seven incorporated cooling towers, five employed cooling ponds, 21 used once-through cooling, and 14 were not reported. Among an October, 1967, listing of 32 nuclear S.E.S. of 500 megawatts or larger capacity, already completed (2) or under construction (30), only seven incorporated cooling towers, and the rest had been planned to employ once-through cooling.

Obviously, many revisions of design must be effected in the near future and will undoubtedly be made in consequence of expected public outcry. That an aroused public opinion is the key to effective resolution of these matters is evidenced by the fact that a number of utilities have announced recent revisions of former plans so as to incorporate newly-planned cooling-tower facilities.

Some Evidence of Progress. The Portland General Electric Company recently decided to employ a natural-draft cooling tower at its proposed Trojan nuclear power station, instead of using 2,000 c.f.s. of Columbia River water in once-through cooling. This may be an extremely important precedent in industrial leadership in the Pacific Northwest. In the Atlantic Northeast, the Vermont Yankee Nuclear Power Corporation has changed its original plan to pass two-thirds of the average annual flow of the Connecticut River through its proposed nuclear S.E.S. at Vernon, Vermont. It will construct cooling towers in order to avoid overheating the river.

On the Green River, Kentucky, the Tennessee Valley Authority changed previously-planned once-through cooling of its huge coal-fired Paradise Steam Plant and has already constructed the world's three largest natural-draft cooling towers to prevent thermal pollution. The Houston Power and Light Company has also recently decided to

employ cooling towers to prevent thermal pollution of Trinity Bay, Texas, during operation there of large nuclear expansion units planned to augment its existing S.E.S. facilities.

The Georgia Power Company is to be particularly commended for its recently announced decision to employ a closed-circuit cooling tower system at its planned nuclear power plant on the Altamaha River near Baxley, Georgia. All waste heat will be dissipated into the atmosphere, not into the river. A new plant to be located on the Etowah River, near Cartersville, Georgia, will include similar water cooling devices—as also will new expansion units at their Hammond Plant on the Coosa River near Rome, Georgia.

Some Urgent Unresolved Problems. While it is possible to point to a gratifying measure of progress, many other proposed S.E.S. remain as unresolved threats to the aquatic ecology. Among these are the new nuclear steam-power plants that Florida Power and Light Company is constructing at Turkey Point, on Florida's southern Biscayne Bay. In the midwest, the Commonwealth Edison Company is planning a complex of seven large nuclear power plants on Lake Michigan, to be constructed by 1975. On nearby Lake Erie, the Toledo Edison Company proposes to build a large nuclear power plant on a marsh site west of Toledo, Ohio. Similarly, the large Bell Station nuclear plant is planned by the New York State Electric and Gas Corporation for construction on Lake Cayuga, near Cornell University, a particularly serious matter.

In these and many other situations, all too many utility officials remain antagonistic to cooling their thermal effluent—in the face of a clear trend.

The need is not subject to reasonable doubt, the tools are already available, the battle lines are clearly drawn. It's up to the public, as usual, to make it abundantly clear to all concerned that it will not tolerate gradually accumulating degradation of environmental quality at the hands of the S.E.S. industry any more than it will at the hands of any other polluters.

SEX EDUCATION: TEACHING, MORALIZING, OR TERRORIZING?

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the continued interest of parents of our country over the sex education revolution increases.

Life Lines, of Dallas, Tex., a patriotic voice of freedom, has devoted several issues of their publication to preparing a carefully researched article, "Why Go Slow on Sex Education" including recent reports of lawsuits and parental alarm which I place at this point in my remarks:

[From Life Lines, Dec. 6, 1968]

WHY GO SLOW ON SEX "EDUCATION"?

What is "sex education"?
What are we doing right? Wrong?
Are we teaching? Moralizing? Terrorizing?
Why the lawsuits and controversy?
What is SIECUS? What are Communists doing in it?

Should we do nothing until we know what we are doing?

Questions about sex education in 50% of America's schools have the fervor of those asked by Columbus' sailors as they sailed out of Palos, Spain, in 1492 to sail the ocean blue.

Like the Spaniards, the teachers and scholars knew where they wanted to go: unlike them, sex education was launched on a sea of Red.

The trouble was partly because sex educators were confused about how and when to reach their goal. Then, Trouble Number Two arrived on the scene in the form of SIECUS, a frenetic flock of scholars and Communists—but more on that later.

Sex education found itself short on teachers long before the late wave of enthusiasm for sex education courses burst forth. Thus, the need for capable teachers on "sexuality" hit the schools very hard. The ways and means committee of academe is still floundering as to the best approach to take toward educating students responsibly on sex. As if the above shortcomings weren't enough, the nation's schools came up with a surfeit of shocking extremist concepts from peculiar sources they all too greedily accepted. The result has been controversy and lawsuits.

Many parents aren't too keen about sex education at school, even though endeavors at home may be woefully lacking. School officials say they have inherited sex teaching by default of the parents.

Two national magazines, the *Saturday Evening Post* and *McCall's*,* have done well in presenting the status of sex education in the United States today. Each report quotes the same authorities and largely comes to the same conclusion: sex education may be a good thing, but why rush it, take chances and maybe ruin a noble effort?

The two magazines say sex education "has become a fad in American education," that sex education "is here now," that "spirited agitation comes before there are sufficient numbers of people prepared to teach," and that rolling in this land is a loud "sex-education bandwagon." The reason for the controversy is sex education is "new," in the sense of its wide application, and there are few standards and too many conflicting views.

That both should agree there is a mad rush for sex education is interesting. Sex courses are being tried in all parts of the country, from kindergarten through high school, and the reason may not be what the magazines seem to indicate; no sex education at home, so the parents tossed it to the schools.

The motivation, it appears, is SIECUS, and therein lies a tale that both magazines did not know or care to pass on.

SIECUS means Sex Information and Education Council of the U.S. and is touted by the *Post* as "by far the most influential organization shaping the structure of American sex education." *McCall's* says SIECUS is the "high-voltage, nonprofit, most important force in sparking sex education in schools." SIECUS jets its personnel to any institution seeking help, adds *McCall's*.

SIECUS' Family Life Education (FLE) sex courses are certainly high-voltage. Parents who have seen the subject material for six-to-ten year old students are shocked, sensing a feeling not unlike a split-second ride in an electric chair. Kindergarten through third grade classes are shown slides of animal copulation and parents under counterpane, and are asked to spell the names of human genitals and polysyllabic terms referring to sexual situations, actions, mini-perversions, aftermaths and chemical changes.

Fourth through sixth graders (ages 9, 10, 11) are treated to a simple and prurient FLE description of the sex act, before, during and after. FLE then delves deeper into terms referred to above and asks the students to write a paper on their opinion of extra-marital intercourse, and on the curious, topical non sequiturs, "My Parents Expect Too

* *Saturday Evening Post*, June 29, *McCall's*, January, 1968.

Much/Don't Expect Enough of Me." Debates are assigned on, "I have a right to do as I please" and "the meaning of the word good," the latter debate to have "no real conclusion."

Such are some matters left unattended by the *Post* and *McCall's*. Also unmentioned was SIECUS' corporate or personnel connections with *Sexology* magazine, New York, which concerns itself with such high moral aids as "Alcohol Can Solve Sex Problems" and "Group Sex Orgies." It is a sex magazine exploiting sex for monetary and ideological gain, whose personnel are highly placed in SIECUS and who are pouring sexual teaching "aids" down the throats of schools and school children. The lawsuits which followed FLE's introduction to schools could hardly have been unexpected.

Who is with SIECUS? At last word, Isadore Rubin was second vice-president of Sexology and treasurer of the SIECUS board. He was identified in testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA), on May 3, 1955, "as a member of the Communist Party" and refused to tell the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1952 if he had "ever been a member of the Communist Party."

The tainted associations of *Sexology's* and SIECUS' personnel with other causes, both politically and sexually shady, form a story that seems possible only in fiction.

A co-founder of SIECUS, who is also a Board Consultant of *Sexology*, is reputed by files of the HCUA to have been connected with three Communist fronts which sought the outlawing of atomic warfare (a most laudable and noble goal) and the repeal of the 1950 Internal Security Act. Both aims are supported by Moscow.

Another Board Consultant of *Sexology* and Board Director of SIECUS has published a story admitting that he was sexually initiated grand-maternally—and in homosexuality, paternally (Note: forgive our fuzzy phrasing—this journal is sent to school libraries and this subject matter is perforated with pitfalls).

A highly-placed official of *Sexology* has listed two birthplaces in *Who's Who in Commerce and Industry*, has worked with an organization which invited alleged Communist folksinger Pete Seeger to entertain, and whose wife sold tickets for a Soviet-American friendship group affair attended by a Soviet editor and a Communist lawyer.

SIECUS also uses the pamphlets of a publishing house headed by a man who was identified as a Communist by Louis Budenz in testimony to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. At the same time, it recommends a book by ex-Bishop James Pike, plus other selections which state that adultery, perversion and premarital sex relations should be condoned. Perhaps it is not accident that such material and people are working hard to follow the Communist commandments to corrupt the young and destroy American standards of morality.

The reaction to this—described by the *Post* as coming from all sides, including "die-hard conservatives who oppose any liberalizing trend"—has been vociferous and dedicated. Mrs. "A", a Redwood City, Calif., woman, has spent \$1,400 of her own money fighting FLE and SIECUS whose material she describes as "subversive and pornographic." Redwood City residents, shocked by SIECUS' magical and speedy intrusion into local schools, have started a recall movement against the local school board through the efforts of VOTE (Voters Organized for Trustee Election). Redwood City would have reason to be up in arms, even if FLE material were harmless; Mrs. A says FLE Teachers' Resource Guides are available at the San Mateo County Superintendent's office in Redwood City, "that is, if you have the right credentials." Mrs. A is rightfully suspicious that if FLE doesn't have anything to hide from parents, why the secrecy?

The Resource Guide books for 1969 came out in November and are being shipped to 900 counties. "Every effort is being made to keep these new editions from the parents," says Mrs. A. "but we'll get them somehow."

At the same time, a county group known as Citizens for Parental Rights is working with VOTE. At a recent school board meeting, "1,500 angry parents attended," says Mrs. A. Two weeks later, a thousand similarly concerned parents descended on a local school board meeting. The parent roundups were organized by persons such as Mrs. A who went door to door to gain support for the fight against FLE.

Redwood City is not alone in the fight. Mrs. Barbara Richards, a leader against FLE and SIECUS in Santa Ana, Calif., reports that "Parents in White Bear Lake, Minn., are attempting to sue their school board because of methods and materials being used in sex courses in the elementary grades." Parents in San Luis Obispo, incensed about the slides being shown first graders, "are attempting to sue their school board." Santa Anans were treated to a SIECUS maneuver which backfired with parental indignation: The Garden Grove District hired its sex education coordinator two months before the school board passed the program.

Particularly disturbing, as well as presenting an almost insoluble moral question amid sex education's runaway momentum, is FLE's high school instruction in the use of oral and other contraceptives. Indignation grows unbearable (McCall's terms the following example of sex education "the outer limits of poor taste") when a parent learns his daughter has been given a list of ten instruments for aborting a fetus.

Not all sex education is bad. If the Post has reported accurately, then the frank classroom discussions which it says took place among girls and their instructor at Pershing Junior High in San Diego could do much to help youngsters through trying and confusing confrontations with sex problems.

But SIECUS is another matter. Its aim is lofty but highly unbelievable in the light of what it is and what it is doing.

It is the force-feeding post-toddlers sex information they can't handle and teenagers methods they would never need know if the proper education were administered.

SIECUS has tainted itself with Moscow-oriented thinking, and Moscow has not been noted for its tender mercies toward the American way of life.

The question which should be asked about sex education these days is, "What kind of sex education—subversively prurient or morally educational?"

SEX EDUCATION: THE PROS AND CONS

Dr. William McGrath, Phoenix, Ariz., psychiatrist: "Anyone who would deliberately arouse the child's curiosity or stimulate his unready mind to troubled sexual preoccupations ought to have a millstone tied around his neck and be cast into the sea."

"A letter asks: Isn't sex the source of most psychological problems? No; not in a man or woman who has been allowed to develop character before his introduction to sex. Sexual problems are almost always secondary, or symptomatic of a deeper immaturity."

"To be first and above all a man among men is what one begins to learn in the latency period (5 to adolescence). This is sacred territory. A plague on those who trespass."

Mrs. Mary Calderone, SIECUS Exec. Director: "Everything that science knows about sex and sexuality our children must have access to. . . . We must give full information."

SIECUS Study Guide: "Sex education must be thought of as being education—not moral indoctrination. Attempting to indoctrinate young people with a set of rigid rules and ready-made formulas is doomed to failure in a period of transition and conflict."

Lester Kirkendall, SIECUS: "The public would be welcome to view (SIECUS) material to be used in the classes, but I don't believe they should decide on curriculum, books, and such."

"Most people have the vague hope that (sex education) will somehow cure half of the world's ills—reduce casual sex experience, cut down on illegitimate births, eliminate venereal diseases. To be perfectly blunt about it, we have no way of knowing that sex education will solve any such problems."

Dr. James Lieberman, National Institutes of Mental Health: "Too much information about sex can be as harmful to children as not enough. Even perfectly accurate information can miss the mark and be disturbing (or be ignored or distorted) if the child is not ready intellectually or emotionally."

The Gesell Institute's book on Child Behavior: "Avoid the greatest error of all—telling too much too soon."

[From Life Lines, Jan. 15, 1969]

SIECUS FALLOUT

Our article on the SIECUS brand of sex education (Vol. 10 No. 146) has stirred much reader interest. Late word is that the Anaheim school district, where the hurry-up, reddish program first started, is in an uproar, with clouds of parents protesting at school board meetings. An observer on the scene says "Most people are betting the Board will fire Anaheim School Superintendent Paul Cook before the April school board election."

[From Life Lines, Jan. 29, 1969]

FLE and SIECUS are headed for rough going. For the uninitiated, FLE is the Family Life Education courses dreamed up by SIECUS, Sex Information Council of the United States. SIECUS is connected with *Sexology* magazine, whose prurience exceeds that of Roman orgies, and FLE is the SIECUS instrumentality that crams sex down children who aren't ready for it, along with a heaping dose of sugar-coated Communist thinking. Anyway, the program which had its inception in California is in trouble—in California. The State Board of Education has voted to examine the sex/family-life education programs. Citizens for Parental Rights, P.O. Box 593, Belmont, Calif., is a leader in the anti-FLE fight, and is organizing a write-in campaign to make sure SIECUS doesn't fool the Board's examination like it did all local school boards who tried the FLE courses.

[From Life Lines, Feb. 5, 1969]

IBM & SIECUS

Is IBM a corporate masochist which wants to be beaten? It would seem so, for this computerized gadfly is asking to be smacked with the public fly swatter. Not satisfied with being picketed for selling computers to Communist countries, it has entered the sex-in-the-schools fight. Worse yet, it has chosen SIECUS' side. SIECUS, the Sex Information and Education Council of the U.S., is America's fellow traveler which sells sex courses to American schools, the content of which tells six-year-olds all about sex in a willy-nilly manner that can only disturb the emotionally immature. Parents from California are fighting SIECUS so hard, SIECUS has beckoned something called Science Research Associates, an affiliate of IBM, to fight parental resistance to the sex courses (see Life Lines, Vol. 10, No. 146, for details). Employing the same brand of suspect rationale that led to the sale of computers to Communists, IBM Information Specialist Paul Barton says SIECUS leader Lester Kirkendall is "highly qualified." Kirkendall thinks "morality is relative," which it most certainly is not, and gets furious when someone mentions "The Ten Commandments."

[From Life Lines, Feb. 19, 1969]

RED SEX

The label, "humanist," also cropped up in sex education in the Yakima, Washington, West alley school. The film slide course for 9th graders is prima facie evidence that conservative fears of sex education in the U.S. aren't nearly as fearful as they ought to be. The film's lecturer refers to himself as a "Christian humanist" who promptly discounts the Bible and parenthood and refers to Communist society as "atheistic and yet, is giving everybody equality—and men and women are equal and all that kind of progress." What follows in the film lecture is an intimately explained grapple-by-grapple course in erotic foreplay. The intent of the course is subversively plain, though wrapped in a Christian ethic of premarital chastity: it pushes the 9th graders to the fevered edge, then tells them anything that follows is naughty naughty. We strongly suggest that the Congress should investigate sex education courses, because it is becoming clear that parental concern in local school boards is being swept aside by an attack of international origin. By the way, congratulations to The Eagle of Yakima for revealing the nature of this most shocking sex course.

[From Life Lines, Feb. 26, 1969]

MARY A-GO-GO

The sex-in-the-schools fight intensifies, as the SIECUS brand of sex-crazed sex courses comes under more fire. Mary Calderone, chief troubleshooter for SIECUS, Sex Information and Education Council of the U.S. (blood brother of erotic *Sexology* magazine), flew to Stanford to speak on sex in elementary schools and how everybody should use SIECUS material. She promptly refused to debate an attorney who is suing a school board because of use of SIECUS courses, saying, "I will only debate an educator." Pushers of SIECUS' Family Life Education courses (a nice way of describing SIECUS' class material which negates moral, parental and religious influences, in the grand Bolshevik manner) were told "Get to Stanford and support Dr. Calderone!"

[From Life Lines, Mar. 12, 1969]

LAWSUITS v. SIECUS

Their houses may be in a mess and their children somewhat neglected, but California mothers are fighting sex education in schools a-la-SIECUS with heightened fury. Representing several local groups, more than 600 persons convened in Sacramento March 1st under the banner of "California Families United" (CFU) to map future battle plans against school boards which want to use sex course material by SIECUS (Sex Information and Education Council of the U.S.). Three anti-SIECUS lawsuits are pending against school boards, in: the Rancho Cordova area of Sacramento; San Mateo, south of San Francisco; San Luis Obispo, north of Los Angeles. Two other lawsuits will soon be filed. Typical SIECUS test question, for ninth graders, explains why parental opposition grows: "How long does a well adjusted couple make a single act of sex relations last?" CFU's address is P.O. Box 20352, Sacramento, Calif. 95820.

Americans for the Restoration of Morality in Schools (ARMS), the group in San Luis Obispo, Calif., has until March 10 to file an answer in local court after being denied an injunction against use of sex education materials in eight local schools. Says Janet Becker, leader of ARMS, P.O. Box 67: "We have to raise \$3,000 to have this matter heard on its merits (full trial) and we have a crying need for an Amicus Curiae (friend of the court) because SIECUS, now teamed with IBM and publishers Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., will surely be there with an Amicus Curiae. This whole thing is astounding,

school boards over the state won't listen to or answer those of us who are fighting SIECUS. They act as if they've turned deaf and dumb."

CONGRESSMAN EDWARD I. KOCH REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, in a few days I will be sending my constituents Volume 1, No. 1 of my newsletter. The newsletter is entitled "Congressman Edward I. Koch Reports From Washington," and will go to every residential postal patron in New York's 17th Congressional District. I am now submitting this text for insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the reading of my colleagues.

During the first two and a half months of this session of Congress, I have been most concerned with the continued struggle in Vietnam, draft reform, and our cities' need for more and better mass transit facilities. And so, I have devoted the greatest portion of my newsletter to these topics.

I also have included a short questionnaire in the newsletter, allowing space for personal comments. I hope that my constituents will find this to be a convenient means for apprising me of their thoughts on some of the issues before us today.

I might note that the report also contains two photographs, one entitled "At the 86th Street Lexington Avenue subway again—keeping informed," and the other, "Some of my advisors."

The text of my newsletter follows:

NEWSLETTER

DEAR CONSTITUENT AND FELLOW NEW YORKER: This is my first newsletter to you. I plan on sending four a year. My purpose is to make you aware of what is taking place here in Washington as it affects our lives in New York City. Wherever possible in each newsletter I intend to focus on one or two major issues so as to give you as much background information as possible.

Every Congress believes that it is representing the public at a particularly important moment, and the 91st Congress is no different. The Age of Pericles is often referred to as one of the high points of our civilization, when men devoted their time to the expansion of culture. In our time we are faced, as they were, with the problems of morality and the decay of the cities. But today these problems are even graver because they affect the lives of all our citizens, whereas in that earlier age, "culture" and "civilization" were for a special class. Therefore, our opportunities are so much the greater.

I hope that conversation and correspondence between us will be a two-way street and that you will call and write to me from time to time giving me the benefit of your point of view and bringing to my attention those ideas which you believe I could use and which in some way would advance the goals we share.

The last page of the newsletter consists of a questionnaire. I do hope you will take the time to respond and add your personal comments.

And now to turn to the two major subjects which will be covered in this newsletter and

some other activities relating to my first two and one half months in Congress.

VIETNAM

In the course of the campaign which I waged to become your Congressman, I made it clear that I consider the war in Vietnam as the major and overriding issue. Now that I am here, I intend to continue the fight to terminate that war in which our continuing involvement is unconscionable. The Pentagon has recently reported that since March 31, 1968, the date that President Johnson began to limit the bombing of North Vietnam, 11,591 Americans have been killed in combat and 75,794 have been wounded.

I was told at a recent off-the-record conference that our government neither has proposed nor intends to propose a permanent cease-fire. It is more apparent each day that the Nixon Administration and the Vietnamese combatants intend to use the period before a peace agreement is signed to accumulate as much real estate as possible without regard to the 200 American lives being lost each week and the comparable Vietnamese casualties. This is unconscionable.

I believe that our first objective at the Paris talks should be an immediate cease-fire, pending the final outcome of current negotiations. Such an offer should be made now and I have so publicly stated.

President Nixon, in his Inaugural Address, made it very clear that his goal was to bring this country together. He recognizes that the Vietnam War has caused this nation to divide in a way not seen since our own Civil War. One of the great tragedies of this war is that so many of our young men, estimated at between five and thirty thousand, have exiled themselves to Canada and Sweden to avoid service in a war which they believe is immoral. Under our existing selective service law, as presently interpreted by the Selective Service Administration, only those who are opposed to all wars are entitled to be designated as conscientious objectors and permitted alternative service to military service. My own examination of the law and of some decisions of several federal courts indicates that the law as it presently exists could be interpreted to include the selective conscientious objector: one who, because of deep moral, religious, and ethical considerations opposes a particular conflict, in this case the Vietnam War. On February 9, I wrote to President Nixon and urged that he issue a directive that such an interpretation be applied, and that it be applied retroactively so as to permit those who have exiled themselves or are in jail to come home and apply for such status which, if granted, would require that they serve in alternative forms of service for a two year period just as those who have received conscientious objector status now do.

The President's staff acknowledged the letter on February 26th and advised that the suggestion would be given consideration. On February 27th I introduced a bill in the House to amend the Selective Service Act of 1967 so as to remove any statutory ambiguities and make clear that conscientious opposition to participation in a particular war is sanctioned. I also believe that we should think in terms of amnesty to be offered after the war is terminated. Senator Edward Kennedy has made a proposal for a commission to study the question. My proposal for the selective conscientious objector is not radical in substance and has been endorsed by the National Council of Catholic Bishops, the World Council of Churches and the Governing Council of the American Jewish Congress.

If you agree with my proposals, may I suggest that you write to President Nixon and urge these courses of action upon him.

MASS TRANSIT

Those of us who live in the major cities of this country know the importance of mass

transit. We know how the cities have suffered as a result of the attempts to alleviate our traffic congestion by building more highways in the city.

In early December, before the new administration took over, I appeared before the Federal Highway Administration to testify on proposed regulations which were offered by the Highway Administrator and which were intended to provide an opportunity for the public to come in and testify whenever a highway route was to be designed in any city and further provided testimony would be taken at the hearings on mass transit alternatives to such highways. Because of the tremendous pressures of the highway lobby, the regulations for all practical purposes were killed.

In 1956, the highway lobby was able to establish a highway trust fund which by 1974 will have spent \$60 billion on highways. In 1969 alone the federal government will spend nearly \$5 billion on highways; and in the same year, for all of the mass transit needs in this country, the federal government will provide only \$175 million.

This is intolerable. One of my first bills in Congress provides for the establishment of a mass transit trust fund for use in building mass transit facilities in the major cities of this country. My bill would do the following: it would fund the trust by continuing the existing 7% federal automobile excise tax and requiring that all of the monies raised by that tax go into the mass transit trust fund; it would require that the federal government, as it now does for highways, pay 90% of any project with the state paying 10%; and it would provide for an expenditure of \$10 billion over the next four years on mass transit facilities—a modest amount when you note that the cost of a Second Avenue subway exceeds \$1 billion.

It will be a very hard fight and only if the urban legislators work together do we have a prayer of succeeding. However, what gives me hope is the fact that Chairman Wright Patman of the House Banking and Currency Committee and Senator Harrison A. Williams of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee have introduced similar legislation, although much more limited in scope than my bill in terms of federal financing; it is their committees which have jurisdiction over the subject.

I am now attempting to obtain the interest of the urban Congressmen and city and state legislators in joining together in an organization supporting mass transportation which will do for the cities what the highway lobby has done for rural and suburban constituents.

In the coming months I will sponsor conferences in New York City and Washington, D.C., to give direction to this organization and to focus attention on the current need for more and better mass transit. The conferences will deal with realistic proposals and not Rube Goldberg gimmicks or 21st century pipedreams.

We cannot sit by and permit the highway lobby to turn the Borough of Manhattan into an open air garage. We need subways—not highways and we need them now.

OTHER CONGRESSIONAL ACTION WHICH I HAVE INITIATED IN THE LAST 60 DAYS

Introduction of a Federal Privacy Act to require federal agencies maintaining personal records on any individual to notify such person of the existence of the records and permit him to examine and supplement the file.

Introduction of a bill to provide a minimum income tax for those wealthy individuals who have avoided paying any income tax.

Introduction of a bill to provide tax relief for apartment house tenants by giving them deductions comparable to those given cooperative apartment and home owners.

Introduction of a bill to require the federal

government to provide financial relocation assistance wherever it demolishes residential and business properties.

Organization of a group of Congressmen to join in supporting the FCC's proposal to ban cigarette advertising on radio and television.

Proposal to provide more building sites by leasing air space over federal buildings at \$1 a year for the construction of low and middle income housing.

EXCERPTS FROM CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE WHICH MAY BE OF INTEREST

A letter dated November 20, 1968 received by my predecessor from a soldier in training reported the following:

"Having accepted the reality of serving in the Army, I am presently half-way through my two month period of basic training. Basic is much better than I feared it would be—but with one exception: I honestly feel that I am not adequately fed. I spoke to (my first Sergeant) over two weeks ago with no results. I think it appropriate to write my Congressman."

My predecessor wrote to the Army. The Army replied January 15, 1969:

"Reference is made to your inquiry concerning Private — who claims he is not receiving an adequate amount of food in his unit mess hall. . . the welfare of the soldiers assigned to this station is of the utmost importance to me. . . Private — was interviewed in connection with his complaint. . . he has gained weight since entering the Army. . . Your interest in this soldier is appreciated."

Brig. General, USA.

Response of Soldier, February 20:

"I am dissatisfied with the Army's response. . . the ten pounds I gained only brought me up to my usual weight. I was only able to maintain my usual weight by buying extra food. . . I generally ate between 3 and 5 candy bars a day plus a couple of cokes and ice creams. I was known as the 'Candy Man'. . . Having gotten married last January, I have begun taking separate rations and eating at home. My wife feeds me well."

From me to Private, February 25:

"The most comforting aspect is that your wife is now responsible for your rations. Would that we could say that for everyone in the Army. May I suggest for health's sake that you have your metabolism checked. Bon appetit!"

Being a Congressman is a full time job and then some. I therefore have withdrawn from the private practice of law. My staff and I are ready to serve your needs in any matter in which we can be of help. My Manhattan office is located at 26 Federal Plaza (Foley Square), phone number: 264-1066. And I will be opening shortly a storefront office at 79th St. and Second Ave. It will be open during evening hours to better serve you. And remember, you can always write to me in Washington.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Please circle choices, cut along dotted lines, and return to: Rep. Edward I. Koch, 1223 Longworth HOB, Washington, D.C. 20515. The answers received will be tabulated and recorded in the next newsletter.

1. Cease-fire: Do you agree with my proposal for an immediate cease-fire in Vietnam? Yes— No—

2. Selective conscientious objector: (a) Do you agree with my proposal to grant selective conscientious objector status to those opposed to a particular war and who have refused to serve to date? Yes— No—

(b) If you disagree, would you grant such status to those objectors who face military service in the future? Yes— No—

3. Amnesty: Do you favor amnesty after the Vietnam War for all who have refused to serve? Yes— No—

4. Mass transit. (a) Do you support my proposal for a Mass Transportation Trust Fund? Yes— No—

(b) Do you believe that it should be funded by continuing the existing 7% automobile excise tax? Yes— No—

5. Smoking: Do you support my position in favor of the FCC's proposed ruling banning all cigarette advertising on radio and television? Yes— No—

6. Do you agree with the General or the Candy Man? General— Candy Man—

Personal comments

Dear Congressman: -----

CONGRESSMAN EILBERG INTRODUCES A BILL TO IMPROVE THE CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT SYSTEM

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a bill which, when enacted, will not only insure the solvency of the civil service retirement system, but will also make long-overdue improvements in the whole system and make it a more modern system capable of meeting the present and future needs of our retired civil servants.

Maintenance of the Federal civil service retirement system is one of the most important responsibilities of Congress. It is an essential part of the modern employment system which we have tried to help develop to attract and keep employees of the highest caliber to conduct the complex business of Government. Enactment of the bill I have introduced today will contribute greatly to the financial security of many past civil servants and their families as well as to future retirees. It will be a landmark in our efforts to maintain the system and remove any doubt as to the retirement fund's ability to meet its commitment to our Federal civil servants.

The results of a comprehensive study conducted by the Post Office and Civil Service Committee's Subcommittee on Retirement, Insurance, and Health Benefits testifies to the need for this bill. Federal employees have always contributed the full amount to the retirement system but, while the Government has contributed substantially, it has failed to appropriate regularly and systematically sufficient amounts to meet the ultimate cost not covered by employee contribution.

At the end of the 1968 fiscal year, the unfunded liability of the system had approached \$55 billion. Under present funding practices, this unfunded liability will continue to grow by more than \$2 billion a year. When the latest salary statute is implemented and Federal employee salaries at last reach a point where they are comparable with those paid in private industry, this coupled with the cost-of-living increases to annuitants which must be made is expected to increase the deficiency in the fund to over \$60 billion by fiscal year 1970. It is also estimated that the assets of the fund—

currently at about \$19 billion—will increase to \$22 billion in the next several years while the deficiency in the fund will approach \$70 billion. The need for changes in the funding of the system is evident. The bill, which I have introduced today, will bring about reforms in the system before a situation arises where the necessary money is not available to pay the annuities of Government retirees and their survivors in full and on time.

My bill also provides for certain changes in the benefit structure of the retirement program. It will increase the retirement fund deduction for employees to 7 percent and increase the Government's contribution to the same level. At the same time the bill will authorize the Civil Service Commission to increase the employer-employee contribution rate as increases are needed to cover the cost of increased benefits. While I do not believe that responsibility for the system should be taken from the Congress, I believe that the Commission needs the authority contained in my bill because situations have occurred too frequently when increases in benefits have been authorized and no provision has been made for funds to pay for them. This bill will remedy this defect in the system, but at the same time will assure that Congress will maintain a final veto over the actions of the Commission in this area. It provides that we can veto or change the action of the Commission in this area within a period of 90 days after the Commission announces changes in the contribution rate.

My bill will make other long-overdue changes in the system. It provides that compensation given in addition to base pay of a civilian position should be included as part of an employees' base pay. It contemplates inclusion of all remuneration for personal services—overtime differentials, premium pay, and so forth for the purpose of deductions, agency contribution, and the computing of the average salary.

Also, my bill provides for a change in the retirement annuity computation formula by making the high 3 years of service the factor to be used in computing the employees retirement annuity rather than the current high-5-year factor. The high-5-year factor tended to keep people working beyond the time they otherwise would and should retire. This tendency has been strengthened with general pay increases which have been enacted in recent years. Up to a point the escalating effect of the high-5-year factor was advantageous to the employing agency, encouraging employees to serve out their full productive years in the Government service. But, with respect to those who have completed their most productive years of service, the formula operates to oppose the best interests of management. It provides an incentive for employees to postpone retirement indefinitely, irrespective of their performance level.

This bill will also make a long overdue improvement in the procedure for awarding retirees cost-of-living increases in their annuities when the Consumer Price Index goes up. In the 89th Congress substantial improvements were made in the

retirement system to make annuity increases more timely. Still more must be done because it is common to have a 5-month timelag between the initial month that the Consumer Price Index rises by 3 percent over the previous base month and the month in which the cost-of-living increase is reflected in annuity checks. To correct this situation, my bill provides for an additional 1-percent increase in the cost-of-living increase to cover this timelag. We cannot continue to have a situation where, by the time retirees receive an increase in their annuities, they are already behind again due to another increase in the index.

In addition to a provision which authorizes payment of retirement annuities to either civil servants or their survivors who have remarried after July 18, 1966, my bill provides limited recognition to those employees who have prudently utilized the sick leave privilege. This bill will provide that an employee's years of service would be increased by the amount of his accrued sick leave. An employee who has met the age and service requirements for immediate retirement, such as one who is 55 years old and has served 30 years, for example, will have his service increased by 1 calendar month for each 22 days of unused sick leave; or a retired or deceased employee who has accrued sufficient leave to be carried in a paid leave status for 1 year will be given retirement credit of 1 year. While this provision of the bill does not provide the immediate cash payoff that many have advocated in the past for unused sick leave, it will mean that an employee can expect to receive in additional annuities about 25 percent of the dollar value of his accrued leave.

Mr. Speaker, the need for this bill is evident. The House passed this bill last year after extensive hearings. However, failure by the Senate to act has necessitated that the process be repeated this year. I am confident that the Post Office and Civil Service Committee will act on this bill promptly so that our Federal retirees will be assured that they will have a retirement annuity when they retire and that their annuities will allow them to at least keep pace with continual increases in the Consumer Price Index.

UNSOLICITED CREDIT CARDS

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, last month I introduced legislation designed to protect consumers from the flood of unsolicited bank credit cards now being unleashed on the market. It was and is my opinion that the practice of issuing unsolicited credit cards constitutes not only a nuisance to consumers, but also a possible threat to household and national economies. The legislation I have introduced would give the Federal Reserve Board a mandate to regulate the issuance and terms of these cards with the interests of consumers in mind.

When I submitted this legislation, I told the House of my own unhappy experience with one of these unsolicited credit cards. Judging from my mail, many other citizens across the country have had similar experiences and share my irritation and concern over this practice.

Under unanimous consent I submit some related correspondence for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

FEBRUARY 24, 1969.

HON. JONATHAN BINGHAM,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BINGHAM: Enclosed materials speak for themselves. Originally I planned to return the entire envelope to Atlantic Richfield, including the credit cards.

"One of our Atlantic Richfield employees—an acquaintance of yours—requested the enclosed Credit Cards be sent to you.

"You will enjoy Guaranteed Red Ball Service and many other advantages—listed in the enclosed brochure—these modern, versatile cards offer.

"We are looking forward to serving you as a Credit Card customer.

"ATLANTIC RICHFIELD CO."

My friends do not have to hide—give the name!

The letter was received Feb. 15, hence I had to wait until Monday, Feb. 17, to call State Attorney General Lefkowitz's office to learn more about this kind of unsolicited, unregistered mailing of personal liability credit cards. I was told by one of A. H. Lefkowitz's assistants to destroy the credits by all means at once. Since I do not own an automobile, & people who know me know this well, the—"an acquaintance of yours"—is a gratuitous deception & legalistic ploy. All of this leads me to wonder how this approach to business can be condoned & considered legal (State Att. office is helpless—the dismayed one at that, because they lost a court test on precisely this kind of problem) & how long will it take Congress as a whole to introduce remedial measures to curb this kind of one-sided liability imposition? This is a truly unbelievable situation & steps should be taken at once to secure the safety of the individual's sovereignty over his purse. This hardly comes under the heading of consumer protection, but fits the heading: "Raiding the Unwary's Assets." How can one be sure that such cards will not be used against one's accounts without ever having seen the card personally?

With best regards,

Respectfully yours,

ROLF STERNBERG.

SALISBURY, N.C.,

March 5, 1969.

HON. JONATHAN BINGHAM,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BINGHAM: Mrs. Walsh and I heartily support your stand against the issuance of credit cards except upon request.

We thank you for your courage and thoughtfulness.

Cordially yours,

DOUGLAS WALSH.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.,

March 6, 1969.

HON. JONATHAN BINGHAM,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BINGHAM: I enjoyed your report on BankAmericard. The same thing happened to me though mine was a bill from Brennan's Restaurant.

I hope that you and Senator Proxmire really press this legislation.

Sincerely,

BRUCE K. BROWN.

MANHATTAN, N.Y.,

March 5, 1969.

HON. JONATHAN BINGHAM,
Congressman, 23d New York,
Washington.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BINGHAM: The item on Wall Street Journal Editorial Page today under Notable and Quotable has been read with interest.

I cannot imagine any circumstance wherein I'd use a credit card. However, over the years I've received many unsolicited cards, more than one from the same institution, company, or however it may be classified. On receipt I destroy them.

I go along with your idea that credit cards should only be issued when requested by the intended user. But, I'd go even further in restricting them, to the extent that a credit card should not be issued to anyone with a proved income of say \$20,000 yearly.

With all the current credit cards outstanding, just what might happen in the event we have a "depression," "recession," or just plain old time "hard times." I've heard of individuals whose outstanding credit card obligations amount to much more than their yearly income. I know of no way another depression, recession or hard times can surely be avoided, and, probably the persons with the largest outstanding credit card obligations would be the first to be released by their employers, should such a condition develop.

Much success, and my best wishes.

Sincerely,

H. SMITH.

JANEWAY PUBLISHING &
RESEARCH CORP.,

New York, N.Y., March 6, 1969.

HON. JONATHAN BINGHAM,
Congress of the United States, House of
Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR JONATHAN: Bully for you on the exasperated outburst which won you honorable mention in yesterday's Wall Street Journal. Wanted to be sure that you had seen it.

Great minds hone in on the same target at the same time as per the latest issue of our Service, which I am delighted to enclose with the fervent hope that you will put it in the Record and use it as a basis for the investigation you intend to make. The passage I have marked relating to the fraudulent practices invited by these excesses on the part of the banking establishment offers a particularly inviting target for investigation.

Sincerely yours,

ELIOT JANEWAY.

[From the Janeway Service, Mar. 5, 1969]

"Consumer Credit is the most profitable single source of business the banks have. Even at the height of the 1966 credit crunch, when Reserve city banks were worrying about their ability to meet their own payrolls, they were nevertheless continuing to rain out cash on expensive advertising to compete for new consumer credit loans. But at that time, retail credit was at least measurable as it went on the books; for the form it took was limited to the signing of notes and the writing of checks. It no longer is. And at least as fast as the Washington authorities are using their power to delinquency the banks, the banks are getting out from under by the simple device of mailing out more credit cards, each armed with a de facto overdraft with a limit (generally at the moment \$5,000). At the rate at which bank credit card money is being punched out and written into the stream, the bank issuers will be months finding out how much they have created and how much new loan demand on the growing army of retail card carriers is forcing the country's commercial system to incur.

"The success of bank merchandising in popularizing the use of instant bank credit card money serves a multiplicity of purposes. For

one thing, the banks are able to build up the one reliable source of limitless business available to them which they can handle at a profitable spread over the uneconomic cost to them of the money they are borrowing. For another, the retailers of goods and services are relieved of the familiar fear of credit risk and the new fear of credit fraud. (The new headaches the banks are making for themselves in the department of fraud control by the mass circulation of bank credit money is another story; and this scenario is being activated on the law and order front rather than in the economy.) In addition, the proliferation of instant bank credit card money is reinforcing the conspicuously casual attitude of the public toward savings and intensifying its willingness to commit future income to pay off new debt."

AUSTIN, TEX., March 5, 1969.

HON. JONATHAN BINGHAM,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I noted with interest an excerpt from the *Congressional Record*, as reprinted in the March 5 edition of *The Wall Street Journal*, concerning your support of legislation to limit unsolicited credit card issuance. I wholeheartedly agree with your efforts and the efforts of Senator Proxmire concerning this legislation and would offer this comment.

The consumer credit situation as it exists today can have a crippling effect on an individual when misused, no matter what income classification he may fall into. A computer's mistake may ruin a man's community standing, his protests having no effect, and make large purchases almost impossible for him because of his damaged credit rating. I would advocate even more stringent and far reaching measures than those as yet proposed to insure every American freedom from such unwarranted harassment and to limit the scope and power of consumer credit bureaus.

Even though not a constituent, I will remain an admirer of any legislation of this nature that you may be able to promote.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. ALBERT A. KENNEDY, JR.

WHITMAN, MASS.,
February 24, 1969.

HON. JONATHAN BINGHAM,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Recently I read a newspaper item in which it stated you had received an unsolicited credit card from State St. Bank & Trust Co., Boston, Mass.

Not knowing the proper committee to write to I would like to bring to your attention that I also received the same from the State St. Bank and Trust Co.

This to me is an invasion of privacy of myself and family as I did not request them to check on my credit standing and I would appreciate it if you would bring this to the attention of the proper people for an immediate investigation.

Several of my friends and fellow employees have also received these unsolicited credit cards from this same institution.

Am bringing this to the attention of our State Banking Commissioner as well.

Thanking you for anything that you might do on this matter, I am

Respectfully yours,

CLAUDE M. FROST.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,
February 24, 1969.

Representative JONATHAN BINGHAM,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BINGHAM: More power to you! I have returned two unsolicited Bankamericards to the State Street Bank & Trust Company (in fragments) and have canceled a

charge account with S. S. Pierce that I had had for thirty-seven years.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. A. N. BARRETT.

DEAR SIR: In regard to the article in the Boston Globe I would like to say that Mr. Max Davis had the similar experience with the State St. Bank and Trust Co., he read a statement from a Dr. Chefetz who he never had any business with him rec'd a double bill for the same acct. amt twice \$50.00 and \$16.00 interest. I feel that this is not a fair way of doing business or obtaining money under false pretenses. I would like you to investigate this matter.

Yours truly,

MAX DAVIS.

ARLINGTON, MASS.,
February 21, 1969.

HON. JONATHAN BINGHAM,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: I read of your troubles with the State Street Bank with deep sympathy. This callous disregard for its customers seems increasingly to be a characteristic of large corporations. In part it is due to inadequate planning and preparation for automation.

As a computer programmer by trade, I can confidently assert that such troubles are not a necessary consequence of automation. The major problem is that oversights in system design which lead to experiences such as yours do not cost the State Street Bank anything. If the State Street Bank were liable for substantial damages as a consequence of erroneous billing, you can be sure there would be elaborate safeguards.

The solution to the problem, as I see it, is legislation that enables an individual to collect substantial punitive damages from a business that wrongfully presses for payment for goods or services that it did not in fact render, or that were not in fact ordered by the individual.

Furthermore, of course, if it could be made into law that the free and unsolicited issuance of a credit card amounts to a free gift of all the goods and services that can be purchased with it, such troubles as yours would never get started, since there would no longer be such a thing as an unsolicited credit card.

Very truly yours,

JEROME T. HOLLAND.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
February 22, 1968.

DEAR SIR: I would like to register my support of your bill against unsolicited credit cards. I have received such credit cards from certain banks and I would like their practice of sending such unwanted cards to stop.

Thank you,

Miss L. GREENE.

RADCLIFFE COLLEGE,
Cambridge, Mass., February 28, 1969.
HON. JONATHAN BINGHAM,
House of Representatives Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BINGHAM: I am enchanted with your campaign against the State Street Bank and Trust Company. Do you need any more ammunition?

Something over a year ago an unsolicited Bankamericard arrived at my house addressed to Bernard DeVoto. Since my husband died in November 1955 (a fact widely noted in the press) you can imagine my feelings—sheer fury was predominant. I wrote a lot of nasty letters in my head but never got round to sending one.

Four months later another credit card arrived for the late Bernard DeVoto. I know better than to write to computers. I always write to the president of the company. So I wrote a corker to Mr. Frederick Hagemann. I am told by those who know him that he is

a blameless Harvard man and that I would like him very much.

I wish I'd kept a copy of that letter, because it worked, and I never got another mailing. I said it was a hell of a way to run a bank. I asked what earthly good was a mailing list which included a man long dead. I said I regarded credit cards as illegal and immoral, that I hoped the Mafia would take over the credit card business and that the State Street Bank and Trust would lose their shirts. I asked him to see to it personally that my husband's name was removed from that list and I suggested that an apology to me might not be amiss. I never got an apology, but DeVoto is off that list.

If you beat on the president of a company you really get somewhere. I won an absolutely abject apology from the credit department of Filenes (which said I didn't exist though I'd had a charge account there for 30 years) over a six dollar charge, by writing direct to Maurice Lazarus who is president of that great consortium of Filene Bloomingdales Abraham Strauss and the lot.

I shall be watching your campaign with fascination.

Most gratefully yours,

Mrs. BERNARD DEVOTO,
Assistant to Dean Williston.

THE URBAN CRISIS AND SUB- URBAN INVOLVEMENT—ANALYSIS BY BRONX TEACHER

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, with permission I wish to insert in the *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD* an analysis of our urban problems, prepared by Mr. Terrence K. Quinn, an alert and concerned young teacher at the John Dwyer Junior High School in my congressional district. I call it to the attention of my colleagues in the House, who will, I believe, agree that it is both perceptive and thought provoking. I would not be so concerned about the future of our schools—and of our children—if teachers with the dedication and countenance of Mr. Quinn were in more of our classrooms.

The analysis follows:

THE URBAN CRISIS AND SUBURBAN INVOLVEMENT

The astounding changeover in the United States from an essentially rural type of society to an urban society was not made in a day—or even in a century. In 1790, nearly two centuries after Jamestown, the first permanent English settlement in America was founded, cities were still few and far between in America. The census of that year was the first to be taken after the 13 colonies wrenched their independence from Britain. It showed that 95% of the people lived in the countryside—mostly as farmers or frontiersmen. Only two cities of the infant nation—Philadelphia with 42,444 people and New York with 33,131—had population over 25,000 people!

To Americans of that time, the slow development of the cities indicated anything but a lack of progress. Men such as Thomas Jefferson believed that America would be better off if it remained a nation of independent farmers and merchants living in rural areas and small communities. Big cities, Jefferson warned in his anti-urban *Notes on Virginia*, would bring crime, disease, and other social evils in their wake.

Alexander Hamilton, Jefferson's political

rival, saw the situation in another light. Looking ahead to the coming era of big industry and improved transportation, he foresaw an America whose might and prosperity would be centered in its great cities. Progress, he believed, would go hand in hand with the growth of an urban nation.

As it turned out, of course, Hamilton's vision of the future was nearer the mark than Jefferson's. As the Industrial Revolution gained momentum, more and more Americans poured into the cities. Today—in contrast to 1790—about 70% of our population lives on only 1% of the land. By the year 2000, it is estimated that nine out of every ten Americans will be residents of urban areas and the outlying communities of these areas.

Jefferson, however, was not altogether wrong by any means. Though his dream of a predominantly rural America has not come to pass, his prediction of the great problems that cities would bring with them has proved all too true.

Indeed, from Thomas Jefferson to George C. Wallace, our nation's most distinguished artists, political figures, and social critics have proclaimed open hostility toward the city. Unlike the Englishman's London or the Frenchman's Paris, they have found nothing to love in the sprawling American metropolises. Our cities have been the traditional object of prejudice, fear, and distrust. Thomas Jefferson once commented on the city with the following indictment: "I view great cities as pestilential to the morals, the health and the liberties of man." Today George Wallace, who recently offered himself as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States ran on a platform that would, among other things, relocate all those "social undesirables" who live in the city and are responsible for the deterioration of the American city.

Throughout American history the urban dweller has been the object of much scorn. This scorn expressed itself at the New York Constitutional Convention of 1894 when one delegate argued against New York City: "I say without fear of contradiction that the average citizen in the rural district is superior in intelligence, superior in morality, superior in self-government, to the average citizen in the great cities. I tell you gentlemen, you who represent the great city that when that time comes when your streets are filled with those who are parading your streets and destroying your property and killing your citizens, then you will come for help. And to whom? You will then turn your eyes to the green fields of Oneida and Herkimer. You will call to us, we who have no Emma Goldbergs and no Herr Mosks..." (*Revised Record of the New York State Constitutional Convention, 1894*, pp. 10-11).

America's greatness seemed derived from the soil, the forests, the open country, and not from the commercial and political cesspools of the cities. It is no accident that Davy Crockett became a folk hero rather than Boss Tweed; had not Jefferson himself maintained the superiority of an agrarian life? A social critic from Europe, Alexis de Tocqueville had seen the growth of cities as a danger to democracy because of the volatile elements they contained. For many an American intellectual the city was a dirty and evil place. Only from the open air and the rich soil of the new world might the distinctive, creative American spirit flourish. James Fenimore Cooper's popular *Leather Stocking Tales* gave romantic sustenance to the agrarian myth. The city and virtue seemed incompatible. In more modern times, Stephen Crane, author of *The Red Badge of Courage*, likened the city unto a jungle. The poet T. S. Eliot regarded the city as a wasteland. Even the world famous industrialist Henry Ford said, "We shall solve the city problem by leaving the city."

This then is what we must cope with if we are to effectively understand and solve some of the urban problems. Within a few years, four-fifths of all Americans will live

in cities. The cities are the centers of culture, fashion, finance and industry, of sports and communications, for us all, and thus the centers of possibilities of American life. They are also the center of the problems of American life: poverty, crime, scanty education, pollution, racial tension to name but a few. Urban problems stretch far beyond the center city. Sheer growth has sent suburbs tumbling across the countryside, overburdening our systems of transportation and water supply, education and medical care, antiquating the means of raising money to finance these vital services. Growth has polluted our water and poisoned our air, and stripped us of contact with sunlight, trees and lakes. Government has floundered as new agencies have proliferated, splitting tasks and energies among dozens of distant and unconnected bureaus. Individuals have lost touch with the institutions of society, even with one another (alienation); and thus have become more and more both perpetrators and victims of coldness, cruelty, and violence.

In the next fifty years our population will double from 200 million to 400 million, and our problems may double as well. We will have to build twice as many homes, hospitals and schools as we have now. More than this, we will have to find space for ourselves to plan where we will live and work and play, and where and how we can begin to rebuild our community and our society to make them both places where each man finds importance and significance in his own life, and in his contributions to the lives of others. This is a large task. But it is the least we can do if our cities are to be places of dignity and safety, of rich excitement and achievement; if our community and our society are to gain the name of civilization.

Confronted by this urban crisis, many Americans have opted for the suburbs as a solution to the problem of urban living. And yet President Johnson was warned in a confidential report that the suburbs of America "face a quiet, slowly-building crisis." The report paints a shocking picture of life in the suburbs also.

It recommends drastic new federal programs to deal with the suburban crisis. The report was compiled by the President's Task Force on Suburban Problems, a 10-member commission. Among the surprising findings of the task force are these:

Forty percent of the nation's poor live in suburbs.

Crime, decay and pollution problems are growing at the same rate in the suburbs as in the central cities.

"Cultural dehydration" of suburban life has led to an alarming rise in vandalism, drug offenses and larceny among children.

A surprising number of suburbanites are without such fundamental services as adequate police protection, sewage and waste disposal and transportation.

New suburbs have been built "recklessly" by developers using "Bulldozer and land-leveling tactics that have dried up the country, killing animal life and made housing areas needlessly dull."

The report concludes that suburban life, both spiritually and physically, is not what it's cracked up to be. It often is an unhappy place with problems just as grave and critical as those of the central city. And, the report concludes, the problems of the suburbs have gone undetected because of governmental focus on the problems of the inner city.

The task force made a number of recommendations for federal action to save the suburbs. And it warned the President that the federal government, as well as local governments, must stop putting the problems of metropolitan areas into separate pigeon holes. "The suburban crisis is an indivisible part of the urban crisis. The suburbs do not stand alone. They are part of the great metropolitan areas . . . help to the central city and the suburbs must move in parallel.

Pollution, crime and decay are not respecters of municipal boundaries."

Among the major recommendations of the task force are:

Creation of an urban development bank, similar to the world bank. It would provide large scale loans and technical assistance for orderly metropolitan development.

A series of measures to open the suburbs to groups now blocked from them, such as Negroes, the poor, the aged and surprisingly, Vietnam veterans.

A massive program to build \$6,000,000 low and moderate housing units in suburban areas to handle families from inner cities.

An experimental program of government-backed insurance to protect homeowners against losses due to racial integration of their neighborhoods. (This would help eliminate some of the fear now hindering orderly integration, the report states).

Massive federal aid to plan and finance area-wide waste disposal systems.

Direct government grants of up to 50% of the cost of community centers, swimming pools, and libraries.

In a letter to the President, the head of the task force, Chales M. Haar, of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, emphasized the urgency of the suburban problem. "Beneath the popular image of the suburbs as middle class, happy and affluent, there is a quiet crisis that threatens the quality of life to be enjoyed by millions of Americans. Nor is the threat limited to the one-out-of-four Americans who live in the suburbs. The independence of our urban society makes it certain that the problems of our central cities cannot be fully resolved without finding the answers in the suburbs."

The task force's findings and recommendations were surprising in many ways. For example, the report pinpoints the returning Vietnam veterans as one of the problems facing metropolitan areas. After noting that 70,000 Vietnam veterans are being returned to civilian life each month, the task force points out that housing and financing to purchase housing are not available for them. It calls for federal programs to give the returning GI's a rent-supplement program and flexible methods of low down-payment on houses.

The question arises then as to our ability to cope with crises in both our urban and suburban communities. A simple answer will not be forthcoming, because the problems are as compound as they are complex. Perhaps we can best answer the questions posed to us by issuing a challenge to ourselves. In the words of the President's National Commission on Urban Problems:

The recommendations we make in these areas are a test of our most fundamental beliefs. We are a wealthy nation, so it is not really a question of whether we can afford to do such things as we recommend. It is simply a matter of whether we still have faith in freedom, in equality, in justice, enough to make sacrifices in their cause. We are confident that the nation can rededicate itself to these goals that have been the touchstone of national progress and success.

GONZALEZ COMMENDS SANYO-AF PROGRAM TRAINING MEDICAL LABORATORY AIDES

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring the attention of my colleagues to a successful and unique job-training program now successfully in progress in my district.

Eleven San Antonio girls are training

to become medical lab aides, and are receiving in-the-lab training at the Wilford Hall USAF Hospital at Lackland Air Force Base.

This work-training program is run by the broad-based San Antonio Neighborhood Youth Organization—SANYO—under a grant from the Department of Labor. The girls were recruited from one of the worst areas in the country in terms of "subemployment" rates, as defined and identified by the Labor Department.

Each week, the girls receive 8 hours of classroom training at the SANYO office, and 32 hours of practical experience in the Air Force medical lab. And each day at the lab, they also receive an hour of classroom instruction. The course will last for 6 months. This first class graduates in June, when they will be prepared for employment in local hospitals and laboratories.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I wish to include at this point in my remarks a press release with further details of this fine work-study program:

SANYO NYC ENROLLEES STUDY AT WILFORD HALL

(By S. Sgt. Dick Walters)

Wilford Hall U.S. Air Force Hospital's Department of Pathology has joined with the SANYO, Inc. in a unique laboratory aid training program which will prepare students to fill semiskilled laboratory aid positions in local hospitals and laboratories upon successful completion.

The SANYO enrollees earn while they learn in the special training program.

The program is termed the "Phase One" course, leaving the way open for a more advanced course in the future. A possible Phase Two course could lead to recognition as laboratory technicians.

The 11 girls now pursuing their work-study program with the Department of Pathology are on a busy schedule with 32 hours of work in the lab each week and 8 hours of classroom time at the SANYO office located at La Salle High School. In addition, one hour of each day is spent in the classroom at Wilford Hall learning why as well as how their jobs are done in a particular manner.

The students work throughout the Department of Pathology. Their laboratory duties take them through work sessions in histopathology, microbiology, hematology, the blood donor center, the wash room, automation, urinalysis, and the front desk.

The classes at Wilford Hall are taught by Senior Master Sergeant Charles A. Reasner, noncommissioned officer in charge of the Department of Pathology. He is a veteran of seven years experience in the laboratory technician field and has served as NCOIC of each of the branches of the department.

The girls learn everything from mounting a specimen to drawing blood, with much time spent in learning to handle the administrative tasks which follow each action.

Mrs. Teresa Widish, SANYO counselor for Wilford Hall Hospital, watches each girl's progress and is always available to help them with problems that may arise.

The program started recently with the first class beginning in December. The students have progressed quickly according to Sergeant Reasner. "They have picked up the fundamental ideas very rapidly. In one instance, I had set aside four hours of class time for explaining one medical procedure."

"The girls have also shown great initiative outside the classroom," he commented, "progressing far ahead of their training schedules. Our policy has been that once they notice a job that they feel they could do, they may

ask their supervisor to instruct them in it. As soon as they are qualified, they begin working under supervision."

In June, having completed the six months curriculum, the students will become available for employment in local hospitals and laboratories.

Colonel Robert W. Morrissey, chairman of the Department of Pathology, points out that the program helps the hospital as well as the students. The students, as they learn, release skilled Air Force technicians for more complicated clinical duties.

Because of the initial success of the program, SANYO is now recruiting students for x-ray, medical records and pharmacy positions for training under supervision at Wilford Hall Hospital.

To recruit students for the original program, Mrs. Widish went to the councilors of the SANYO Neighborhood Youth Corps who were working with young people in the out of school program. Each recommended young people to enroll in the laboratory aid course. Mrs. Widish then interviewed the volunteers and selected those who showed the greatest interest and aptitude for a career in health related fields.

Young men may also enroll, however Mrs. Widish had much difficulty trying to enroll two for a pharmacy training course. Many other areas of the hospital are now opening to SANYO volunteers, following the example of the Pathology Department.

SANYO is a nonprofit corporation, operating in the low income areas of San Antonio. Three-quarters of its board of directors are residents of low income neighborhoods, guiding the organization and the community in its self-help programs.

The Department of Labor helps finance SANYO's neighborhood youth corps operations through its bureau of work training programs. The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) also helps by providing an emergency loan program and support of the SANYO Credit Union. The Department of Commerce in cooperation with SANYO is preparing a feasibility study on establishment and operation of locally owned community businesses in the low income areas of San Antonio.

SANYO also provides work for about 50 undergraduate college students who meet the poverty criteria of its programs.

ABM II—HOW GENERAL STRANGE-BIRD WILL GET US TO LOVE THE ANTIBOMB

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, Richard Rovere, an astute correspondent for the New Yorker magazine, wrote a very interesting piece in the last issue concerning the Pentagon propaganda plan to sell the antiballistic missile to the American public.

I am pleased to see that our all-new action Army is in step with the times. It was a stroke of genius to equate the Sentinel ABM system with underarm deodorant and soap. I can see it now—"Don't be half safe. Buy the Sentinel for 24-hour protection"—or possibly—"Our town has a Sentinel. Don't you wish everyone did."

I include the article for the edification of my colleagues who may still have the outmoded view that weapons systems are developed on the basis of military and technical value:

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

FEBRUARY 23.

Someone—most likely a Democrat on his way out of the Defense Department—recently turned over to the Washington Post a pair of classified documents dealing not with any specific questions of national security but, rather, with the problem of persuading American citizens and their representatives in Congress that the Sentinel anti-ballistic-missile system is a good and desirable investment. The first of these documents, which gave birth to the second, is a seventeen-page memorandum, headed "Public Relations Program for Sentinel," which was written sometime last year by Lieutenant General Alfred D. Starbird, identified by the Post as the "manager" of the Sentinel project. It was addressed to his boss, Secretary of the Army Stanley R. Resor, who was appointed by President Johnson in 1965 and was retained by President Nixon and his Secretary of Defense, Melvin R. Laird.

The second document is a shortened and extensively paraphrased version of the Starbird memorandum that was prepared by Resor and passed along to Johnson's Secretary of Defense, Clark Clifford, a few weeks before the 1968 election. In classifying these documents on its front page last Sunday, the Post treated its readers to very little of the seminal paper written by the wonderfully named General Starbird, evidently for the reason—amply established in the few quotations it did publish—that, even though its subject was public relations rather than military strategy, it was so full of military and bureaucratic gobbledegook that ordinary readers would find it impenetrable. The paper did, however, publish substantial portions of the abbreviated Resor version, and that, while scarcely a model of literary felicity, was altogether clear. It advised Secretary Clifford (as if he did not already know) that "several highly placed and reputable U.S. scientists have spoken out in print against the Sentinel missile system," and went on to propose a whole series of techniques for countering the influence of the heretics and assuring congressional support deployment of the ABM system.

The techniques were anything but new and were not—given the prevailing modes for the conduct of the public business of our society and most other societies this side of the New Jerusalem—in and of themselves immoral. "We will be in contact shortly with scientists who are familiar with the Sentinel program and who may see fit to write articles for publication supporting the technical feasibility and operational effectiveness of the Sentinel system," Resor wrote. This is a sly but routine procedure both in and out of government, and it is employed—or, at least, attempted—in behalf of the most virtuous of causes as well as of the most dubious ones. Resor recommended extensive "briefings" of congressmen, journalists, the preparation of tapes and films to be used by Army personnel in encounters with the public, and "information packets" for interested citizens.

This is the way—or a large part of the way—that the consent of the governed is won, whether by the Army when it wishes to plant rocket launchers in the suburbs or by the Justice Department when it wants to build up support for a civil-rights law. The only defense the public can have is an independent press and an educational system that breeds skeptics. There are, however, some important differences between the military's use of public relations and the use that most other institutions make of it. The military, for one thing, has more money than anyone else, and when to its vast funds are added those of the industries it deals with, it seems to have just about all the money there is. (The Starbird memorandum specifically suggested recruiting the assistance of "all individual industrial firms and civilian contractors participating in the produc-

tion and deployment of the Sentinel system.") The Under-Secretary of Housing and Urban Development may take some doubting Thomas from Congress or the press on a tour of local projects in a government limousine, but his funds are severely limited and more or less subject to public scrutiny, and the agency could not organize a propaganda campaign on anything like the scale of the one proposed to Secretary Clifford by Secretary Resor. Moreover, the military can make a secret of anything it chooses. It chose to "classify" these two memoranda, which contain about as much information on "national security" as might be found in a soap merchant's instructions to his salesmen, with the consequence that Army officials could claim that they would be violating discipline if they discussed the documents with representatives of the *Post*. (One did go as far as to explain that although there was a "freeze" on Sentinel construction, there would be no letup in the campaign to persuade the public of the benefits of deployment.) Other government agencies—and, of course, private institutions—have methods of concealment that are often as effective as the military's, but they cannot hide behind them quite as unchallengeably as the military can. If Department of Commerce spokesmen clam up when asked for figures on trade, there are, as a rule, plenty of other sources to which determined investigators can turn. But if the military says there are facts about a weapons system that civilian scientists haven't been told, there is nothing much to do but to plead for the "declassification" of these facts. Not all such pleas are bound to go unheeded. A great deal depends on the outlook of the pleader. Deep in his own "classified" memorandum, General Starbird recommends that in certain cases—clearly those that would favor the Sentinel—the Army take a favorable view of declassifying material "which is responsive to the anticipated questions."

For decades now, the defense agencies have been conducting huge and hugely expensive public-relations campaigns. For the most part, though, the effort has been undertaken with the aim of reflecting glory on a particular service or, less frequently, on the Department of Defense itself. It has rarely been necessary to focus a propaganda drive on any one program, such as the deployment of the Sentinel. Inter-service conflicts over appropriations have sometimes had to be adjudicated more or less publicly by the President or the Congress, but the usual rule has been to ask the generals and the admirals to compose their differences in the Pentagon and then bill the country for whatever they think is needed to keep the flag aloft and unsullied. The bills have been paid on presentation, sometimes with a substantive gratuity. It is questionable whether much in the way of military public relations was ever needed to achieve these results; so many societies more strapped for funds than this one give their soldiers and sailors everything they ask for and give their civilians anything that happens to be left over. What is striking and, in recent times, unprecedented about the Army's campaign for the Sentinel is not its slyness or the attempt to keep it secret but the fact that it is essentially defensive in nature and content. It calls for the use of all the loaded devices of propaganda, but its appeal is not primarily to patriotism—though no doubt the assemblers of the "information packets" have not overlooked the possibilities of scoring points with displays of Old Glory—but to reason and logic. The Army's argument this time is not with pacifists or appeasers but with informed critics, who have managed to unsettle certain sections of the public by not moralizing about foreign and military policy but by asserting their primarily scientific expertise and planting doubts as to whether the military really knows what it is doing, and

even whether it is capable of making guns that will shoot.

This, to be sure, is only one of several new elements that have come to light in the Sentinel controversy, which seems likely to be the most important and certainly the most interesting one in these early months of the Nixon Administration. The war in Vietnam has, of course, gone a long way toward undermining public and congressional confidence in military leadership. The senators on the Foreign Relations Committee who have been giving Secretary Laird and other Administration members so hard a time over the Sentinel—while ostensibly soliciting their views, all favorable, on the non-proliferation treaty—had expressed dismay over the competence of General Westmoreland and his aides long before the present disputes arose. But there was a tendency then to put the major blame for Vietnam on the civilian policymakers and to fault the military men mainly for their complicity in what the senators regarded as an unwise and unworkable foreign policy. The senators did not take it upon themselves to get into disputes over weapons technology with the presumed experts from the Pentagon. Another obvious factor that bred dissatisfaction—though not, as far as is known, disenchantment—with the military was its intrusion, through the original Sentinel deployment plan, into communities that happen to include the homes of influential and articulate citizens. But these citizens' objections, apparently, can rather easily be met by a military rezoning, which the Sentinel proponents would be happy to undertake. This controversy, though, would not be ended—at least in the Senate, where the most widely publicized debate will take place—if the war were called off tomorrow and all suburbanites were assured that there would be no missile sites within five hundred miles of them. For the argument really turns (as such arguments rarely do) on the facts in the case—or, to put it another way, on who, as between scientists and soldiers, is better equipped to determine the facts.

The question could not have arisen in an age when the military dealt with gunsmiths and shipwrights rather than with scientists. A military education was sufficient to enable a soldier to pass judgment on the effectiveness of a rifle, or a sailor on the seaworthiness of a ship. But if Jerome Wiesner, who was science adviser to President Kennedy and is currently provost of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, knows what he is talking about, the Sentinel, in its present state of development, "is probably the most complicated electronic system anyone has ever tried to put together . . . the most elaborate, sophisticated, dynamic combination of rocketry, radar, computers, electronics, and other technology ever proposed." Wiesner says that the Sentinel is untestable (because it would violate the test-ban treaty, and also because it could never be really tested unless the Chinese or the Russians sent an ICBM our way) and in all likelihood unworkable. General Starbird, a West Pointer of the class of 1933 and an officer with a fair amount of engineering experience, and Secretary Resor, once an Army major and a 1946 graduate of the Yale Law School, may know something about the Sentinel that Dr. Wiesner doesn't know, but there is clearly a growing tendency here and around the country to believe that men like Dr. Wiesner know a great deal about electronics, computers, and radar (in the development of which Wiesner played an important role) that General Starbird and Secretary Resor, like most of the rest of us, do not and probably never could know.

The military would no doubt respond by saying that there are scientists who hold with them rather than with Dr. Wiesner, and certainly this must be true, or the Sentinel would not exist. But most of them are

presumably working for the government or for defense industries. In the Resor memorandum, it was delicately pointed out that the articles to be written in praise of the Sentinel and in dispraise of such as Dr. Wiesner should be "preferably by nongovernment scientists." As far as is known, the search for qualified debaters free of government ties has been unavailing. Meanwhile, all seven of the men who have served in the sixties as science adviser to the President or as Director of Defense Research and Engineering in the Department of Defense have declared their opposition to ABM systems of one kind or another.

Senator Edward Kennedy, the new Democratic whip and an opponent of the Sentinel, has asked Dr. Wiesner and Professor Abram Chayes, formerly legal adviser to the State Department and now at Harvard Law School, to prepare a lengthy report on the ABM and get it in his hands before the Pentagon completes its own review of the program, which has been promised for early March, when the floor debate will probably begin in earnest. A year ago, it would have been safe to predict that although Senator Kennedy and those who share his view might win the debate they could hope to win nothing else. When the roll was called, the Pentagon and the defense industries always prevailed, with votes to spare. The case against the Sentinel is abstract and abstruse—and, in the end, as unprovable as the case for it, which is that it could save millions of American lives. No elected official likes the prospect of running against an opponent who can charge him with voting to expose his constituents to death.

The import of the Pentagon's review is as predictable as that of Dr. Wiesner's, and it is scarcely conceivable that the President would decline to endorse it. Yet the campaign that Senator Kennedy is mounting, in collaboration with Senator John Sherman Cooper, the leading Republican opponent of the Sentinel, cannot now be regarded as altogether quixotic, or worth making only for the sake of the public record. In the last session, Senator Cooper, joined by Senator Philip A. Hart, of Michigan, and others, three times offered amendments striking from authorization or appropriation bills funds intended for deployment of the Sentinel. As they knew they would, they lost all three votes, their best showing on any one being thirty-four. But Senator Cooper has recently pointed out that on one proposition or another more than forty senators voted as he did, and he and other anti-ABM senators believe that their position has been greatly strengthened in the course of the current controversy. They are claiming that there are now forty-five senators ready to oppose the Pentagon on the Sentinel. The Majority Leader, Senator Mansfield, can be counted on, and the Minority Leader, Senator Dirksen, seems to be avoiding commitment at this time. If, in fact, forty-five senators are siding with Senators Cooper and Kennedy, they constitute at least a temporary plurality, for there are surely more than five stragglers. Among the stragglers is to be found the surprising figure of Senator Barry Goldwater, who has never, up to now, been known to question the good judgment or the competence of anyone accoutred with military brass or braid.

NEWSPAPER PRESERVATION ACT

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing the Newspaper Preser-

vation Act. The bill provides that it will not be unlawful under the antitrust laws for a failing newspaper to enter into certain joint operating arrangements with another newspaper in the same city.

The survival of failing newspapers has become a serious problem. Over the last 50 years, many independent newspapers, primarily in metropolitan areas, have either suspended publication or merged.

What is the explanation for this trend? Economic conditions lie at the heart of the failure of many newspapers. Although the cost of production has spiraled upward, advertising revenue has become more scarce, largely due to competition for this revenue by other media. The result: in many cases, only one newspaper in an urban area can survive.

The only feasible remedy available for the newspaper that is in dire financial straits is a joint operating arrangement. At present there are 22 joint operating arrangements for newspapers in the United States. Although business and mechanical functions are combined—that is, the production, distribution, and advertising solicitation divisions—-independent editorial departments are preserved. Separately owned newspapers can, therefore, continue to serve the public.

This bill allows the continuation of an arrangement which, I believe, is in the public interest. For this arrangement obviates the merger of two newspapers if one is threatened to close because of reduced revenues. When a merger occurs, only one stream of news and editorial information reaches the people in a community. On the other hand, if a joint newspaper operating arrangement is treated under the antitrust laws as a single entity and failing newspapers are not required to merge to survive, it is the public that benefits—for the public would thereby receive the widest exposure to varied data and diverse opinions.

In 1965 the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice instituted an action against a joint arrangement operating in Tucson, Ariz.; the district court held that the Tucson joint operating arrangement was a per se violation of the antitrust laws. An appeal was taken to the U.S. Supreme Court; on March

10, 1969, the Supreme Court ruled that such joint arrangements were in violation of the antitrust laws.

The Department of Justice has declared its intent to move against all of the other joint operating arrangements similar to that of Tucson. This would mean in a number of communities a complete domination of the news and editorial information by one newspaper; competing editorial voices will be squelched. This, in my opinion, is a situation that is less desirable from an antitrust standpoint than the situation I am attempting to preserve in my bill. In light of the Supreme Court decision, prompt enactment of this bill is imperative.

The role of the newspaper as an organ of debate and vehicle for the exposure and discussion of ideas is a critical one in our society. When a newspaper dies, the public loses an additional means of access to pertinent facts and judgments on daily events. We must not permit this to happen.

ALIEN COMMUTER SYSTEM

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 12, 1969

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, today I am cosponsoring with the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. FEIGHAN) a bill which is designed to refine the current operation of the so-called alien commuter system on our borders with Canada and Mexico. The bill would amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to provide that each commuter alien must be regularly certified ever 6 months by the Department of Labor in order to assure that his presence in the United States to seek or continue employment does not adversely affect wages and working conditions of American workers similarly employed.

Under the commuter system, Canadian and Mexican workers who have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence and who hold green cards are permitted to reside

in Canada or Mexico and regularly commute across the border to jobs in the United States. Experts consider the commuter system largely responsible for the stabilization of poverty in the Southwest, particularly.

A staff report called "The Commuter on the United States-Mexico Border," prepared by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, states:

The impact of these commuters on the labor market has been enormous. It has been estimated that over 17% of the labor market in El Paso, Texas, are commuters. Further estimates have shown that 5% of the San Diego, California, labor market and 23% of the Brownsville, Texas, labor market are commuters. Their presence can be directly related to high unemployment rates in these areas.

In many border communities where unemployment among American citizens is high, alien commuters having the same occupational skills as the unemployed Americans do have jobs.

Enactment of this bill would in no way injure the relationship between the United States and Canada or Mexico, but would merely impose reasonable safeguards to protect our citizens and residents. In addition to regulating commuter traffic, the bill would remove a provision in the Immigration and Nationality Act that exempts from criminal sanctions individuals who willfully and knowingly employ aliens who have entered the United States illegally. This is necessary since the number of immigrants illegally entering the United States from Mexico is rapidly rising. Many employers lure prospective agricultural and factory workers into the United States to obtain inexpensive labor; criminal sanctions against such employers would help stop the high number of illegal entrants.

In my judgment, this bill would help bring an end to the system which forces domestic workers to compete for wages with workers living in a much lower cost economy and which sometimes provides agricultural producers faced by strikes with workers, thus stifling the organizing and collective-bargaining efforts of the American farmworker. I hope that the Congress will give early consideration to the legislation.

SENATE—Thursday, March 13, 1969

(Legislative day of Friday, March 7, 1969)

The Senate met in executive session at 10 o'clock a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the Vice President.

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal God, in whose perfect kingdom no sword is drawn but the sword of righteousness, and no strength known but the strength of love: So guide and inspire, we pray Thee, the work of all who seek Thy kingdom at home and abroad, that all peoples may seek and find their security, not in force of arms, but in the perfect love that casteth out

fear, and in the fellowship revealed to us by Thy Son, Jesus Christ our Lord. Impart Thy higher wisdom to the Members of this body, to whom the people have committed the stewardship of peace, that in this moment of history they may clearly know Thy will and have courage to do it.

In Thy holy name, we pray. Amen.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF BILL

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries, and he announced that

on March 12, 1969, the President had approved and signed the act (S. 17) to amend the Communications Satellite Act of 1962 with respect to the election of the board of directors of the Communications Satellite Corp.

REPORT ON WORLD WEATHER PROGRAM—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Commerce: