

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

A DEBT TO THE IRISH AMERICANS

HON. LOWELL P. WEICKER, JR.

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. WEICKER. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I had the honor of attending the annual communion breakfast of the John F. Kennedy Division of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in Bridgeport, Conn. This is the largest division of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in the United States. While I was in the company of these fine gentlemen of Irish lineage, I thought about the contributions that the Irish immigrants and their descendants have made to America's greatness.

As a tribute to this proud people on this St. Patrick's Day let me recall some of the history of the Irish American.

From the earliest days of the Colonies, the prospect of adventure and the love of liberty have lured many of the Irish immigrants across the ocean.

In 1737 there were enough Irish in Boston to stage a St. Patrick's Day celebration. In New York the records show a similar celebration in 1762.

In the early days, thousands of Irish unable to raise the price of their passage had come by signing themselves into bonded servitude. Others who had been exiled in Cromwell's time to the West Indies, escaped from the sugar plantations to settle in Virginia and the Carolinas.

Typical of the Irish landholders who sold their estates and came to America, were the Carrolls of Maryland who produced a signer of the Declaration of Independence and the first Catholic bishop of the United States.

The muster rolls of the Continental Army read like an Irish history. Of the 25,000 force, 4,000 bore Irish names. They played leadership roles and it is noted that Commodore John Barry is considered the father of the American Navy.

In 1845 a mysterious blight spread through the potato fields, turning the Emerald Isle into a nation of sickly brown fields. After 4 years of crop failures the proud Irish had been reduced to homeless wanderers striving to sustain life.

When word spread throughout the world funds were raised, including \$1 million in America, to help this starving nation. When the ships arrived in Waterford and Cork, thousands of families lined the wharves to beg for a chance to flee the sickly land.

Between 1845 and 1850, nearly 800,000 hungry refugees reached our ports and were welcomed.

By 1860 more than a million more had arrived. Thus, in a 15-year span, the United States had received more immigrants than the world had sent here since we had won independence.

The influx could not have come at a better time. Here was a new nation with bold plans. Mills were springing up; railroads were being built; the mighty muscle of the Irish immigrant built the East's mighty industrial machine.

Today Irish Americans number more than 30 million. They have an honored place in American life as scholars, statesmen, schoolteachers, scientists, authors, actors, surgeons, and athletes.

Today, Americans of Irish descent still maintain their old affection for the land of their forefathers. But they are Americans and their hearts as well as their homes are in America.

Therefore, I urge the Congress to show the same hospitality that the Irish Americans of Bridgeport's John F. Kennedy Division of the Ancient Order of Hibernians showed me, and once again throw open our doors to welcome Irish immigrants.

Will we be ungrateful for the many contributions that the Irish American has made to our country by denying future Irish immigrants entry to our shores? I hope the Congress will strive to correct the injustices of the 1965 Immigration Act.

JOE PATERNO

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, Pennsylvania is extremely proud of Joe Paterno, Penn State University's great football coach. Because of his great coaching, Penn State's Nittany Lions were undefeated last season and ended the season by winning the Orange Bowl game on New Year's Day. All fans of college football in Pennsylvania were relieved when Joe Paterno turned down a professional coaching job with the Pittsburgh Steelers and elected to remain at his post at Penn State. I ask unanimous consent that an editorial about Joe Paterno, which appeared in the Centre Daily Times of State College, Pa., on January 10, 1969, be printed in the RECORD.

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

THE BEST TEACHING

People familiar with Joe Paterno's background remember quite well that he came to Penn State 19 years ago as an assistant to Rip Engle "for a little while" before going on to law school.

He's been chided regularly since. And, because he was a literature major at Brown, he's gotten some conversation, too, about how he missed his calling—that he should have entered the language field.

Now, if you've taken the trouble to read his most eloquent statement explaining why he rejected an offer to coach pro football and why he decided to stay at Penn State, you'll recognize why either the law or languages are the poorer because Joe elected to stay with football.

The statement is well worth repeating here. It could be taken as a guidepost to explain what college football—and its role in higher education—really is.

He said his decision was based on many factors . . . "my genuine love for a great University and the community in which we live; the relationship of a college coach with

fine young men at such a vital stage of their lives; my personal goal of giving Penn State the best of big-time football within the framework of sound academic and financial policies and my deep belief that football can and should be fun and make a strong contribution to higher education.

"To leave Penn State at this time would be to leave with the feeling of a job undone and a great challenge unfulfilled. And, most important, I have too strong a feeling of obligation and friendship to the outstanding players on our squad and to the loyal friends, coaches, University officials and colleagues who have contributed so much to our success."

That's it. Brief. To the point. Touching at all the bases and the basics.

And it tells in a mighty few well-chosen words why so many people went through a period of pleading, "Don't go, Joe."

The statement does something else, too.

More than one observer wondered, all during the go-to-Pittsburgh rumor stage, how a campus and a community could get so worked up. A few cynics voiced a common question—why wouldn't the possibility of an outstanding professor or administrator leaving for another position arouse the same feelings, bringing on "Don't Go" signs in the library, at the residence halls and in Recreation Building?

The answer, of course, is that, at the moment, football is king. But as Mr. Paterno's statement makes so clear and as President Eric A. Walker and other college and university leaders have said so often:

Some of the best teaching is taking place on the football field.

And that, in essence, is the significance of Joe Paterno's decision to continue at the University. First law, then languages and literatures, and now the Steelers are the losers.

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN BRADEMAS, MARCH 13, 1969, PUBLIC HEARING ON NATIONAL ASSESSMENT OF EDUCATION, EDUCATION COMMISSION OF THE STATES, ARLINGTON, VA.

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, this week Gov. Robert E. McNair, chairman of the steering committee of the Education Commission of the States, and other members of the committee, held a meeting at Arlington, Va., for the purpose of discussing the project for national assessment of education.

Under unanimous consent, I insert at this point in the RECORD the text of the statement which I submitted at the hearing:

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN BRADEMAS, MARCH 13, 1969, PUBLIC HEARING ON NATIONAL ASSESSMENT OF EDUCATION, EDUCATION COMMISSION OF THE STATES, ARLINGTON, VA.

Governor McNair and members of the Steering Committee of the Education Commission of the States, I am very pleased to be afforded this opportunity to make a brief statement at your public hearing on the National Assessment of Education project.

As a member for over ten years of that Committee of the U.S. House of Representa-

tives with principal responsibility for education legislation, the House Committee on Education and Labor, I am most encouraged to observe the interest of the Education Commission of the States in assessing and evaluating American education.

SUPPORTS THE NATIONAL ASSESSMENT PROJECT

I strongly support the National Assessment of Education project and I am gratified to learn that your Commission is now considering assuming overall management and administration of the project. Let me here say that I hope very much that your Commission will decide to do so.

In the first place, the kind of assessment which the project seeks to achieve is not one which is appropriate for the Federal government to undertake. In the second place, assumption of this responsibility by this Commission would assure a nationwide base of support for the enterprise.

I am aware, as you are, that some segments of the education community have in the past opposed the project, citing supposed threats of "Federal control" and "nationally standardized curricula."

Many of these apprehensions have now disappeared with increased understanding of the purpose of the program but assumption of responsibility for administering the National Assessment of Education project by the Education Commission of the States would be of still further value in this respect.

Governor McNair, allow me to say to you as the distinguished chairman of the Commission, and to your other distinguished colleagues on the Commission, that I applaud your taking the time to consider the appropriate role of your Commission in this significant nationwide effort.

Let me also, Mr. Chairman, here recall what Francis Keppel, the very able former U.S. Commissioner of Education and one of the early advocates of the assessment project, said in an address to the Council of Chief State School Officers in 1965, "The American people today expect more of American education than ever before. At such a time, isn't it clear to all of us as educators that what we don't know can hurt us."

Mr. Keppel observed that the Office of Education can tell us "all sorts of things about education: how many teachers we have, how many school children, how many school buildings, and possibly even whether they are painted or not. But we do not know, nor can we report, on how much our children really know; the subjects in which they are strong or weak; the relation between income levels and learning, or age and learning, or a host of other matters.

To begin to fill these gaps in our knowledge about the schools, Mr. Keppel encouraged the Carnegie Corporation and the Fund for the Advancement of Education to establish a national assessment project. I shall not here attempt to review the history of this project or to explain the procedures which will guide the national assessment; there are experts here today who can do this far better than I. I am particularly pleased to note that the new U.S. Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and Commissioner of Education, James E. Allen, Jr., serves as Vice-Chairman of the Commission. Mr. Allen's wide experience will be invaluable in achieving the principal purposes of national assessment.

THE PURPOSES OF NATIONAL ASSESSMENT

I would like, rather, to review with you the purposes of national assessment. Early in its planning, The Committee on Assessing the Progress of Education stated that the principal purposes were two: (1) to give the nation a better picture of the strengths and weaknesses of the educational system, thus providing a "more accurate guide than we currently possess for allocation of public and private funds, where they are needed, what they achieve . . ."; and (2) to provide information for research on educational problems

which cannot now be undertaken because of the lack of data.

These purposes may seem more relevant when related to the current hearings before the Education and Labor Committee of the House of Representatives. Even today the Committee is considering the extension of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and the 1967 Amendments. In view of the Federal support of elementary and secondary education (over \$5.4 billion appropriated since the passage of ESEA in 1965), Congressmen want to know whether Federal tax dollars are actually helping children to succeed in school. Indeed, when the former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Wilbur Cohen, gave his final testimony before the Committee, he stressed the need for a National Assessment of Education on grounds that he, or future Secretaries, could hardly make wise recommendations to the Congressional committee authorizing billions of Federal funds for education without having criteria to give Congress as to what the taxpayers were getting for their money.

THE NEED FOR EVALUATION

Earlier this week, the new Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Robert H. Finch, testified before our Committee and strongly stressed the need for evaluation of education programs:

"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."

Whether we speak in terms of "assessment" or "evaluation", there is clearly an urgent need for the National Assessment of Education program. While national assessment may not achieve everything its proponents hope, "the project does represent," as Dean Theodore Sizer of the Harvard Graduate School of Education has said, "a start; on finding out how and what schools produce."

Mr. Chairman, I want also to take a moment to observe that we should all recognize that national assessment is simply a beginning in this total process of evaluation. The promise of national assessment, however, is that it will at least enable us to start the job of accumulating the information about our schools that we sorely need. Indeed, the Commission of the States may determine to broaden the program or amend it as assessment gets underway and the results are understood and discussed by those who have the responsibility for shaping and implementing education policies across the country.

In conclusion, I would like to thank the Commission for this opportunity to express my concern about the need for evaluation of our schools, and, particularly my support of the National Assessment project. I am most encouraged that the members of the Commission of the States are giving serious consideration to assuming responsibility for guiding the future of an enterprise of such great significance for American education.

ROLE OF THE WILDLIFE SOCIETY

HON. WENDELL WYATT

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, the Wildlife Society is a nonprofit organization devoted to developing sound wildlife

management. In recent years Americans have come to realize the importance of preserving our wildlife and, indeed, all our natural resources. This attitude of planning now so that future generations may enjoy the same benefits as we presently do is a worthy goal, fostered by the Wildlife Society.

Dr. Thomas Scott, head of the Department of Fisheries and Wildlife at Oregon State University, is one of our Nation's outstanding conservationists. His leadership has given Oregon State one of the outstanding departments in this field in the Nation.

As the immediate past president of the Wildlife Society, Dr. Scott, recently gave me a brochure setting out the goals of the society. I would like to present that material here for the benefit of my colleagues in the Congress:

THE ROLE OF THE WILDLIFE SOCIETY

The Wildlife Society is a professionally oriented, international organization dedicated to the sound management and preservation of the wildlife resources of the world. Its primary scientific discipline is ecology. Its principal areas of activity are: (a) development of wildlife research and management along sound biological lines; (b) establishment of professional solidarity and maintenance of high professional standards among its members; (c) promotion of the professional interests of its members; and (d) publication to effect these ends.

The interests of the Society embrace all facets of human endeavor which potentially affect populations of wild animals and their natural environments. The Society recognizes that man shares equally with other organisms a total dependency upon the environment. It is the Society's firm belief that wildlife, in its myriad forms, is basic to the sustenance of a human culture which provides quality living and variety of experience.

The Society has a primary interest in, and accepts responsibility for, promoting high professional standards of training and performance for those entering the profession of wildlife ecology in any of its subdivisions, including administration, management, research, public relations, law enforcement, and education. The Society recognizes a responsibility for maintaining an open forum for discussion and debate of controversial issues involving the use and abuse of our natural resources.

The purposes of the Society are served through chapter, sectional, national, and international meetings which the Society sponsors in whole or in part; and by publication of *The Journal of Wildlife Management*, *The Wildlife Society News*, and *Wildlife Monographs*. The purposes of the Society are further served by position statements prepared in response to problem situations that exist or which develop in the field of resource and environment management.

The Society recognizes outstanding achievements and distinguished service in the wildlife field by conferring awards and by election to *Honorary Member* status. The Society's principal awards, bestowed annually, include the *Leopold Medal* in recognition of distinguished service; the *Terrestrial Publications Award* and the *Fisheries Publication Award* each in recognition of outstanding scientific contributions to a body of literature on the subject; and the *Group Achievement Award* in recognition of major accomplishment in conservation by private groups and organizations.

WILDLIFE AND HUMAN POPULATIONS

Preservation and intelligent management of the world's wildlife resources are greatly imperiled by the burgeoning growth of the human population. The cumulative effects of human population growth upon the ecology

of the world are inadequately appreciated by most people. Perpetuation of the quality and quantity of all renewable resources, including wildlife, can be assured only when human populations are adjusted to the earth's capacity for sustaining a culture that provides quality living, variety of experience, and maximum opportunity for self-expression. The intelligent management of the world ecosystem must consider not only the physical requirement of man but also his moral, mental, and social needs and values.

The tremendous increase in the world's population demands that production of food and other human necessities continue to receive top priority. Wildlife management, by providing elements of human nutrition, either directly or indirectly, has the potential for becoming increasingly important. In some areas of the world, wildlife in its several forms, terrestrial and aquatic, vertebrate and invertebrate, directly offers the most feasible source, ecologically and economically, for certain of man's nutrients. In other areas, wildlife can be produced in conjunction with, and as a supplement to, crops of domesticated plants and animals. The total production of food, as well as the other forms of land use, can be fostered by creating an awareness among agriculturists, foresters, engineers, architects, and the general public, of the mutual dependencies of all organisms, and by stimulating an appreciation of the long-term values of wildlife to man.

Therefore, it is the policy of The Wildlife Society to: Carry out its own program and activity support and influence any other programs which seek to:

1. Encourage man's understanding of human ecology and the realization that man shares with all other biological organisms a dependence upon the environment, such dependence being as real and complete for humans as it is for other organisms.

2. Develop an ethic that permits man to appreciate, value, enjoy, and conserve plant and animal communities as integral parts of his environment.

3. Minimize, within the context of human needs, all types of contamination and mass alteration of the environment by human populations.

4. Foster the concept that the human population *can* and *must* be maintained, by all civilized and peaceful means, within the limits of the world's resource base in order to fulfill man's spiritual as well as physical needs.

5. Allocate space of sufficient quality and quantity to sustain wildlife populations that will satisfy the basic needs of significant segments of the human population and enrich the world.

ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION

Each species creates changes in the environment. Most change is normal, and plants and animals have evolved mechanisms for dealing with normal changes in our ecosystem. Man, the dominant species, will continue to alter the environment, but except for the potential use of man's intelligence, evolution has no mechanism for coping with the rapid changes caused by the pollutants of historical man. Thus, one of the urgent biological and philosophical questions is: How much change in the environment is in man's best interest?

Pollution is environmental change, caused by man, which violates his best interest. It represents changes in the concentrations of chemical and physical factors which directly affect the success of organisms and thus alters the normal functioning of an ecosystem.

Man has the ability to assess the past and to plan for the future. There is little doubt that man can survive in environments we shudder to imagine, but the mere survival of man as a species is an insufficient goal

because man's human qualities subsist and thrive upon a diverse, emotionally fulfilling environment, not a merely biologically sufficient one. This means that achieving control of environmental pollution is one of the most critical problems facing man today.

Thus, man must address himself to the problems of human ecology, and must nurture an environment wherein he can develop his unique and still vastly unexplored gifts as a species.

Therefore, it is the policy of The Wildlife Society to:

1. Encourage appreciation of the importance to man of an environment that is aesthetically, physiologically, socially, and ecologically in his highest interest.

2. Encourage the search for comprehension of the environmental requirements and interspecific relations of all organisms and biological communities of the earth and of man's dependent relationships within these communities.

3. Encourage the search for ways of controlling environmental pollution and reclaiming our degraded resources.

4. Encourage the adoption of programs which seek to remove, reduce, minimize, and prevent environmental pollution of all kinds.

5. Encourage in the planning of man's activities the utilization of all available knowledge of the earth, its organisms and biological communities, and of man, his societies and technologies, so that his environment may be not only biologically sufficient but rich in conceptual, social, biological, and physical diversity and beauty.

6. Encourage the development of social systems and technologies that tend to maintain and develop the diversity and beauty of man's environment and to refine and stabilize his adaptation within the ecosystems of the earth.

7. Encourage, and provide leadership in, the dissemination of information pertinent to the dangers and adverse effects of all forms of pollution.

INTRODUCTION AND IMPORTATION OF EXOTIC ANIMAL SPECIES

History reveals that the introduction of exotic animal species into new ecosystems has often been more detrimental than beneficial. Conservation agencies form the principal trust for safeguarding all natural resources. It is their responsibility to endeavor to insure that the introduction of any exotic animal species be beneficial. This responsibility relates not only to the protection of human health and livelihood, but also to the maintenance of ecological integrity.

Therefore, it is the policy of The Wildlife Society to:

1. Support the introduction of exotic animal species only after competent scientists have demonstrated that:

- (a) the exotic can potentially satisfy a specific recreational or biological need in its new environment;

- (b) the exotic is ecologically suitable for introduction into its new environment after its biology, and the biology of all closely related forms, have been investigated in their endemic ranges;

- (c) the exotic will not occupy a habitat that is occupied by a native species or by a previously introduced and acceptable exotic species;

- (d) the exotic will neither engender deleterious effects among desirable animal species (native or other desirable exotics) nor cause any deterioration of the ecological complex;

- (e) the exotic (or its subsequent management) will not in any way jeopardize the welfare of populations of rare or endangered native species of plants or animals; and

- (f) the exotic has satisfied all appropriate quarantine requirements upon entry.

2. Urge that no state, provincial, or national agency shall introduce, or permit to be introduced, any exotic species into any

area within its jurisdiction unless such species can be contained exclusively within that jurisdiction, or unless adjoining jurisdictions, into which the species could spread, have sanctioned the introduction officially.

3. Exclude from the provisions of this policy the importation of exotic species by officially recognized scientific and educational organizations, or the interinstitutional exchange of such species, provided that the exotics are maintained in captivity at all times.

CONSERVATION EDUCATION

Worldwide education of young people and adults concerning the facts and principles relating to conservation of natural resources is a proper concern of The Wildlife Society. The Society recognizes that the ultimate fate of natural resources and of the people dependent upon them rests with the decisions made by citizens acting individually and collectively in democratic societies and, to varying degrees, by leaders in all forms of government. An ecologically informed, literate, decision-making citizenry must exist to assure the wisest possible use of all resources. The Society believes that each conservation agency has the responsibility of effectively informing its citizenry of all policies and programs relating to natural resource management.

Therefore, it is the policy of The Wildlife Society to:

1. Encourage and assist educational efforts to disseminate knowledge of the facts and principles underlying wise use of wildlife and other natural resources through meaningful programs of conservation education for all ages in all lands and at all levels of education, and through various media of communications.

2. Encourage individual members and all organized bodies of the Society to assist in and to otherwise promote conservation education.

3. Encourage each conservation agency responsible for a large region to develop a strong coordinated I and E program whose technicians must be an integral part of the management team; the Society believes that a high quality periodical publication is an essential part of this I and E program.

REGULATIONS AND WILDLIFE LAW ENFORCEMENT

Wildlife management may logically be separated into two basic functions: habitat management and harvest management. A major element in harvest management is "people management" and one cornerstone of people management is a sound system of laws and law enforcement. The Society recognizes that, in the future, more people will have to share less wildlife in less wildlife habitat. Thus, it will become increasingly more critical to formulate and enforce regulations governing the use of our natural resources on the basis of sound ecological principles. To be effective, all regulations must be biologically sound, minimal in number, easily understood by the public, generally acceptable, well publicized, and objectively enforced. Because effective law enforcement is based on the willing compliance of a majority of the people, it is essential that the public be made aware, and kept aware, not only of wildlife laws and enforcement policies but also of the ecological basis and necessity for those laws and policies.

Therefore, it is the policy of The Wildlife Society to:

1. Encourage wildlife management agencies to recognize the dependent relationships between law enforcement and the wildlife management process.

2. Encourage formal training in enforcement techniques and theory for management personnel and formal training in ecology and wildlife management for enforcement personnel.

3. Encourage colleges to include appropriate

courses in law enforcement in their wildlife curricula.

4. Encourage conservation agencies to require an appropriate college or university degree as a minimum qualification for employment as an enforcement officer.

5. Encourage enforcement officers to participate in wildlife management programs.

6. Encourage wildlife management personnel to participate in the development of laws and enforcement policies.

7. Promote programs, particularly in-service training programs, which lead to better understanding and closer working relationships among all wildlife personnel.

8. Encourage public relations and public information programs by wildlife agencies which effectively integrate the concepts of wildlife ecology and management with those of law enforcement.

9. Take definite steps to encourage enforcement personnel in the wildlife field to participate fully in the activities of The Wildlife Society.

ANIMAL CONTROL

The Wildlife Society has long recognized that control of animals to minimize damage caused by animal populations is an essential element in a sound program of wildlife management. Many species may in certain circumstances cause significant damage to surrounding resources including other wildlife species, or to forest and agricultural crops or livestock, or may endanger public health or safety. Although such activity is often due to an excess population of the species, it also may result from complex programs of ecological competition or interaction.

Control of wildlife damage, which often means control of population numbers, is complicated by divergent social views of the problem. A growing segment of the public sees the positive values of wildlife populations and questions the necessity of some control programs. Resource managers, including the operators of land-based industries, may see the economic and ecologic damages and the desirability of preventing them. A policy of animal damage control must take full account of these points of view, both of which represent valid social interests.

Both professional and public attitudes toward animal control have become more realistic in recent years. However, more information is needed on animal damage and on alternate measures of prevention and control, together with a wider exchange of such information among wildlife managers and the public.

Therefore, it is the policy of The Wildlife Society to:

1. Recognize that wild animals may have both negative and positive social and economic values and certain species may damage human interests, other wildlife, or their habitats, necessitating prevention or control of such damage as an integral part of wildlife management.

2. Encourage the use of techniques known to be of value in counteracting damage situations, including (a) exclusion or mechanical protection; (b) use of repellent chemicals or devices; (c) environmental or biological control of the offending population; (d) reduction of the number of offending individuals or local population through transfer or lethal control.

3. Encourage that lethal control, where employed, be related to social and economic benefits and be the minimum necessary to bring damage within tolerable limits.

4. Encourage control methods as efficient, safe, economical, humane, and selective as possible.

5. Encourage continuing research in animal ecology and in methods of damage prevention and control in order to determine when and how much control is necessary and to develop optimum methods for its accomplishment.

6. Encourage that animal control programs be thoroughly planned, justified, carried out and evaluated on the basis of total social benefits.

PERSISTING INSECTICIDES

The Wildlife Society has viewed with deep interest the mounting scientific evidence on the presence of chlorinated hydrocarbon insecticides in rainfall on two continents, the transoceanic movement of DDE, a metabolite of DDT, from one continent to another, the universal pollution of the world's environments by DDE, the progressive concentration of this compound in the successive layers of food-chains and food-webs in ecosystem after ecosystem, and the ability of the chlorinated hydrocarbons to induce the production of liver enzymes that breakdown sex hormones in the mammalian and avian body.

The Wildlife Society has further noted with grave concern the published reports on the unprecedented population crashes of peregrine falcons in the United States and western Europe, bald eagles along the shores of the Great Lakes and the Atlantic Coast, ospreys in our Northeast, sparrow-hawks in England, golden-eagles in Scotland, and peregrines in western Europe, the consistent reproductive failures of these species as a result of a decrease in the thickness of their eggshells, the repeated, statistical significant association of shell changes with levels of DDE in various species of birds, and the high levels of DDE not only in the fat of raptorial and fish-eating birds but also in oceanic species that have no direct contact with areas of insecticide usage.

The Society acknowledges the enormous contribution that DDT and chemically related insecticides have made to public health and agriculture. It is aware that DDT has been used to reduce the incidence of 27 diseases, that it has saved perhaps 10 million lives and eliminated perhaps 200 million illnesses in the human population. It is also aware that DDT has been steadily building up resistant-insect populations in many regions while unwarrantably disrupting crop ecosystems in others. It is further aware that entomologists have repeatedly been able to use substitute compounds effectively when resistant strains of insects have developed.

The Wildlife Society observes that the insidious effects of DDT and its metabolite DDE are being first determined by ecologists working with conspicuous species of birdlife. As the evidence of DDE-produced steroid disease as a widespread phenomenon continues to mount, the Society sees no reason to doubt that many less conspicuous species will be found to be similarly affected.

The Society is glad to note statistics on decreasing use of DDT in the United States, but it is appalled by the continued export of this insecticide by American companies, particularly those involved in programs of aid to developing nations by the United States which will have a destructive impact not only on the faunas of other countries but also a continuing effect on our own wildlife as DDE continues to circulate in the world's atmosphere. The Society is concerned by the build-up of DDE in certain lakes, and it regards the DDE contamination of our great ocean systems as deserving immediate research on the significance of high residue levels that are now being reported in fish and in plankton-feeding birdlife.

The Wildlife Society does not believe that a miracle chemical deserves continued use when it or its breakdown product do not remain at the point of application, when it can and does travel to the ends of the earth, when—after 25 years of use—its practical half life as a biologically active compound cannot be measured, and when it is known to be wiping out a spectacular species of birdlife such as the peregrine falcon in a region as large as the United States. DDT is a chemi-

cal of extinction. Its manufacture, sale, and use should be stopped at once.

The Wildlife Society suggests that where the use of pesticides is needed that only those which are rapidly degradable and which have metabolites of little biological significance should be used.

RESOLUTION OF MISSOURI OIL JOBBERS ASSOCIATION

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, last year the House Select Committee on Small Business on which I serve held an investigation concerning the use of games for promotion in the gasoline industry.

We discovered many problems with these games and, at present, the Federal Trade Commission is in the process of promulgating rules to meet the abuses we found.

I would like to take this opportunity to introduce into the RECORD a resolution adopted at the recent convention of the Missouri Oil Jobbers Association, which expresses its viewpoint concerning the use of gasoline games:

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT CONVENTION OF MISSOURI OIL JOBBERS ASSOCIATION, JEFFERSON CITY, Mo.

Whereas, several major integrated oil companies have adopted giveaway games as a practice in competing for relative market positions, and,

Whereas, the games are actually financed by the dealer at the rate of two cents for each game piece, and by the jobber at the rate of an additional cent for each game piece, plus a pro-rated charge to some jobbers to help the major companies pay for advertising the game, plus the indirect extra bookkeeping, and handling costs to the dealers and jobbers, and,

Whereas, the gasoline games are severely damaging the good images built locally by the dealers and jobbers, as evidenced by the many customer letters of complaint being sent into newspapers and the Federal Trade Commission, plus the multitude of verbal complaints to many dealers and jobbers, and,

Whereas, such games have through current daily news items been linked to gasoline marketing with such names as "fraudulent", "dishonest", "gambling", and several others, and,

Whereas, the dealers and jobbers individually are helpless to defend themselves if refusing to participate in these games, not necessarily from a legal standpoint, but most certainly from a practical standpoint, which his supplier connects his particular brand name to a professionally-built, public-arousing and confusing game advertising program.

Now, therefore, be it resolved on this 10th day of February, 1969 that the Missouri Oil Jobbers Association, publicly condemn such games as an undesirable marketing practice, asking for their immediate discontinuance; but, if they are continued, then all costs of the game pieces, all advertising and all other costs shall be paid for by the major suppliers who feel the necessity for promoting such games, and,

Be it further resolved, that copies of this resolution be forwarded to all members of Congress from Missouri, all oil trade publications, Missouri publications, Federal Trade Commission and appropriate executive agencies.

Adopted this 10th day of February, 1969.

FIGURES BELIE TALK OF CITIES' TAILSPIN

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, it is almost impossible these days to read a newspaper or magazine that does not include several stories and reports on how bad conditions are in our cities around the country. A good many of these are couched in the most pessimistic language and hold out little hope that anything can ever be done to solve these problems.

I believe it is possible to acknowledge the magnitude of the problem without becoming overpowered with a helpless feeling and perhaps if more attention were given to advances which have been made it might provide encouragement to those less hearty souls who are inclined to paint such a gloomy picture.

In that regard, an article by Mr. Herman P. Miller, Chief, Population Division of the Census Bureau and an adjunct professor of economics at Temple University, from the Sunday, March 16, 1969, edition of the Washington Post will be of interest, and I place it in the RECORD at this point:

FIGURES BELIE TALK OF CITIES' TAILSPIN
(By Herman P. Miller)

Cities are people. When sticks and stones wear out, they can be replaced. With enough money, the air and water can be cleaned up and even the highways may be unclogged. But when the quality of the people begins to decline, a city may be entering a tailspin from which it may never emerge.

There is widespread belief that this may be happening today in many American cities. It is often stated, frequently by knowledgeable sources, that our cities are being taken over by the poor, the uneducated and the unskilled. But the facts do not support this kind of a loose characterization of the social and economic changes that have taken place in the cities in recent years.

There has been deterioration in family structure, an adverse change in age composition and several other demographic changes that spell trouble. There is also evidence that, in the face of overall general improvement, conditions are growing worse in the poorest slums. But there are also brighter sides that have been either ignored or overlooked in the general gloom. Some of the new evidence also casts a somewhat different light on the reasons for the financial plight of the cities.

DECREASING POVERTY

First, let us examine what some of the pundits are now saying about the cities. Take the recent report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders which concluded that "as Negroes succeed whites in our largest cities, the proportion of low-income residents in those cities will probably increase." The fact is that during the past eight years, the Negro population in our largest cities has increased but poverty has decreased substantially.

In much the same vein, Prof. Eli Ginzberg and his associates at Columbia University published a book last year that states that "over the years, the middle class has tended to migrate to suburbs, leaving the city largely to the poorer classes." There has been a large migration of the middle class to the suburbs, but the poor are not taking over the cities. Since under the Government's

definition of poverty based on an income of \$3,300 for a nonfarm family of four, poor people today make up only one-seventh of the city population, it is difficult to see on what basis such a sweeping generalization can be supported.

Finally, there is the recent statement of Prof. John Kain, eminent Harvard authority on transportation and other urban problems, that "in recent years the young, employed, well-to-do and white moved to suburban areas, leaving behind the aged, the unemployed, the poor and the Negro." The fact is that the aged have not increased significantly as a proportion of the city population; poverty has dropped rather sharply; the well-to-do have increased as a proportion of the total; unemployment is considerably lower than it was in 1960; the occupational distribution is unchanged; and educational attainment has risen sharply.

A recent report published by the Census Bureau shows some of the trends in social and economic conditions in cities during the past eight years. This report presents some important facts regarding changes in racial composition, age distribution, family structure, income, employment, education and poverty. It shows the good and the bad. We might start with an examination of the facts and then turn to the policy implications.

Based on the evidence of the first half of this decade, it appeared the cities were experiencing a slight growth in total population, with the Negroes gradually replacing the whites.

Between 1960 and 1966, the cities were growing by about one-quarter of a million people per year. The white population in central cities dropped by an average of about 140,000 per year, whereas the blacks increased by about 370,000 per year. In 1960, one out of every six residents of central cities was black; by 1966, this proportion rose to one out of five.

During the past two years, however, there has been a distinct change. The city population has dropped by nearly 400,000 per year. The net movement of whites out of the central cities rose sharply, to nearly 500,000 per year, and black migration into those cities has dropped to 110,000 per year. In other words, whites appear to be leaving the cities far more rapidly than ever before and blacks are replacing them at a far slower rate than at any time in the past 20 years.

Why the change? The truth is we don't know, nor can we even say whether the figures represent more than a temporary aberration in long-term trends. The general decline in birth rates and a reduction of migration out of the rural South account for part of the change. The increased movement of whites away from the central cities and the slowdown of the black population increase may also be a reaction to the riots of the past few years.

The figures on income distribution show that there has been some widening of the income gap between cities and the suburbs during the past eight years, but the differences are not striking and the general level of income has risen in both the cities and suburbs.

In the very largest metropolitan areas—those of one million population or more—median family income rose during the past eight years by 13 per cent in the central cities and by 20 per cent in the suburban ring. The relative gains in these cities were greater for blacks than for whites. The poverty rate dropped from 13 per cent to 10 per cent, and the proportion of families with incomes over \$15,000 rose from 8 per cent to 13 per cent.

The picture is essentially the same for smaller central cities of metropolitan areas. (The effects of inflation are taken into ac-

count throughout this article by measuring changes in dollars of constant value.)

The allegation that central city residents are not as well educated as they once were is also not supported by the facts. Focusing on people aged 25-29, those who have generally completed their education during the past decade, we find that in 1960, only 62 per cent in the central city had a high school diploma. By 1968, the proportion rose to 73 per cent.

The proportion of college graduates in the central city also rose from 13 per cent to 15 per cent.

Blacks in the central city had far sharper gains in educational attainment than did whites. In 1960, only 43 per cent of the young black men and women in central cities were high school graduates; this proportion now stands at 61 per cent.

The Census figures measure only years of school completed, not academic achievement. Nevertheless the very fact that the school dropout rate has dropped sharply and more city youths are getting high school diplomas is an important achievement that could provide significant economic benefits, for mere possession of a diploma may open opportunities for employment.

Prof. Ginzberg, in his book "Manpower Strategy for the Metropolis," places great emphasis on the deterioration of the occupational structure in the cities. He says, "The shift from manufacturing to service jobs in metropolitan employment has resulted in the availability of a large number of low-paying dead-end and intermittent work opportunities for the poorly educated and trained." As a result, he concludes, "one of the challenges facing the metropolis is to improve its overall job structure so that only a small minority must hold these jobs."

This description of the changing job structure in metropolitan areas does not apply at all to the central cities during the past eight years. Among women, there has been virtually no change in the occupational distribution of employed workers; among men, there was a slight increase in the proportion employed in white collar and managerial jobs, offset by a corresponding drop in the proportion employed as clerical workers. There was no significant change in the proportions employed in the other occupations.

Negro men in central cities have had only a slight upgrading in employment, the improvement for Negro women, however, has been most dramatic. The proportion employed as domestics dropped from 34 per cent in 1960 to 20 per cent in 1968; the proportion employed as clerical and sales workers rose from 13 per cent to 23 per cent during the same period.

SERIOUS DETERIORATION

The facts cited above focus on the progress that has been made. There has been deterioration as well, some of it of a very serious nature.

Of major significance is the sharp drop in the white adult population in central cities, most of whom are productive workers, and the sharp increase in the number of black teen-agers and black families headed by women, many of whom end up on relief rolls.

During the past eight years, there was a 60 per cent increase in the number of black youths aged 16 to 19 and a similar increase in the proportion of black families headed by women. At present, 1.2 million black low-income youths (three-fourths of all black children in city families with income under \$4000) are living in fatherless homes.

The figures suggests that although there has been an overall drop in poverty in the cities, today's poor are more likely to be dependent poor on relief rolls rather than working class poor.

Another important fact that shows up in the statistics is that the gains of the past eight years have not been evenly distributed.

The figures that we have for the very poorest areas in Cleveland and Los Angeles, places like Hough and Watts, show that poverty in these places has increased, average family income has not risen and unemployment rates have remained very high.

This deterioration may reflect the migration of the more successful families from the slums, leaving behind widows, deserted wives and children, the aged and uneducated—those least able to cope with their social and economic problems. But there is much more than a statistical problem involved.

A large proportion of families in places like Watts and Hough derive their income from welfare payments and similar sources which do not keep pace with the general rise in wages, thereby causing them to fall farther and farther behind the rest of the population. Since rents in these areas are probably lower than elsewhere in the city, they probably get more than their share of untrained migrants from the South and others likely to have low incomes.

For a variety of reasons, therefore, it appears that despite the general improvement in economic conditions in central cities during the past decade, conditions in the very worst neighborhoods have deteriorated and those places have served as a focal point for riots.

The financial problems of the cities can now be seen in somewhat better perspective.

The increase in the size of the dependent population, as well as the higher standards of public service that are demanded generally, accounts for much of the rise in expenditures for welfare, education, police protection and other public services.

But that is not the full story. Another important aspect is the loss of people generally, rather than replacement of the middle class by the poor.

During the past eight years, the population in central cities did not change significantly, whereas the suburban population rose by 15 million. Since the volume of business generally depends on the size of the population, there has been a great movement of retail trade to suburban shopping areas.

Manufacturing establishments have also found it advantageous to leave the city and most of the new home construction in recent years has been in the suburbs.

As a result, an important part of the city tax base has been eroded. Even if city residents had the same income distribution as suburbanites, the city coffers would be in trouble.

A WIDENING GAP

The recent changes in population growth and racial composition of cities could have serious implications if they continue in the future. If the accelerated movement of whites out of the cities continues and is accompanied by a drop in the rate of immigration of blacks, the cities will experience a slight decline in population and there will be further erosion of the tax base in the face of an ever increasing demand for services.

There will probably also be a further widening of the income gap between the cities and suburbs, since the more successful families are the ones most likely to leave.

Whether or not the blacks will continue to increase as a proportion of the total city population will depend on relative changes in both groups. About one out of every five central city residents is now black, the same proportion as in 1966.

The black concentration in the cities may not increase much in the future, particularly if blacks continue to make the gains in education, employment and income recorded during the past few years. At present, one-fifth of the black families in large cities have incomes over \$10,000. As this proportion grows, the increase in buying power will give blacks a greater choice in where to live, par-

ticularly if open housing becomes more widespread.

With the growth of a black middle class of major proportions, we may find that more blacks as well as whites will shun the cities until they provide more of the kind of life people want to live.

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE'S LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, last September I placed in the RECORD the national affairs statement of principles adopted by the American Veterans Committee, an excellent discussion of the most important domestic issues.

Now, the committee has adopted a legislative program which includes thoughtful proposals in the areas of civil rights, elimination of poverty, the preservation and/or restoration of a livable environment, and citizen participation. For the benefit of my colleagues and other readers of the RECORD, I am pleased to insert at this point the text of the legislative program:

STATEMENT AND LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM OF THE AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE TO THE MEMBERS OF THE 91ST CONGRESS

The task facing the American people and its elected representatives in the 91st Congress is:

To reaffirm in all its actions our American belief in democratic values; in government by, of, and for the people; and in individual freedom;

To reject violence, racism and totalitarianism;

To prove by its actions that our democratic institutions and processes of government are effective instruments of social change in coping with the domestic problems that face our nation and imperil its unity.

These problems are:

(1) overcoming racism and religious and ethnic prejudices in all their forms and in all areas of American life.

(2) uprooting poverty and its stunting effect on American life.

(3) improving the physical environment in which we live and the public services which we need.

(4) enabling minority groups (Negroes, Spanish-Americans, Indians) to assume an equal and active role in all phases of public life, and devising new ways to insure effective participation in government by all citizens at all levels.

But we also face problems abroad. The most critical of these is the fighting in Vietnam, which we must honorably end. We have urged in the past and urge again a multilateral cease-fire and a political settlement on the basis of full self-determination of their future by all the people of South Vietnam. Such a settlement can be followed by a withdrawal of American, North Vietnamese and other foreign troops from South Vietnam. We expect that new steps will be initiated toward these goals and urge Congress to support them fully.

But regardless of whether an early end to the fighting in Vietnam or at least a de-escalation of its costs is attained, we must dedicate ourselves to dealing with the great domestic problems outlined above. Congress, as one of the principal voices of the people, must recognize without ambiguity the fact that the racist attitudes of most of the white

majority of our people and of its institutions are the root cause of the discrimination, exploitation and injustices suffered by Negroes and members of other minority groups, as the Kerner Report so well pointed out. Congress must, therefore, visibly demonstrate its steadfast determination to uproot discrimination in the United States—in the minds of our people, in the administration of our government, and in our public and private institutions and enterprises.

Congress must within its constitutional powers satisfy the insistent demand of all segments of the American people to an active and influential voice and effective participation in guiding our nation, and this insistent and just demand cannot be denied.

In issuing this call for action we are aware of the fact that helpful legislation in the areas of our major concerns has been passed by recent Congresses and that many of the members of the 91st Congress participated in enactment of such legislation. Action by the 91st Congress means, therefore, in substantial part, insuring that the recently passed laws are fully enforced to ensure to all citizens their rights thereunder, that adequate funds be raised from federal taxes, and that necessary funds and personnel are provided to this end. But the 91st Congress must also stake out new frontiers and find better solutions to the problems which confront the American people.

To achieve these goals, at least in part, during the coming Congress, we offer the following programs:

A. CIVIL RIGHTS

1. Extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which expires in 1970, at the earliest possible moment so as to insure continued guaranties of voting rights for minority group voters.

2. Adequate appropriations and staffing for the vigorous and strict enforcement of existing federal anti-discrimination laws, executive orders and regulations. This applies to the U.S. Civil Rights and Equal Employment Opportunity Commissions, the Department of Justice and to all other Federal agencies with Title VI contract compliance responsibility. We oppose the transfer of enforcement functions in the field of education from the Department of HEW to the Department of Justice which would signify abandonment of administrative sanctions and adjustments which have proved effective in this area.

3. Adoption of realistic financial contract sanctions, in addition to contract cancellation, against violators of laws, executive orders and regulations prohibiting employment discrimination by government contractors and their sub-contractors. Congress should investigate the effectiveness of the equal employment opportunity programs, especially in defense contracting.

4. Elimination of remaining areas of discrimination in federal employment by providing through statute for realistic relief in the form of compensatory back-pay and promotion for federal and District of Columbia employees who have been the subject of discrimination in hiring, promotion or job assignment.

5. Expansion of fair housing legislation, including effective sanctions against all those who in any way, directly or indirectly, participate in the maintenance of housing discrimination, whether as financial agencies, real estate developers, builders, owners, sellers, landlords or their agents. It is imperative that victims of discrimination in housing actually receive the housing which has been denied them.

6. Outlawing discriminatory practices in the empanelling of juries under state laws.

B. ELIMINATION OF POVERTY

1. Strengthening of OEO as an independent agency, focusing on anti-poverty programs

with the maximum feasible participation of the poor, adequately staffed and funded.

2. Continuance, expansion and full appropriations up to authorized amounts for job training programs, adult education and special educational programs for disadvantaged children. Job training programs must be oriented toward available jobs and skills needed in a modern technological society and provide general education, where needed, as the basis for the acquisition of greater skills. Such programs must also provide opportunity for the acquisition of business and managerial skills.

3. Financial and technical assistance to members of minority groups in establishing new independent businesses or expanding existing enterprises, including authority for government agencies to accept greater risks than those which private financial institutions and insurance companies will accept. The main emphasis in helping minority group entrepreneurs must be on direct Federal Government loans, rather than on guaranties to private lenders.

4. A humanely administered welfare system which must include (a) national eligibility and benefits standards, (b) a decent minimum standard of living for those unable to work for age, health or family reasons, (c) administrative procedures and practices which clearly set forth the rights and obligations of welfare recipients and which simplify the determination of eligibility and other adjudications or appeals. Welfare recipients should be permitted to retain minor assets, such as insurance payments for injuries or property damage, and to retain at least a portion of the wages which they are able to earn. Work incentive programs should be expanded but participation should be strictly voluntary.

5. Free food stamps should be issued to all needy persons unable to pay for them. The Department of Agriculture should be required to institute food stamp programs in counties not yet covered and to start food stamp and food donation programs even if local officials refuse to apply.

6. Funds must be appropriated by Congress to build all public housing authorized in past legislation and not yet built. Public housing must be upgraded technically and esthetically and unit cost limitations raised to realistic levels. To avoid ghettoizing the poor in public housing, rents should be adjusted upward so that working Americans of varied incomes may benefit from public housing facilities. Novel housing and urban improvement programs, such as repair of existing housing, assistance toward homeownership and rent subsidies, should be adequately funded so as to permit these programs to proceed effectively. Congress must assist in the modernization of the housing industry and of building codes so that housing costs can be reduced and kept within bounds.

7. Health care must be further improved and expanded to enable all citizens regardless of age to receive all medical and dental services which they may need. Congress should institute a full-scale investigation into all aspects of medical care with a view to its improvement and the reduction of its cost.

8. The Fair Labor Standards and National Labor Relations Acts should be extended to cover all employees subject to federal jurisdiction without any exception. Even recent amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act have left numerous workers without coverage and with a poverty level of earnings. The minimum wage level should be further raised so that those remunerated at that rate, can earn wages above the poverty level.

9. The work of Congress, recently begun, in protecting the consumer against fraud, overreaching in terms of prices and installment financing, substandard or unsafe goods, etc. must be continued and expanded. Extreme watchfulness will be required to ferret out new practices replacing those banned by newly enacted laws.

10. Important as all these programs are, they cannot be expected by themselves quickly to end poverty and unemployment or underemployment and to counteract the effects of continued technological progress on employment. All of these programs must be buttressed by the obligation of the Federal Government to act as the "Employer of Last Resort" and to provide permanent and useful employment for those whom private enterprises cannot train for or provide with such employment.

C. THE PRESERVATION AND/OR RESTORATION OF A LIVABLE ENVIRONMENT

1. Expanded anti-pollution legislation to force those whose activities have polluted or continue to pollute air, water and land, to take promptly the steps necessary to end the harm which they inflict on our environment. Emphasis must be on speedy action for near-term results and the creation of production facilities for anti-pollution equipment of all types on a far larger scale than presently in existence. Congressional pressure on the automotive and oil industries must be maintained to bring about the production of cheaper and better anti-pollution devices for motor vehicles and of motor and heating fuels with less pollutants.

2. Reconstruction of city cores to create recreational, cultural and other public facilities for the preservation of the amenities of urban life. Such reconstruction must simultaneously, if not first, provide housing and business quarters for those displaced at reasonable rentals.

3. Revitalization of local public transport as a public service to attract maximum public use.

4. Expansion and preservation of national parks and other public recreational, forest and wilderness areas for public enjoyment and a healthful natural environment.

D. CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

1. Abandonment of the Electoral College system in presidential elections and the election of the President by a nationwide majority of the American voters. Any such plan must safeguard the integrity of the vote count, provide uniform residential and minimum age qualification for the right to vote, and prevent vote fraud.

2. Expansion of the right of the citizen to be heard and to participate effectively in the planning of public projects which concern him, such as anti-poverty programs, housing, urban renewal, model cities, highway construction and transportation and local health care projects. Provisions for public hearings prior to and after final preparation of plans in these fields should be uniformly adopted along the lines of those now proposed by the Department of Transportation.

3. Lowering of the voting age in all federal elections.

4. Equitable distribution of the burden of military service. The obligation of the citizen to support his country by performing military service should not be treated as a "punishment" imposed on those whose conduct affronts the susceptibilities of the Selective Service or local draft boards.

THE NEED FOR A NATIONAL POLICY ON URBAN GROWTH

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, March 10, 1969, our distinguished colleague the gentleman from Ohio, THOMAS L. ASHLEY, addressed the National Housing Conference on "The Need for a National Policy on Urban Growth."

Because of the desperate need to rationally coordinate the sprawling growth of our Nation's cities, I am inserting Mr. ASHLEY's speech in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues.

The gentleman from Ohio observes that the cities of the United States at once present us with the greatest potential and greatest dilemma of our age.

To properly provide urban residents with the necessary institutions of government, education, recreation, transportation, and business is a tremendous challenge.

Only by a careful analysis of the overall impact of our burgeoning population and technology on city life will we be able to make the cities of the future enjoyable flourishing places to live. The alternative can be seen in the headlines of today's newspapers.

Mr. ASHLEY, who has served so effectively in this House for 14 years, is aware that dissatisfaction and discontent among the minority groups, and those in the majority as well, have made some parts of urban America a battleground, with all of the ills, fears, threats, and trouble that a chaotic, close-quartered living breeds.

Adequate housing and pleasant community living are within the realm of this Nation to provide a majority of its citizens.

An acknowledged expert in the housing field, due to his many years on the Housing Subcommittee of the Banking and Currency Committee, Mr. ASHLEY, in his speech, reminds us that it is our responsibility as lawmakers and the elected representatives of our neighbors to develop the coordinated policy that will make urban life attractive and desirable, not an existence to be shunned for the lessening safety of the suburbs.

His address follows:

THE NEED FOR A NATIONAL POLICY ON URBAN GROWTH

(Remarks by the Honorable THOMAS LUDLOW ASHLEY, National Housing Conference 38th Annual Convention, March 10, 1969)

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I'm grateful for this opportunity to talk to the National Housing Conference and to share the platform with my distinguished colleague and good friend, BILL WIDNALL, from New Jersey; one of America's outstanding city officials, Mayor Washington; and with Leon Wiener, a nationally known home builder who has had the respect of Congress and the executive branch for many years.

I want to talk a few minutes this morning about the need for a national policy on urban growth.

In the first annual report on national housing goals, submitted to Congress this past January pursuant to the provisions of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968, President Johnson outlined a plan for the construction or rehabilitation of 26 million housing units in the next decade, a task which he referred to as "a firm national commitment." The report also identified potential problems that may be faced in achieving this goal; specifically, the sensitivity of residential building to credit conditions and the long-run need for adequate labor, land, and materials to maintain an increased level of construction.

In my view this is anything but a realistic appraisal of the fundamental problems we face if our national housing goals are to be met in a rational manner. The real difficulties, I believe, are the result of certain trends

of haphazard urban growth that have crystallized in recent years. For example:

Our largest metropolitan areas have experienced the most rapid population growth in the period 1960-65, with most of it occurring in suburban and outlying areas—not in central cities.

In terms of industrial and commercial expansion, business more and more is seeking location sites in these same suburban and fringe jurisdictions.

Smaller cities and villages outside the metropolitan areas have had much slower rates of growth and many are completely circumvented by the course of economic development.

With reference to rural America, its population has remained nearly static since 1950 but its farming sector has dropped significantly.

Regarding black America, the majority now resides in core cities; yet a sizable minority (approximately 45 percent) still lives and labors in the countryside.

In terms of public expenditures, our larger cities tend to spend more per capita as their population size increases and private citizens in urban areas must pay more to maintain a moderate standard of living than people elsewhere.

Regarding the form of urbanization, most of the recent pattern of suburban development—with but few exceptions—leads to "sprawl" with an accompanying destructive, disorderly, and costly use of land.

In terms of the future, present projections indicate that our population will increase by about 73 percent by the year 2000 (something over 100 million) with 19 out of every 20 Americans being urban dwellers.

These trends and this projection demonstrate to me that all levels of government—and especially the Federal Government—must focus on developing concerted means of redirecting and reshaping the existing urbanization process.

If the Nation chooses to ignore the problem of sprawl and accept the past pattern of urban development as good enough for the future, the consequences will be catastrophic and the catastrophe will fall equally on the suburbs and the inner cities, and on rural America as well. Unfortunately, what is absent from the President's report on national housing goals is any recognition that quality of development is as important as quantity.

But there are other reasons which underscore the urgent need for developing a national urban growth policy. The population imbalance between urban and rural America necessitates it. The fiscal and public services imbalance between our core cities, small cities, rural communities, and countryside, on the one hand, and suburban America on the other, requires it. The uncoordinated and frequently negative impact of existing governmental programs at all levels, which have helped mold the existing patterns of urban growth, figures in its establishment. The high cost of public and private consumption in our larger urban areas makes this new approach necessary. The very real social and emotional costs of high density, ghetto life demand it, as do such environmental hazards as dirty air, impure water, noise, and traffic snarls. And certainly the helter skelter gobbling up of land on the suburban fringe prompts a more rational strategy or urban growth than we have known in the past.

Putting the proposition differently, it is clear that the task of providing decent shelter for every American family, and for the millions of new family units that are formed each year, will require a three-pronged attack: on the inner city, where physical, social, and economic problems become more acute each year despite the proliferation of Federal assistance programs; on single-class suburbia, where too often the pressures of necessity and expediency have ruled, where too often promoter development has taken place on an unplanned, ad hoc basis and

where artificial barriers have prompted inequality of housing, education, and job opportunities; and, thirdly, on the development of new and expanding communities that will offer a well-planned, comprehensive living environment and in the process relieve the inner city density sufficiently to allow major rebuilding and rehabilitation programs that will be responsive to the physical, social and economic needs of our central cities.

These strategies, as I say, may be clear but in the absence of a coherent, comprehensive policy on urban growth, the only alternative is to proceed on the basis of uncertain and usually faulty assumptions, inadequate planning, and on a spectrum of overlapping and often conflicting federal programs which together do little more than to assure perpetuation of past growth patterns which have spawned the very problems we're now trying to solve.

If we want a frightening glimpse of America the beautiful ten years from now, let me direct your attention again to the first annual report on national housing goals and the section which addresses itself to the availability of building sites. We are told that "the estimated 20 million unassisted units required over the next ten years generally will be built in the suburbs, outside the central cities where the availability of sites is not an acute problem."

If we know anything from past experience, it's that a major distinguishing feature of sprawl is the leap-frogging, discontinuous nature of much of current suburban growth. Areas are bypassed for a variety of reasons including unavailability of large enough plots or tracts with clear title, spiraling land costs, and inaccessibility to transportation.

My argument is not against suburban growth but rather against the identifiable disadvantages that we know result from disorderly sprawl. Public facilities are more costly because roads, utility trunk lines, and other facilities have to be extended over longer distances and in patterns which are not necessarily the most economical. A too widely dispersed pattern of development increases the cost of commuting and this is a particular burden for low-income workers especially when inflated values preempt land for higher cost housing. The esthetic impact of sprawl may be said to be largely a reflection of personal taste but certainly strip commercial developments with their billboards, neon signs, and used car lots and the neglected, bypassed tracts of land are characteristics of suburban sprawl with which we are all familiar.

In brief, I think the report is optimistic with respect to the availability of building sites outside the central cities, but my real concern is that 20 million unassisted units are being programmed for the suburbs in the absence of the kind of coherent approach to urban growth that is within our grasp.

This same void is apparent in the section of the report that talks about site availability inside our central cities. Here we are told that of the remaining 6 million units that are to be made available in the next decade, 2 million "will be obtained through rehabilitation of existing units and thus there will not be any land requirements for that activity." Sites for the remainder, we are told, will come from "large amounts of bypassed undeveloped acreage in inner cities and from land generated by urban renewal activity."

If these projections don't provide a light at the end of the tunnel or otherwise convince the less affluent in our society that we are working toward social and economic integration, they may be heartened by the announcement that "a development which promises to provide some multi-family sites for low- and moderate-income housing is the use of air rights platforms over highways." If nothing else, this proposal appears to bear out the promise stated earlier that

"improvements in transportation facilities will link new houses with new and existing jobs."

I'm also very much concerned over the further assumption contained in the report that "the new communities program, authorized by the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968, will also help to provide sites serving production goals of the 10-year program." I'm not at all sure that is so but, again, my real hang-up is over the fact that there has been very little legislation, State or Federal, enacted specifically to deal with the unique features of new community development and that no nationwide planning has been done to develop a new community policy in the United States. The National Resources Planning Board undertook preliminary studies in the 1930's which included consideration of planned communities, but the board went out of existence before there was an opportunity to go beyond the exploratory stage. Although a number of planned new communities have been built, until recently there were no State, area-wide, or regional plans which gave consideration to a new community approach and attempted to identify appropriate locations for such large-scale developments.

Unless we are to foster the same sprawl that has resulted from unplanned suburban growth, new and expanding communities must be the product of a planning process which relates the new community development to area-wide, regional, and national urban development plans and objectives. The continuous planning process required permits adjustments between the actual rate of growth of a new community and job opportunities within or near the community and the need for public facilities, transportation, public services, and commercial and retail establishments.

I don't think it's necessarily wrong or a mistake to proceed with new communities at this time but I do think that we must recognize that we are doing so in the absence of any kind of a coherent, comprehensive approach. John Garvey, deputy executive director of the National League of Cities, recently listed some basic issues involved in the consideration of a U.S. position on new and expanded towns, among which were the following:

1. The extent to which the Nation can develop and give priority to the policies, the funding and the administration of a dynamic and a balanced plan of urbanization, meeting its new and its expanded growth needs and its renewal needs as well.

2. Within the plan, the extent to which we are prepared to define specific local, regional, State, and National governmental and private enterprise opportunities and responsibilities, and to establish appropriate objectives, strategies, and guidelines for all.

3. The extent to which we are prepared to structure our country's pattern of urbanization, industrialization, and rural migration.

4. The extent to which we are agreed that such urban growth include social and economic opportunity for the underprivileged, the minorities and the people in the low- and moderate-income brackets.

5. The extent to which we are prepared to exercise more public ownership of land in urban and in urbanizing areas, thereby retaining for the general public benefit, increments in land values, and holding down the costs of land for essential purposes.

6. The extent to which we are prepared to industrialize our building industry and to modernize our building codes and ordinances, thereby holding down costs of housing construction.

These are issues or questions which to date have gone largely unanswered. Together they underscore my basic thesis, which is that if the Nation is ever to have a meaningful, politically relevant policy on future urban-

ization, immediate attention must be focused by the White House and Congress—

On the various factors that condition urban growth;

On the consequences of continuing with the present developmental pattern;

On the pros and cons of the various alternatives that might be adopted to redirect this development; and

On the steps that will be necessary to bring into being a policy process that will help achieve a more balanced future urban growth—a more balanced development in rural and urban America.

SEX: AN INTRAMURAL SPORT, MAYBE?

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, our colleagues will have a chance to hear the cries of disbelief from the mothers and dads of little children since sex education is now going to be a part of the classroom curriculum in nearby Montgomery County, Md.

Mr. "Tar" Paulin, a local newspaper editor, in reporting on the educational curriculum, concludes his column with this expression of revulsion:

The ultimate we presume will be the day when intercourse becomes an intramural sport.

I include Mr. Paulin's editorial from the March 12, 1969, Bethesda-Chevy Chase Advertiser, of Rockville, Md., in the RECORD, as follows:

AN INTRAMURAL SPORT, MAYBE?

(By Leo "Tar" Paulin)

In 1964 Dr. Mary S. Calderone formed an organization called SIECUS (Sex Information and Education Council of the United States). SIECUS is the most influential organization promoting sex education programs in schools today.

Dr. Calderone, a contributor to the National Education Association Journal, is a frequent visitor to the educational factories. According to Dr. Gordon V. Drake, of Christian Crusade, she addressed 320 boys at Blair Academy in New Jersey. She asked, "What is sex for?" She answered her own question. "It's for fun . . . for wonderful sensation . . . Sex is not something you turn off like a faucet. If you do, it's unhealthy."

She continued: "We need new values to establish when and how we should have sexual experiences. Nobody's standing on a platform giving answers. You are beyond your parents. But you can't just move economically or educationally. You must move sexually as well."

In 1969 many of the darlings at Vassar are demanding the privilege of entertaining men overnight in their rooms. Could the Vassar journey into licentiousness be the result of SIECUS's efforts?

One of SIECUS's founders and most influential Board members is Dr. Isadore Rubin. He is also editor of "Sexology" magazine. The sworn testimony of an undercover operative for the New York Police Department identified Isadore Rubin in 1955 as a member of the Communist Party. After his dismissal as a teacher by the New York Board of Education in 1951 for refusing to declare whether the New York City Teachers Union—which was expelled from the AFL-CIO because it was found to be Communist-controlled.

"Sexology" is a slick smut magazine replete with pictured and written erotica. Some of its "informative" articles are: Alcohol Can

Solve Sex Problems, Group Sex Orgies, My Wife Knows I'm Homosexual, and Gangs that Hunt Down "Queers." Several of the magazine's editors, those who write the "enlightening" prose just listed are also editors of most of the sex courses in schools. Among these editors is one Dr. Lester Kirkendall, who believes that any absolute moral standard is absolutely unthinkable. But that is not all; he says: "A tremendous feeling of national unity, a sense of closeness, goodwill, and harmony may result from fearing another nation or from the efforts of trying to destroy another nation. Such unity," he concludes, "is immoral."

The reasoning, or more properly the excuse, for sex education in schools is to teach children the reproductive system because the parents are not qualified or are reluctant to do so.

I think it is proper for all of us to ask, "Is sex education in schools necessary?" To hear the educators justify their position, anyone over 35 years old must wonder how he ever came into the world since his parents were deprived of sex education in schools.

Sex education is part of the curriculum in the secondary schools in Montgomery County. Within the next few weeks it will become part of the curriculum in the following elementary schools: Rock Creek Forest, Whittier Woods, Gaithersburg, Aspen Hill, Meadow Hall, Oakland Terrace, Colesville, Forest Grove, Farmland, Montrose, Bel Pre. Eventually sex instruction will be extended to all elementary schools in the County starting at kindergarten level.

The new program was revealed by Dr. Robert E. Schneider, supervisor of health education and services for county schools, who is in charge of the project, at a meeting held at the Board of Education Monday, to which parents of children in the affected schools were invited last week. For specific details, they will have to go to the libraries of the schools involved, where copies of the complete program will be on file, and they can get replies to any questions from the individual school principals.

Dr. Schneider said the program will be similar to classes now taught junior high school students and reduced to the elementary grade level because of an apparent need resulting from the failure of many families to give their children essential information at home, coupled with a 1966 act by the legislature requiring that sex and family life be taught in elementary as well as junior high schools, leaving such instructions "incumbent on all schools."

As of now, Schneider said, the classes will stick to simple facts that will be treated as family material. In response to a question, he said, "we won't even discuss premarital relations until such time as the Board of Education itself takes a position."

Schneider said he, himself, doesn't condone premarital sex and, with regard to future planning, "We will hold to this position until we feel that our society has changed its position."

Aside from the questionable use of our tax dollar to teach sex to kindergarten kids, is there any real need for sex education at any school level? Is this not still the prerogative of the parent? There is nothing very mysterious about the biological aspects of sex; it comes as naturally to male and female as breathing, loving, hating, laughing, crying or any other human emotion.

There is a strong suspicion that the SIECUS crowd is more concerned with the destruction of moral standards than it is the education of the child.

Most certainly there is more promiscuity among young people today than at any time in modern history, and there is, by far, a greater number of illegitimate births among school girls than during any previous period in our history. The ultimate, we presume, will be the day when intercourse will become an intramural sport.

FRONT-PAGE STORIES THAT MISSED THE FRONT PAGES

HON. ALLARD K. LOWENSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, one test of the quality of a society is who it jails for political activities and what those political activities are.

Mr. James Wechsler, one of America's outstanding journalists, reported on two situations in successive columns in this week's New York Post. These situations will cause many devoted Americans concern and anguish. That concern will be especially sharp for those of us, Mr. Speaker, who count Mr. David Hawk and Mr. Truong Dinh Dzu as friends. For these are men whose lives have touched thousands and whose suffering will therefore be shared by thousands.

David Hawk's dilemma has been similar to that of a great many other young Americans faced with the prospect of being drafted into a war they believe to be morally and politically indefensible. Truong Dinh Dzu, runner-up for President of South Vietnam in the 1967 elections, has already spent long months in prison for advocating negotiations with the Vietcong—an offense which would seem relatively minor compared to that committed by this Government and by his own Government, which are in fact even now presumably conducting such negotiations, not merely advocating them.

It is hard to think of any habit more useful to the public and less likely to bring recognition to a journalist than Mr. Wechsler's habit of bringing to the attention of the people front-page stories which have somehow missed the front pages. These columns of James Wechsler speak for themselves, and put us all once again greatly in his debt:

DANGEROUS MAN

(By James A. Wechsler)

For an hour yesterday David Truong and I talked about a letter he had received from his father, a leader of the peace movement in Vietnam who has been imprisoned by the Thieu-Ky regime. We discussed at length the question of whether I should publish his father's letter. It is too easy to make journalistic decisions that may involve one man's life or death. But at the end of our meeting, we agreed that the desperate effort of the Thieu-Ky regime to pretend that it is the voice of South Vietnam was so outrageous that the statement of the man who stood up against that cabal in the Vietnamese election should be placed on the record. And I hope that the following words from Truong Dinh Dzu to his son will be heard around the world.

"MY DEAR DAVID: Today is the fourth of the first month of the Vietnamese calendar of the New Year of the Cock. It is your year, as you were born on Sept. 2, 1945. It will also be our year, the year of success for the group for peace in Vietnam.

"I am feeling well, although the detention and the constant surveillance are quite hard for my nerves. Without any pressure from Nixon, I don't think I and other well-known non-Communists will ever be released. I am doing my best not to break down. There are terrible moments where I feel I am creaking. A delegation of deputies from the Assembly recently visited the island, and I promised

the major of the place that I would not try to meet them. However, my guardian had clamped with lumber every door and window of the little shack for two days and there wasn't any food coming in. After the delegation left, then I was let out. I felt like hitting the guardian.

"Despite all this, I believe that the Americans must give some justification to their people about continuing this war. With the new communique of Hanoi and the NLF about a peace cabinet for Saigon, Nixon and Lodge will eventually have to concede on that point if they want to end the war. Otherwise, there are good prospects that it will not be over by 1972.

"On the other hand, the new government must include those renowned nationalists who can deal with the NLF and Hanoi because they have the potential to organize the existing religious groups in South Vietnam and because they hold high prestige with the people. From now until late May '69, events will lead to my release, and by July it is possible that a new cabinet will take shape in Saigon.

"I hope you will handle this letter with care because if the Saigon regime finds out that this is for release to the U.S., Saigon might not allow mother to visit me once a month and put tighter restrictions on our family. On the other hand, you must tell the people back there that the war is far from over. The Presidential campaign might be over, but not Vietnam. So there is need for further effort. At the present rate, we all might have to face 1972 with a bigger Vietnam.

"To a New Year of success for all of us, of happiness and peace for our country."

Now let there be only this footnote: If the consequence of the publication of this column is some form of Thieu-Ky revenge against the man whose words are quoted here, I am confident there will be an explosive expression of the American sense of justice and decency. And if something goes wrong, there will be one newspaperman watching.

ANOTHER CASUALTY (By James A. Wechsler)

The U.S. will shortly claim another prisoner in the Vietnam war. Unhappily he—like numerous other captives—is a young, idealistic American. He is 25-year-old David Hawk, who surrendered to federal authorities on Monday in the chapel of Union Theological Seminary after participating in a peaceful "sanctuary of conscience" to dramatize his refusal to serve in the Army.

I talked with him yesterday and throughout the conversation there recurred the thought: how many of our most thoughtful decent young men will be behind bars—or finding refuge in Canada or other places—when this ghastly war is finally ended?

It is painful to emphasize that Hawk has all the surface attributes of a healthy, respectable American youth who might be serenely serving as a corporate executive and playing golf at a suburban country club.

But too much of comfortable America still envisages our young anti-warriors as eccentric malcontents; so one must contest the stereotype by pointing out again that the crisis of conscience stirred by the Vietnam war has hit so many conservative homes, such as the one in which David Hawk was reared.

It will surely spread with new intensity if the war drags on.

He was born in Allentown, Pa., in 1943. His father is a salesman for a small electronics firm, his mother a registered nurse. They have voted Democratic only once in their lives—the year was 1964. They are deeply committed members of the Evangelical Congregational Church, a group strongly in-

fluenced by the preaching of Billy Graham. They could not hide their shock when David told them that he was "becoming a criminal"—that is, a draft-resister. But after many long, sometimes tortured conversations they affirmed their respect for his fidelity to conviction and have said so in public; it is the continuing miracle of America that such adjustments occur.

David Hawk attended public school in Allentown and went from there to the campus of Cornell. He achieved certain renown as a diver on the swimming team (All-American in his sophomore year). He was a popular figure among his classmates.

He was a serious (and witty) student, enrolled in Cornell's labor relations school and majoring in sociology and economics. Then the civil rights movement "captured my imagination"; by the end of his junior year he was spending his summer on the frontlines in Mississippi.

After commencement in 1965, he enrolled at Union Theological. He had been strongly influenced by reading Reinhold Niebuhr and others associated with the Seminary; his preoccupation was "applied ethics."

In the two-year interval at Union one thing led to another. He became actively involved in the anti-war activity being organized among student body leaders and college editors, and was designated for the post of "Vietnam Draft Director" by the National Student Assn.

But it was his simultaneous effort as a youth worker with the Methodist church's Greene Av. project in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area that decisively shaped his critical decision.

"I saw all these poor kids, mostly black, not able to go to college and being snapped up by the draft, though few of them had any desire to go," he recalled yesterday.

"It forced me to think about who was being drafted while people like myself, with educational deferments, had the luxury of protest and dissent. Those kids had less of an investment in this country than we do—but they were going and we weren't. I had to show where I stood."

So, in October, 1967, he dutifully informed his draft board that he had abandoned his studies (he was then working full-time in the "dump-Johnson" movement).

"I suppose I could have lied and claimed I was a conscientious objector to all war and maybe that would have been the end of it," he said quietly.

"But the truth is that I know I would have been willing to fight in World War II and I said so."

The price of truth—when his local draft board needed to—another quota—was the induction order he has now challenged. He displays no symptoms of either panic or martyrdom about the prospect of jail. What perhaps accentuates the tragedy is that he is so plainly a warm, rational, honorable human being, playing no devious ideological game.

The brutal paradox is inescapable. Hawk fought his battle within the framework of "the system;" was a steadfast supporter of Eugene McCarthy, who along with Sens. George McGovern and Mark Hatfield have sent him messages of support. Lyndon B. Johnson stepped down; the bombing halt was decreed.

By any sane standard the country is in debt to such young men who helped to stem the draft toward total disaster in Vietnam, and did so with due respect for the democratic process, and refused to use subterfuge for draft evasion. Now he is headed for jail. Can there be any clearer incitement to riot?

The Justice Dept. is now reported planning a crackdown on traveling agitators who inflame campus rebellion. But the symbolism of David Hawk's case is far more inflammatory than any leftist leaflet.

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE JOEL T. BROYHILL OF VIRGINIA IN SUPPORT OF HIS BILL TO DESIGNATE THE BRIDGE AUTHORIZED BY AN ACT OF OCTOBER 4, 1966, AS THE "LIGHT HORSE HARRY LEE" BRIDGE

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, seldom does a Member of Congress have the honor of presenting a bill to provide for the living memory of one of America's truly outstanding heroes. Today I urge upon my colleagues the earliest consideration and prompt passage of a bill I am introducing to designate the bridge now under construction over the Potomac, between the Rochambeau Memorial and George Mason Memorial Bridges, authorized by the act of October 4, 1966, as the "Light Horse Harry Lee" Bridge.

Mr. Speaker, it is befitting that the Congress and the Nation remember Henry Lee, better known in American history as "Light Horse Harry" Lee, soldier and statesman, by this memorial. I should like to recount to the House some of "Light Horse Harry" Lee's exploits from a biography by Thomas Boyd and also the account of Henry Lee, from the Dictionary of American Biographers, volume II.

Henry Lee, 1756-1818, was an outstanding student, brilliant soldier—leader and strategist—prominent statesman in Virginia, and national affairs, orator with facile pen and a devoted family man. He was a brother of Richard Bland and Charles Lee, born at "Leesylvania," near Dumfries, Prince William County, Va., the son of Henry Lee.

Entering Princeton—then College of New Jersey—at age 14, he attained a high academic standing. A visitor to the college during Lee's freshman year predicted that he would become "one of the first fellows in this country." He graduated from the college in 1773, at the age of 17, and was preparing to go to England to study law when the American Revolution changed his plans and his career.

Henry Lee's military career began in 1776 at age 20 as captain of a company of Virginia Light Dragoons—hence his subsequent nickname "Light Horse Harry." The next year he and his light horse became a part of Washington's army which was "weak with horse," remaining there until late 1780. He was then assigned to the campaign in the South serving under General Greene until the end of the war.

In the North, Lee and his "legion" became the eyes and ears of Washington's army, fulfilling brilliantly and effectively continuous scouting and harassing missions. He was commended by the Continental Congress for fighting off an attacking force of 200 British on his own headquarters held by himself and seven men. He declined to serve on Washington's staff, though he would have been

promoted from captain to lieutenant colonel, preferring field duty. As a result of his intelligence reports, Washington recalled Gen. "Mad" Anthony Wayne from leave to attack and capture a garrison of several hundred men at Stony Point on the Hudson. This fort captured earlier from the Continentals had been heavily fortified and considered unassailable by Washington until with information gathered by Major Lee, including use of a spy as directed by Washington, it was decided to make the attempt. Lee was "one of the officers who showed the way down the hill, over the flooded marsh and up the steep rocky side of the British stronghold from which an American flag soon floated." This was July 15, 1779.

In August 1779, Lee, with several hundred foot soldiers, captured the British garrison of 160 men at Paulus Hook—now in Jersey City—for which he was awarded a gold medal specially struck for that purpose by the Continental Congress—the only gold medal awarded by Congress to an officer below the rank of general. This expedition carried out under a plan, finally approved by General Washington, involved a total march of 44 miles round trip in 21 hours while exposed to possible enemy attack and with no time out for food. The march was through one entire night and most of the next August day traversing mountains, swamps, deep morasses, and across a river that had to be bridged. Lee labored against severe odds, some of which operated unexpectedly against him.

In late 1780 Lieutenant Colonel Lee led his "Lee's Legion" into the Carolinas to continue a fast-striking, hard-fighting expedition of 280 cavalymen and infantrymen to protect Gen. Nathaniel Greene's troops against Britain's renowned Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton serving with Lord Cornwallis. Lee, finding it "repugnant" for a light corps to operate "with even a single wagon" returned all of his baggage train to General Greene's camp. After a series of winter expeditions in close cooperation between Lee, General Marion—the "Swamp Fox"—and others, Cornwallis found that he had a determined and effective enemy.

On March 31, 1781, Lee attended a meeting of General Greene and other officers at which Lee offered a plan of attack on British forts in South Carolina, breaking British control of that State except in Charleston. His overall plan and military reasoning behind it was accepted by General Greene and after much hard marching, severe but short clashes, most of South Carolina was freed from British control while, as Lee predicted, Cornwallis moved into Virginia. This campaign was characterized by forced marches—100 miles in 3 days in one instance—ingenuity and sagacity.

The oft-repeated forced marches and rides followed closely by battle with victory in nearly every instance attested to Lee's ability as a tactician, a strategist, and one who inspired his Legion to almost superhuman physical effort. Finally, it was his good fortune to be present at the siege of Yorktown and to witness the surrender of Cornwallis on October 19, 1781.

Lee now came to the conclusion that the war was over and resigned his commission. A hero, one of the most notable Virginia soldiers, he won the hand of his cousin, Matilda Lee, heiress of "Stratford," whom he married early in 1782. He had several children, one of whom was Henry Lee—1787-1837.

As great as his military accomplishments, Lee served with distinction his State and country during the formative years of our Nation, 1785 to 1812. Turning to politics, he entered the Virginia house of delegates in 1785, and in the same year was sent to the Continental Congress, where he served, with one brief interruption, until 1788. He was an active member of the Virginia convention that ratified the U.S. Constitution in 1788 and voted for that measure.

Lee's strong support of the proposed Constitution prior to and at the Virginia Convention helped win ratification by the rather close vote of 89 to 79 against the opposition of Patrick Henry, James Monroe, Richard Henry Lee, George Mason, and other men of great stature. In that battle of intellectual giants, he pleaded with eloquence and zeal for adoption of the new Constitution. Lee was the first to reply to a long speech by Patrick Henry. His eloquence had to be good at such a moment. It is generally agreed that had Virginia declined to adopt the Constitution, New York would have followed, and this would have spelled failure to replace the Articles of Confederation. After Virginia's favorable vote, New York followed with a 30-to-27 vote.

In 1790, after the death of his first wife, Lee thought of going to France for military service, as he was still young and still enamored of war. He gave up this plan in order to marry, on June 18, 1793, a second wife, Anne Hill Carter, of "Shirley." The fifth child of this marriage was Robert E. Lee.

From 1792 to 1795 he served as Governor of Virginia. While still Governor, in 1794, he was chosen by Washington to command the Army assembled to put down the Whiskey Rebellion in Pennsylvania. Lee managed to quell this uprising without the loss of life, and enhanced his prestige. In 1799, he entered Congress. The resolutions offered by John Marshall on the death of Washington were drawn by Lee and contained the description of Washington as "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." Lee repeated the phrase in his memorial oration in Philadelphia on December 26, 1799.

In 1812, Lee opposed war with England, believing that diplomacy could rectify mutual problems. A young editor, Alexander Hanson, published the Federal Republican in Baltimore. He strongly opposed the Madison administration war policy. Lee, while in Baltimore, visited Mr. Hanson, who was the son of an old friend of his. A mob attacked the Hanson house, and in the riot of two consecutive nights, the attackers killed one Federalist and left others for dead, including General Lee, whose death was reported in the press. He was so badly injured that he was speechless for 11 days. It was primarily to recover from such a ter-

rible beating that General Lee went to the West Indies, hoping for a cure. It was all in vain. Warned that death was approaching, he set sail for home but his strength gave out on the way. He was set ashore at Cumberland Island, Ga., and was tenderly cared for by the daughter of his old commander, General Greene. There he died and was buried. In 1913, his remains were transferred to the Lee chapel of Washington and Lee University at Lexington, Va.

In summary, Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee was not only one of the first but one of the best of American cavalry soldiers. This soldierly quality enabled him to assist greatly by fete of arms in the establishment of this country's independence from England. He also aided materially as a statesman in establishing our present form of government. He commanded the troops that put down without bloodshed the first major internal threat to these United States, but lost heavily in personal popularity in so doing. And finally, he literally died in a personal quest to prevent the War of 1812 with England.

Having been born and reared a few miles below Alexandria, and later as a Member of Congress residing in Alexandria, he was closely associated with the area to be served by this new bridge across the Potomac River.

Mr. Speaker, it is important that the name designated for this new bridge carry out the traditions earlier established by Congress. Earlier this body designated the companion bridges over the Potomac after famous men who had contributed greatly to the founding of our country, General Rochambeau, who commanded the forces of France that came to the aid of the Continental Army, and George Mason of Virginia, who contributed so greatly to our Bill of Rights and in the formation of our Government. By naming this new bridge the "Light Horse Harry Lee Bridge," the Congress will be continuing this fine established tradition. I again respectfully urge upon my colleagues enactment of this legislation to honor a great American.

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY SUBCOMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, I have the honor to announce the following appointments to the standing subcommittees of your House Committee on Banking and Currency:

SUBCOMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS DOMESTIC FINANCE

Wright Patman, Tex. Chairman,
Joseph G. Minish, N.J.
Richard T. Hanna, Calif.
Tom S. Gettys, S.C.
Frank Annunzio, Ill.
Thomas M. Rees, Calif.

Nick Galifianakis, N.C.
James M. Hanley, N.Y.
William B. Widnall, N.J.
W. E. (Bill) Brock, Tenn.
Benjamin B. Blackburn, Ga.
Chester L. Mize, Kans.
Chalmers P. Wylie, Ohio.

SMALL BUSINESS

Wright Patman, Tex., Chairman.
William A. Barrett, Pa.
Leonor K. Sullivan, Mo.
Tom S. Gettys, S.C.
Tom Beville, Ala.
Charles H. Griffin, Miss.
Frank J. Brasco, N.Y.
Bill Chappell, Jr., Fla.
J. William Stanton, Ohio.
Del Clawson, Calif.
Lawrence G. Williams, Pa.
Chalmers P. Wylie, Ohio.
Benjamin B. Blackburn, Ga.
Margaret M. Heckler, Mass.

HOUSING

William A. Barrett, Pa., Chairman.
Leonor K. Sullivan, Mo.
Thomas L. Ashley, Ohio.
William S. Moorhead, Pa.
Robert G. Stephens, Jr., Ga.
Fernand J. St Germain, R.I.
Henry B. Gonzalez, Tex.
Henry S. Reuss, Wis.
William B. Widnall, N.J.
Florence P. Dwyer, N.J.
Del Clawson, Calif.
Garry Brown, Mich.
Seymour Halpern, N.Y.
J. Glenn Beall, Jr., Md.

CONSUMER AFFAIRS

Leon K. Sullivan, Mo., Chairman.
Robert G. Stephens, Jr., Ga.
Henry B. Gonzalez, Tex.
Joseph G. Minish, N.J.
Richard T. Hanna, Calif.
Frank Annunzio, Ill.
James M. Hanley, N.Y.
Bill Chappell, Jr., Fla.
Florence P. Dwyer, N.J.
Chalmers P. Wylie, Ohio.
Lawrence G. Williams, Pa.
Garry Brown, Mich.
Margaret M. Heckler, Mass.
William O. Cowger, Ky.

INTERNATIONAL FINANCE

Henry S. Reuss, Wis., Chairman.
Thomas L. Ashley, Ohio.
William S. Moorhead, Pa.
Henry B. Gonzalez, Tex.
Richard T. Hanna, Calif.
Thomas M. Rees, Calif.
James M. Hanley, N.Y.
Frank J. Brasco, N.Y.
Seymour Halpern, N.Y.
William B. Widnall, N.J.
Albert W. Johnson, Pa.
J. William Stanton, Ohio.
Chester L. Mize, Kans.
W. E. (Bill) Brock, Tenn.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Thomas L. Ashley, Ohio, Chairman.
Robert G. Stephens, Jr., Ga.
Fernand J. St Germain, R.I.
Tom S. Gettys, S.C.
Thomas M. Rees, Calif.
Tom Beville, Ala.
Nick Galifianakis, N.C.
Seymour Halpern, N.Y.
Charles H. Griffin, Miss.
Chester L. Mize, Kans.
Benjamin B. Blackburn, Ga.
Garry Brown, Mich.
Albert W. Johnson, Pa.
William O. Cowger, Ky.

BANK SUPERVISION AND INSURANCE

William S. Moorhead, Pa., Chairman.
Fernand J. St Germain, R.I.
Joseph G. Minish, N.J.
Frank Annunzio, Ill.

Tom Beville, Ala.
Nick Galifianakis, N.C.
Charles H. Griffin, Miss.
Frank J. Brasco, N.J.
W. E. (Bill) Brock, Tenn.
Del Clawson, Calif.
Albert W. Johnson, Pa.
Lawrence G. Williams, Pa.
Chalmers P. Wylie, Ohio.
Margaret M. Heckler, Mass.

PARITY REPORT FOR FEBRUARY
1969

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, a new record high was reached in overall farm costs for the month just completed. This index figure is 3.65 times as high as the index base of 1910-14, and is 16 points higher than just a year ago. This is another example of the staggering load that we are reaping from unwise Federal spending and deficit financing programs over the past decade. Prices that farmers received did go up on meat animals during this same time, and is largely responsible for the 1-percent increase in the parity ratio for agriculture this past month.

Listed below are parity percentage levels for January and February for some of our major crops.

Commodity	January 1969	February 1969
Cotton.....	41	42
Wheat.....	47	48
Corn.....	65	65
Peanuts.....	74	74
Butterfat.....	74	75
Milk.....	83	83
Wool.....	44	43
Barley.....	65	66
Flax.....	67	68
Oats.....	69	70
Sorghum.....	64	65
Soybeans.....	70	70
Beef.....	78	80
Chicken.....	67	69
Eggs.....	83	76
Hogs.....	74	78
Lamb.....	85	89
Turkey.....	65	62
Average.....	72	73

THE TEKTITE I PROJECT

HON. GEORGE E. SHIPLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. SHIPLEY. Mr. Speaker, 3 weeks ago, on February 15, 1969, at 1152 hours, e.s.t., four brave scientists from the Department of Interior entered the waters of Great Lameshur Bay, St. John Island, in the U.S. Virgin Islands. For 60 continuous days these pioneers of the last frontier will live and work beneath the surface in a four-chambered habitat designed by the missile and space division of the General Electric Co. headquartered in Valley Forge, Pa. Behaviorists and biomedical experts from the Department of the Navy and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration will

monitor the movements and even the dreams of these daring Americans.

The Tektite I Project, named after a mineral originating in space and found on earth and symbolizing the project's multidisciplinary, has three primary missions or programs. These are a biomedical program, a behavioral program, and a marine sciences program. The goals of these three programs range from gaining knowledge valuable to Navy missions to long-range space missions to learning how to harvest the oceans' riches.

Tektite I is a prime example of economy and teamwork which in less than a year and a half brought together four divergent agencies—three Federal and one private industry—to begin, on schedule, a project which will have great impact on our Nation's progress in the oceans. The Navy, NASA, Department of Interior, and General Electric Co. are all equal sponsors.

The four scientists, who are aquanauts merely as a means to an end—exploring the oceans—are Richard A. Waller, oceanographer; Conrad V. W. Mahnken, oceanographer; Dr. H. Edward Clifton, geologist; and John G. Van Derwalker, biologist. In the early days of their quest for knowledge, these Americans have already found and met the perils of the ocean. They have had to battle a moray eel which was blocking the entrance into their habitat, and they were trapped beneath the surface as a severe thunderstorm ravaged the islands above them. In the coming weeks, they will set a new record for duration in living and working in a saturated condition. For the 60 days, they will be subjected to pressures on their bodies equaling two and a half atmospheres. Little is yet known of what this could mean to the human body.

All Americans, indeed the people of the world, will follow with interest and pride these four intrepid scientists. We will anxiously await the results of their 60-day mission with an eye to preparing for future missions so that one day soon we will be able to use the oceans to help fill the empty stomachs of starving people throughout the world.

COLUMNIST DAVID LAWRENCE
VIEWS COURT RULING ON NEWS-
PAPERS AS LEADING TO MORE
MONOPOLY

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I was recently pleased to join with others in introducing and sponsoring H.R. 279, a bill to allow two newspapers operating under joint arrangement to be treated as a single entity under antitrust laws.

The purpose of this bill is to give to newspapers who have combined their printing and other mechanical facilities equal treatment with one-owner newspaper cities where both newspapers have been merged under single ownership with a single editorial policy. In other words, the purpose of this bill is to assure two

editorial voices and to afford the same rights and privileges to two owners who wish to preserve separate, independent editorial voices available to single owners who have acquired two newspapers in the same city.

This bill is especially important in view of the fact that the Supreme Court has recently made an adverse ruling which will tend to wipe out the two-newspapers arrangement with joint mechanical agreements.

In this connection, I place in the RECORD herewith a column from the Nashville Banner, written by Mr. David Lawrence, which outlines the impact of the Supreme Court ruling.

The column follows:

COURT'S NEWSPAPER RULING LEADS TO A TOTAL MONOPOLY

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON.—The Supreme Court of the United States has just proclaimed a novel doctrine—that two competing businesses cannot merge unless one is on the verge of bankruptcy and cannot find some other purchaser. What the court has unwittingly recommended is a means of awarding the stronger business an eventual monopoly.

The case in point arose in Tucson, Ariz., where one newspaper was making about \$25,000 a year, and the other was losing about the same amount. An agreement was reached which provided that each paper would retain its own news and editorial departments as well as its corporate identity, but the production and distribution equipment were to be combined, and the circulation and advertising departments operated jointly.

This arrangement has been in effect since March 1940, and the venture proved profitable to both papers. In 1965, the owners of one paper purchased the other, but continued separate news and editorial departments for each.

Now the Supreme Court calls the combination "an unreasonable restraint of trade" and declares that there was no real proof that in 1940 one of the papers was "on the verge of going out of business." The new decision is important, because there are at least 44 newspapers in 22 cities which have entered into similar arrangements during the last 25 years.

What the Supreme Court overlooked is the nature of the competition faced even by a single newspaper in a community today. It may not have a rival in printed form within the same city, but it has newspapers coming by airplane and bus into its territory from cities not far away. Likewise, television and radio cover the area, and a daily newspaper has plenty of competition from the "commercials" used by advertisers on local broadcasting stations.

In 1920, there were 2,042 daily newspapers in the United States. This total, according to the latest figures, has declined to 1,749. There are only 327 morning papers and 1,438 evening papers, and 16 of these are "all day" newspapers.

Many a large city has only a morning paper and an evening paper, whereas even 20 years ago, when the population of the United States much smaller, they had several. New York City, for instance, has gone from 10 dailies to only three. Boston had seven papers, and now has four. Los Angeles today has two dailies—half of the number it once had.

What most people do not realize is that newspapers cannot survive on the income obtained only from the subscribers or purchasers at the newsstands. Advertising revenue is essential to meet expenses and furnish a profit. Competition from other media, such as radio, television, magazines and outside newspapers in the same area, has severely

cut down opportunities for the small dailies to stay in business, particularly when payrolls, equipment and other costs continue to rise.

The merging on the production and business side has saved many a community newspaper. In most cases where a morning and evening newspaper are published by the same ownership, editorial pages are independent of each other.

What is not perceived by the Supreme Court is that when two newspapers combine some of their operations, they have not by any means stifled all competition in the community. They have merely devised a way of meeting the heavy competition they face from other sources.

Meanwhile, national labor unions, operating as a monopoly with apparent immunity from antitrust laws, impose wage scales all over the country which have brought about the downfall of a number of newspapers over the last several years.

Unless Congress passes a pending bill which would permit two daily newspapers to enter into joint operations when one could not otherwise survive, many of these publications will go out of business. This writer, on June 1, 1964, in discussing a similar antitrust case filed by the Department of Justice at that time against a combination of two newspaper enterprises, wrote:

"Under the oldest concept of property rights, it has never been held that an owner should be forced to go to the borderline of bankruptcy before he can sell a deteriorating asset to a competitor. The Department of Justice evidently thinks otherwise and that antitrust laws may be used to bring about a form of commercial suicide."

ORDERLY AND RATIONAL PROGRESS AT GEORGETOWN: THE IDEOLOGICAL GAP NARROWS

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the Nation has been made very much aware in recent months of the numerous disorders and violent disruptions which have plagued many of the campuses of our institutions of higher learning, as militant groups of students have sought to impose immediately various kinds of drastic changes in the structure, curriculums, and administration of these institutions. What is not generally known, however, is that in some colleges and universities equally important changes are being brought about by an intense but quiet expression of student activism which, because of its orderly, rational, and patient character, lacks the dramatic quality to be considered newsworthy. Thus, only a few days ago, the students of Georgetown University's Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service won a significant victory in their 2-year campaign to bring about important reforms in the basic structure and functioning of that world-famous institution. This student achievement at Georgetown appropriately coincides with the celebration of the foreign service school's 50th anniversary, and the university newspaper, the Hoya, in its March 13 issue, has described, in its editorial of that day, the significance of this achievement, not only to the Georgetown community but to universities throughout the Nation.

Under unanimous consent, I include their editorial in the Extensions of Remarks:

THE SFS VICTORY

The results of the proceedings which took place last Saturday in the Hall of Nations will not make nation-wide headlines, nor merit extensive coverage by the broadcasting media, but they are nevertheless a victory of the greatest dimensions for Georgetown students in general and School of Foreign Service students in particular. This victory is truly unique when one considers the means to which students on other campuses have resorted in order to make known their demands. The recent incidents at American University and the continuing controversy at Howard are prime examples.

The movement for a core faculty with a separate budget for the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service had been debated for two years prior to passage. Since the first proposal for such a structure was made in The Hoya by Dr. Walter I. Giles, patience and persistence have characterized the movement, both when defeat seemed imminent and passage assured. Victories were few at the outset, but the students, led by the untiring examples of Dr. Giles, Dr. Quigley, and more recently Dean Mann, never gave up.

Indeed, it may be stated that Georgetown has not seen such a display of activism and unity on the part of her students in a long while. When faced with the question of the future of their school's existence in the year of the fiftieth anniversary of its founding, the students responded to the challenge with a vigorous intensity that surprised everyone but themselves. They presented their case not with violent protest, but with intelligible communication. By their actions and words, they did not widen the ideological gap with the opposition, but in fact narrowed it, to the point where some of the proposal's earliest critics voted in favor of final analysis.

The students of the School of Foreign Service may well be proud of the method by which their victory was achieved. But the entire Georgetown community should be proud, too. Georgetown has presented an example of student power to which universities throughout the nation would do well to subscribe.—R. H.

SUPPORT OF LEGISLATION TO PERMIT TAX CREDITS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION EXPENSES AND TAX DEDUCTION ALLOWANCES FOR TEACHERS

HON. CHARLOTTE T. REID

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mrs. REID of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, our tax laws have been used in a variety of ways to help and encourage the business community, but there is no business that is more important than the education of our young people.

Today, I am again introducing two bills which I sponsored in the 90th Congress to further education. The first would allow a tax credit for higher education expenses such as tuition, fees, books, supplies, and equipment. The second would amend the Internal Revenue Code to permit teachers to deduct expenses, including the cost of certain travel, incurred in pursuing courses for academic credit and degrees at institutions of higher learning.

We all know how the cost of a college education has risen in recent years and

will probably continue to rise in the future. It is our responsibility as Members of Congress to devise a solution to this cost problem which will benefit both moderate- and low-income families and students, and we must also preserve the diversity of higher education by assisting all of our institutions. At the same time, we must accomplish these goals with the least amount of governmental interference in our educational system.

While this tax credit provision admittedly is not a cure-all, it will provide relief for strained family budgets and allow for the continued independence and diversity of our institutions of higher education. It would be my hope that the provision in the bill which allows the tax credit to anyone who pays the expenses of a college student regardless of the relationship between the two individuals would lead to increased private scholarship assistance to low-income students. This would be in line with President Nixon's efforts to involve voluntary citizen participation in meeting America's needs.

All Members of Congress are aware of the outstanding job being done by the teachers of our Nation. Furthermore, they are doing a better job every year, as can be shown by the success the United States has had in meeting the educational challenges and demands of our times. To be able to meet these challenges, however, teachers must continually return to colleges and universities to study new developments in their fields of academic endeavor and in educational devices and methodology. Continuing teacher education is an absolute prerequisite for those who wish to become principals, superintendents, or other administrators. But beyond this, teachers are in increasing numbers, having to continue their education merely to retain their present status.

The purpose of the second bill I am introducing today is to provide by statute the tax deductions which are allowed teachers for educational expenses. While Internal Revenue Service rulings and regulations on this question are subject to change on very short notice, teachers must plan their return to colleges and universities many months in advance. It is for this reason that I am sponsoring specific legislation to provide for such deductions.

SOME THINGS TO KEEP IN MIND ABOUT THE NAVY'S COURT OF INQUIRY ON THE "PUEBLO" INCIDENT

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE
OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, because some aspects of the Navy's court of inquiry on the *Pueblo* incident have been misinterpreted, I feel that it is fair to examine an explanation of what a court of inquiry is and why one was convened for the *Pueblo* incident. Such an explanation has been provided by Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, U.S. Navy, Chief of Naval

Operations and president of the Naval Institute, in an address to the members of the American Bar Foundation on January 25, 1969.

These remarks were later circulated as a memorandum to the members of the Naval Institute. I have seen a copy of this memorandum and feel that its publication in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will help clear the air of some of the misunderstandings and misinterpretations.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert the memorandum at this point in the RECORD:

MEMORANDUM TO MEMBERS OF THE NAVAL INSTITUTE

You, as lawyers, will understand why I, as Chief of Naval Operations, and thus in the reviewing chain of command, cannot make comments on the substantive aspects of testimony given during the Inquiry. I will be ready to do this at the appropriate time.

I can, however, put the nature of the Inquiry in proper perspective and, hopefully, reassure the American people that the Court of Inquiry is being conducted in a straightforward, legal and objective manner.

First: What is a Court of Inquiry? It is a fact-finding body—that and nothing more. It is not a court-martial. Witnesses at a Court of Inquiry are *not* on trial. A Court of Inquiry cannot even prefer charges. It simply records the facts and makes recommendations to the convening authority—in this case the Commander-in-Chief of The Pacific Fleet. These recommendations may cover such things as operational procedures, material improvements, communications, training of personnel, international law—and many other subjects—and, if warranted, the recommendation for further legal proceedings.

Next: Why are we having of Court of Inquiry? A ship has been lost. We always have a Court of Inquiry when this happens—whatever the cause.

Particular emphasis is being placed on protecting the rights of the individuals, and on lessons learned. These lessons will be of great assistance in the future.

When the Inquiry opened its initial session, the first witness was Commander Bucher. He was given the legally required advice concerning his rights as a party to the Inquiry. Counsel for the court made it clear that Commander Bucher was not at that time suspected of having committed any offense under the Uniform Code of Military Justice.

Later, when Commander Bucher, in his testimony, indicated that the North Koreans had bordered his ship, the counsel for the court—as required by the law you know so well—told Commander Bucher it was possible that he had violated U.S. Navy Regulations, Article 0730 which reads: "The commanding officer shall not permit his command to be searched by any person representing a foreign state nor permit any of the personnel under his command to be removed from the command by such persons, so long as he has the power to resist." He explained to Commander Bucher his right to testify no further and gave him the routine, required warning that, if he did so, the information could be used against him later.

Since this simple act of legal procedure—basic to our legal system—caused so much controversy, was so misinterpreted and has caused so many to prejudice the outcome of this Inquiry, let me emphasize three points:

First: Such a warning was not unexpected by Commander Bucher or his counsel—here are the words of Commander Bucher's counsel addressed to the counsel for the court: "We have discussed this matter with Commander Bucher in some detail. As you know, we had some preliminary conversations with you be-

fore this Court of Inquiry convened as to the procedures that would be followed and the manner by which Commander Bucher's story and the story of the USS *Pueblo* could be presented to this Court. We obviously anticipated the situation that we find ourselves in at the present moment. We have discussed this in detail with Commander Bucher. In view of your warning, Commander Bucher persists in his desire to fully and completely tell this Court of Inquiry the details of the 23rd of January and the event subsequent thereto. Based on that, Commander Bucher, with the Court's permission, requests that he be permitted to testify, and complete this phase of the story. Commander Bucher, am I correctly reciting your wishes in this matter? And do I correctly recite that you have been adequately and fully apprised of all your legal rights which include the right to remain silent on this portion?" Commander Bucher answered in the affirmative.

Second: I would like to emphasize that a Court of Inquiry must begin with a blank record. Newspaper accounts, rumors, second-hand reports or prejudgments cannot be considered. The official record of the *Pueblo's* capture and the treatment of her crew must come from testimony and evidence presented to this Court of Inquiry. For the Court, what has appeared and will appear in public accounts simply does not exist.

Third: Whether the Navy—or anyone in the Navy—was pleased or displeased with Commander Bucher's testimony could have nothing whatever to do with that warning. I realize I am "preaching to the choir" when I tell you that. However, the requirement to warn Commander Bucher is obviously not so well understood by some.

Ladies and Gentlemen—I am deeply troubled—that what was a routine and totally correct legal procedure has been widely misinterpreted.

As Chief of Naval Operations—I intend to ensure—and the Court itself will ensure—that Commander Bucher's rights—as well as all others appearing before the Court—are fully protected. Possibly there will be similar warnings concerning self-incrimination as additional witnesses testify. The point to keep in mind is that the Navy is searching for facts—not scapegoats. We are doing so—within limits imposed by national security—in open hearings, because I believe that this is the way the American people would want it done. And we are taking well-tested and legally prescribed steps to protect the rights of all concerned.

I earnestly request you, who are so well-qualified, to assist me in explaining the legal aspects of the *Pueblo* Inquiry to the American people. And, I earnestly request the American people to be patient, not to prejudice, and to have full trust and confidence that the procedures used in developing the facts surrounding the piracy against the *Pueblo* are being carried out by experienced men of great integrity who have only the welfare of our country at heart.

MAKE PUNISHMENT FIT CRIME

HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, the *Janesville Gazette* in my district is one of the finest newspapers in the country. Robert W. Bliss is the knowledgeable publisher of the *Janesville Gazette*. He has written a challenging and provocative editorial on the Vietnam war which I submit to my colleagues in the House.

It is directed to the President of the United States. It should be read by every Member of Congress as well.

The editorial follows:

MAKE PUNISHMENT FIT CRIME

The Vietnam War forced Lyndon Johnson to abandon any plans he might have had for another term as President, and now that same issue stares Richard Nixon squarely in the face. And events in recent weeks have sharply reduced his maneuvering room.

The Paris peace talks drag interminably on, with progress measured in millimeters. While the talk continues, Americans are being killed and the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese are strengthening their position.

President Johnson reached an "understanding" with the North Vietnamese last November. Under its terms, the United States would stop bombing North Vietnam if the Communists would not shell population centers in South Vietnam.

That understanding has been violated at least four times by the Communists. Saigon was hit by enemy rockets yesterday, with 25 civilians killed and 70 wounded. The attack came hard on the heels of Nixon's statement that the United States "will not tolerate a continuation of this kind of attack without some response that will be appropriate."

The latest attack put the next move up to Nixon, but he apparently will not make it until Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird returns next week from Vietnam. Whatever decision he makes will be an agonizing one.

Nixon could resume full scale bombing of North Vietnam, which would be nothing more than continuation of Johnson's discredited war policy. We bombed North Vietnam for more than three years with little effect on the enemy's fighting effectiveness. Even the Joint Chiefs of Staff, when asked by former Defense Secretary Clark Clifford last year what effect the bombing had, replied "Not much."

North Vietnam would gain more politically than it would lose militarily from resumed full-scale bombing. The bombing of the north was the single greatest factor that turned world opinion against the United States in this seemingly endless conflict.

But if Nixon does nothing about the recent Communist attacks, the enemy is likely to escalate them to gain a better bargaining position in Paris as well as a better military position in Vietnam. Doing nothing also would undercut Nixon's largely conservative support at home.

One thing Nixon has on his side is the fact that the United States has demonstrated a sincere desire for peace. We have not violated the "understanding." The Communists have.

Clearly Nixon must make some response, but the punishment should fit the crime.

What seems to be indicated here is a clear message to North Vietnam that their next attack will result in a bombing mission against a military concentration in North Vietnam. One attack, one bombing mission.

This limited response will demonstrate that we seek no wider war, and at the same time will serve notice on the Communists that we do not intend to negotiate under the gun.

RECENT PAY RAISES UNETHICAL

HON. J. HERBERT BURKE

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, although I agree with the comments which my colleague, the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. CARTER), made on the House floor on Monday, March 10, and

join in his sentiments, nevertheless, I feel that if the recent pay increase is as he says unconstitutional, then a court suit would be sufficient to determine the validity of the law granting the raise. I believe, however, we should be justifiably sure and for this reason I have introduced legislation that would repeal the pay raise granted to Congress, the judiciary, and other Federal officials.

I, like many of my colleagues, had strong objection to the manner by which these pay raises came about, since I felt that in these trying times when inflation threatens the very economic foundation of our Nation, our right to enact pay raise legislation should have been debated and passed by the vote of the Members rather than by the back-door method that was used.

Some of us through our vote in Congress have consistently exercised restraint and responsibility when voting on important fiscal matters. The fact that we were denied the opportunity to directly oppose the pay increase is in sharp conflict with our past efforts to be sure to help bring our financial picture into sharper focus through our vote.

I am not a rich man and could use the increase, but I did not think that we had the moral or ethical right to take the method that the Congress did in arriving at the figure recommended by the select Commission.

More importantly, the method by which the pay increase was implemented raises a far more serious question of what is right and what is wrong—particularly in these times when inflation is literally robbing millions of people of any hope for their economic future.

It is my hope that through passage of this legislation Congress will repeal the pay raise. In this way, it can later bring the case for the raise to the floor for debate and grant to each of us the right to vote as we should, either for or against.

IN SEARCH OF A FUTURE

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, on March 4, 1969, students and professors in colleges and universities throughout the nation took time to reflect upon, to question, and to protest the misuse of science for military ends. When one pauses to consider the fact that defense now absorbs 60 percent of our national budget, and about 12 percent of the gross national product, and that the United States and Russia between them have nuclear stockpiles which allow for approximately 15 tons of TNT for every man, woman, and child on earth, the significance of this day take on tragic proportions.

Dr. George Wald, the 1968 Nobel Prize winner in physiology and medicine, addressed a crowd of 1,200 on that day at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Participants there in the March 4 Movement were disturbed at the lack of

focus in the day's numerous panel discussions and speeches; Dr. Wald provided that focus.

In what the Boston Globe said "may be the most important speech of our time," Dr. Wald discusses some of the most immediate issues facing our country today—the conflict in Vietnam, the draft, the ABM system, the crisis in our educational system, nuclear stockpiling, and the increasing size of the military-industrial complex.

This is the profound, moving testimony of a man deeply troubled by the incongruities of life today. But, these are also the words of a man truly aware of mankind's potential for good—of man's ability to create one world, a world for all men.

I commend this speech to my colleagues, and I include it in the RECORD with the sincere hope that Dr. Wald's thought will help us all to become more completely committed to the idea that "our business is with life, not death." The speech follows:

A GENERATION IN SEARCH OF A FUTURE

(By Dr. George Wald)

All of you know that in the last couple of years there has been student unrest breaking at times into violence in many parts of the world: in England, Germany, Italy, Spain, Mexico and needless to say, in many parts of this country. There has been a great deal of discussion as to what it all means. Perfectly clearly it means something different in Mexico from what it does in France, and something different in France from what it does in Tokyo, and something different in Tokyo from what it does in this country. Yet unless we are to assume that students have gone crazy all over the world, or that they have just decided that it's the thing to do, there must be some common meaning.

I don't need to go so far afield to look for that meaning. I am a teacher, and at Harvard, I have a class of about 350 students—men and women—most of them freshmen and sophomores. Over these past few years I have felt increasingly that something is terribly wrong—and this year ever so much more than last. Something has gone sour, in teaching and in learning. It's almost as though there were a widespread feeling that education has become irrelevant.

A lecture is much more of a dialogue than many of you probably appreciate. As you lecture, you keep watching the faces; and information keeps coming back to you all the time. I began to feel, particularly this year, that I was missing much of what was coming back. I tried asking the students, but they didn't or couldn't help me very much.

But I think I know what's the matter, even a little better than they do. I think that this whole generation of students is beset with a profound uneasiness. I don't think that they have yet quite defined its source. I think I understand the reasons for their uneasiness even better than they do. What is more, I share their uneasiness.

What's bothering those students? Some of them tell you it's the Vietnam War. I think the Vietnam War is the most shameful episode in the whole of American history. The concept of War Crimes is an American invention. We've committed many War Crimes in Vietnam; but I'll tell you something interesting about that. We were committing War Crimes in World War II, even before Nuremberg trials were held and the principle of war crimes started. The saturation bombing of German cities was a War Crime and if we had lost the war, some of our leaders might have had to answer for it.

I've gone through all of that history lately, and I find that there's a gimmick in it. It

isn't written out, but I think we established it by precedent. That gimmick is that if one can allege that one is repelling or retaliating for an aggression—after that everything goes. And you see we are living in a world in which all wars are wars of defense. All War Departments are now Defense Departments. This is all part of the double talk of our time. The aggressor is always on the other side. And I suppose this is why our ex-Secretary of State, Dean Rusk—a man in whom repetition takes the place of reason, and stubbornness takes the place of character—went to such pains to insist, as he still insists, that in Vietnam we are repelling an aggression. And if that's what we are doing—so runs the doctrine—anything goes. If the concept of war crimes is ever to mean anything, they will have to be defined as categories of acts, regardless of provocation. But that isn't so now.

I think we've lost that war, as a lot of other people think, too. The Vietnamese have a secret weapon. Its their willingness to die, beyond our willingness to kill. In effect they've been saying, you can kill us, but you'll have to kill a lot of us, you may have to kill all of us. And thank heavens, we are not yet ready to do that.

Yet we have come a long way—far enough to sicken many Americans, far enough even to sicken our fighting men. Far enough so that our national symbols have gone sour. How many of you can sing about "the rockets' red glare, bombs bursting in air" without thinking, those are our bombs and our rockets bursting over South Vietnamese villages? When those words were written, we were a people struggling for freedom against oppression. Now we are supporting real or thinly disguised military dictatorships all over the world, helping them to control and repress peoples all over the world, helping them to control and repress peoples struggling for their freedom.

But that Vietnam War, shameful and terrible as it is, seems to me only an immediate incident in a much larger and more stubborn situation.

Part of my trouble with students is that almost all the students I teach were born since World War II. Just after World War II, a series of new and abnormal procedures came into American life. We regarded them at the time as temporary aberrations. We thought we would get back to normal American life some day. But those procedures have stayed with us now for more than 20 years, and those students of mine have never known anything else. They think those things are normal. They think we've always had a Pentagon, that we have always had a big army, and that we always had a draft. But those are all new things in American life; and I think that they are incompatible with what America meant before.

How many of you realize that just before World War II the entire American army including the Air Force numbered 139,000 men? Then World War II started, but we weren't yet in it; and seeing that there was great trouble in the world, we doubled this army to 268,000 men. Then in World War II it got to be 8 million. And then World War II came to an end, and we prepared to go back to a peacetime army somewhat as the American army had always been before. And indeed in 1950—you think about 1950, our international commitments, the Cold War, the Truman Doctrine, and all the rest of it—in 1950 we got down to 600,000 men.

Now we have 3.5 million men under arms: about 600,000 in Vietnam, about 300,000 more in "support areas" elsewhere in the Pacific, about 250,000 in Germany. And there are a lot at home. Some months ago we were told that 300,000 National Guardsmen and 200,000 reservists had been specially trained for riot duty in the cities.

I say the Vietnam War is just an immediate incident, because so long as we keep that big

army, it will always find things to do. If the Vietnam War stopped tomorrow, with that big a military establishment, the chances are that we would be in another such adventure abroad or at home before you knew it.

As for the draft: Don't reform the draft—get rid of it.

A peacetime draft is the most un-American thing I know. All the time I was growing up I was told about oppressive Central European countries and Russia, where young men were forced into the army; and I was told what they did about it. They chopped off a finger, or shot off a couple of toes; or better still, if they could manage it, they came to this country. And we understood that, and sympathized, and were glad to welcome them.

Now by present estimates four to six thousand Americans of draft age have left this country for Canada, another two or three thousand have gone to Europe, and it looks as though many more are preparing to emigrate.

A few months ago I received a letter from the Harvard Alumni Bulletin posing a series of questions that students might ask a professor involving what to do about the draft. I was asked to write what I would tell those students. All I had to say to those students was this: If any of them had decided to evade the draft and asked my help, I would help him in any way I could. I would feel as I suppose members of the underground railway felt in pre-Civil War days, helping runaway slaves to get to Canada. It wasn't altogether a popular position then; but what do you think of it now?

A bill to stop the draft was recently introduced in the Senate (S. 503), sponsored by a group of senators that ran the gamut from McGovern and Hatfield to Barry Goldwater. I hope it goes through; but any time I find that Barry Goldwater and I are in agreement, that makes one take another look.

And indeed there are choices in getting rid of the draft. I think that when we get rid of the draft, we must also cut back the size of the armed forces. It seems to me that in peacetime a total of one million men is surely enough. If there is an argument for American military forces of more than one million men in peacetime, I should like to hear that argument debated.

There is another thing being said closely connected with this: that to keep an adequate volunteer army, one would have to raise the pay considerably. That's said so positively and often that people believe it. I don't think it is true.

The great bulk of our present armed forces are genuine volunteers. Among first-term enlistments, 49 percent are true volunteers. Another 30 percent are so-called "reluctant volunteers," persons who volunteer under pressure of the draft. Only 21 percent are draftees. All re-enlistments, of course, are true volunteers.

So the great majority of our present armed forces are true volunteers. Whole services are composed entirely of volunteers: the Air Force for example, the Submarine Service, the Marines. That seems like proof to me that present pay rates are adequate. One must add that an Act of Congress in 1967 raised the base pay throughout the services in three installments, the third installment still to come, on April 1, 1969. So it is hard to understand why we are being told that to maintain adequate armed services on a volunteer basis will require large increases in pay; they will cost an extra \$17 billion per year. It seems plain to me that we can get all the armed forces we need as volunteers, and at present rates of pay.

But there is something ever so much bigger and more important than the draft. The bigger thing, of course, is what ex-President Eisenhower warned us of, calling it the military-industrial complex. I am sad to say that we must begin to think of it now as the

military-industrial-labor union complex. What happened under the plea of the Cold War was not alone that we built up the first big peacetime army in our history, but we institutionalized it. We built, I suppose, the biggest government building in our history to run it, and we institutionalized it.

I don't think we can live with the present military establishment and its \$80-100 billion a year budget, and keep America anything like we have known it in the past. It is corrupting the life of the whole country. It is buying up everything in sight: industries, banks, investors, universities; and lately it seems also to have bought up the labor unions.

The Defense Department is always broke; but some of the things they do with that \$80 billion a year would make Buck Rogers envious. For example: The Rocky Mountain Arsenal on the outskirts of Denver was manufacturing a deadly nerve poison on such a scale that there was a problem of waste disposal. Nothing daunted, they dug a tunnel two miles deep under Denver, into which they have injected so much poisoned water that beginning a couple of years ago Denver began to experience a series of earth tremors of increasing severity. Now there is a grave fear of a major earthquake. An interesting debate is in progress as to whether Denver will be safer if that lake of poisoned water is removed or left in place. (N.Y. Times, July 4, 1968; Science, Sept. 27, 1968).

Perhaps you have read also of those 6000 sheep that suddenly died in Skull Valley, Utah, killed by another nerve poison—a strange and, I believe, still unexplained accident, since the nearest testing seems to have been 30 miles away.

As for Vietnam, the expenditure of fire power has been frightening. Some of you may still remember Khe Sanh, a hamlet just south of the Demilitarized Zone, where a force of U.S. Marines was beleaguered for a time. During that period we dropped on the perimeter of Khe Sanh more explosives than fell on Japan throughout World War II, and more than fell on the whole of Europe during the years 1942 and 1943.

One of the officers there was quoted as having said afterward, "It looks like the world caught smallpox and died." (N.Y. Times, Mar. 28, 1968).

The only point of government is to safeguard and foster life. Our government has become preoccupied with death, with the business of killing and being killed. So-called Defense now absorbs 60 percent of the national budget, and about 12 percent of the Gross National Product.

A lively debate is beginning again on whether or not we should deploy antiballistic missiles, the ABM. I don't have to talk about them, everyone else here is doing that. But I should like to mention a curious circumstance. In September, 1967, or about 1½ years ago, we had a meeting of M.I.T. and Harvard people, including experts on these matters, to talk about whether anything could be done to block the Sentinel System, the deployment of ABM's. Everyone present thought them undesirable; but a few of the most knowledgeable persons took what seemed to be the practical view, "Why fight about a dead issue? It has been decided, the funds have been appropriated. Let's go on from there."

Well, fortunately, it's not a dead issue. An ABM is a nuclear weapon. It takes a nuclear weapon to stop a nuclear weapon. And our concern must be with the whole issue of nuclear weapons.

There is an entire semantics ready to deal with the sort of thing I am about to say. It involves such phrases as "those are the facts of life." No—these are the facts of death. I don't accept them, and I advise you not to accept them. We are under repeated pressures to accept things that are

presented to us as settled—decisions that have been made. Always there is the thought: let's go on from there! But this time we don't see how to go on. We will have to stick with those issues.

We are told that the United States and Russia between them have by now stockpiles in nuclear weapons approximately the explosive power of 15 tons of TNT for every man, woman and child on earth. And now it is suggested that we must make more. All very regrettable, of course; but those are "the facts of life." We really would like to disarm; but our new Secretary of Defense has made the ingenious proposal that one must be practical. Now is the time to greatly increase our nuclear armaments so that we can disarm from a position of strength.

I think all of you know there is no adequate defense against massive nuclear attack. It is both easier and cheaper to circumvent any known nuclear defense system than to provide it. It's all pretty crazy. At the very moment we talk of deploying ABM's, we are also building the MIRV, the weapon to circumvent ABM's.

So far as I know, with everything working as well as can be hoped and all foreseeable precautions taken, the most conservative estimates of Americans killed in a major nuclear attack run to about 50 millions. We have become callous to gruesome statistics and this seems at first to be only another gruesome statistic. You think, Bang!—and next morning, if you're still there, you read in the newspapers that 50 million people were killed.

But that isn't the way it happens. When we killed close to 200,000 people with those first little, old-fashioned uranium bombs that we dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, about the same number of persons was maimed, blinded, burned, poisoned and otherwise doomed. A lot of them took a long time to die.

That's the way it would be. Not a bang, and a certain number of corpses to bury; but a nation filled with millions of helpless, maimed, tortured and doomed survivors huddled with their families in shelters, with guns ready to fight off their neighbors, trying to get some uncontaminated food and water.

A few months ago Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia ended a speech in the Senate with the words: "If we have to start over again with another Adam and Eve, I want them to be Americans; and I want them on this continent and not in Europe." That was a United States senator holding a patriotic speech. Well, here is a Nobel Laureate who thinks that those words are criminally insane. (Prolonged applause.)

How real is the threat of full scale nuclear war? I have my own very inexperienced idea, but realizing how little I know and fearful that I may be a little paranoid on this subject, I take every opportunity to ask reputed experts. I asked that question of a very distinguished professor of government at Harvard about a month ago. I asked him what sort of odds he would lay on the possibility of full-scale nuclear war within the foreseeable future. "Oh," he said comfortably, "I think I can give you a pretty good answer to that question. I estimate the probability of full-scale nuclear war, provided that the situation remains about as it is now, at 2 percent per year." Anybody can do the simple calculation that shows that 2 percent per year means that the chance of having that full-scale nuclear war by 1990 is about one in three, and by 2000 it is about 50-50.

I think I know what is bothering the students. I think that what we are up against is a generation that is by no means sure that it has a future.

I am growing old, and my future so to speak is already behind me. But there are those students of mine who are in my mind

always; there are my children, two of them now 7 and 9, whose future is infinitely more precious to me than my own. So it isn't just their generation; it's mine too. We're all in it together.

Are we to have a chance to live? We don't ask for prosperity, or security; only for a reasonable chance to live, to work out our destiny in peace and decency. Not to go down in history as the apocalyptic generation.

And it isn't only nuclear war. Another overwhelming threat is in the population explosion. That has not yet even begun to come under control. There is every indication that the world population will double before the year 2000; and there is a widespread expectation of famine on an unprecedented scale in many parts of the world. The experts tend to differ only in their estimates of when those famines will begin. Some think by 1980, others think they can be staved off until 1990, very few expect that they will not occur by the year 2000.

That is the problem. Unless we can be surer than we now are that this generation has a future, nothing else matters. It's not good enough to give it tender loving care, to supply it with breakfast foods, to buy it expensive educations. Those things don't mean anything unless this generation has a future. And we're not sure that it does.

I don't think that there are problems of youth, or student problems. All the real problems I know are grown-up problems.

Perhaps you will think me altogether absurd, or "academic", or hopelessly innocent—that is, until you think of the alternatives—if I say as I do to you now: we have to get rid of those nuclear weapons. There is nothing worth having that can be obtained by nuclear war: nothing material or ideological, no tradition that it can defend. It is utterly self-defeating. Those atom bombs represent an unusable weapon. The only use for an atom bomb is to keep somebody else from using it. It can give us no protection, but only the doubtful satisfaction of retaliation. Nuclear weapons offer us nothing but a balance of terror; and a balance of terror is still terror.

We have to get rid of those atomic weapons, here and everywhere. We cannot live with them.

I think we've reached a point of great decision, not just for our nation, not only for all humanity, but for life upon the Earth. I tell my students, with a feeling of pride that I hope they will share, that the carbon, nitrogen and oxygen that makes up 99 percent of our living substance, were cooked in the deep interiors of earlier generations of dying stars. Gathered up from the ends of the universe, over billions of years, eventually they came to form in part the substance of our sun, its planets and ourselves. Three billion years ago life arose upon the Earth. It is the only life in the solar system. Many a star has since been born and died.

About two million years ago, man appeared. He has become the dominant species on the Earth. All other living things, animal and plant, live by his sufferance. He is the custodian of life on Earth, and in the solar system. It's a big responsibility. The thought that we're in competition with Russians or with Chinese is all a mistake, and trivial. We are one species, with a world to win. There's life all over this universe, but the only life in the solar system is on Earth; and in the whole universe, we are the only men.

Our business is with life, not death. Our challenge is to give what account we can of what becomes of life in the solar system, this corner of the universe that is our home and, most of all, what becomes of men—all men of all nations, colors and creeds. It has become one world, a world for all men. It is only such a world that now can offer us life and the chance to go on.

FINDS SUBJECT IN OBITUARY

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Anthony Pitrone, of Dearborn Heights in my congressional district, has recently had a biography published. It is the story of the late Frances Reed Elliott Davis, the first Negro nurse in the American Red Cross.

Mrs. Pitrone's biography is entitled "Trailblazer," and is a most excellent work. It was reviewed recently in the Dearborn Heights Leader by Mrs. Bernadette Plunkett, and under unanimous consent I include Mrs. Plunkett's article in the RECORD:

HEIGHTS WOMAN'S BOOK PUBLISHED: FINDS SUBJECT IN OBITUARY

(By Bernadette Plunkett)

We couldn't put it down . . . not even for a few minutes.

From the back stoop near the sweet scented magnolias of North Carolina, through the grimy smoky city of furnaces where closely packed frame houses clung to sides of steep Pennsylvania hills, to the cold and cheerless winters facing jobless residents of Inkster (Michigan) in the early 1930's . . . we followed Frances Reed Elliott (later Mrs. William A. Davis) through the 186 pages of Trailblazer in one day.

We shared the loneliness of an orphaned quadron as she was shifted from one guardian to another.

We admired her for the manner in which she both met challenges among the Negroes, and broke down racial barriers among the white . . . with unflagging persistence and quiet dignity.

We cried, we grimaced, we smiled and sighed as Mrs. Davis lent her skill and strength wherever and whenever help was needed . . . in national crises like the two World Wars, the Spanish influenza epidemic of 1918, the Depression . . . and in more ordinary circumstances like a friend's illness, the birth of a baby, a friend's death.

Dearborn Heights' own Jean Pitrone has written a truly moving story of a dedicated and remarkable woman who not only persuaded many Negroes to better their conditions and pursue an education, but also influenced prominent people like the late Eleanor Roosevelt and Henry Ford in helping the people of her race.

Unfortunately for Jean, she never had the opportunity to meet Mrs. Davis personally. She found her subject in an obituary column.

A prolific writer whose articles have been published in a variety of magazines, Jean had wanted to do a biography for years. "I was always searching," Jean told us. "Biographies had already been done on all the well-known people I could care to write about. I realized I had to find someone relatively unknown, but who had led a fascinating life," she explained.

A 1965 obituary carried the name of Frances Reed Elliott (Mrs. William A.) Davis. "When I read that Mrs. Davis had received an honor from the American Red Cross, I thought I might have a subject. Upon visiting the Red Cross office in Detroit, and talking to the people there, I was convinced," said Jean.

"Mrs. Davis had been the first Negro nurse to be officially enrolled in the American Red Cross," she explained.

Jean spent hours listening to tapes of Mrs. Davis' reminiscences. "They were an immense help," Jean said, "but there were gaping holes I had to fill."

She wrote countless letters, made visits south and to Washington, D.C. to familiarize herself with the local color of the places where Mrs. Davis had lived and to talk with people who had known her.

She steeped herself in nursing, reading everything she could on visiting nurses, Negro nursing, and nursing in general. Jean also read many books on the history of Detroit and other cities in which her subject had lived.

The local history is especially interesting . . . the soup, rice and beef stew Inkster residents lined up to get from the commissary Henry Ford set up at the request of Mrs. Davis . . . the pre-school nursery at Carver School . . . the reference to Robichaud High School . . . and the names of piano students of Mr. Davis.

And all this adds up to a most absorbing biography which is especially timely. The more interesting feature is that Jean Pitrone had the foresight to begin writing it over three years ago . . . before the current interest in Negro history.

An autograph reception honoring the late Mrs. Davis and the first edition publication of her biography, *Trailblazer*, is being hosted today by the Southeastern Michigan Chapter of the American Red Cross. Jean Maddern Pitrone will personally autograph copies of her book.

(Published by Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc. March 6, the book sells for \$4.25. It will also be available at the Dearborn Heights public library soon.)

Jean Maddern always fancied herself as a writer. A child of the depression years, her parents managed to provide a musical education for her. But even with piano, organ, and vocal lessons as an absorbing hobby, Jean wrote plays for the neighborhood children which they "produced." Her poems were published in her Ishpeming (in Michigan's upper peninsula) High School annual.

Writing was pushed aside for awhile after her marriage to Anthony Pitrone and the subsequent birth of five children. But midst her daily concern with babies and diapers, Jean was determined to make a serious attempt at writing again. Even with the addition of four more children to the Pitrone family, Jean began writing articles and was successful in having many of them published.

With the children ranging in age from six to 26, this is the first year Mrs. Pitrone has not had a youngster underfoot. And never having been able to adhere to a writing schedule, Jean is able to lose herself in an article in front of the television, as long as things are running relatively smoothly in the household.

She has already completed another biography. It is the story of Father Colombo, missionary to Burma, whom she compares to Dr. Tom Dooley and Dr. Schweitzer.

A staff speaker for Oakland University's Writer's Conference, Jean has also taught an adult education course in magazine article writing. She is a guest member of the creative writing group of the American Association of University Women, a member of Detroit Women Writers and the Women's National Book Association and presently is serving as an editorial associate for *Writer's Digest Magazine*.

INCREASE THE AMOUNT OF OUTSIDE EARNINGS PERMITTED UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing legislation which

would permit those on social security to earn more money without suffering a reduction in present benefits.

This is the same bill that I introduced in the 90th Congress, and while I was pleased that the 90th Congress was able to raise the outside earnings limitation from \$1,500 to \$1,680, I feel that this ceiling should be raised further.

The bill that I am introducing would permit a person who is presently receiving social security benefits to earn \$2,500 without suffering a loss of present benefits.

In 1968 alone, inflation cut almost 5 percent out of the value of the dollar, and those hardest hit by this drastic increase are retirees and other senior citizens on fixed incomes. The real tragedy is that most of these individuals are mentally and physically capable of gainful employment but do not wish to suffer a loss in social security benefits which they built up during their younger working years.

I believe that our society and indeed, the business community and economy of this Nation could greatly benefit from the energies, talents, and knowledge of many of our retirees, but existing law penalizes them when they seek to offer their abilities to the Nation.

I am hopeful that the House Ways and Means Committee can consider this legislation at the earliest possible date.

CAMPUS DISORDERS

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, the serious problem of campus disorders is still very much in the news and over the past year I have addressed myself to this situation both here on the floor of the House and in public meetings as well. In addition, I have inserted in the *RECORD* from time to time articles and editorials addressed to the problem. In keeping with that practice, I include the following in the *RECORD* at this point:

First. An editorial from the *Peoria Journal Star*, March 10, 1969, "Bradley University Statement Sound";

Second. An address by Dr. David D. Henry, president, University of Illinois, "Something Old, Something New, on the University as a Creative or Innovative Force in Society"; and

Third. An article from the March 9, 1969, edition to the *Chicago Tribune* reporting the views of Prof. Charles V. Hamilton, of Roosevelt University in Chicago.

The material referred to follows:

[From the *Peoria (Ill.) Journal Star*, Mar. 10, 1969]

BRADLEY UNIVERSITY STATEMENT SOUND

Bradley's statement of principles is balanced and sound. It is neither a white nor a black orientation.

It recognizes a fundamental problem which the recent Irish-American funsters overlooked, and yet by their very antics emphasized. What made the Irish-American satire a comic performance was the obvious fact that these "Irish-Americans" don't need the

things they demanded. The demands were not only not serious, but absurd because no such need exists. Hence, satire!

Yet, there was a time when there was an intense "revival" of Gaelic, a mystic philosophical reverence for a glorious old "pastoral paradise" which was a mythical Irish past, glorification of a handful of second-rate and obscure patriotic Irish "poets" and artists, and militant "Fenian" societies.

(For a time many of the truly great Irish men of letters, etc., were regarded as the Irish equivalent of "Uncle Toms.")

The Irish have outgrown those obvious feelings of a once intense need for special identity, and acquired confidence in their individual identities as persons independent of such artificial window-dressing.

EFFECTIVE EDUCATION

The fact that this was now a joke to them only underlines the obvious truth that they have a confident and comfortable place in society that the Black Students Alliance people do not share. It only cries out the louder that there is an empty space for the Black students that desperately needs filling.

Filling it is not the business of Bradley university, nor does Bradley have the resources for such a task—but, insofar as it relates to making the university's educational task effective for Americans regardless of race, the university does have some responsibility in the matter.

The statement faces that fact, and recognizes where the line of responsibility begins and ends calmly, carefully, and with great balance and judgment.

At the same time, with an example of activity or a tactic that steps out of the bounds of tolerability, the university has made it clear that complementing its efforts to do its appropriate share to make educational opportunities fit the different situations, violations of civil rights will not be tolerated.

It is tragic when in the confusion of these problems the sacred and fundamental civil rights of any student, white or black, is arrogantly abused or ignored—and that struggle must go forward on behalf of the black student. It has not been fully accomplished yet.

It is certainly unfortunate when the struggle is diverted and confused by any incident which makes it necessary to protect the civil rights of white students.

Such actions are a self-indulgence that injures the causes the Black Student Alliance has embraced by violating the very principle on which their claims must stand, and by confusing the issues and the merits of their case.

Fortunately, Bradley university has not let itself be confused, and the administration has laid out the problem, its proper aims and capacities, and the inescapable rules by which the school must operate on these matters if it is to be a workable and responsible academic institution.

The statement of principles was unruffled, balanced, and sound.

It will have to be implemented with conviction whichever way the ball bounces, regardless of race, of course.

SOMETHING OLD, SOMETHING NEW ON THE UNIVERSITY AS A CREATIVE OR INNOVATIVE FORCE IN SOCIETY

(Address by David D. Henry, president, University of Illinois, Charter Day Convocation, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, March 9, 1969)

A birthday celebration is a happy event for all involved. In reminiscence, trials and tribulations of the past diminish in force, successes become symbols of the future, and life's faith and purpose are renewed in the good will of family and friends.

It is in this mood that we assemble today to "pay our respects" to Southern Illinois

University at the opening of its observance of its centenary and to bring greetings, good wishes and congratulations to its faculty, students, alumni, officers and trustees. Officially, I can speak only for the University of Illinois, but as colleague and friend, I know that our sentiments are those of the institutions of higher education generally and of the citizens of Illinois.

The record of growth of this institution from uncertain beginnings to distinguished maturity, from many moments of crisis to achievements of enormous usefulness to state and nation, from periods of discouragement to the confidence of wide appreciation and recognition in the higher education community—could not have been specifically foretold. Now, we may look back and say that it could not have been otherwise. The University's destiny was determined by the social need for the people who have been graduated, for the services provided, by the ideas produced, and by the leadership which matched plans with those needs.

It is a reflection of the continuing determination of the University to look ahead—often eloquently expressed by President Morris, and reinforced by his colleagues in administration, by the faculty and the trustees—that the theme for the Centennial celebration has been defined as "The University as a Creative or Innovative Force in Society."

This subject will be treated fully and from many aspects in the period ahead. I am relieved in my assignment as first speaker in the series not to have to do any more than define our terms and describe the setting. This I shall try to do under the subtitle, "Something Old, Something New."

That the university is a creative and innovative force in society has been and is still a widely accepted belief. Dissent on the general point comes chiefly from the highly vocal but relatively small number of revolutionaries and nihilists who would destroy the present social structure totally, including the university.

At the same time, the question as to whether or not the university is sufficiently creative and innovative is now debated more thoughtfully and critically than in any previous generation. It is timely, therefore, that this question be considered in all of its facets and implications.

The subject is timely not only because people are talking about it; to fulfill public expectations and its own potential for service to society, in planning the future, higher education needs more than expressions of faith and fragmentary illustrations from past and present performance. Sustained and systematic measurement of the creative and innovative contributions of the university has been comprehensively undertaken in but a few instances. Consequently, what evolves from discussions and studies sponsored in the Centennial program of Southern Illinois University may have an important bearing on the future course of higher education generally.

The present role of the university has had both poetic and philosophical exposition and for most of us, this has been enough to reinforce what we have been doing and to provide a platform for the work that we conceive needs to be done.

The current faith in higher education was explicitly stated by President Lyndon Johnson in his 1968 educational message to the Congress: "... For now we call upon higher education to play a new and more ambitious role in our social progress, our economic development, our efforts to help other countries.

"We depend upon the universities—their training, research and extension services—for the knowledge which undergirds agricultural and industrial production.

"Increasingly, we look to higher education to provide the key to better employment opportunities and a more rewarding life for our citizens.

"As never before, we look to the colleges and universities—to their faculties, laboratories, research institutes and study centers—for help with every problem in our society and with the efforts we are making toward peace in the world."

President Johnson here stated the case for the university as an agent in social progress. He also reflected the view of professional economists who regard the education of students, and the discovery of knowledge and its application through public service, as an investment, not an expense. It follows that the state or nation that will not make this investment will lose ground in the struggle for human and social advancement, whether the objective be an enlightened, humane citizenry, economic stability, or effective self-government.

Beyond social progress and economic benefits, a third element in the public faith in the university as a creative and innovative force lies in what higher education means in the development of individual talents. The search to know is more compelling than the search for food or for life itself. Each of us has witnessed the examples to support the point that education has been and continues to be the chief means of social mobility in a democratic society; and most of us believe that such mobility is more precious to the stability of American life today than ever before. It is the quality which holds us together, and it must be preserved with even wider application than has been true in the past. Democracy cannot promise that there will be no economic or cultural dividing lines among people. It does promise that every one should have the chance to develop to the fullest his capability to cross those lines.

The recently published report of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, entitled "Quality and Equality: New Levels of Federal Responsibility for Higher Education," outlines the national expectations in the following assertions:

"More and more Americans, with aspirations for a better life, assume the necessity of a college education.

"Equality of opportunity through education, including higher education, is beginning to appear as a realistic goal for the less privileged young members of our society.

"The economy is dependent upon basic research and advancing technology, and upon the higher skills needed to make that technology effective, to assure national economic growth and well-being.

"More managers, teachers, and professionals of all sorts are required to serve our complex society. More health personnel are essential to staff the fastest-growing segment of the national endeavor.

"The cultural contributions of higher education take on wider dimensions as rising levels of education and growing affluence and leisure make possible greater concern with the quality of life in the United States.

"Above all, the nation and the world depend crucially upon rigorous and creative ideas for the solution to profoundly complex issues."¹

The remainder of the Report supports the approach previously suggested—continuing evaluation is a necessity in planning and reviewing priorities for future development in order to sustain the continuing viability of the system.

For example, a new priority for an old idea has been suggested by recent debate. The voices of youth tell us that there is a strong desire not only for education for a job, not only preparation for professional and vocational competence but for freedom to live by

values which go beyond materialistic goals. That this aspiration is not a new one, people over thirty may attest; and the barriers to individual freedom to set and live by goals of one's own choosing in our present world are often more imaginary than real. But surely the university community must be visibly aligned with and sympathetic to encouraging improvement in human relationships and opportunities for personal fulfillment as well as preparing workers for the pragmatic work of the world. Injustices manifested in racism, black and white, ethnic discrimination and failures in human relationships should be areas of particular concern to scholars, teachers and students.

"Enhancing the quality of life" is a phrase often used to encompass these concerns. To be meaningful, however, one must go beyond such abstractions and general goals, beyond confrontation and political campaign rhetoric, and deal with specific problems. Some of these were identified by the House of Representatives Subcommittee on Science Development in 1966: protecting the natural environment, providing new sources of energy, stimulating transportation innovations, diminishing urban congestion, enhancing adequate housing, improving food production and distribution, alleviation of crime, upgrading the quality of education, protecting the national health.²

Arraying the tasks awaiting greater university involvement will not by itself be productive, however. Indeed, the university may become less effective, even damaged, unless its essential character is recognized and respected. Since the influence of the university is exercised chiefly through the individuals it serves, basic is the expectation that the individual student will grow in mental stature, in wisdom in human affairs, and in dedication to improvement of the conditions of life, presumably by rational means.

Happily, youthful criticism notwithstanding, we do not start work now. We merely advance it.

Let those who are under 30 remember that they are not the first idealists; that they are not the first missionaries in social service; that they are not the first to dream of improvements in our social structure. Indeed, it has been theirs to reap the harvest of others' efforts—notably the broad freedom from material concerns that enable many to pursue new social goals freely.

On this formal Centennial assembly, we may appropriately give recognition in particular to those on the long roll call of people associated with Southern Illinois University who gave beyond normal duty and expectations because they believed in educational opportunity for youth; who worked to enlarge the University's capabilities and to enhance its service because they believed that education generates the ways and means for the improvement of society and for individual growth; who believed in the life of the mind as essential to new ideas, new knowledge, and new ways to enrich and enhance the lives of people and to strengthen the structure and order for the achievement of these ends.

It is no accident that the university is a prime target for attack by revolutionaries and anarchists. By instinct or design they appreciate that of all the forces in con-

¹ Don E. Kash, "Public Demands on the University: The Pattern of the Future" (prepared for the CIC Council on Economic Growth, Technology and Public Policy, August, 1967) (U.S. Congress, House Subcommittee on Science, Research, and Development of the Committee on Science and Astronautics, *Inquiries, Legislation, Policy Studies Re: Science and Technology*, 2nd Progress Report, 89th Congress, 2nd Session, 1966, pp. 21-25).

² Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (A Special Report and Recommendations by the Commission, December, 1968), "Quality and Equality: New Levels of Federal Responsibility for Higher Education," McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1968, p. 1.

temporary society, what the university stands for and what it tries to do for the betterment of conditions of human life are vital resources in the continuing regeneration of our present social system. The university, while subject to criticism and improvement, remains productive in the advancement of society on all fronts; hence, in the minds of extremists of the political right or left, the university must be shackled or destroyed before society can be reordered by their standards.

The destructionists, of whatever persuasion, are a small group, however, and must be carefully differentiated from those who have sincere proposals to offer and protests to make. There is a wide difference between the critical idealist who seeks improvement and the revolutionary who would destroy before he would reconstruct, he knows not what.

And yet, even some of the non-violent critics of universities must be questioned on the propriety of their methods. Confrontation tactics, when peaceful and not in violation of rule or law, under the laws and traditions of our public life, must be tolerated but they need not be endorsed, approved, or encouraged as appropriate for an academic community. The concepts of "demands" and "ultimatums" belong to other arenas, not the academic.

It is an unhappy paradox that the institution which stands for reason and intellectual analysis in deliberative discussion as a basis for problem solving should be the scene of picket lines and assertive demonstrations, that the most vivid examples of anti-intellectualism in the United States should be on the university campuses. Slogans, placards and bull horns are not the appropriate instruments of intelligent decision making. The only power that should prevail in university life is the merit of an idea—an idea openly advanced and opened to free debate by all concerned.

Those of us who believe in the university as a creative and innovative force in society have confidence that whatever change is desirable in structure, mode of operation or in general objectives will come by the process which has sustained the university in its long history—namely, research, experimentation, rational analysis and thoughtful deliberation and discussion.

In stressing this point, students and citizens generally must perceive the uniqueness of the university as an organization. It is not a government, although it has regulations to govern its life. It is not a business corporation, although it must act like one in ordering some of its affairs. It is not a public agency for non-educational services, although it encourages humane services for its own and other people. It is not a city, with authority delegated from its residents, although the ideas of its constituencies must be evaluated. It is not a political instrument for social action although its members, as individuals, are free as citizens to be partisans if they choose.

Put positively, a university is a community where, to quote Masfield:

"Seekers and learners alike,
Banded together in the search for knowledge,
Will honor thought in all its finer ways,
Will welcome thinkers . . .
Will uphold ever the dignity of thought and learning
And will exact standards in these things."

At the center of the articles of faith which bind us together in our work in an academic community is insistence upon reason, upon respect for the views of others and their right to express them, upon intellectual humility which acknowledges the vast world of learning which lies beyond our own personal mastery. I believe that the concept of the intellectual community will continue to determine the framework for decisions in

university governance, and for the enforcement of existing laws and regulations until they are changed by established, orderly procedures.

In these remarks, I have identified the expectations for the university in meeting social and individual needs and suggested the nature of the university's most appropriate stance in meeting such current internal and external pressures.

While the map of university progress in the future is obscured by the climatic problems with which we must deal in our time, we may be reassured that what the university has to offer the people and communities, states and nation, is desperately needed.

Fundamental changes in American life have occurred and now constitute a new context for our work. Others are in the making. The tensions of war, race relations at home and the complex problems accompanying the rise of underdeveloped countries are but several of the items on the agenda for tomorrow which will affect our colleges and universities as well as all other aspects of American life.

The basic wants of our people, as in any country, developed or underdeveloped, have to do with food, housing, employment, health care, education and a satisfying social life. The elements in this list are easily identified, but supplying them equitably and adequately is exceedingly complex. Solutions to the problems involved will require a large input from university-trained people and from the scholars and investigators on the campuses of the nation. The tasks are awesome, and the stakes are high; hence, the challenge and the opportunities are the greater. Each of us as individuals and each college and university may be grateful to have a part in what another has called, "The Grandest of Enterprises."

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Tribune, Mar. 9, 1969]

COLLEGES THAT MEET DEMANDS BLINDLY HIT

Charles V. Hamilton, a Negro professor at Roosevelt university, yesterday criticized white university administrators who "blindly give in to the demands of black students just to keep them quiet."

Hamilton said he agrees with most black student demands. He said he believes most of them are legitimate.

"I am not hitting at the black students," said Hamilton, a leading exponent of black power. "I am hitting at whites who say 'let's just give them what they want.' These administrators are not doing any good for themselves, the blacks, or society."

CREATES PATERNALISM

"It is easy to say he [a Negro] has been oppressed for so long—like patting a child on the head just to keep him quiet."

He said these administrators are creating a "new kind of paternalism" and warned that they are creating "a new role—the black man's honky. We had the white man's nigger for years."

The demands of black students, Hamilton said, should bring about "an intellectual re-examination of the whole curriculum" of a university. The demands are "improving education for all—both black and white," he said.

"You can't raise the curriculum for blacks without looking at the whole picture."

MUST KNOW REASON

Administrators, he said, "must know why the demands are made. If they accept demands blindly without giving thought or examination, the whole purpose is lost. I'm not asking an administrator to give in to demands unless he studies them."

Hamilton is the chairman of Roosevelt's political science department. He co-authored the book, "Black Power," with Stokely Carmichael, the black militant.

"I want white people to protect their integrity," Hamilton said. "In these times when black people are clearly making demands to recognize their integrity, nothing is gained by having white Americans lose their integrity."

"I, as a black man, will have gained nothing if, in the process of asserting or discovering my identity, I have to subordinate or squelch another person's identity."

Hamilton said he is completing a book on the black student movement which will "amaze people." In researching the book, he has visited 79 colleges and universities and said he has found that "most white professors and some black professors do not know why students are making demands."

INSINCERE IN DEALINGS

He said many of these professors are "willing to succumb to anything without understanding it."

Many university administrators in Chicago are "insincere" in their dealings with black student demands, Hamilton said. He declined to name them, but he did praise the administration of Northwestern University for "understanding" the problems faced by black students.

When asked if some of the demands made by black students on various campuses were outlandish, Hamilton replied:

"Every social movement has its excesses. Each university has to determine excesses on the basis of negotiation. Each should not accept demands blindly."

PRESIDENT NIXON'S ABM DECISION

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, I have been expressing my reservations over deployment of the Johnson-McNamara concept of an ABM system since October of 1967. Those reservations—and my consequent votes against deployment funds on several occasions—were based on my doubts about a city-oriented system's effectiveness at present, the prospect that such a system might become obsolete before its deployment could even be completed, and the possibility that Russia might consider our step in such a direction as being provocative enough to respond with a further escalation of the arms race that we, almost inevitably, might be compelled to follow.

President Nixon—to whom I personally presented my views on this complicated question last Tuesday night at the White House—has had to consider these objections along with all the other pros and cons involved in the growing national debate over an ABM system before announcing his decision on it last Friday noon.

Whether or not his decision was the right one remains to be seen—and, for the moment, I would like to reserve my option of supporting it or not.

It does seem clear that he has ordered a substantial modification of the original Johnson-McNamara plan and, so far so good, for that plan needed the kind of Presidential review it has been receiving and, in my judgment, substantial modification. The Nixon approach—which I am sure some see as a fence-straddling

one, though I certainly do not—is to switch whatever protection an ABM umbrella could now provide from certain selected American cities to two of our numerous Minuteman sites; just two at the moment, with the first of those not expected to be completed before 1973—though more such sites could also be brought under such an umbrella if some sort of reliable arms-control agreement with the Russians cannot be worked out.

Prof. Hans A. Bethe, of Cornell University—a Nobel prize-winning physicist and an acknowledged expert in this difficult and uncertain field—commented on such a modified system in his testimony, a week ago last Wednesday, before the Disarmament Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and with respect to a Minuteman-oriented ABM system said:

I am in favor of such a scheme.

Proceeding further, Dr. Bethe explained:

My main reason is that such a deployment would stabilize the situation rather than the opposite. You are all familiar with the theory of the stable deterrent in which both the Soviet Union and the United States can absorb an initial attack by the other, and are still able to retaliate. Thereby the chance of such an initial attack is greatly diminished, certainly as long as neither party wishes to commit suicide. In this framework, and I do not know any reasonable substitute for this framework, it is vital to preserve our retaliatory capability. This is well assured at the present. But if the MIRV concept can be developed to its ultimate conclusion, and if the MIRV can be aimed with very great accuracy, our landbased missiles may some time in the future be in jeopardy. For such an eventuality, ABM defending our Minuteman silos would be a very sensible countermove . . . (though) it is not the only one possible.

It is with respect to whatever alternatives may exist to the President's modified plan that I wish to now direct my own study and why, until that study has been completed, I wish to temporarily reserve my own judgment on Mr. Nixon's decision.

As I see those alternatives—absent an arms-control agreement we can rely upon which is the best possible alternative—they include the possibility of further "hardening" of our ICBM sites, perhaps by the introduction of "super-hard" silos immune to even direct hits, switching our primary reliance from our land-based retaliatory ICBM's to our submarine-based missile force, and the like. They would also seem to include a reworking of the Sentinel-Sprint system from a city-oriented one to a simpler and possibly therefore cheaper Minuteman-oriented one.

For whatever it may be worth, I have continued to believe we had time to spare for such a further restudy of the whole ABM question and of the alternatives, if there are truly any, to the plan Mr. Nixon has now settled on; but, in view of the long leadtime required for putting any sort of plan into effect, this is a matter of judgment and I can well understand why the President has come down on the side of caution.

There remains the question of the effect of the Nixon decision on his—and our—hopes for productive arms talks

with the Russians. It is almost useless to speculate about this, but I was glad to note—from the Senate hearings—that Dr. Bethe's views about the effect of such a modified system on the pending arms talks seem to agree with Mr. Nixon's for Dr. Bethe told the subcommittee:

I would imagine that the Russians would feel much less threatened by such a (modified) system . . . (for) it would preserve our posture of assured destruction and deterrent and not add any element of damage limitation.

Of one thing I am sure—and that is that we should all be grateful to our President for the obviously careful, and one can imagine also prayerful, consideration he has given to this terribly complex and difficult question, and for his willingness to bare his own wrestling with it to the public so that it can try to understand the reasoning that lay behind, and therefore share in, his decision.

This, in all respects, is in full compliance with the concept of the "open-Presidency" that Mr. Nixon promised the American people, and is something that stands in sharp contrast to the attitudes and methods of the preceding administration.

Mr. Speaker, the foregoing remarks were prepared last Friday—for release at that time and for insertion in the RECORD today.

However, in yesterday's Washington Sunday Star, Dr. Bethe is described as stating that, though a system like that now planned by the President may be needed sometime in the future to defend our Minuteman force, and could do the job effectively, it is a mistake to deploy it now.

With respect to Dr. Bethe, the Star story included this paragraph:

Protection of the Minuteman is sensible, it is stabilizing, he said. It is a good answer if the Soviets develop MIRV (multiple warheads), but they have only just started. There is no need to do this now.

This criticism of the President's timing caused me to go back and take another look at the transcript of Dr. Bethe's testimony before the Senate subcommittee, and therein I found him also saying:

The Russians may be able to have enough MIRV's of enough accuracy to attack our Minutemen successfully. They do not now. It is not foreseeable when it will happen. It surely will not be next year. It probably will not be for quite a number of years. They need both the MIRV and the tremendous accuracy required to hit such a strong silo successfully before this is a real threat to our Minuteman system. If and when such a threat develops, then I think we should do something about it.

Well, now, Mr. Speaker, as against that opinion, we have to compare this flat statement in the President's formal announcement of his decision:

The Soviet Union is continuing the deployment of very large missiles with warheads capable of destroying our hardened Minuteman forces.

And these sentences from the Secretary of Defense's "fact sheet" on the ABM problem as also released last Friday:

The Soviet ICBM program has not levelled off as we had hoped. In fact, if anything, it

has accelerated and they are continuing to deploy their big missiles. They have also tested Multiple Reentry Vehicles which deployed in large numbers and, coupled with greatly improved accuracy, could give them a potential for a first strike against Minuteman if we took no countermeasures.

Then, finally, there is also the President's explanation about deployment of the first ABM "safeguard" at a missile site taking until 1973 to complete, in the course of which we find him saying:

Any further delay would set this date back by at least two years.

Apparently because of the loss of momentum the program might thereby suffer.

I suppose, then, the question involved here is when does a potential threat actually become a threat, and the answer—as I said earlier—is a matter of judgment with Mr. Nixon having come down on the side of caution, even though he carefully stated that—

The program for fiscal year 1970 is the minimum necessary to maintain the security of our Nation.

Well, Mr. Speaker, who truly knows the nature and extent of that "minimum" step necessary to maintain our security? It is, at best, a debatable point and one can therefore assume that the debate will go on.

Meanwhile, let us keep our eye on the main chance in all this, which is that—for whatever their reasons—the Soviets may now be willing to work with us toward getting a workable, safe agreement to bring the arms race under control.

And let us give President Nixon our full and wholehearted support as he continues to move, as I believe he is, toward the day when such Soviet willingness can be fully explored and, hopefully, such an agreement consummated.

HUNGARIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, Louis Kossuth once said:

From Russia no sun will ever rise, there is sky and air and water there; but to find the sunlight where it most spreads and lightens the path of freedom, we must come to America; for it should be remembered, that the United States is west of Europe, it is east of Asia; and from this east, light may again dawn on that benighted region.

This statement was made more than a century ago by Louis Kossuth, who sought to raise a republic, where man would be free from tyranny and oppression, where religious and civil liberties would prevail, and the Christian morality was the true freedom of international justice.

The anniversary of Hungary's War for Independence of 1848 was commemorated all over America on Saturday, March 15, 1969, as Hungarian Independence Day. Accordingly, it was a fitting

occasion for all of America to demonstrate sympathy and understanding of the aspirations of the Hungarian nation for freedom and independence, and to give recognition to the contributions of Hungarians, both in world history and to our own American heritage.

PRESIDENT NIXON RIGHT ON ABM DECISION

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, I support the decision of President Nixon to move ahead with a modified anti-ballistic-missile system. My views are summed up in the statement I issued to the press on Friday last, the date of the President's announcement on this subject. At that time I said:

I believe the President came up with about the best approach to the problem that could be made in view of current world problems. I'm not happy about having to build an ABM system. I'd much rather spend the money to develop water resources, or upgrade education, or make our streets safer, for example. But, with both the Russians and the Chinese continuing to move ahead with their own nuclear capabilities, I think we have no reasonable alternative but to construct the ABM system.

An interesting and incisive commentary on the President's decision was carried in an editorial in the March 15 issue of the Ogden Standard-Examiner. The editorial's message is one with which I agree, and I commend it to my colleagues for their consideration:

ABM DECISION BOLSTERS MINUTEMAN

President Richard M. Nixon's decision to press for construction of a "safeguard program" of anti-ballistic missiles underlines the importance placed on the Utah-made Minuteman missiles as the "bedrock" of U.S. defenses.

The new Republican President, after lengthy conferences with military and civilian leaders, told a Friday news conference that two ABM bases will be operational by 1973 if his recommendations are followed.

One would help guard the 200-missile Minuteman silo complex, America's first, around Malmstrom Air Force Base at Great Falls in north-central Montana.

The second would protect the nation's newest Minuteman base at Grand Forks, North Dakota, where 150 of the latest models of the Utah-built, solid-fuel intercontinental ballistic missiles are war-ready in their deep silos. The Nixon plan differs in several respects from the ABM program announced in October, 1967 by the Johnson administration.

President Johnson and his then-Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara, proposed putting a "thin line" of Sentinel missiles around America's key cities.

This brought protests—ill-founded we believe—that such placement would endanger the cities by making them prime targets as well as being subject to damage should a nuclear warhead accidentally detonate.

Some of the most vigorous protests came from Salt Lake City, one of the Sentinel sites posed in the Johnson-McNamara program.

Mr. Nixon has taken this into consideration in ordering the initial ABM installations around the Montana and North Dakota Minuteman bases.

Both are located in areas where population density is comparatively sparse.

If the Nixon plan is followed, we agree that our land-based retaliatory forces—the Minuteman missiles—will be protected against what the President termed any possible "direct attack" by the Soviet Union, as well as against the nuclear weapons launched by Red China.

The Great Falls and Grand Forks Sentinel squadrons, by their strategic locations on the northern approaches to 48 of our states, should also be capable of blunting the damage that might be caused by accidental missile launches by either Russia or China.

President Nixon's "safeguard" ABM system is, we feel, a logical compromise between an elaborate antiballistic missile network and the current, unguarded, system of ICBM bases.

The "doves" will continue to maintain that any form of ABM network will jeopardize the possibility of long-range peace with the Soviet Union.

Russia will certainly issue statements following the same "soft" line and charging that the United States—only a few hours after approval by our Senate of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty—had escalated the arms race.

Such an attitude is typical of the Communists.

They already have an ABM network around their main cities and major missile bases, where the Russian version of the Minuteman is in place and readily capable of striking the heart of our nation.

So we can expect the USSR propaganda would favor keeping the United States ICBM network vulnerable to a missile attack.

The Reds always cry "do as we say, not as we do."

The \$6.7 billion requested by President Nixon to construct the two Sentinel bases would, we believe, be a wise investment in security for our country.

A CRUCIAL STEP

HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, Americans must welcome last week's ratification of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty by the Senate with relief and determination: relief that we have negotiated another step toward making the world a safer place, and determination to continue on this path of sanity.

We have already taken two earlier steps by agreeing to the limited test ban treaty and the ban on placing weapons of mass destruction in outer space. These set our course in the direction of peace, and last week—with ratification of this important new measure—we stayed on course.

With this treaty, we may hope to curb the proliferation of nuclear powers and slow down the multiplying dangers which are bound to occur if more and more states obtain nuclear weapons. No one pretends that this treaty will eliminate all of the dangers. It will not. It does cut down on the dangers, however.

By the terms of the treaty, signatories agree not to provide other countries with nuclear weapons, and not to assist them in developing their own. And signatory states that do not have nuclear weapons agree not to manufacture or acquire

them. So far, 87 countries have signed the treaty.

It is, of course, extremely unfortunate that two nuclear powers, France and China, have not signed the treaty. But even without their signatures, the treaty has a very real value in pledging the nonnuclear signatories not to accept nuclear weapons from nuclear nations.

And this treaty is essential if we are going to avoid further instability and the risk of nuclear disaster in tomorrow's world. Without this treaty, it is estimated that a dozen more countries could be getting nuclear weapons within the next 2 years.

While we recognize that the agreement does not bring the millennium, it is a step away from the terror of Armageddon.

Mr. Speaker, it also is a positive step toward further understanding. One vital part of the treaty is article VI, which places the nuclear-weapon states under certain disarmament obligations. Article VI declares that:

Each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

Fortunately, this country's determination to lessen the dangers of a nuclear war on this planet were underscored by the Senate's overwhelming, bipartisan vote of ratification. The vote of 83 to 15 was taken after a long debate.

A few Senators were afraid the treaty would commit us to defend every other country in the world. This was shown to be groundless. The treaty carries no provision of this sort, and the Senate has assurances from both the present and the former Secretaries of State that no interpretation of this kind can be made. Dean Rusk told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last year that "as a matter of law and as a matter of policy," no further commitments had been assumed by the United States. He said:

We have made it very clear in this matter. We are not directly or indirectly making ourselves a bilateral ally with every non-nuclear state.

A few Senators were afraid that the safeguards were meaningless, but they were satisfactorily answered on this score. Administration officials appearing before the Foreign Relations Committee were unanimous in their approval of the treaty's safeguards arrangements.

Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, said that the International Atomic Energy Agency now has a suitable safeguards system. He said the IAEA had shown that "the techniques of international inspection are feasible and effective." The United States has not undertaken any inspection obligations in the treaty itself; and in a separate declaration, it has agreed only to open its peaceful nuclear facilities to inspection—and to open them only to inspectors who are "acceptable and agreeable" to this country. It has already done this in some instances, and, according to Mr. Rusk:

We have not detected any handicaps arising from these arrangements.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff have unanimously recommended the treaty. Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon all supported the idea of a nonproliferation treaty. The Secretaries of State and the Secretaries of Defense under both President Nixon and President Johnson have all urged its ratification. They say the treaty does not threaten our national security—rather, it is a step in the interest of world security.

I know that the vast majority of Americans support their judgment. Now the vast majority of the Senate has given its approval and ratification.

Because of these circumstances, I was astonished that one of the Senators voting against the treaty was the senior Senator from California, Senator MURPHY. It was beyond comprehension why he should oppose this treaty, which represents a real, bipartisan effort to improve world safety. If we are going to start coping with the terrible possibilities of the nuclear weapons era, if we are going to reduce international tension—indeed, if we want to survive—we must face our responsibilities and take the required steps.

THE LUMBER PRICE CRISIS

HON. WENDELL WYATT

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, as we all know, there is and has been widespread dismay over the recent rise in lumber and plywood prices. The industry has been as disturbed over this problem as anyone. However, the cost of wood has not, by any means, been the sole factor in increasing the cost of homebuilding and construction.

Mr. Gerry Pratt, a widely respected and perceptive business editor writing for the Portland Oregonian, covered this subject with considerable insight and objectivity in his column of last Friday. I would like to present that column here as a matter of substantial interest to my colleagues in the Congress:

BUILDERS FIX CAUSE OF PRICE INCREASES
(By Gerry Pratt)

The front page story says: "White House, Congress to Investigate. Alarm Grows Over Soaring Lumber Costs." And the story out of the Associated Press in New York City adds with the full vigor of an expose:

"Soaring lumber prices, up 30 to 90 per cent in the past year alone and still climbing, are helping push the cost of houses to record levels and have prompted separate investigations by the White House and Congress."

This may sound like beating the broken drum out here, but the political appeal of "investigating" business when the news services are using terms such as "soaring costs" has all the magic of the Kennedys turning the Federal Bureau of Investigation loose on the steel industry executives and forcing the steel price rollbacks.

"The increase in lumber prices have been unconscionable," says Harvey Meyerhoff, a Baltimore home builder. He goes on in the story as saying a \$30,000 to \$31,000 house is

now costing the home buyer \$39,000 and the implication is that extra \$9,000 has gone into the pockets of a lumber or plywood manufacturer.

Perhaps Harvey Meyerhoff doesn't know this, but a check of his books would reveal some of the facts.

HOME LUMBER NEEDS TALLIED

An average American house uses 10,000 square feet of plywood and about 10,000 feet of lumber. Sheathing plywood on a 3/8th basis was selling for \$110 a thousand in 1955, that is 15 years ago. Today it is selling for \$144 a thousand. On the basis of 10,000 square feet per house the increase cost in plywood over nearly 15 years is \$400 per house. The increase cost in timber, the increase cost in manufacturing labor and in taxes and whatever else you want to name from insurance to cost of living during those 15 years is something else.

And lumber! In 1955 it was easy to find mills selling for around \$100 per thousand. These same mills today are averaging \$120 to \$130 for every thousand board feet of production. So taking \$130, that is \$300 more per house for lumber or a total lumber and plywood price increase over 10 years of \$700, give or take \$50.

One year ago, the timber pinpointed for the increase in the AP story and protests by builders, lumber and plywood prices were just about the exact lowest point of the past decade.

WWPA CHIEF QUOTES FIGURES

Wendell Barnes, head of the Western Wood Products Association, quotes from what he says are Portland Home Builders figures in the current edition of Real Estate Trends magazine.

Using 1955 as an index of 100:

The price of cement in the average house has increased 98 per cent up through September of 1968. Lumber has increased 40 per cent (that was September and rising prices may have carried today to 50 or 60 per cent). Plumbing has increased 40 per cent; brick and plaster 40 per cent and labor, as a percentage of the cost of a house, has risen 96 per cent; overhead and profits up 20 per cent and land, more than 400 per cent, or an annual increase of 16 per cent a year in the price of a finished house.

As a per cent of total cost, cement was 4.1 per cent in 1955 and 5.7 in 1968; lumber was 9.9 per cent then and now is 10.6 per cent; brick and plaster unchanged; plumbing is up from 9.9 per cent to 10.1 per cent in 1968 and labor has gone from 14.9 per cent of the cost of a house to 19.8 per cent. The builders' overhead and profit, which may explain cries from the home-building industry, has decreased from 12.8 per cent in 1955 to 11.1 per cent today.

RIISING COST CURBS WELCOMED

But even so, government seems set to get after the rising costs of wood products and even the wood manufacturers welcome this.

"What they could do constructively," Barnes says, "is repeal the Jones Act. This would enable us to use ships to get our products back there. It's cheaper.

"They could take a look at the government's own administrative policies, which they plan to do, the government's own buying. Or they could look at the morass the railroads are in."

Perhaps most likely and most successful Barnes suggests, would be a look at the possibility of increasing timber sales that have been prepared in the past and have not been offered, sales that have been stopped merely because some preservationists have asked to have them locked up.

Barnes and the timber industry are keenly aware today that America is rotting as much or more federal timber, locked into wilderness areas by wilderness legislation as the entire industry is cutting.

"Areas near roads would be offered for sale; or a supplemental appropriation for a crash road-building program; or better forestry practices which even the Forest Service admits would allow them to increase the allowable cut by two thirds; or an increase in cut from 13 or 14 billion feet a year to 22 billion feet a year."

These are the "constructive" things the government could do. "There is no end to harmful things that could be done," Barnes admits. The distortion of the facts increases the possibility of those wrong moves.

ROONEY LAUDS NEW YORK CONSUMER AFFAIRS COMMISSIONER FOR FORCEFUL ASSAULT ON DECEPTIVE BUSINESS PRACTICES

HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, a former Miss America and well-known television personality recently was named Commissioner of Consumer Affairs for this Nation's largest city.

It was refreshing and reassuring to read in the New York Times this week of the intestinal fortitude evidenced by Mrs. Bess Myerson Grant, New York's new consumer affairs commissioner, when she addressed the Better Business Bureau of Greater New York.

New Yorkers must have been impressed by Mrs. Grant's "sock-it-to-'em" message for an audience of 200 businessmen.

She pulled no punches in urging the better business bureau to open its complaint files to public view to alert the public to those businesses which generate a high proportion of complaints.

And she laid it on the line, too, when she declared the American consumer is fed up "with industry self-policing plans that he feels are really self serving."

For several weeks, I have been seeking to draw the attention of my colleagues to a self-policing plan within the magazine sales industry and to focus attention on the fact that fraud and deception in magazine selling remains the rule rather than the exception despite creation of a voluntary industry code of ethical sales practices.

I commend Mrs. Grant for her straightforward approach to a most serious problem and include the New York Times report of her remarks in the RECORD:

CONSUMER CHIEF URGES PUBLICITY ON COMPLAINTS

(By Isadore Barmash)

Mrs. Bess Myerson Grant, the city's Consumer Affairs Commissioner, criticized her hosts yesterday at a luncheon in her honor by exhorting them to greater efforts to protect the "fed-up" consumer. The former Miss America, a television personality, told a luncheon of the Better Business Bureau of Greater New York at the Plaza Hotel that it should publicize the names of those stores that generate "an unusually high proportion of valid complaints." The closed files of the bureau, she said, should not be the "final resting place for records of deception."

She told the 200 businessmen present,

many of them B.B.B. members, that the bureau "has not always looked on new consumer protection laws with a sympathetic eye. I understand their point—the good are sometimes hit by laws aimed at the bad. But now I want you to work with us to devise legislation that will hit only the target intended."

SOURCES OF DISMAY

The American consumer is "fed up," she said, with "endless payments for shoddy goods, with industry self-policing plans that he feels are really self-serving plans such as seals of approval which are based on advertising budgets rather than product quality, and with government officials for whom 'pass the buck' is a rule of life, and agencies that don't do their job."

Mrs. Myerson told her audience that "the explosive problem in our country and our city is, in my opinion, not black against white—rather it is the poor aroused against the rich because of the widening gulf between them resulting from this decade of prosperity and inflation."

She said that her office, now consisting of 350 persons after its integration with their city departments, would endeavor to see that the law would "penetrate the ghetto marketing system," would give a "fast and just" response to all consumers and make "consumer education a program and not just a slogan."

She asked the bureau to prepare an up-to-date code of unfair selling practices and to require members to pledge not to engage in them. The bureau should also require its members to agree to arbitrate consumer complaints, she said, and to establish "machinery for impartial third-party arbitration of minor buyer-seller disputes."

The bureau will soon begin a series of community seminars in Harlem and within a few weeks begin operating a mobile consumer information center, said William S. Renchard, chairman of the Chemical Bank and the bureau's chairman.

Preceding Mrs. Myerson's address, Mayor Lindsay, in a brief appearance, said that improving the consumer's plight was essentially a matter of "the art of communications." He added, "We should see to it there is the appearance of justice as well as the fact of justice."

ABM: WRONG DECISION

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. VANIK. I was deeply disappointed in President Nixon's decision of last Friday to support a modified sentinel ABM system. This decision is unwise as it was ill-timed. It completely smothered the hopes for a peaceful world which hinged on the Senate's action on the same day ratifying the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

A modified missile system suggests an impossible compromise. In this matter we cannot be half right. Half right is all wrong. There is little sense in defending a retaliatory weapon that expresses only revenge.

I oppose the deployment of the sentinel ABM system anywhere in the United States. My opposition is not softened by the suggestion that the ABM can be deployed for a solely defensive mission. Senator SYMINGTON, former Secretary of the Air Force, estimates that this system would cost hundreds of billions of

dollars with a price tag that could reach \$500 billion. There is little evidence to suggest that the system would provide any satisfactory degree of defense.

I believe in continued research and technology. I believe in the construction of prototypes, but I do not believe in the mass production of anything that has not been proven or which cannot provide a reasonable period of utility commensurate with our needs.

STOP THE NONSENSE ON CAMPUS

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I commend the following editorial which appeared in the Washington Post this morning to the attention of my colleagues and to educators throughout the Nation:

TIME TO STOP THE NONSENSE ON CAMPUS

The disgraceful episode at Georgetown University Thursday night, when a handful of young hoodlums, most of them with no connection with the University, refused to permit the Mayor of San Francisco to make a speech, is the logical outcome of the attitude that previously led to the seizure by students of offices and buildings at Howard University. It is an attitude, common these days among some students and nonstudents who like to foment trouble, that no one's rights matter but their own and that society must allow them to do their thing regardless of what it is or where they do it.

It is long past time for an end to this kind of nonsense. There is room on every college campus for dissent and for criticism of the status quo. A campus without those elements is likely to stagnate and deserves to die. But there is a place and a time for dissent and for demonstration and there are limits on protests, whether by faculty, students or nonstudents, that every university ought to enforce.

Two recent actions of the Supreme Court provide some guidance as to what those limits ought to be. A couple of weeks ago, the Court upheld the right of students to wear black armbands to class as a demonstration of their opposition to the war in Vietnam. This was a proper exercise of the right of free expression, the Justices said, and was protected by the Constitution against interference by school administrators. But the Court added that "conduct by the student, in class or out of it, which for any reason—whether it stems from time, place or type of behavior—materially disrupts classwork or involves substantial disorder or invasion of the rights of others is, of course, not immunized by the constitutional guaranty of freedom speech." As if to underline that sentence, the Court refused last Monday to review the expulsion of ten students from Bluefield State College in West Virginia for "riotous" behavior. Justice Fortas, speaking only for himself, pointed out the difference. These ten students, he said, were "engaged in an aggressive and violent demonstration, and not in peaceful, nondisruptive expression."

That is precisely the distinction that needs to be drawn in all campus protests. Students must be free to air their complaints and grievances, real or imaginary, in meetings, speeches, handbills, newspapers, conferences, and any other form of nonviolent persuasion including noncoercive picket lines. But they ought not to be free to disrupt classes, destroy property, deprive others of the right

to speak, bar anyone from going into or out of a building, or interfere with the normal functioning of any part of a university's activities.

Merely saying that such a distinction ought to exist is quite a different thing from establishing it on campuses as different as Howard and Harvard, Georgetown and Berkeley. The primary burden, of course, for putting an end to the current nonsense is on those who administer colleges, who teach in them, and who attend them. About the last thing any university wants to do is to call in the police. If student groups, aided by campus police, can organize themselves sufficiently to cope with disruptions, so much the better. But, if they cannot, the formal power of society, in the form of the police, must be called upon to maintain order.

Father Hesburgh's formula for handling disorders at Notre Dame is still a good one. He has warned students that anyone disrupting a university activity will be given 15 minutes to think about it, then suspended if he continues to disrupt, and then expelled if he persists; nonstudents participating in disorders are to be arrested. But it takes more than an *ipse dixit* to establish such a policy. To make it stick, administrators must have done their homework—unifying behind them the great mass of faculty members and students who are interested in learning even while reforming the universities and making clear to all students what the penalties for riotous behavior are to be.

There are two great dangers in the current wave of unrest on the campuses. The first is that if disorder continues unchecked some great educational institutions will be destroyed. The second is that a wave of repression, aimed not at confining protest to its proper scope but at eliminating it, will follow. One of the major causative factors of the current problem is that many colleges refused for too long to listen when student and faculty members were protesting quietly. The affair at Columbia University a year ago demonstrated, much too well, that violence could produce changes that peaceful dissent had failed to produce. Thus a wave of repression unaccompanied by needed reforms will lead eventually only to greater trouble.

The Gallup Poll noted last week that campus disorders have replaced the Vietnam War as the No. 1 topic of serious discussion in homes across the country. When you add to this ferment the rumblings from state legislatures, alumni groups, and moderate students the message should be clear enough not only to those who would rather disrupt and destroy than learn and reform but to those who administer the institutions of higher education as well.

THE AMERICAN LEGION'S 50TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed appropriate that the House and the Senate have passed resolutions commending the American Legion on its 50th anniversary. The American Legion was conceived at a caucus March 15-17, 1919, in Paris, France by members of the AEF. From its inception, the American Legion has been known for its spirit; for its sense of fairness to all men; for its ability to accomplish whatever job needs done. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include

the following article honoring the American Legion written by Mr. Hallis Hull:

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN LEGION

(By Hallis Hull)

In this golden anniversary year for The American Legion, history has come full cycle for the world's largest veterans organization.

When the officers and men of World War I while still in uniform gathered in Paris, France, to form the Legion, one of the major problems was how the returning veteran was to be reabsorbed into civilian life.

Now a half-century later this same problem is still a major concern of the Legion and it is working with and for a new generation of veterans.

Currently approximately 70,000 veterans of the Vietnam war are melting back into civilian life each month. This is a considerable number but not a large enough number to have the massive impact on society as the four-million-plus of World War I and the 12-million of World War II.

But the Legion feels that it is most important that these men and women of this new generation of veterans are properly adjusted and brought again into the main stream of our society.

To insure a smooth transition to civilian life and to offer some well-deserved public recognition to these new veterans, the Legion is involved in a nationwide program of contact and service with these former servicemen.

Names and addresses of returning veterans are provided by the Veterans Administration. They are processed by computer at Legion National Headquarters and sent to the appropriate officers of Legion Posts, districts and departments across the country.

Local Legionnaires are asked to immediately contact recent separatees, to welcome them home and to offer them whatever help that is needed in their readjustment to civilian life.

Veterans' rehabilitation has been a foundation stone of The American Legion. Here this well-known and well-organized rehabilitation effort from the national to the local level comes into full play. The local Post service officer is a key factor in the effort.

The Legion's rehabilitation help in the local community may take many forms, and can include help with setting the new veterans medical attention, help with getting into school or help with getting a job.

To give impetus and strength to this humane effort, the Legion National Organization has given special up-to-the-minute training to a group of Legion professional staff members. They are now working with Legion volunteers in various sections of the country to make this effort count strongly for the benefit of the new veteran and our society.

Important as this new veterans' rehabilitation program is, it is not the only major effort in which The American Legion finds itself deeply involved and committed on this 50th anniversary year.

In the great tradition of volunteer organizations and their work for bettering our nation and society, the Legion makes its strength and organizational know-how felt in another area important to America. This is service to youth.

The American Legion Baseball Program is well known as having been the training ground for such greats of the game as Yogi Berra, Stan Musial, Jackie Robinson and Ted Williams.

But even more important is the continuing good for America that comes from this program aimed at producing and training sound American manhood through learning the rules of good sportsmanship and citizenship in a competitive sports program. When "play ball!" is sounded this spring a quarter-

million boys playing on some 4,000 certified teams will vie for the honor of playing in The American Legion World Series.

Before totaling the Legion's work with youth, and to the effort such programs are Boys State and Boys Nation, where young high schoolers learn the elements of government by actual participation in its functions. Here they also learn the responsibilities as well as the rights that come to citizens in a government of law within a free society.

The Legion also is active in youth work through such other programs as the National High School Oratorical Contest, Boy Scouting and its uniformed groups. In the latter activity, an estimated half-million boys and girls are culturally involved by the Legion in bands and drum corps.

The Legion during this golden anniversary expects to rack up another record year of expenditures on behalf of the nation's children and youth.

Expenditures being made by the Legion, its Auxiliary and the Eight and Forty for child welfare work for the year ending next May 31 are expected to exceed the previous year's total of more than \$9.5-million. With last year's record figure, the Legion and affiliated organizations have expended a total of more than \$230-million on behalf of the nation's children and youth during the organization's history.

The silver anniversary of the enactment of the G.I. Bill of Rights will be marked by the nation next June 22. How the Legion conceived and fought for this landmark legislation is almost a legend. It set off a revolution in education. It prepared this nation in an educational way for the demanding technological era into which it has moved. This legislation was another lesson in the wisdom of America investing in people and becoming a greater society as a result.

While the G.I. Bill stands on a high peak among accomplishments, the day-to-day work and efforts of this organization in the area of education must not be overlooked. With the National Education Association, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers and the U.S. Office of Education, The American Legion sponsors the annual observance of American Education Week to focus attention on and gain support for the nation's schools.

But what of the Legion itself, its growth and its future role of service to our nation and society?

The history of the United States' expanding world commitments since 1917 is reflected in the growth of the Legion. The founders at that initial Paris meeting had no idea that when the golden anniversary rolled around that the Legion would be anything more than an organization of veterans from the First World War.

But since then the Legion has found it necessary to ask Congress to amend its federal charter to admit the veterans of three later wars to membership. In every case, eligibility has been limited to those who have had active, honorable service during an actual period of hostilities.

The latest generation of veterans eligible for and joining the Legion in increasing numbers are those who have served during the current Vietnam war. This eligibility period began with the action at the Gulf of Tonkin on Aug. 5, 1964.

The new Vietnam war veteran is finding the Legion a worthy vehicle through which to find expression in civic service. On this 50th anniversary year, the Legion is expected to achieve the fifth straight year of membership growth. The organization appears to be pushing in the direction of the 2.7-million member mark.

While it can look back on a proud record of service in many important and vital areas to the nation, The American Legion at this moment in its history is not content to rest on its past achievements.

A special Task Force for the Future has already been at work for more than a year drawing up guidelines for future Legion programs and projects. The Task Force's report is due to be presented at the Legion's 51st Annual National Convention to be held in Atlanta, Ga., Aug. 22-28.

In short, The American Legion has its sights focused on the future and an even greater role of service to the community and nation in its second half-century.

BOY SCOUTS SAY THANKS FOR AFL-CIO AID

HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, the trade unions and their members have long given generous support and cooperation to the Boy Scouts of America. The Scouts recently thanked the labor movement in a very special way, with a "Report to the Nation" and presentation of a commemorative paperweight. I include a story of this event, which appeared recently in the AFL-CIO News, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that all may be aware of the efforts of the unions to improve the living conditions of the people of this great country of ours:

TOP BOY SCOUTS SAY THANKS FOR AFL-CIO AID

Outstanding representatives of Boy Scouting in America met around one table as guests of the AFL-CIO when 15 "Report to the Nation" Scouts and Explorers wound up a week-long tour of Washington with a lively dinner-discussion led by AFL-CIO Vice Pres. Joseph Keenan.

Keenan, who is secretary of the Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, was on hand to accept, on behalf of Pres. George Meany and the AFL-CIO, the Scouts' presentation "report" and commemorative paperweight.

In making the presentation, Eagle Scout Randolph A. Roth of Lafayette, Calif., cited "all the work the AFL-CIO has done to help boys everywhere."

William Moody, administrator of the Maritime Trades Dept., and Leo Perlis, director of AFL-CIO Community Services Activities, helped Keenan field informed questions by the Scouts on many phases of national economic life—from guaranteed jobs to Medicare and a reduction of the voting age to 18.

"We're the people's lobby," said Keenan, speaking of the AFL-CIO role in the community. "Our only purpose is to help our fellow men; our special interest is the people who are unfortunate."

Keenan summed up by urging the Scouts to "give us a chance as you go through life. Check the record—don't let others influence you. You'll see that the AFL-CIO has been in the vanguard of the fight to get social security, widows pensions, good schools and, most recently, legislation providing 10 million low-cost housing units for the inner city—a bill passed with labor's backing, but which must now be funded by the Appropriations Committee."

Labor's forces must now be trained on the same target as the Boy Scouts' Boypower '76 Project—the ghetto, Keenan observed.

Decent housing and jobs are labor's aim, he noted, while the Scouts are directing their energies toward reaching a "representative" third of all U.S. boys by 1976—which means a much increased membership coming from the urban inner cities.

THE ARTS GO BEGGING

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, in the months ahead the Congress will again be considering the authorization for the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities.

In the March 22, 1969, New Republic, the former editor in chief of that magazine, Michael Straight, discusses the role of the Arts and Humanities Foundation. His is a candid and forthright assessment which is worthy of the attention of the Members of Congress.

As the author of the amendment which was adopted by the House to preclude individual grants I, for one, am grateful to Mr. Straight for his willingness to face this question.

At this point I want to include the text of the article, "The Arts Go Begging," for the information and consideration of my colleagues:

THE ARTS GO BEGGING

(By Michael Straight)

Our national priorities are set forth in the federal budget, which, in 1968, included these sums: \$80 billion for national defense; \$43 billion for health and welfare; \$5 billion for space exploration; \$4 billion for roads; \$7 million for the arts.

Support for the arts is a smaller item in our budget than the economic aid to Costa Rica, smaller than one minor grant made by the National Science Foundation to the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn. It amounted to four cents in every \$1,000 of government expenditures last year; now it is down to less than three cents.

This cut in the arts budget will scarcely bring the federal budget into balance. Nor does it mean the arts are not hungry. Their need is "desperate," according to the Chairman of the National Council on the Arts. The Ford Foundation, whose annual grants to the arts exceed those of the US Government, agrees. Its latest Report is entitled "The Economic Crisis in the Arts." Why, if their need is "desperate," are the arts starved? Eleven years ago, when the Soviet government launched its first Sputnik, science rose sharply in the national priority scale. Federal grants to universities for education and research in science soared to \$1.4 billion in 1963 and to \$3 billion in 1966.

Five years ago, the arts appeared to be on the verge of a similar upgrading. A Rockefeller Panel had reported that the arts belonged, "not at the periphery of society, but at the center." The President and the press applauded this view. The National Council on the Arts was created in the expectation that its growth would follow the course of the National Science Foundation, which now distributes \$500 million in fellowships a year. The expectation has not been realized. One reason for that was Lyndon Johnson. He was led to believe he might cap the cultural legacy of the Kennedy Administration with his White House Festival on the Arts. It was a fiasco. It left Mr. Johnson with the searing conviction that artists were his enemies. He made no serious effort from then on to promote the arts. When his own creation, the National Council on the Arts, was placed before the Congress last year, not one of the President's men was present to defend it. The result was catastrophic. By a vote of 261 to 130, the arts program was cut from a requested \$32 million to \$4 million for 1969.

The simplest way to explain this setback is

to say that Mr. Johnson and the Congress lacked appreciation for the arts. Further reflection suggests an unpalatable alternative—that Congress has not supported the arts program because the program itself has never been thought through.

The President and the Congress agreed, five years ago, that the arts should have public support. But how much support should be given, and in what way? Should the program concentrate upon the performing arts, whose problems, due to rising costs, were most acute? Or should equal emphasis be given to the fine arts, to landscape architecture and other related endeavors? Should federal aid go to individuals or only to institutions? Should it be a long term program, to raise the general level of culture awareness? Or should it set out instead to rescue orchestras, repertory companies and dance groups from foundering? These were among the many basic questions to be answered. They were scarcely raised. When President Johnson called in the members of the newly-created National Council on the Arts, in March 1965, he told them that he expected action with a minimum of discussion. Dutifully, the Council met, and in one, brief session, adopted 30 resolutions, recommendations and principles. It then moved on, in its first formal meeting, to spend its funds.

In making its grants, the Council under the leadership of its Chairman Roger Stevens, was bold and innovative. It backed controversial and experimental enterprises. It reached out far beyond the performing arts. It established new theater companies in Los Angeles, Providence, New Orleans. It saved important companies, such as the American Ballet Theater, from dissolution. At the same time, it set up barriers to its own development by spending public funds in ways to which the Congress was bound to object. And, on February 27, 1968, the Congress did object, in a session that made many Broadway scripts seem dull.

It is easy to laugh at the mixed metaphors of the Congressmen and to feel a fine anger at the injustice of their attacks on "culture." It is more useful to see what they had in mind, since Congressional approval is essential to public support for the arts.

The National Council was sharply criticized in the Congress for authorizing grants unrelated to its main purpose of promoting the arts. "The point is," said Representative William Scherle (R., Iowa), "when Congress appropriates funds, for a specific purpose, it is not making out a blank check. . . ." He cited three grants: \$10,000 to the Research and Design Institute of Providence to study road signs; \$10,000 to a Citizens Action Conference, convened to consider a park on the Delaware River; and \$850,000 to Wesbeth, a low-cost housing development for artists, now under construction in New York City. The first and second of these are very small; the third is very exciting. But their size and their value are not in dispute. Mr. Scherle's argument is simply that these projects are the proper concern of other departments of government and not of the National Council on the Arts.

A fourth project challenged by the Congress was the grant of \$200,000 to the Theater Development Fund, which subsidizes plays that might otherwise fail, by purchasing tickets in bulk and reselling them at less than cost. "Why," asked Mr. Scherle, "should we subsidize . . . with tax dollars, a play which the public would not support?" His question is a fair one; for the United States Government is not well suited to intervene in the commercial theater as a backer of particular plays. A sounder role, for government, is to build an audience for good theater, throughout the nation, by improving the teaching of theater and the exposure to theater in our schools. If our government can do that, then the producers of good plays will take care of themselves.

Last year, the National Council gave Distinguished Service Awards of \$10,000 apiece to five poets and literary critics. It explained that "although all were acclaimed as 'giants,' . . . none had received the full recognition, either financially or publicly due him." Rep. Albert Quie (R., Minn.) challenged awards, for which the government asks nothing in return. I think he was right to do so. Even in the depths of the depression, President Roosevelt did not hand out public funds in this manner. He put artists to work for their government as *artists*; he paid them for their work. And that working relationship, well rooted in our tradition, led to a memorable epoch in the arts.

From the time of its first meeting, the Council has insisted that grants to individuals are an essential element in its program. Among its earliest grants were: \$372,000 to 50 novelists, poets, painters, sculptors and composers to take leaves-of-absence from teaching; \$77,000 in graduation awards to 77 students; "to enrich their cultural experience"; \$205,000 to 22 writers, to write books.

These expenditures led the House of Representatives to vote to deny the Council the right to make any grants to individuals. That decision did not become law, however, and the Council continued to make substantial grants to individuals and reiterate its conviction that these grants are of primary importance. Thus the continuing opposition of the Congress is made certain; and for no compelling reason. On this issue, the Congress may well be right. The Ford Foundation tried out a program of grants to individual artists; it proved to be too hard to administer, and it has been cut back. The British Arts Council attempted a similar program; it has caused intense bitterness among artists who sought and failed to get support. In the physical sciences, individual fellowships in large numbers are given out by our government. But, there are many important distinctions to be made between the physical sciences and the arts. The biologist, probing into the causes of cancer, may be every man's benefactor. The artist has a different role. In a time of rebellion and violence, the arts may be violent and rebellious. A Le Roi Jones, a Norman Mailer, can hardly be a protege of government, if his main purpose is to shock, to offend.

At present, as McNeil Lowry of the Ford Foundation notes, the arts are suffering on two counts. Expectations were raised, and with them costs, in the belief that increased support would be forthcoming. It has failed to materialize, and now, many art institutions are confronted with unmanageable deficits. A number of symphony orchestras will be broken up in the next two years; dozens of theater and dance companies will be disbanded. In the midst of this turmoil, President Nixon decided, last week, not to reappoint Roger Stevens as Chairman of the Arts Council. Mr. Stevens who gained many friends during his term in office, suspects that he is lucky to be leaving while he is still ahead.

FULL INVESTIGATION OF KING ASSASSINATION ASKED BY CONGRESSMAN KOCH

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 27, 1969

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, I am writing to the Justice Department today to request a full investigation of the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. I submit my letter for insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the reading of

my colleagues; upon receiving a response from the Department, I will report immediately its contents to this House.

My letter addressed to Attorney General John N. Mitchell follows:

MARCH 17, 1969.

HON. JOHN N. MITCHELL,
Attorney General, Justice Department,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MITCHELL: I am sure that you have been receiving a great deal of mail with respect to the James Earl Ray trial and its abrupt conclusion. Mail from my constituents indicates a wide concern that Mr. Ray's entering a plea of guilty will shut off any further inquiry of the many troublesome factors in the case.

Indeed, just today the New York Times reported that Judge W. Preston Battle maintains that the full truth about James Earl Ray and the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. is not known. The Judge pointed out that there has been much speculation on what happened, but little has been made based on fact and evidence. Judge Battle has said that he would "like the full proof." And it is without question that the American people want "full proof" and an investigation and airing on what happened. This is especially necessary in light of Mr. Ray's refusal on March 10th, the day he was sentenced, to state categorically that there was no conspiracy; indeed, his ambiguous statement leaves us with the implication that there was in fact a conspiracy.

Therefore, I call on the Justice Department, with the resources of the FBI at its disposal, to initiate a full inquiry on this matter and determine to the best of the Department's ability what happened and whether there was a conspiracy. I would urge that the hearings be public so that none would have reason to fear that vital information is being suppressed. The circumstances surrounding the death of this second martyr within the last six years cannot remain clouded with the public believing that a conspiracy of silence is being permitted to prevail.

I should appreciate your letting me know promptly what your plans are in this matter. I must tell you that if you indicate a lack of interest in pursuing a public inquiry, I will feel it incumbent upon me to ask for a congressional investigation to examine all the circumstances surrounding this national tragedy. A simple statement that the FBI has the case open will not suffice those of us who believe a full inquiry requires a public hearing.

Sincerely,

EDWARD I. KOCH.

"VOLUNTARY QUOTAS" NOT THE ANSWER

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Bunroku Yoshino, Minister of the Embassy of Japan, recently addressed the Agricultural Council of California on the subject of U.S. agricultural trade in the Pacific area. The necessity for liberalization of agricultural trade policies and the fallacies surrounding the concept of voluntary import quotas were among two of the main points in his speech.

Because of the timeliness of his statement, I insert it in the RECORD at this point:

REMARKS BY MR. BUNROKU YOSHINO, MINISTER, EMBASSY OF JAPAN, BEFORE THE AGRICULTURAL COUNCIL OF CALIFORNIA, SACRAMENTO, CALIF., MARCH 4, 1969

It is indeed an honor to appear on your program and speak to you today on a subject of vital importance to all of us—the potential for agriculture in Pacific area trade.

As a diplomat assigned twice to Washington, D.C., I have had several occasions to fly over the State of California. But this is the first time I have had the opportunity for a real visit in the Golden State. California is known to us as a state with a rapid growth rate comparable to that of my own country.

We have many things in common and that makes me feel at home here. Indeed, Wakamatsu, a short distance from here, founded as a center of Japanese immigration, will be holding its centenary celebration in June. I, as a national of those immigrants' mother country, should like to pay homage to these people, whose contribution to the vitality of this state has enriched both our countries.

This prosperous atmosphere on the West Coast, and especially in the State of California is the basis for my reflections on the potential of trade in the Pacific Basin.

The two-way trade between the United States and Japan has continued its unparalleled growth, with your sales to us exceeding 3.5 billion dollars and our exports to you slightly over 4 billion dollars in 1968. As a result of the uninterrupted period of fast growth in the American economy, Japan in recent years has reversed the traditional trade balance and enjoyed a surplus.

But it is becoming increasingly apparent that trade in the Pacific Basin cannot be viewed in a bilateral context. As an illustration, we all recognize that American investment is developing resources in Australia that are used to fuel the industries in Japan that supply American consumers with products made on American machinery by Japanese workmen who feast on American agricultural products.

Let us focus on the agricultural sector of this trade. The volume and growth of this trade is determined by U.S. supplies and sales efforts, by changes in Japan's own agriculture sector, and by the trade policies pursued by both our countries.

You men, as leading agriculturalists, can be proud of your growth record. In fact, many of your nation's statesmen cite the great record of agricultural exports as one of your proudest national accomplishments.

While your agricultural sales to Japan in 1968 were down slightly from the prior year, they were the second highest on record, totaling approximately 900 million dollars. I know we all share the belief that sales will turn upward again.

I believe it significant to note that these sales to Japan are equivalent to 32 percent of all U.S. exports to my country.

Corn and soybeans showed substantial gains. Wheat, grain, and sorghums, and raw cotton fell off somewhat.

One of the many interesting things I have discovered about the United States is the pride in which you hold your communities and your states. That is why I am sure you are well aware that California is the nation's leading exporter to Japan. Indeed, I was impressed to learn that eight out of the top ten agricultural income-producing counties in the whole United States are located here in California.

I think it is particularly significant that a major share of the cotton exported to Japan comes from California. It is one of California's major exports, returning some 65 million dollars and ranks third in the State's foreign sales after fruits and vegetables at 114 million dollars and rice at 67 million dollars.

This performance has been supported by

a strong sales effort, including the continued visitation to Japan of U.S. technical trade missions in the agricultural field. Certainly, the increased competitiveness of the world cash markets is a signal for all sellers to be keenly aware of the influence of quality, grade, dependability of supply and delivery, and the many other factors which lead to satisfaction and trade growth between buyer and seller.

Your sales efforts, of course, must take account of the fundamental nature of Japan's agricultural sector, and the Government policies and technological changes that affect that sector. A similar broad view was taken by the Commodity Price Stabilization Promotion Council in its recent report to the Prime Minister in reference to measures my Government should take to stabilize domestic food prices and to increase productivity of Japanese agriculture and fisheries. The central theme of the Council's report is that Japanese agriculture, production, and trade policy must reflect consumer interest as well as the interest of the farmer.

This report was made in the context of a rapidly changing situation in Japan. The average Japanese urban household spent 38 percent of its monthly income for food in 1966. While this was an improvement of 10 percent compared with a decade earlier, I believe you can see the great opportunity for further development when you compare this with the 18 percent spent for food by the average wage earner here in the United States.

We are most pleased at the tremendous improvement in the quality of the Japanese diet. Even so, the major portion of Japanese food is of vegetable origin with animal foodstuffs accounting for a small percentage of the calorie intake. While intake of meat has increased nearly four-fold in the last two decades, our per capita supply of meat is still only about one-thirteenth of that in the United States. During the same period, our increase in consumption of eggs has been six-fold; milk and dairy products, ten-fold; citrus fruits and tomatoes, four-fold; and that of other fruits, more than double.

Consequently, you can quickly see how the logistics of the Japanese market provide excellent opportunities for increasing the sales of agricultural products from the United States and from California in particular.

All these developments must take place within the context of Government policy in both the United States and Japan. The report to the Prime Minister I referred to a moment ago pointed out that the liberalization of agriculture import policy could be an impulse toward improving both the efficiency and total production of Japanese agriculture. Food imports not only help stabilize prices by easing supply-demand pressures, but also tend to increase domestic efficiency.

Japan has, in fact, liberalized more than 90 percent of its trade; and we have strongly supported tariff cutting negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Nonetheless, we still have over 100 items on the so-called residual import restriction list, which is the source of a growing controversy not only among our trading partners but in Japan as well.

Many of the items on the list are unimportant to you but there are others such as fresh grapefruits and oranges, and lemon juice and tomato juice and beans. These are of immediate interest to you and you deserve my candid appraisal of the situation.

Why, you must ask, in the face of the obvious benefits of liberalization, is Japan still hesitating to open up her markets to these relatively few imports? The answer would involve the whole long history of Japan's economic development, a success story in hindsight, but by no means an easy and comfortable process along the way.

In short, this past development was accomplished mainly through Government control and leadership, and, in spite of having started late in industrialization, in spite of a shortage of capital and technical know-how, and in spite of tremendous efforts lost or wasted in war and defeat. Thus, the tight-knit control and leadership, the isolation from the prosperous markets of Europe and America, the access only to surrounding markets less developed than our own, and most importantly, the belief that a policy successful in the past was adequate for the future—all these contributed to a psychology of protectionism in Japan.

With the emergence of Japan as the third largest industrial power, this psychology has been eroded but not completely displaced. Given the vested interests and involved relations of agribusiness and industry, politics and bureaucracy, it will take more time for Japan to fully and effectively embrace the dictates of liberal trade throughout our economy.

But we shall accomplish this, and the only question is one of timing.

For industrialization and urbanization are proceeding at a ruthless speed in Japan. More and more labor forces are being drawn to industrial centers and more and more farm population is attracted to urban life. This is a familiar phenomenon for you. For us, when combined with the rising standard of living of all our people, it cannot help but immensely increase our requirements for agricultural products from abroad. Therefore, it is quite reasonable to believe that Japan will pursue a liberal policy that will enhance our already favorable market for your agricultural supplies.

I hope I am wrong but I do not believe we can see such an optimistic direction in U.S. trade policy. In returning to this country after two years' absence, I was surprised and disappointed by the rash of import restriction bills being presented to the Congress. Limitations, in one form or another, are being sought on virtually all major Japanese exports to this country.

Bills are even being introduced in Congress to further cut back steel imports, even though the Japanese and European steel industries already agreed to substantial cutbacks under severe pressure from protectionist interests. Elaborate reasons were put forth to justify the limitations in what was characterized as the "special" steel situation.

But no sooner was the ink dry on that "voluntary" agreement than your Government announced the intention of seeking another so-called "voluntary" agreement, this time in textiles.

Let me make it quite clear that we do not automatically and without any examination condemn any and every suggestion for orderly adjustment in international trade. And it is not solely from the viewpoint of Japan's export interests that we find the plea for additional protection for textile and apparel to be completely unjustified.

An exhaustive and comprehensive report by the U.S. Tariff Commission, released last year, concluded that the U.S. textile and apparel industries "enjoyed a period of unparalleled growth since the early 1960's." To bring that up to date, the U.S. textile industry's sales increased by 11 percent and its profits by 45 percent for the first three quarters of 1968 compared to the same period in 1967. Similarly, the apparel industry's sales were up 10 percent and profits 28 percent.

A point that must be clearly understood, I believe, is that the so-called "voluntary" agreements are burdened with the same liabilities as mandatory quotas. And this is true with respects to both the exporting country and the importing country. For example, is consumer choice limited any less or price competition weakened any less because imports are excluded from your mar-

ket by "voluntary" rather than mandatory agreements? In short, we must not let these semantics blind us to the equally bad effects of quotas, however imposed.

Of particular importance to those of you here are the effects of U.S. restrictions on trade policy in Japan. I said earlier that there is no question that we will achieve liberalization on items of interest to you: the only question is one of timing.

The position of those in Japanese Government and industry who wish the liberalization to be sooner rather than later is undercut by protectionism in the United States. I am sure that you can understand this just as we recognize that restrictions in Japan are used as an excuse by those seeking protection in the United States.

Therefore, it is evident that for us to achieve growth in agricultural trade in the Pacific area, it will be necessary to work together to maintain and expand liberal trade policies in the area.

In this context, you and your fellow agricultural leaders throughout the United States have a great responsibility for you have considerable influence upon the course of events in this country.

Last October, I had the opportunity of addressing the National Association of State Departments of Agriculture at its annual meeting in Sun Valley, Idaho. I had the pleasure of meeting there your distinguished Director of Agriculture, Richard Lyng, who you have contributed to the National Government where, as Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, he will be directing efforts to tasks of not only commercial value but also great humanitarian significance.

During that Sun Valley meeting, I closed my remarks by thanking directly "those United States agricultural interests that have worked so hard to prevent the imposition of arbitrary restrictions on our trade." I would like again to extend my thanks to those here today and to those organizations that work so hard for the growth of trade.

This is a time of difficulty in trade policy. Let us approach this time with foresight, so that in the years ahead, we will look back and see how our steadfast adherence to the policies of growth was after all the wisest course for those on both sides of the Pacific to follow.

I thank you.

CHICKEN IN HOT DOGS

HON. ROGERS C. B. MORTON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, recently I inserted remarks by Mr. Frank Frazier, executive vice president of the National Broiler Council, into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. His remarks dealt with a problem I am extremely interested in, the limitation of the future market for frankfurters containing poultry meat. In the Evening Star of March 13, James J. Kilpatrick discussed this problem. I think his article is worthy of the attention of my colleagues:

"CHICKEN FRANK" PULVERIZES SELLER'S FREEDOM.

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

Consider the humble hot dog. Consider the salad tomato. And let us reflect, if you please, upon the problems that arise when self-interest, operating in the name of the law, intrudes upon a free market.

The venerable weenie, as every housewife knows, comes in three varieties: "All beef,"

"all meat," and simply "frankfurters. American poultry producers have no interest in the "all beef" variety, but they have a hungry concern for the other two. They would like very much to be able freely to sell left-over parts of a chicken, just as left-over parts of a sheep or a pig are sold, to be ground up for the sausage that makes up a hot dog.

Now, you might imagine, in a free society that this modest desire would present no formidable problems. After all, poultry is "meat," and if the customers don't object what's wrong with putting pure and edible chicken in a hot dog?

Nothing is that simple anymore. Congress enacted a Wholesome Meat Act in 1967, and then enacted a Wholesome Poultry Product Act in 1968. The natural process of reproduction began to function: Laws breed rules and regulations. Along came a regulation laying down new labeling requirements for the hot dog. Henceforth, chicken could not be routinely listed in the smalltype description of ingredients, along with pork, mutton and goat meat. If chicken were used, the name of the product itself would have to be changed, to "Frank-Chicken Added," or to "Chicken Franks."

Other regulations also were proposed. One rule would limit the amount of chicken in a weenie to 25 percent; no such limitation would be placed on other meats. Another rule would require that chicken used in an "all meat" frankfurter would have to combine white and dark meat in natural proportions. Still a third proposal would demand that chicken be described as "comminuted" chicken.

The effect, if not the purpose, of these several regulations is to make it difficult for the chicken men to muscle into the hot dog market. The effect is also to cramp the natural competitive flow of free products in a free economy. So much for chickens.

The story on tomatoes follows the same pattern. In recent years, a considerable tomato-growing industry has developed in Mexico. The United States, as part of its good neighbor policy, has assisted in the program and the Mexicans, for their part, have responded by purchasing millions of dollars in processing machinery from the U.S. So far so good.

But one of the notable features of fruit and vegetable marketing is that federal law permits farmer-producer committees effectively to regulate their own business. It is a beautiful system. No other industry has anything quite like it. If a committee decides that only tomatoes of a certain size shall be sold, such a recommendation routinely is translated into an order from the secretary of agriculture. Presto! The market is so regulated, and the gimmick is this: Requirements imposed upon domestic producers apply to imported products also.

Thus it was that the Florida Tomato Committee, fearful of sharp competition this winter from south of the border, asked and obtained a decree in January from then-Agriculture Secretary Freeman to this effect: Vine-ripened tomatoes smaller in diameter than 2 17-32 inches shall not be sold. Neither shall green tomatoes smaller than 2 9-32 inches be marketed. The effect is to bar 30 percent of the Mexican crop from American tables.

The political and economic pressures that produced these laws, rules and regulations now are producing other pressures. President Nixon is hearing from Sen. Goldwater, in behalf of the Mexican tomato growers. He also is hearing from Sens. Holland and Gurney, in behalf of the Florida interests. The National Broiler Council is squawking to Secretary Hardin about the "Chicken Frank" dilemma.

The prospect is for revised regulations that may soothe the ruffled poultrymen. The tomato problem ripens slowly. Meanwhile, let philosophers contemplate the problems of

society that measures its comminuted freedoms by the thirty-second of an inch.

OUR IMPORT SITUATION WITH MEXICO

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, following is a speech I recently delivered to the Pennsylvania farmers regarding our import situation with Mexico. I commend it to my colleagues for their attention:

The Mexican tomato crisis, caused by Florida tomato growers who are attempting to save the American Market for domestic growers, is just one crack in the shaky wall built by the free traders.

In separating fact from fiction, in my view, fiction is the belief that the world trade is a weapon of peace and prosperity, a builder of good relationships between nations, and an economic boom for trading nations. The facts are: trade has in the past, and will in the future, cause the greatest disruption of international friendships and good will in the history of our Nation. The Mexican situation, simply put, was caused by the Mexicans taking too much of the American market, thus causing serious disruption in the American tomato industry.

Mexican tomatoes are produced under different economic situations than those produced in the United States. Taxes and tax reporting are two different things in these two countries. Profit margins and labor wages, of course, bear little resemblance to the American standards, and while they sell their tomatoes much cheaper, their profits are much greater.

A bitter denunciation from the Mexican press and government officials, and their degrading cartoons of Uncle Sam as a greedy butcher stabbing the poor Mexicans, is in keeping with the attitudes that will be displayed even more vehemently by Japan, Germany, and other nations when we are forced, by economic pressures of unemployment, to close our market place to their goods.

We never seem to understand that a child that has never been given candy doesn't miss it, but once a child has been given candy, try to take it away from him.

Over the past thirty years or more, especially the last ten, we have closed our eyes to the advanced industrial posture of foreign countries. We have completely underestimated the foreign producers of agricultural, consumer, and sophisticated goods. We have allowed them a free reign, and, in fact, encouraged them to enter into the American market without regard to job dislocations, or American market stability. They are becoming a growing menace to our well-being.

We have encouraged our own industries to set up shop in foreign countries and send back to the United States products for distribution in the American market place.

We have spent billions of dollars in unsound trade agreements and outright gifts trying to build up what we thought would be sound friendships based upon some kind of mutual good will. I would suggest that anybody interested pick up a Mexican paper of this month's vintage, and then tell me how much good will we have built in Mexico—even though we have given away a great share of our watermelon, cantaloupe, tomato and even sugar market to the Mexicans. They have, at the same time, put more restrictions on our American-made goods going over their border.

The attitude of the Mexicans is typical. Inevitably, we must someday close off the textile, shoe, steel, rubber goods, electronic devices, and radio imports. In fact, we must

tell the world that we too must have jobs in order to have money to buy in the market place, whether or not it is our goods we are buying. The source of the purchase is still the American payroll, and when the day comes that we cannot meet that requirement, the whole world will find out that we cannot sustain the world by American purchases.

While the Mexicans are talking about an item that apparently gives little concern to the government officials, I believe it points to a real threat to our government's well-being.

We are begging the exporters to cut down on their steel and textile shipments to keep Congress asleep, for if Congress ever really awakens the whole illusion that our jobs are safe will go down the drain. Then the whole world will be shaken by the severity of the legislative enactments on world trade, which are such to come.

The Mexicans use cartoons showing "Big Uncle Sam stabbing the poor little Mexican farmer in the back." They show Uncle Sam as the Big Yankee pushing his poor little neighbors around.

The U.S. tomato growers just cannot compete price-wise with Mexican labor and taxes. Either we give up our tomato crops and packing industry or we give our growers protection price-wise.

The large chains are agitating the housewives by publicly blaming high prices on the U.S. growers. They fail to explain that when the Mexican workers displace U.S. workers, the heavy relief and public welfare load finds its way into the pockets of the same housewives who are asked to pay prices that will pay our workers' wages just as the tomato workers have to pay the high prices for the city workers' products unless they, too, buy foreign products.

If the tomato worker buys foreign cars and the auto worker buys Mexican tomatoes, who buys the American higher priced goods? When the wife of a \$3 to \$5 an hour city worker complains about paying prices to sustain a 65¢ to \$1.15 per hour farm worker, it is about time somebody calls a spade a spade in our false-fronted trade economy.

All over the world, countries are erecting non-tariff barriers to keep products out of their markets, especially the trickle of products that slipped in after the so-called "great success of the Kennedy Round of Tariff Reductions". Even the United States with its back to the wall is using the false "voluntary agreements" to keep Congress from passing necessary legislation to save U.S. jobs in our high labor content industries.

European and Japanese traders are not fools. They will play ball voluntarily as they have in the past (especially in 1960 and '61), and as soon as Congress gets out of the way, they will pour goods into the U.S. so fast we will wonder what hit us.

The Mexicans who are saying that 15,000 tomato workers are out of work because of our partial embargo on certain sized tomatoes, never talk about the thousands of U.S. workers thrown out of work in the fields, packing houses, container and transport industries by the heavy take-over of our cantaloupes, watermelon, early tomatoes, and citrus fruit markets by import products.

Nor does our government inform our people of the Mexican laws and tariff regulations against U.S. cars and all other U.S. made industrial and consumer goods.

My Committee has had under study for over a year and one-half the Mexican Proneff territory agreements between our country and Mexico, which allows not only thousands of Mexican Green Card holders to invade the U.S., Rio Grande, and Southern California, areas, but also to wean away U.S. industry into an eleven mile wide strip along the Mexican side of the Rio Grande, and all of Mexican Baja, California, with low-waged labor, tariff-free exports and imports, and tax considerations that have attracted electrical and other production facilities costing thousands of U.S. jobs and tax dollars.

The only restrictions are:

1. No products in the Proneff areas can be sold in Mexico. (So we have to buy Mexican-made U.S. products produced out of the minimum wage law.)

2. The U.S. firms must hire Mexican labor. In that instance, many U.S. corporations that clamor for U.S. funds to train workers go into Mexico, hire field hands and peasant workers, give them a quick on-the-job training for a few weeks, and lo and behold, they have production workers as good as any. Some industries have charged the U.S. Government millions of dollars to train for the same type of jobs in the U.S.

The lesson of Mexican tomatoes will not be enough to awaken our government. It will take more. Even the growth of the Japanese auto industry and its phenomenal increase in the share of the U.S. market of foreign car sales, plus its take-over of the U.S. motorcycle and transistor business will not awaken us. But! when our markets dry up or are depreciated substantially, we will wake up.

The screaming, parading, effigy-burning Japanese, Chinese (Hong Kong), European Common Marketeers, and other poachers on our consumer preserve will make such a howl that the American government will shake and rock.

You cannot fool with economics. There are only so many dollars for goods and services, and if we ship the dollars overseas, the market dries up for the Mexicans, the Japanese, the Chinese, and—yes, for the United States.

ST. PATRICK'S DAY

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, today we all delight in joining with Irishmen in our own country and the world over in celebrating the great holiday in honor of St. Patrick, Ireland's patron saint and apostle.

We would all do well on this day to remember St. Patrick's life. A Roman Briton by birth, Patrick was brought to Ireland during the fifth century as a prisoner of Irish pirates. Eventually he escaped, returned to Gaul to study for the priesthood, and then journeyed back to Erin to bring Christianity to that land. Patrick stood first for Christian piety and humility. In a quiet, yet forceful and determined manner, he converted thousands of Irishmen, from one end of the Emerald Isle to the other, to faith in God and love of their fellow men. His tremendous impact upon Ireland and indeed upon all the world is clearly shown in the numerous joyful observances and celebrations which are taking place today more than 15 centuries after his death.

On St. Patrick's Day men of good will everywhere are cheerfully welcomed to the family of the Irish. A little of that warm, romantic spirit, along with an abundance of good humor, so characteristic of the Irish, marks all men, of whatever nationality, who choose to honor the name of St. Patrick and the land that he loved. In the words of a famous Irish blessing:

May the road rise with you, and may the wind be always at your back, and may God always hold you in the hollow of his hand.

Erin go bragh.

MAN AND HIS ENVIRONMENT

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, the recent disaster off the coast of Santa Barbara, Calif., reiterates the urgent need for Americans to develop a more concerned, conscientious attitude toward our natural and manmade environment. As we all know, California experienced a blow-out from an offshore oil drilling which resulted in an oil slick covering 50 square miles of sea and damaged beaches, wildlife, and property. Pollution of our air, land and water resources is reaching crisis proportions.

The U.S. Public Health Service reports that over 133 million tons of pollution enter our air annually. This aerial garbage causes property damages amounting to \$13 billion annually, or \$65 for each American. Included in the \$13 billion figure is a \$500 million annual loss to agriculture. Examples of air pollution damage are numerous. Ozone emitted from motor vehicles damages pine forests; fluorides used in industrial processes injure livestock and damage crops, fruit trees and flowers. Homes exposed to large amounts of aerial pollutants need painting frequently. Health effects of air pollution give cause for serious concern. Dirty air exacerbates bronchitis, emphysema, bronchial asthma, lung cancer, and other respiratory illnesses.

We pollute our land by destroying natural resources and by creating unsightly scenes, such as the auto graveyards found along many highways. This pollution is caused, in part, by our affluence. Our wealth has permitted the consumption of more goods and services. As we consume more, we generate more waste products to dispose of. Americans generate 15,000,000 tons of scrap iron and steel annually, one-third of which is in the form of derelict autos. Each year Americans dispose of 48,000,000 cans and 26,000,000 bottles and jars. Some of these materials decompose over a period of time. Others however, especially plastics, will not decompose in millions of years, according to scientists.

The amount of refuse our society generates staggers the imagination. Each American generates personal refuse of 4.5 pounds every day. One and a half pounds of that amount consists of food wastes; the remaining 3 pounds is trash. This 4.5 pound figure is expected to triple by 1980. Each year, \$2.8 billion is spent by private and public garbage and refuse collection efforts.

Only recently have some cities adopted satisfactory methods of disposing of municipal refuse. Only recently has the municipal dump disappeared from our landscape in favor of the more satisfactory disposal methods—sanitary landfill, incineration, and, in some places, composting. Disposal of industrial and commercial wastes continues to be a problem in some areas.

Pollution of our Nation's lakes, rivers, streams, and other waterways is commonplace. The incidents at Torrey

Canyon and Santa Barbara emphasize that even our ocean waters and adjacent beaches are not immune to contamination. Municipalities contribute to the problem by dumping untreated sewage in rivers—often in the very rivers from which their drinking water supply is extracted. Industry adds to the problem, also.

Efforts to combat pollution are being made. But we still need to be reminded of the severity of destroying our resources. I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues two recent articles which I believe clarify the pollution problem and indicate methods of developing proper attitudes toward our natural environment. Mr. Speaker, with your permission, I submit these two articles for inclusion in the RECORD:

[Reprinted from the Science Teacher, January 1969]

THE FUTURE OF MAN'S ENVIRONMENT¹

(By Robert W. Lamson, staff assistant, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Water Quality and Research, Department of the Interior)

In thinking about and acting to influence man's future environment, we must consider many factors—the physical, biological, and social; the "man-made" as well as the "natural." Man's future environment will include the human populations, the cities and institutions which man has created, as well as the physical, chemical, and non-human biological systems—the oceans, continents, river basins, and the populations of various species of plants, fish, insects, birds, and animals upon which man depends for his survival and well-being.

If we wish to protect and improve the social, physical, and biological aspects of our environment, we must attempt to answer and act upon the answers to the following three critical questions:

What are the trends which are helping to modify or create the natural and man-made environments which man will inhabit during the next half century?

What is the possible range of these alternative future environments?

What might be done to influence these trends so as to shape the future in desired directions?

This article discusses these questions, specifically as they concern the United States.

TRENDS AND CONDITIONS CONFRONTING THE UNITED STATES

Important trends which will affect man's future environment include population growth and distribution, resource supply and use, output of wastes, and growth and use of technological and organizational power.

Population growth and distribution. The current world population of about 3.5 billion could double and reach 7 billion or more by the year 2000 if current trends continue. Projected United States population for the year 2015 ranges between 325 and 483 million. In just 50 years, the nation's population could grow by 125 to 280 million over today's population of about 200 million.

Throughout the world, people have been moving from rural areas to more densely populated urban areas, and in the United States, a very large percentage of the growing population lives and is projected to live on a very small percentage of the land.

Supply and use resources. The United States contains a supply of renewable and non-renewable natural resources which is not unlimited, which can be depleted, but which can also be expanded and upgraded through application of scientific research,

¹ This article represents only the views of the author and not those of the Department of the Interior.

and used more efficiently through better management.

Use of many resources in the United States is projected to increase even more rapidly than population, due to increased per capita demand for resources caused by increased industrialization and use of technology, urbanization, rising levels of income and individual expectations, increased leisure, and outdoor recreation. Increasing demand for resources sometimes involves a requirement for higher quality resources, for instance, water.

Output of wastes. Output of wastes—solid, liquid, and gaseous—is increasing for the nation and per capita, thereby intensifying the threat of pollution to our air, land, and water. Sources of pollution include cities, industries, farms, heat from power generation, automobiles, recreation, mining, boating, and commercial shipping. The types, sources, and amounts of wastes will tend to increase with the growth of population, industry, and use of technology and resources. Many types of wastes are also projected to increase more rapidly than will population.

The factors which help to increase demands for resources, for clean water, pure air, and uncluttered land, also help to increase the output of wastes, thereby making demands more difficult to satisfy. While we have placed increasing demands upon the environment, we have also increased our dumping of wastes into it.

Although we may not be in immediate danger of exhausting our supply of many types of resources, we are in danger, because of declining quality, of jeopardizing our usable supply.

Growth of technological and organizational power. By applying our knowledge and experience to solve practical problems, we are increasing our technological and organizational ability to:

1. Push back many of the constraints of nature, of distance, time and disease, and of our formerly low capacity to manipulate the environment;

2. Shape and create widespread, intense, and long-lasting changes in the natural environment; some of these changes could be irreversible and adverse to man's long-term survival, health, and well-being;

3. Create "artificial" or man-made environments (for instance, cities and manned satellites), and to live in new environments (under the ocean and on the moon);

4. Perceive, predict, and monitor as well as to control, influence, or manage environmental changes, for example, via new techniques (systems analysis), tools (microscopes, telescopes, satellites, and computers), laws (domestic rules as well as international agreements concerning conservation, use of resources, and technology), and institutions (river basin commissions);

5. Increase rapidly the production of food and energy, transform raw materials into finished products through industrial processes, and transport people, goods, energy, and information.

Changing proportion of "natural" and "man-made" aspects of the environment. As a result of population growth and of using our increased technological and organizational power, more and more of man's environment is becoming man-affected or man-made, except where special provision has been made to keep the influence of man and his machines at a minimum (for example, in wilderness areas and natural areas created to provide a base line for ecological studies).

The primary threats to man's physical and psychic survival, to his health and well-being, now increasingly stem from his own creations, from the environments which he has created or altered, from the natural forces which he has harnessed, and from the institutions, techniques, and tools which he has invented in order to remove the constraints of space, time, and low capacity to manipulate the environment.

Man no longer has the margin for error which space, time, and his relative lack of power once provided for his ecological mistakes.

He must, therefore, take care, in his relation to the environment and in his actions to shape it, that he does not make himself and his society more vulnerable to sabotage, disruption, and disaster—for example, if a small element of the system which he designs does not perform perfectly, if his shaping of the environments should have adverse effects, or if disturbances in the environment, such as floods, earthquakes, and hurricanes, should affect the areas in which he has settled.

We have had some sharp, recent experience with systems which created potentially disastrous effects when a small part of the system failed—for instance, the Northeast power failure and the Torrey Canyon tanker disaster.

In attempting to use our power to influence the environment, we should design for a range of contingencies—for the optimist when all works well and for the pessimist when much goes wrong. The test of our technical creations is not how well they perform when all parts work as designed, but how well the system runs and how widespread the damage is when a part of the system falls.

Since the environment influences man himself, and since man has increased power to influence his environment, man is, in many ways, through intent as well as inadvertence, and perhaps in ways he does not understand, increasingly influencing his own genetic, physical, and psychological nature—and that of his children—through the environments which he creates.

Because man's increased power to manipulate the environment has created a total environment which is increasingly man-made and in which man's margin for error is reduced, his only protection now is knowledge and wisdom in using his technological and organizational power. Man's ability to create adverse effects may be greater than his ability to perceive, judge, prevent, and control them. As a result of his inability to control wisely the purposes to which he puts his power, man may find that he is creating effects in his "natural" and "man-made" environments, as well as in himself, which he cannot control and which are adverse and irreversible.

RANGE OF ALTERNATIVE FUTURE ENVIRONMENTS

In attempting to look at the "natural" as well as the "man-made" aspects of man's future environment, one can project a number of possible alternatives, ranging from optimistic to pessimistic.

The many elements which will make up man's future environment vary with respect to: (1) probability of occurrence; from impossible to inevitable or zero to 100 percent; (2) popularity, or the extent to which the event is desired by the public or by specific groups, today or in the future; and (3) desirability.

The actual future environment which man will inhabit depends upon the nature and unfolding of the various trends which are helping to shape the environment and upon man's actions to influence these trends.

The crucial problem in looking at the future is to decide what is desirable among the range of possible future events and then to work for it, taking into consideration the probability that the future event will occur, the difficulty and costs of bringing it about, and the consequences of not doing so.

Within the range of possible future social and ecological environments, many pessimistic possibilities could be realized in the absence of adequate policies to prevent their occurrence.

For example, problems of external defense, international order, and war could become worse, with general nuclear war one pessimistic

possibility for rapidly decimating our population, and, at the same time severely damaging our natural environment and our cities.

Large-scale loss of life due to ecological and technological disasters is not impossible, particularly if large and densely concentrated populations depend upon an ecology and large-scale systems of technology and organization which are highly vulnerable to disruption, breakdown, and misuse.

In the absence of adequate policies to protect against such natural hazards as storms, earthquakes, and floods, larger numbers of people could become vulnerable to disaster.

Other possible adverse effects of misusing our technological power have been mentioned, for example, global ecological imbalances and more intense and widespread disasters caused by:

1. Environmental pollution which upsets the chemical-thermal balance of the earth's atmosphere because of increased burning of fossil fuels, pollution of the upper atmosphere, and impairment of the cycle by which the carbon-oxygen balance in the atmosphere is maintained, through photosynthesis, by plants on land and in the ocean.

2. Soil depletion and increased salinity of the soil.

3. Poorly planned, large-scale, environmental engineering projects which trigger world-wide ecological effects—rapid or slow—which are adverse to man and irreversible.

Increasing pressures to mass produce and construct, in a short time, large numbers of new buildings and housing units could cause a decline in diversity, quality, and choice in our cities. Without proper protection, the quality of the countryside, also, could continue to deteriorate because of junkyards, billboards, power lines, overenriched lakes ruined by algae growth fed by wastes from cities and farms, polluted streams, and erosion of hillsides and of the many new inadequately protected construction sites.

The cumulative and mutually reinforcing effects of many environmental changes on the ecology and on man's physical and psychic health are potentially dangerous but not well known.

For example, we do not know enough about the long-term ecological, somatic, and genetic effects of various chemicals used in fertilizers, pesticides, and herbicides; of such environmental contaminants as radioactive wastes and lead; of the concentration of various poisons through the food chain, or of their cumulative and interactive effects. Nevertheless, the outpouring of toxic materials into the environment is already great and increasing.

Even though the nation's economy, our gross national product, and our per capita income will continue to grow, individual standards of living could decline because of inadequate policies and programs to protect the environment. Since the social, physical, and biological aspects of man's environment interact, deterioration of the non-human environment could help to create economic and social decline.

Moreover, failure on the social and political level could, in turn, contribute to deterioration of our physical and biological surroundings. For example, the educational system could fail to transmit to succeeding generations the cultural values which underlie the nation's political system as well as the attitudes and skills essential to maintaining environmental quality.

Internal order as well as ecological balance and environmental quality could break down or become more difficult to maintain. Or, their maintenance could be based more and more on "external controls" and repressive measures, on the threat of punishment and constriction of freedom.

Man's actions to avert the various environmental threats which now confront him will

help to determine whether or not his future environment will be one in which he can thrive as well as exist.

Depending on his actions to prevent the occurrence of future pessimistic possibilities, and to realize optimistic ones, man could enjoy more widespread and heightened values of, for example: natural beauty, clean air, water, and uncluttered land; cities which are beautiful, exciting, and a joy to live in; rising levels of living; tranquillity and silence; privacy as well as sociability; diversity, individuality, and choice; justice and security; political freedom, the opportunity to influence and participate in the decisions which affect his welfare and that of his children; democratic, representative government; and the opportunity to develop his personality to the maximum extent.

We must remember that the optimistic projections will not automatically come about without human effort. Nor will we prevent the pessimistic projections from coming true if we do not work at it. In fact, projections can become self-denying or self-fulfilling prophecies, depending upon their effect on human attitudes, effort, and will.

When people view any particular future alternative as necessarily inevitable, such an attitude tends to generate self-fulfilling or self-denying prophecies, depending on whether we see the inevitable as optimistic or pessimistic. For example, a pessimistic projection which is viewed as inevitable can become a self-confirming prophecy through reducing any effort to prevent its occurrence, thereby increasing the probability that it will come true. An optimistic projection which is viewed as inevitable can become a self-denying prophecy through reducing the effort devoted to bringing it about, thereby reducing the probability of its coming true.

On the other hand, if the future is regarded as open and subject, to some extent, to human manipulation, then this will tend to leave room for the creative exercise of human wisdom, will, and effort.

CONTROL OR INFLUENCE OF TRENDS

Having outlined some of the important trends confronting the United States, and a range of alternative environmental outcomes associated with these trends, the question arises: Should we attempt to "adjust" to the trends, or to "influence" and "control" them, or both?

Assuming that "adjustment," by itself, is not an adequate guide if we wish to promote economic growth, individual well-being, and environmental quality, we then need to consider what can be done to "control"—or at least to "influence" the various trends which will affect man's future environment. What can be done to make more probable the optimistic rather than the pessimistic projections?

Technological and organizational power. It is crucial that we control the uses of our increasing technological and organizational power to affect our environment since to date, we have used this growing power in an unbalanced way:

To limit deaths, but not, at the same time and in the same degree, to limit births. As a result, no matter how efficient the technology, skill, and organization devoted to producing, expanding, and making more efficient use of resources, population now outpaces production in many parts of the world, with tragic results.

To use, destroy, and deplete resources for immediate benefit, without sufficient regard for the resource needs of future generations and without providing adequate knowledge and skills to compensate for the depletion.

To pollute our land, air, and water, but not to prevent pollution, clean it up where it occurs, and restore the damaged environment.

To promote economic and population growth, but not to protect and promote environmental quality.

To create and apply new knowledge and powerful technologies without, at the same time, acting to prevent and limit the damaging side effects of using this knowledge and technology.

There is a need now to restore the balance in our use of science and technology—in our attitudes, laws, and institutions. For science and engineering, by themselves, cannot save us from our lack of wisdom and vision in using science and in managing our technological power.

Additional technological power and efficiency, applied in the same manner that we have applied them in the past to our environment and to the forces of nature, will not necessarily save us from our lack of balance and wisdom in using that power.

We need, therefore, to perceive, predict, evaluate, influence, and control the effects of using our technological and organizational power so that the optimistic rather than the pessimistic possibilities will come to pass.

To carry out the research, planning, and operational programs to perform these activities, we need to create the necessary laws and institutions, in government, at the federal, state, and local levels, as well as in the private sector, in universities and industry.

We need to use our technological power in such a way as to affect the trends which, if unchecked, would realize the pessimistic possibilities. In other words, we need to influence population growth and distribution, the supply of and demand for resources and services, and the output of wastes.

Population growth and distribution. Problems of population increase as well as density could seriously jeopardize the ability of this and other nations to meet, concomitantly, their national goals for security, economic growth, welfare and well-being, resources, conservation, and environmental quality.

There is, therefore, a need to develop a population policy based on analysis to determine:

1. What, if various alternative projections for future population growth and distribution were to come true, the effects would be on the success and costs of our policies:

A. *To supply and conserve resources* (land, water, air, food, minerals, energy, timber, wildlife, wilderness, outdoor recreation and park areas, open spaces, natural beauty, silence, etc.)

B. *To provide services* (transportation, health, welfare, housing, sanitation, education, etc.); and

C. At the same time, *to protect and promote environmental quality*; that is, to prevent further pollution of our land, air, and water, to clean up what pollution remains, to restore the damaged environment, to rebuild our deteriorated cities and to create new ones;

D. To solve these problems within the existing framework of government and political and personal values (to protect and strengthen freedom of choice and representative, popular government and to limit the extent of intrusion of government into the personal lives of citizens).

2. Which, if any, of the various alternative projections for future population growth and distribution we should regard as goals for population policy, and the costs and benefits of achieving each; and

3. How, by what methods, we could achieve each goal. Programs for action to influence population growth rates and distribution could be based on such analyses.

Alternative goals for population growth might include, for example: (1) to insure that all American families will have access to information and services that will enable them to plan the number and spacing of their children, and thereby, to insure that any future American child will be a "wanted child"; (2) to achieve population growth in the United States which would increase more rapidly or more slowly than is projected; and

(3) to stabilize United States (and world) population at less than its present size, or double its present size, or greater by a factor of 2.5, 3, or 4. Here, the question arises: At what level and when should this stabilization occur—in 40, 60, 75, 100, or 200 years?

Supply and use of resources and services. To help satisfy the increasing demands for resources, there is a need to increase the available supply, through research and exploration programs, and to make more efficient use of the existing supply through improved conservation, management, and pricing.

Moreover, if our aim is to increase individual well-being and standards of living, access to resources and services, as well as to promote overall economic growth, then the question arises whether we should attempt to limit the rate at which demand grows as well as to "satisfy" increasing demands for resources and services. This would require us to limit the rate at which population grows and puts pressure on our not unlimited ability to provide resources and services.

Control of waste output. If we are to protect the environment adequately, we must bring under control and manage the wastes of our society which threaten to poison and bury us and to destroy the ecological systems upon which we depend. We must, therefore, prevent, limit, manage, and control waste and pollution at each step in the process by which our economy and industry transform energy and materials, from raw materials through to finished products, to ultimate use and disposal.

This requires us to create more efficient and less wasteful industrial and economic processes, and to provide for use, reuse, recovery, and recycling of the waste products—solid, liquid, and gaseous—which are generated at each stage in our economic system.

PERSONAL AND POLITICAL VALUES AND CONTROL OF TRENDS

To control and influence the trends outlined above requires "management" and control of people and institutions as well as of the environment. What is the relation between: (1) "management" of the environment and of the "trends" which will affect the environment, and (2) personal and political values?

"Environmental management" involves the monitoring and manipulation of physical chemical, and non-human biological systems—the oceans, river basins, watersheds, airsheds, industrial, agricultural, and municipal wastes, and populations of various species of fish, birds, animals, insects, and plants.

But such objects are only part of the environmental quality problem. Human persons, their attitudes, ideologies, practices, social systems, and institutions are also part of the problem of maintaining environmental quality. They must also be part of the cure.

If more "efficient environmental management" involves human persons, attitudes, and institutions, then what are the implications of "efficient environmental management" for such values as freedom, privacy, autonomy of personality, dispersal of power and pluralism (particularly under conditions of rapidly increasing population), industrialization, urbanization, and use of technological power to manipulate the environment?

How can the United States promote environmental quality, and, at the same time, protect and promote various important personal and political values under conditions in which an additional 100 million people are projected to be added to the United States population in a short 30 years?

If the United States is to control the effects of its citizens' actions on the environment, and at the same time, to protect their personal and political values, there will be a

need to rely, to a large extent, on internal psychological controls—rather than on the external threat of law or punishment. And, if such internal controls are to be used with a rapidly expanding population, then great reliance must be placed on education for conservation and environmental quality—at each stage of a person's life—in the home, through school, and in other areas of activity.

The need to promote and to reconcile "environmental quality and "environmental management" with such values as freedom, privacy, and autonomy of personality, dispersal of power, and pluralism is one which places a critical responsibility on the educational system in general, and on the teachers of science in particular.

CONCLUSION

Our current environmental crisis is due to man's misuse of power—to one-sided use of his capacity to control the forces of nature and to his lack of understanding of himself and his lack of wisdom in using his power.

Much remains to be done for environmental quality—in many areas—in terms of attitudes and education, laws and institutions, research, planning, and operational programs.

Science teachers who convey the attitudes and skills needed to protect and promote environmental quality are on the forefront of man's effort to restore balance and harmony—within himself, within nature, and between himself and nature.

We must restore wisdom and balance in our actions, in the use of our power, and in nature. Time is short. Much of our damage to the environment is irreversible; what we destroy cannot be restored and is lost forever.

The accelerating damage which we do to nature and to ourselves will not wait for us to catch up, nor will it wait while we refine our understanding of this damage.

We must learn, and science teachers must help future generations to learn, to restore the balance:

Between our power and our wisdom in using that power

Between our power to create and our power to destroy and disrupt

Between our efforts to prevent injury and our efforts to heal the damaged environment

Between our efforts to understand environmental problems and our actions to prevent and correct these problems

Our power has exceeded our wisdom. Our power to destroy the environment has surpassed our power to correct the damage, to conserve and create.

Our efforts to prevent have lagged behind our efforts to cure.

Our cures have been too little and too late. And, we have often allowed the quest for more perfect knowledge to deflect us from acting now with what knowledge we have.

[Reprinted from the Los Angeles Times, Feb. 2, 1969]

POLLUTION ON LAND, BY SEA, AND IN THE AIR: MAN MUST DEVELOP NEW RESPECT FOR HIS WORLD—ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE CAUSED BY OUR MISUSE OF TECHNOLOGY

(By Irving S. Bengelsdorf)

The handwriting is on the wall. And the message is clear. Either man controls his exploding population, his crowding into cities, and his industrial activities, or he faces disaster through his pollution and manipulation of our planetary environment.

It is the only environment we have. More people in more cities demand more technology to provide more food, more water, more shelter, more transportation, more manufactured goods, more electricity, more services. All these activities give rise to pollution.

It is becoming more and more evident that

modern technology—as used by society—permits us to change our environment on a vast global, national, statewide or local scale. And we often do not know the long-range consequences of such environmental changes.

In symposium after symposium at the 135th annual meeting of the American Assn. for the Advancement of Science, recently held in Dallas, scientists repeatedly warned of impending danger as we continue to pollute the air above us, the seas around us, and the land beneath us.

Consider air pollution. The burning of fuels—wood, coal, oil, gasoline or natural gas—in homes, automobiles and factories gives rise to a horrendous aerial garbage of sulfur oxides, carbon oxides, nitrogen oxides, hydrocarbons and lead.

POLLUTION CAN CHANGE HEAT OF ATMOSPHERE

These aerial pollutants can change the heat-content of the atmosphere, can kill trees, crops and flowers, can irritate eyes, noses and throats, can aggravate emphysema, place a stress on heart function and may contribute to lung cancer.

Or, consider the contamination of water. Sewage, detergents, pesticides, waste chemicals, and waste heat dumped into rivers, lakes and estuaries—and dams built or new waterways constructed—can change sparkling rivers into dirty, fetid streams, clear blue lakes into turbid pea-soup green bodies of water, and ocean coastlines once teeming with diverse plants and animals into submarine desert devoid of life.

Finfish and shellfish are killed or driven elsewhere. The catch of blue pike in Lake Erie dropped from 6.9 million pounds in 1956 to less than 200 pounds in 1963.

Land pollution boggles the mind. In our affluent, expanding urban population, each American, every day, must get rid of about five pounds of refuse—paper, grass and brush cuttings, garbage, ashes, metal, glass and ceramics. This amounts to about 1,800 pounds per person per year or 360 billion pounds of solid wastes annually for the country!

Where to put it? Paper cartons deteriorate with time and steel cans eventually rust away. But aluminum cans are longer-lived and plastic containers are nearly eternal in the pollution of our landscape. The number of cans, bottles, jars, bottle caps, and miscellaneous containers increases as the population increases.

As Dr. Roger Revelle, director of the Center for Population Studies, Harvard University, said, "What this country needs is a beer can that either we or the bacteria can eat."

Man-made pollution has three characteristics:

1—Pollution respects no political boundaries. There is no ordinance the city of Pasadena can pass that will prevent smog, generated in Los Angeles by automobiles driving in from Santa Monica, San Pedro or Van Nuys, from irritating the eyes of its residents.

Pollution even crosses international boundaries. Since the turn of the century, rain in Western Europe has become more and more acidic. The smokestacks of ever more coal-burning European factories belch ever-increasing amounts of sulfur dioxide into the air.

Sulfur dioxide slowly changes into sulfuric acid which then dissolves in raindrops and falls to earth. And sulfuric acid is not only corrosive, but by its chemical action it also can release toxic mercury compounds—used by farmers to protect seeds after planting—into nearby lakes.

Mercury in lakes means mercury in fish—and dead birds that eat the fish. Dr. Bengt Lundholm of the Swedish Natural Science Research Council pointed out that it now is forbidden to catch fish in many lakes in Sweden. For the fish are loaded with deadly mercury compounds.

What recourse does Sweden have if rain containing sulfuric acid, generated by a factory in northern Germany or elsewhere, drifts over and affects the fishing in Swedish lakes?

2—Pollution often arises from intentions that are good—to improve health, to increase food and fiber production, to make transportation more convenient, etc. The intentions are good; the results are potentially harmful.

USE OF POTENT INSECTICIDE HAS WORLDWIDE EFFECTS

When a swamp in Ceylon is sprayed with DDT to eliminate mosquitos that carry malaria, or a field in California's Central Valley is dusted with DDT to eliminate insect pests, we somehow affect the amount of DDT stored within the livers of snowy owls in the Arctic, penguins in the Antarctic and people everywhere.

There are more than 20 tons of DDT "on the hoof" in this country, "walking around" stored within the fatty tissues of 200 million Americans.

Dr. John L. Buckley of the U.S. Office of Science and Technology points out that about one-half of the pesticides that are sprayed end up in areas for which they were not intended and affect plants and animals that were not the original target. He estimates that there now are about 300 million to 500 million pounds of DDT "floating around" in our planetary biosphere.

3—Pollution problems are created by society's misuse of technology. Pollution problems are not technological, but social.

Attempts to eliminate pollution run counter to economic, institutional and political interests. It is for these reasons that there is no indication that we have either the will or the social organization to solve any of the problems of pollution.

For even when scientists or engineers identify the source of pollution and indicate what should be done, there is no guarantee that society will do anything about it.

Cigarette smoking and smog in Los Angeles are prime examples of personal and community pollution difficult to solve because of the tobacco, automobile and automobile-related industries. What is good for the manufacturer of a product may not be good for that product's consumer or user. If invented today, cigarettes would not be approved by the Food and Drug Administration.

We shall make little progress as long as committees appointed to study pollution and other social problems always contain some members from the very industries or institutions that are responsible for the pollution or problem.

The difficulty is that we cannot put price tags on pollution. How much it is worth to look through nonsmoking eyes and see the San Gabriel Mountains or Santa Catalina Island from downtown Los Angeles? How much is a redwood tree worth? And how much can we charge pesticide users and manufacturers for a dead bald eagle—particularly if it were the last bald eagle on earth?

This is our hangup. As Dr. Revelle added, "In this country, we are accustomed to solve problems by economic considerations. Yet, pollution problems cannot be solved on economic terms."

What to do? The National Commission on Urban Problems, headed by former Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D-Ill.), stated, "The commission firmly believes that, no matter what else the nation attempts to do to improve its cities, America will surely fail to build a good urban society unless we begin to have a new respect—reverence is not too strong a word—for the natural environment that surrounds us."

And what should be the role of scientists and engineers? Dr. Gordon J. F. MacDonald, professor of physics and vice chancellor at UC Santa Barbara, told the AAAS meeting, "Up

to now, science and technology have been used to increase wealth. We now have to use science and technology to preserve our environment."

Scientists and engineers must realize that their intensive research and development labors in the last few decades have not only changed society. They also have changed science and engineering.

With the global environment rapidly deteriorating, it sounds hollow for the scientist to insist that his only mission is to pursue truth in the cloistered laboratory, or for the engineer to proclaim his development of ever more improved means to ever more unimproved ends.

In his AAAS presidential address, Dr. Don K. Price, dean of the John Fitzgerald Kennedy School of Government at Harvard, concluded, "In an era which is beginning to be alert to the threats posed by modern technology to the human environment, the role of science in politics is no longer merely to destroy the irrational and superstitious beliefs which were once the foundation of oppressive authority.

"It is, rather, to help clarify our public values, define our policy options, and assist responsible political leaders in the guidance and control of the powerful forces which have been let loose on this troubled planet."

Society may not listen to the scientist or the engineer, but our environmental peril is too great for either to remain quiet. Books on automobile safety should be written by automotive engineers, not by lawyers.

Rachel Carson was wrong. It is not the spring that is silent. It is the scientists and engineers—the one element in our society that really knows what is happening in the pollution of our environment. The silence from our universities has been deafening.

HECHLER'S BRIDGE

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, in this era when most columnists delight in anything that makes Congress look stodgy, selfish, spendthrift, corrupt, archaic, or just plain foolish, it is refreshing—especially to those of us who labor in the congressional vineyards—to see in print a highly complimentary column about one of our colleagues.

The March 17 issue of Newsweek published the following comment about KEN HECHLER, of West Virginia, describing his exceptional background in scholarship and war history, and the determined battle he is now making for mine safety improvements. Here is the text as written by Kenneth Crawford:

HECHLER'S BRIDGE

(By Kenneth Crawford)

Rep. Ken Hechler of West Virginia is many things to many people. To admirers of war literature, he is the author of "The Bridge at Remagen," an epic of the crossing of the Rhine in the second world war by a company of courageous Americans. To high-school and college students in his district, he is living proof of the efficacy of youth power. To coal-mine operators, he is a parvenu nuisance and to the United Mine Workers, a "flnk." To the widows and families of miners lost in the latest West Virginia disaster, he is friend and benefactor.

Whatever else he may be, Hechler is an extraordinary congressman. Born in then

rural Long Island, N.Y., graduated by Swarthmore and awarded a Ph.D. by Columbia, commissioned a major in the historical section of the U.S. Army after enlisting as a private and serving in armored units, teacher of political science at Columbia, Princeton and finally at Marshall University at Huntington, W. Va., aide to Adlai Stevenson and Harry Truman, in-and-out Washington bureaucrat, Hechler finally decided in 1958, after only about a year's residence in Huntington, to try for election to the 86th Congress on the Democratic ticket.

He was as unlikely a West Virginia politician as the state had ever experienced. Being a bachelor and a newcomer, he had no family or kin to commend him to a notoriously clannish constituency. What he had was enthusiastic support from high-school and college students attracted by his political theories. They showed what dedicated young amateurs could do for a candidate years before their potential was discovered by Eugene McCarthy. Hechler also had a war book, which he distributed in lieu of campaign literature, with or without autograph. The novelty of an author running for Congress somehow intrigued West Virginia farmers and workers.

VALOR

"The Bridge at Remagen," which has been made into a movie for release in July, is almost as well read as the Bible in the Fourth District of West Virginia. If it has never appeared on best-seller lists elsewhere, the explanation may be that war heroes are out of fashion. The first American soldiers to cross the bridge, knowing as they did that it was mined and that they would in all probability go up with it, were indeed heroic.

Why it didn't blow—why the German sappers bungled—is Hechler's story, meticulously documented and sensitively told, with sympathy for foe as well as pride in valorous friend.

Hechler is now engaged in a different kind of war requiring a different kind of valor. At stake is the future safety of the 42,000 men who mine coal in West Virginia, about half of them now on strike, and of other thousands who dig in other states. This time it is not easy to distinguish friend from enemy. The United Mine Workers and Tony Boyle, its president, have the same professed objectives as Hechler but they are his most vindictive opponents. The Mine Workers Journal not only calls Hechler a fink but in a recent issue published a set of cynical campaign aphorisms and falsely attributed them to him.

FIGHT

Hostilities have been intense since the Farmington disaster last November in which 78 lives were lost. Of the several bills to tighten safety regulations and impose better health standards so far introduced in Congress, among them one sponsored by the Nixon Administration, another by UMW, Hechler's is the most stringent. It would punish miners as well as managers for violation of safety rules, a provision that outrages Boyle. It would forbid a coal-dust density of more than 3 milligrams a cubic meter, a provision called impossible by the operators and now impractical by government experts. Hechler also wants the Bureau of Mines, which is responsible for enforcement, moved out of Interior into the Labor Department.

While Congress ponders safety and health legislation, the West Virginia Legislature is locked in a fight over compensation for victims of black-lung and other occupational diseases afflicting coal miners.

Facing a mined political bridge, apparently outflanked and outgunned, a quiet, 54-year-old loner would seem to be no match for the combined forces of the tough coal industry. Yet if Congress passes a law it will owe something to Hechler's guts. The Farmington

widows who recently visited Washington petitioned for as strong a law as Hechler demands and they were effective. Their expenses were probably paid out of the proceeds of a book sale to the movies. The professor has his own ways.

EDMUND L. GOODWIN AND JOSEPH V. KLUBERT RECEIVE COVETED SAMUEL H. DEUTSCH AWARD FROM THE JOINT VETERANS' COMMISSION OF CUYAHOGA COUNTY

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the Joint Veterans' Commission of Cuyahoga County which is comprised of the United Spanish War Veterans, Army and Navy Union, Jewish War Veterans, Polish Legion of American Veterans, Catholic War Veterans, Marine Corps League, Military Order of the Purple Heart, and the Legion of Valor marked its 44th anniversary on Monday, February 3, 1969, at the annual installation and awards dinner which was attended by more than 350 veteran and civic leaders.

The commission's achievements during the last 44 years in the advancement of veterans, patriotic and civic affairs in our community are reflections of the caliber of its membership and of its officers.

Each year at the installation and awards dinner, the commission bestows the coveted Samuel H. Deutsch Memorial Award to the outstanding veteran of the year. The Samuel H. Deutsch Memorial Award is given by the family of Rudolph Deutsch, a longtime Cleveland jeweler, in honor of Samuel Deutsch, past president of the Joint Veterans' Commission.

Selection of the outstanding veteran of the year follows a careful screening of all veterans who are active in veteran organizations throughout the county.

This year two veterans were selected by the commission to receive the Deutsch Memorial Award. The men honored as "Outstanding Veterans of 1968" were Mr. Edmund L. Goodwin, veteran of the U.S. Navy and Mr. Joseph V. Klubert, of the U.S. Army.

Ed Goodwin has been active in local veterans affairs for more than 20 years. He rose through the ranks of the Polish Legion of American Veterans, serving as treasurer, president; district, county, and State commander of the Legion.

Joe Klubert has been equally active in local veterans affairs for many years, and is presently the national third vice commander of the Catholic War Veterans.

Mr. Speaker, both these men have spent thousands of hours developing programs for veteran organizations, participating in local civic events, and providing recreation and entertainment for hospitalized veterans; and are fittingly honored for their dedicated service.

An equally significant part of the banquet was the installation of the officers

for the forthcoming year. The officers were installed this year by the Honorable Felix T. Matia, judge common pleas court of Cuyahoga County. They are:

President, the Honorable Harry Jaffe, judge of the common pleas court of Cuyahoga County; of the Jewish War Veterans.

First vice president, Anthony Palaibis of the Catholic War Veterans.

Second vice president, E. L. Goodwin, Polish Legion of American Veterans.

Secretary and treasurer, Chester J. Koch, of the Army and Navy Union; Cleveland's coordinator for patriotic activities. Mr. Koch is serving his 30th year in this capacity.

Recording secretary, Arthur Pink of the Marine Corps League.

Chaplain, George Weinberg of the Jewish War Veterans.

Cochaplain, Leo Zingale of the Legion of Valor.

CRISIS IN PERU

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, on February 26, 1969, I introduced an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act to make the Hickenlooper amendment subject to the judgment of the President. At present the law requires the mandatory suspension of aid to any country which expropriates American property and does not take steps within 6 months to pay for it. The President's hands are tied.

Such a cutoff in aid to Peru is now scheduled for April 9. If aid is suspended, the Peruvian Government has threatened to retaliate by seizing a large American copper company. Other Latin American countries have indicated they will support Peru if we suspend that country's aid. Without defending the conduct of the Peruvian Government, it is clear that we face an extremely serious downward spiral in our Latin American relations if the Hickenlooper amendment should be invoked.

What is needed, I believe, is for the President, charged by the Constitution with the responsibility for our foreign policy execution, to have the flexibility he needs in negotiations with Peru. My amendment does not condone expropriation without compensation nor does it judge the merits of this case which involved the property of a Standard Oil subsidiary with a very dubious record in Peru.

Since the introduction of my amendment, I have had many letters from Latin America, including several from AID officials about what aid suspension will mean. I include below one impressive letter from an AID official, whose name I have deleted since his views may not coincide with those of his agency, who tells how important his AID program is to Peru's agricultural development and how this value will end if aid is suspended:

NORTH CAROLINA STATE UNIVERSITY

MISSION TO PERU,

Lima, Peru, February 28, 1969.

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL,
Representative from the State of New York,
House of Representatives, Washington,
D.C.

DEAR MR. ROSENTHAL: I was glad to read in the Thursday, 27 February *El Comercio* of Lima, Peru, a short article describing your proposal to give President Nixon authority to postpone invocation of the Hickenlooper amendment in the case of Peru. I hope that your recommendation will be accepted and will allow time for reason to prevail, in a situation that is complex and a bit tense at the moment.

I work in a group of people who are assigned to the Ministry of Agriculture and to the principal agricultural college of the country under an A.I.D. contract carried by North Carolina State University. This program is in its fifteenth year. It is regarded as a model for this kind of contractual relationship.

The contract has weathered a Republican and two Democratic Administrations in the United States and a military and two democratic governments in Peru, to find itself threatened with dissolution by differences that may intervene between our present Republican Administration and Peru's present military junta. Yet everywhere in the United States and in Peru there is respect and friendship for the program in which I work. The A.I.D. plan of action and budget for 1969 fiscal year has been approved by the present Peruvian Minister of Agriculture and by A.I.D.-Peru, and the part concerned with North Carolina State University has University approval.

This program provides for technical assistance in the development of Peru's most important Agricultural College—Agrarian University of La Molina—and in the development of the research and extension establishment of the Ministry of Agriculture. Aside from providing an academic advisor for the University and a research advisor for the Ministry the program of technical assistance includes five commodity-oriented projects—potatoes, rice, beans and oil crops, livestock and forages, and fruit. The practical objective is to increase production for internal consumption.

These projects are staffed with about two dozen competent specialists and an additional component of short-term consultants. Some 40 to 45 Peruvians are in the United States on study assignments.

The two institutions which this program is committed to help in their development are in acute financial crisis, due to the monetary difficulties of the country. Although our own ability to be effective was diminished last year by this problem, our presence helped them weather the storm and we made some progress. The financial problems are expected to continue another year and our withdrawal of support would add greatly to the accumulated difficulties.

Perhaps this brief statement will help you to convince your colleagues that hasty retribution for unfortunate attitudes, by way of the invocation of the Hickenlooper Amendment can destroy some long-term programs designed to help Peru build its necessary institutions to the point of self-sufficiency. I personally can see no gain to our country in hurrying into a drastic action of this sort.

The present problem in Peru seems to me symptomatic of a long-term deficiency in the understanding of the State Department and perhaps also that of the Congress about the role of technical assistance in our foreign aid programs.

Perhaps Senator Fulbright is correct in his assertion that we can only expect to avoid the consequences of arrogance on our own part and misunderstanding on the part of underdeveloped nations by routing our tech-

nical assistance support via the United Nations, the OAS and similar international agencies.

I would hope, however, that a considerable amount of our technical assistance support could be offered bilaterally in such a way as to protect it from the vagaries of temporary international tensions.

Sincerely yours,

KNOCK OFF THE VIOLENCE ON CAMPUS

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 13, 1969

MR. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, the lead editorial in today's Washington Post indicates that even the Post feels it is time to cut out the violence and illegality in student protests on campus. This is encouraging to see because, of course, while there is every right to lawful protest, to free speech, and handbills, to orderly meetings and discussion, there is no right to trespass upon the president's office, to block traffic in the streets or to interfere with the rights of other students to go to class and get an education.

In connection with the Post's editorial, it is of interest that in a last week's edition of the same paper appeared an interesting letter signed by Thomas W. Spaulding of Washington, D.C., describing how Robert E. Lee handled the problem at Washington and Lee University 100 years or so ago. I am inserting both articles in the RECORD at this point because of their undeniable relevance to a very serious problem facing the country at this hour:

TIME TO STOP THE NONSENSE ON CAMPUS

The disgraceful episode at Georgetown University Thursday night, when a handful of young hoodlums, most of them with no connection with the University, refused to permit the Mayor of San Francisco to make a speech, is the logical outcome of the attitude that previously led to the seizure by students of offices and buildings at Howard University. It is an attitude, common these days among some students and nonstudents who like to foment trouble, that no one's rights matter but their own and that society must allow them to do their thing regardless of what it is or where they do it.

It is long past time for an end to this kind of nonsense. There is room on every college campus for dissent and for criticism of the status quo. A campus without those elements is likely to stagnate and deserves to die. But there is a place and a time for dissent and for demonstration and there are limits on protests, whether by faculty, students or nonstudents, that every university ought to enforce.

Two recent actions of the Supreme Court provide some guidance as to what those limits ought to be. A couple of weeks ago, the Court upheld the right of students to wear black armbands to class as a demonstration of their opposition to the war in Vietnam. This was a proper exercise of the right of free expression, the Justices said, and was protected by the Constitution against interference by school administrators. But the Court added that "conduct by the student, in class or out of it, which for any reason—whether it stems from time, place or type of behavior—materially disrupts classwork or involves substantial disorder or invasion of the rights of other is, of course, not im-

munized by the constitutional guaranty of freedom of speech." As if to underline that sentence, the Court refused last Monday to review the expulsion of ten students from Bluefield State College in West Virginia for "riotous" behavior. Justice Fortas, speaking only for himself, pointed out the difference. These ten students, he said, were "engaged in an aggressive and violent demonstration, and not in peaceful, nondisruptive expression."

That is precisely the distinction that needs to be drawn in all campus protests. Students must be free to air their complaints and grievances, real or imaginary, in meetings, speeches, handbills, newspapers, conferences, and any other form of nonviolent persuasion including noncoercive picket lines. But they ought not to be free to disrupt classes, destroy property, deprive others of the right to speak, bar anyone from going into or out of a building, or interfere with the normal functioning of any part of a university's activities.

Merely saying that such a distinction ought to exist is quite a different thing from establishing it on campuses as different as Howard and Harvard, Georgetown and Berkeley. The primary burden, of course, for putting an end to the current nonsense is on those who administer colleges, who teach in them, and who attend them. About the last thing any university wants to do is to call in the police. If student groups, aided by campus police, can organize themselves sufficiently to cope with disruptions, so much the better. But, if they cannot, the formal power of society, in the form of the police, must be called upon to maintain order.

Father Hesburgh's formula for handling disorders at Notre Dame is still a good one. He has warned students that anyone disrupting a university activity will be given 15 minutes to think about it, then suspended if he continues to disrupt, and then expelled if he persists; nonstudents participating in disorders are to be arrested. But it takes more than an *ipse dixit* to establish such a policy. To make it stick, administrators must have done their homework—unifying behind them the great mass of faculty members and students who are interested in learning even while reforming the universities and making clear to all students what the penalties for riotous behavior are to be.

There are two great dangers in the current wave of unrest on the campuses. The first is that if disorder continues unchecked some great educational institutions will be destroyed. The second is that a wave of repression, aimed not at confining protest to its proper scope but at eliminating it, will follow. One of the major causative factors of the current problem is that many colleges refused for too long to listen when student and faculty members were protesting quietly. The affair at Columbia University a year ago demonstrated, much too well, that violence could produce changes that peaceful dissent had failed to produce. Thus a wave of repression unaccompanied by needed reforms will lead eventually only to greater trouble.

The Gallup Poll noted last week that campus disorders have replaced the Vietnam War as the No. 1 topic of serious discussion in homes across the country. When you add to this ferment the rumblings from state legislatures, alumni groups, and moderate students the message should be clear enough not only to those who would rather disrupt and destroy than learn and reform but to those who administer the institutions of higher education as well.

EARLIER CAMPUS PROTEST

In view of present widespread student strikes it may be worth while to examine historical examples. One, a century ago, occurred at what is now Washington and Lee University. It had been the custom to give one week's vacation at Christmas, but the

newly elected president reduced this to one day. First reaction was an appeal to students to boycott classes in Christmas week. Second reaction was an official notice: "Any student who signs this pledge will be expelled. If every student signs this, then I will lock the college door and put the key in my pocket." Signed, Robert E. Lee, President.

THOMAS W. SPAULDING.

WASHINGTON.

ATTORNEY GENERAL MITCHELL ADDRESSES FEDERAL BAR ASSOCIATION ON SUBJECT OF CRIME IN NATION'S CAPITAL

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. CRAMER, Mr. Speaker, on Monday, March 10, Attorney General John Mitchell addressed a Federal Bar Association luncheon in his honor at the National Press Club. My administrative assistant, Richard M. Haber, had the privilege of serving as chairman on this luncheon.

The excellent remarks of the Attorney General related to crime in Washington, D.C., and presented some of the administration's proposals to deal with this increasingly serious problem.

I believe the Attorney General's address presents a timely, well-reasoned approach to reducing crime, not only in Washington, but throughout the Nation as well and under unanimous consent I submit the full text of his remarks for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY ATTORNEY GENERAL JOHN N. MITCHELL BEFORE THE FEDERAL BAR ASSOCIATION AT THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB, WASHINGTON, D.C., MARCH 10, 1969

INTRODUCTION

I am pleased to make these remarks before the Federal Bar Association. I understand that you represent, through your 14,000 members, the federal career lawyer and lawyer alumni of federal legal service. I am pleased to be a part of this outstanding group.

The greatest asset of our federal government is the tremendous reservoir of talent of its dedicated employees. Their expertise is unequalled by any organization in the world. Career federal attorneys are an invaluable part of this asset, and this Administration will be utilizing your talents to the fullest extent possible. As new ideas develop for the most effective administration of our laws, there may be some changes in policy-making legal positions. But I can assure you that we will not be making any changes which would depreciate or detract from the fine legal profession we have developed in the Justice Department.

In your membership information brochure of the Federal Bar Association there is this quotation of President Theodore Roosevelt: "Every man owes some of his time to the up-building of the profession to which he belongs."

I agree with this sentiment, and believe it should also apply to those members of the legal profession who serve the federal government. Federal lawyers have a meaningful opportunity to contribute to their profession, and to their own individual professional development, through the activities of the Federal Bar Association. The maintenance of high standards for government attorneys and the sponsorship of continuing

legal education have been hallmarks of the Association for nearly half a century.

Among your Associations' many outstanding accomplishments, I would like to mention with approval the Bill of Rights Project of your Council of Younger Lawyers. I understand that 75,000 copies of your Bill of Rights handbook and a teachers' guide have been distributed since the project started four years ago; and that during this school year 200 members of your Association will spend a full day in sixteen District of Columbia high schools focusing on better understanding of our Nation's greatest heritage—the law. Projects like this add immeasurably to the betterment of our society.

THE PRESIDENT'S CRIME MESSAGE—COMMITMENT TO OBTAIN NECESSARY FUNDS

My theme today is the problem of crime in the City of Washington—a topic about which you have heard a great deal. I hope that the mere frequency of its mention does not in any way decrease your commitment to the necessity of a solution.

As you know, on January 31, President Nixon proposed some solutions to the crime problem in the District of Columbia. It is a landmark proposal for this city, and, if I had the time, I would comment at length on every detail.

It is of course tailored to the particular problems of Washington.

But the District of Columbia crime control program—both in its philosophical approach and in some of its specific recommendations—has a national significance far broader than the federal city lines laid out by Congress. Perhaps the overriding significance of the President's message is a firm underlying commitment that this Administration will do everything in its power to obtain all the money necessary to implement our proposals.

We are tired—and we think that the nation is tired—of being promised grand schemes without the concurring commitment to adequately finance them.

Therefore, our first efforts have been directed to securing adequate budgets for all components of the criminal justice processes mentioned by the President.

As you read this morning, supplemental budget requests for crime control for possibly as much as \$15 million dollars for fiscal 1969 and revised 1970 have been drawn up. Later in my remarks, I will mention some of the financial components.

Some cynics have said that much of the President's crime control message is based on old ideas. I say to those cynics that we have a new idea—implementation not promises.

STATE-CITY COOPERATION

Another aspect of national importance in the District of Columbia crime message is cooperation. While we have repeatedly said that crime is a local matter, we are also aware that, in relation to Washington, the federal government cannot overlook its share of responsibilities for the conditions of life in this city.

For as the federal government has marshaled its resources to help the federal city, so the states must marshal their resources to concentrate on their urban centers.

You know the basic problem. Today, 70 per cent of our nation's population lives in metropolitan areas. This high concentration of money and people has led to a concentration of social and economic problems.

There are, according to the Bureau of the Census, 228 standard metropolitan areas. Almost all of them are starved for money and other aids, some of which could be supplied by the state governments.

All too often, needed cooperation and help has stumbled on political rivalries and bureaucratic parochialism which divide the urban centers and the state governments.

While I understand the basis for much city-state government rivalry, political pa-

rochialism must be put aside in the name of our citizens who live in our cities.

We cannot afford to wait any longer. We have not waited in Washington. The Mayor, the City Council and the federal government are working together on the District of Columbia crime control program in a way which should be a model guide for cities and states.

We are most optimistic today that crime here will be substantially reduced because the channels of communication, cooperation and help have been opened. The Mayor is now considering the establishment of a District of Columbia Crime Control Council which will assure continued cooperation based on some federal representation.

We urge that similar councils be established in the states. Specifically, we urge the creation of effective State Law Enforcement Coordinating Councils which must have substantial representation from the metropolitan areas.

These state councils should draw up master plans for crime control. Under the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Act, these councils will have the final word on the distribution of about \$250 million in fiscal 1970 in block grants to the states.

URBAN-SUBURBAN COOPERATION

But the problem of cooperation and help is not merely one of city-state relations. It is also one of urban-suburban coordination. The suburban areas are, in many parts of our nation, larger than the cities they surround.

While the Washington metropolitan area will soon be about 3 million persons, barely 800 thousand live in the city itself.

The District of Columbia crime program envisions regional coordination through the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments. This Council has representation from the city and all the surrounding areas in Maryland and Virginia; and we understand, that it is now drawing up meaningful anti-crime plans.

For example, the Council of Governments has already consulted with the Department of Justice to coordinate planning for any possible civil disorders in the metropolitan area.

We strongly support projects of this nature as the only effective solution to metropolitan crime. In reality there is no such thing as urban crime and suburban crime.

For as the residents in the metropolitan area flow from the city to the suburbs and back again without regard to geographical boundaries, so crime flows with them. Here, as in other cities, the ghetto auto thief peddles his goods in the suburban auto shop. The suburban bank robber strikes at the Washington financial institution. Illegal narcotics flow from the core city to the suburbs and the illegal money for the sales flows back to the city.

The problem is similar in Chicago, Los Angeles, and other metropolitan centers. It is a plain fact that those who have fled the inner-cities have not escaped crime. The juvenile crime rate in the suburbs is rising as fast as the juvenile crime rate in the cities and some predict that the suburban juvenile rate will even grow faster.

Under the circumstances, the only effective solution is metropolitan crime control coordinating councils to pool resources, to coordinate planning and to select common priorities for joint action.

The smug suburbanite who remains unwilling to help the core city solve its crime problem will soon find the problem on his own doorstep. The ghetto leader who rejects offers of cooperation and guidance—because these offers conflict with his ideas of separatism—may soon find that crime has left him with nothing separate to protect.

THE POLICE

One of the specific proposals in the District of Columbia crime message was a pro-

gram to increase the size and efficiency of the police. Our preliminary study in the Department of Justice indicates that for fiscal 1969 and 1970 alone we may ask as much as \$4.4 million in added funds for the police department. While some of the money is slated to fill 1,000 additional police positions, the majority of the funds will be used for educational, scientific and other supporting services. Here too, President Nixon has offered a guide for the nation.

There is no question that effective law enforcement depends upon an adequately staffed, well-supported police department. The policeman is the first-line of defense. It is he who must chase the teenage gang into dark alleys. It is he who must handle incidents which could touch off racial disorders. It is he who must adjust instantly to cope with a family dispute or a fleeing bandit.

While our police face increasing crime, the nation frequently has been less than willing to help them. In many cities the policeman is underpaid and undertrained. He is deprived of sufficient supporting services to do the kind of job we expect in our complex and sophisticated society. He has been denied the educational and scientific tools he needs on the frontline.

For example, while we insist that physicians have 5,000 hours of training before they prescribe even an aspirin tablet, we are willing, in some cities, to send a young, untrained patrolman into a racially tense neighborhood where his actions could lead to death and destruction.

Even though Watts, Detroit and Newark were touched off by police-ghetto confrontations, many cities still have no community relations programs or, at best offer pro forma shams. It is not enough to lecture a policeman for an hour or so on racial relations and then expect him to have sufficient knowledge to handle the multiplicity of problems which he may face in a racially tense neighborhood.

It is not enough for a few minority leaders to visit a precinct house to learn about police problems and then to expect that an entire minority neighborhood will be more cooperative to law enforcement.

One tragic result in those cities which have no intensive police community relations programs is a serious corrosion of confidence between the police and the community. The police, with much justification, believe that City Hall politics and not justice will determine whether they receive governmental support in a controversial situation. The community, with some justification, believes that the police may ignore or attempt to evade regulations.

The solution is not for the police to seek refuge behind a small pro-police establishment; nor for political leaders to undermine the police under pressure from large numbers of voters.

While we welcome the new dignity of many ghetto residents, this dignity should not be established by derogating the dignity of law enforcement; nor should the police defend their own position by derogating the dignity of residents in high crime areas.

Well planned community relations programs—with in-depth analysis of ghetto problems, with broad personal contact between police and ghetto residents, with frank discussion and understanding, are absolute requirements but this type of program costs money. The President and the Mayor are committed to obtaining this money and we urge other urban communities to follow our example.

COURTS, PROSECUTORS AND DEFENSE COUNSEL

As you well know, however, law enforcement is not merely a police matter. Efficient police work is of little value if the administration of justice is not just and prompt.

If our courts are slow, the guilty proudly

walk the streets month after month, flouting their contempt for the law. Thus, I believe that President Nixon's policy for the District of Columbia—in asking for more judges and for a reorganization of the court system—should be a guide for other over-crowded urban court jurisdictions.

But more judges alone are not enough. What is also required is long hours on the bench, efficient scheduling of cases, the utilization of every modern management aid and a very serious reexamination of how our judicial system is going to accommodate the proliferation of motions, hearings and post conviction remedies within the framework of our Constitution.

During recent years, backlog and delay in our courts have grown to unprecedented proportions. In the District of Columbia, the time between indictment and trial has more than doubled in the past 5 years. In fiscal 1963 the time between indictment and disposition was a median of 3.6 months. Now it is approaching 10 months. In the same period, the backlog of pending cases has nearly trebled. Preliminary figures for the first half of fiscal year 1969 show a 46 per cent increase in indictments in the United States District Court and a decrease in dispositions.

But the President's message also recognizes that justice is a tri-partite procedure in our adversary system. Not only do we need more judges, but we need more prosecutors and more defense counsel.

From our supplemental appropriation for fiscal 1969 we shall request 20 more Assistant U.S. Attorneys for the District of Columbia and in 1970 we may ask for about \$900 thousand for 20 more Assistant U.S. Attorneys, as well as investigators and supporting personnel to prosecute suspected criminals.

Also, the President has pledged to support the Legal Aid Agency's 1970 budget request for \$700 thousand to increase its staff by more than one-third. In addition we will support the Ball Agency request of \$150 thousand to provide first-class investigation of persons who come before the courts for release, and in addition we are considering another \$250,000 appropriation to provide first-class legal representation for indigents.

I believe that prosecutors should not be so over-worked that the guilty go free. I believe that defense counsel should not be over-worked so that the innocent are convicted.

I am sure that our proposals for the courts, for the prosecutors and for defense counsel will insure the type of equal justice we need and I hope it will be a model for other cities.

NARCOTICS CONTROL

One last word on another aspect of the President's message which should be of significance to the nation and that is on narcotics. We recognize that the control of narcotics and drug abuse is virtually a prerequisite to the reduction of crime.

In order to stop the flow of narcotics, we have already substantially increased the personnel in Washington through the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs. A crucial part of this program will be to concentrate on long-term deep agents who can work their way into the narcotics distribution syndicate and can identify the major sources of supply.

Too often in the past, narcotics control has consisted primarily of arresting street addicts who sell a minimal amount of heroin to maintain their daily habits. While street addiction is a problem which our increased personnel will work on, our real emphasis will be the wholesaler.

We also will have operational by April 1 a narcotics testing laboratory. It will be available to all the local governments in the Washington metropolitan area.

Our preliminary survey shows that we will support a supplementary request for about \$1.6 million for juvenile facilities, narcotics treatment facilities and narcotics prevention

program in the health and welfare departments of Washington.

In addition, we expect that some of the \$4.4 million which I mentioned previously as a supplementary request for the District Police Department will be earmarked for an increase in narcotics forces in the Metropolitan Police.

I hope that other cities and states will follow our attempt to crush narcotics addiction by a fundamental attack utilizing education, scientific coordination, intelligent law enforcement and first-class rehabilitation.

CONCLUSION

What I have talked about today are just parts of the District of Columbia crime control program—the necessity for adequate funding of all plans; the necessity of city-state cooperation and urban-suburban cooperation; the necessity of a well-staffed and well-trained police force with special emphasis on police-community relations; the necessity of an efficient court system supplemented by adequate prosecutors and defense counsel and the necessity of an effective narcotics control program.

On behalf of President Nixon, I ask you to familiarize yourselves with the District of Columbia crime control program and some of its important philosophical and pragmatic suggestions. We hope we will have your support and involvement to make Washington a model for the rest of the nation.

ITALIAN GENIUS PRESERVES IRREPLACEABLE ART

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, while the rest of the world tears itself apart for money, military victories, political gains, and territory, the Italian people for the past 2½ years have successfully applied technology in order to save an irreplaceable portion of not only their own history, but that of Western civilization. After the ruinous flood of November 4, 1966, in Florence, Italy, numerous frescos were found to be in danger of being ruined. Mainly located in basements, the floodwaters drenched the plaster walls they were painted on. Salt in the plaster began ruining them. A major effort, aided by concerned Americans, was launched by Italian experts, utilizing a 300-year-old method invented by an Italian.

The effort has been in the main successful, as recent reports and exhibits have shown. This is one bright spot in the name of civilization in a too-often dreary world picture.

The Italian sense of artistry showed clearly through in this major effort. It not only was their desire to preserve their own works of art, but they also sought to share this beauty and treasure with the rest of the world. Such frescos were originally done as contracts to cover walls. As the work proceeded, the artistic merit shone through. Rough working sketches used by the artists under the frescos often showed the real feelings and expression of the artist. So much of this 15th century Renaissance art was the Italian artist showing the beauty of man and life. These Italians brought man up from hell and down to earth

through their art work. It was an affirmation of their love of life.

Italians have given to Western civilization the seed of creativity in art which has blossomed out ever since. This spark still glows in the hearts of the Italian people now. Their successful rescue of frescos in Florence is evidence of this.

This world, rushing headlong along a road to nowhere might pause for just a moment to pay tribute and show appreciation to the people of Italy who have rendered such a service to all men, and succeeding generations as well.

HIS EXCELLENCY ABBA EBAN COMMENTS ON THE MIDDLE EAST

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the highlights of the remarks made by His Excellency Abba Eban, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the nation of Israel, at the National Press Club luncheon on Friday, 14 March 1969.

The highlight of Mr. Eban's remarks follow:

HIGHLIGHTS OF HIS REMARKS BY HIS EXCELLENCY ABBA EBAN

"The Arab States and Israel must look more and more towards each other for what they want—and less and less towards the external forces which have traditionally shaped the destiny of our region. The Middle East has passed once and for all into the epoch of sovereignty. Its progress will be commanded, not by external pressures, but by internal impulses.

"Peace in the Middle East cannot be imposed from outside: it can only grow out of the agreement and sovereign consent of its governments. If this principle is respected and defended against encroachment, then 1969 could still be a year remembered for the patient but active exploration of peace."

Mr. Eban said that Israel's policy was firmly and irrevocably rooted in four central principles:

1. There can be no movement from the cease-fire situation except to peace—in its full potential and juridical sense.

2. The peace must have treaty form so as directly to engage the interest and honor of the Arab States and Israel. The disastrous collapse of the "hopes and expectations" with which we were satisfied in 1957 teaches us to insist on the contractual principle today.

3. There must be an opportunity to negotiate secure and agreed boundaries since it would be suicidal for Israel to return to the fragile armistice lines which were never recognized as political boundaries. On the other hand, the cease-fire lines are not agreed boundaries.

4. There must be an integral peace not a piecemeal or phased process. In other words: it is only when agreement is concluded that implementation can begin.

Mr. Eban said that these principles are firmly grounded in international and especially in American policy as expressed since 1967. "The Soviet and French proposals are not consistent with them; they look backward to a shattered past instead of forward to a brighter and more stable future."

Mr. Eban made these further comments on various aspects of the Middle Eastern problem:

The Cease-fire: Today's tensions must be viewed with concern, but not with panic. They have been kept and can be kept within a local and limited framework. There is no danger to world peace. Impatience is the worst enemy of peace. No Middle Eastern State and no Great Power has the combined will or capacity to generalize the conflict. But there should not be a passive mood. We should explore the peace prospect actively and constantly, making full use of the Jarring Mission which has now resumed its activity. This activity would lose its purpose if it were obscured by a pluralism of initiatives outside the region, at U.N. Headquarters or elsewhere.

The Open Frontier: We should aspire in the relations between Israel and Jordan, and in the life of the Palestine Arabs, to a community relationship as in Western Europe, with a free commune of men, goods and ideas across a newly established political boundary. My peace-plan of October 8, 1968, is the central document on which Israel's policy is based.

Four Power Guarantees: This concept is full of complexities, some of them dangerous. We should not seek to globalize the conflict by making every small frontier incident into a Berlin Wall, with all mankind trembling. Local agreement is more vital than international involvement. Moreover, there are amongst the Great Powers those whose unbalanced attitude rules them out as possible guarantors. A government which refused to respect and understand Israel's evident peril in May-June 1967 could never be trusted to recognize any Israel peril or grievance in the future.

ST. PATRICK'S DAY, 1969

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the patron and apostle of Ireland, the beloved St. Patrick, died over 15 centuries ago, but his day is celebrated with devotion and enthusiasm the world over by the Irish and their friends. The life of St. Patrick and his words and heroic spirit are as inspirational today as they were in the days of his mission.

It was no easy and peaceful world that St. Patrick grew up in. Captured by piratical raiders in his boyhood, he served long years in slavery in Ireland, before escaping to Brittany. It was when he had arrived home in Britain that he had a dream that determined his vocation. He dreamed that the Irish called to him: "We beseech thee, holy youth, to come and walk once more among us."

We do not know where St. Patrick received his ecclesiastical training; only that he was eventually consecrated a bishop and appointed to the Irish mission. There he was determined to convert the island's people to Christianity. It was no easy task, and out of this experience, and out of his prayers and meditations, St. Patrick developed a combination of apparently contradictory qualities. He was both a peaceful and a courageous man; a humble man who braved the anger of kings. He devoted his energies to the liberation and the protection of the enslaved, but loved as well their oppressors, knowing that their injustice and violence was harmful to their souls. St. Patrick has been admired through

the long centuries for his patience, love, tolerance, and sense of justice.

In this violent and chaotic world, we can learn much from the example of St. Patrick. He is a fitting symbol of the qualities needed today and for all time to meet the trials of a harsh world. He is a reminder of our need for steadfast faith in times of desperation. On this feast day of St. Patrick, I salute the patron saint of Ireland and all those who are Irish.

PICKING UP THE PIECES

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, perhaps we will never know the extent to which this Nation has been stymied in its programs of defense preparedness since early in the 1960's. The policy of parity pursued by the Department of Defense in recent years, whereby we sought to reduce our military capabilities to reach a par with the Communist countries has left its effect on our present defense setup. It was argued that if the two major powers, the United States and the U.S.S.R., could reach parity in the armaments race, there would automatically ensue a condition of stalemate which would lead to world peace. Considering the Soviets' 50-year history of aggression, this argument insults the intelligence of a high school student, yet this hogwash was given credence in our highest official circles.

In addition, Mr. McNamara's widely touted cost-effectiveness program placed a priority on frugality at the expense of our national welfare, though it is still hard to explain the adamant pursuit of the TFX dream in the face of the loss of millions of dollars and persistent opposition. Speaking of cost effectiveness—"defectiveness" might be a more appropriate word—since January 1967, a total of 14 planes, which are the product of the TFX program, have crashed at a loss of approximately \$6 million per plane.

Too numerous to be cited here are the many objections raised in various quarters in opposition to the Defense Department's ineptness in recent years. The Chicago Tribune of July 22, 1968, quoted Air Force Chief of Staff Gen. John P. McConnell as calling it imperative that the United States move as fast as possible to develop a new FX jet fighter to counter the growing Soviet air threat.

Also on July 22, the New York Times reported that Chief of Naval Operations Adm. Thomas H. Moorer attacked the Defense Department's decision to reduce the number of Navy carrier air wings from 15 to 12 by mid-1971. Admiral Moorer warned the Navy would find it "very difficult" to meet its operational requirements in the event of another war on the scale of the Vietnam conflict.

The Associated Press of September 19, 1968, reported that Congressman GLENN CUNNINGHAM asked the President to review some of the proposed disbanding of

the Strategic Air Command's manned bomber program. Congressman CUNNINGHAM was quoted as saying:

Based on Senate and House investigations, there is increasing concern on Capitol Hill about the state of readiness of U.S. defenses.

Early this year, the chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, Congressman L. MENDEL RIVERS, commented on the preparedness of the Atlantic, Mediterranean, and Pacific Fleets:

The exact status is classified, but let me tell you that our recent examinations of the readiness of our Atlantic Fleet and our Mediterranean Fleet is shocking. Nor do we have any cause to be satisfied with the readiness of our Pacific Fleet.

With the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviets still but a matter of months in the past, there is no excuse for not realizing the urgency of keeping our defense capabilities in a condition of readiness. Jerry Greene, the wide-ranging reporter for the New York Daily News, provided extensive information on our defense posture in a lengthy article appearing in the Sunday, March 16, issue of the News. After reading Mr. Greene's review, one can more readily appreciate the monumental tasks ahead of us, although we can be thankful that the blundering policies which have characterized the Defense Department in the past have, hopefully, departed with the policymaking dabblers in defense mythology.

I include the article, "U.S. Defenses Wearing Thin," by Jerry Greene in the March 16 issue of the New York Daily News in the RECORD at this point:

U.S. DEFENSES WEARING THIN

(By Jerry Greene)

The bottom is rusting out of the United States Navy. The Army's jeeps and trucks are falling apart; its great new tank has bugs and won't be coming along soon. The nation's hottest fighter aircraft was designed in 1955; Russia has at least three faster models.

Despite the vast number of billions poured into the Pentagon, the U.S. has been fighting the Vietnam war on a shoestring and not doing much else toward national security in endless critical areas.

When the war ends, the armed forces are going to come home with a lot of junk. The shopping list for replacements and improvements is enormous; the cost is astronomical and will continue to rise year by year.

Opponents of ABM deployment, crying out against great expenditures as well as "immorality," missed their best argument: priorities. The simple fact is that the armed forces, if they are to be capable of affording protection, or fulfilling commitments, are in desperate need of refurbishing. Filling the gaps created by war demands, replacement of arms and equipment with modern products of the technological revolution—items that would be needed for any early larger conflict—will cost almost endless billions.

The Nixon administration, and certainly Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird, a veteran of the House Appropriations Committee's military subcommittee which has probed these affairs, are fully aware of the requirements. The choices will be hard—and Laird will have to begin making them on Wednesday when, as secretary, he begins presentation of the Nixon defense budget to the committees of Congress.

Chairman L. Mendel Rivers (D-S.C.) of the House Armed Services Committee served notice of the forthcoming demands, and the

pressing needs, on the first day of the new session of Congress, when he introduced a bill authorizing \$3.8 billion in new ship construction for the 1970 fiscal year. The 1969 shipbuilding bill was \$1.3 billion.

In an angry speech accompanying his bill, Rivers told the House: "The exact status is classified, but let me tell you that our recent examinations of the readiness of our Atlantic Fleet and our Mediterranean Fleet is shocking. Nor do we have any cause to be satisfied with the readiness of our Pacific Fleet. The basic cause is overaged ships, which have not been able to get the necessary upkeep and maintenance."

Rivers said some of the ships on Southeast Asia duty are so old that when they are returned for overhaul, sandblasters clearing away barnacles "sometimes go right through the hull." The Navy welds a plate over the hole and sends the ship back to battle.

A tabulation at the Navy Department shows that 58% of the nation's warships are more than 20 years old, qualifying for classification as obsolescent.

The reports of the top brass at the Pentagon remain calm and confident. The Joint Chiefs of Staff have repeatedly told Congress that, at least for the moment, the nation is secure.

Retiring Defense Secretary Clark M. Clifford, in his final posture statement released in January, said: "I am pleased to be able to report that the military posture of the U.S. remains strong; our national security is not in jeopardy from any adversary."

Some well-informed members of Congress have disputed and will dispute this optimism, but few would discount the feeling of security against a massive Russian attack, at least for the moment.

This, of course, is because of the strength of the strategic nuclear forces, a bright spot in the defensive posture. There are other bright spots as well. The U.S. has more, and more powerful, forces in the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean than does Russia, for example.

But optimism is dulled when the nuts and bolts are counted and the obvious weaknesses are revealed—weaknesses that call for costly replacements and the renovations. Charles W. Corddry, veteran military correspondent writing in the March issue of Navy, reported: "It was necessary to strip frontline aircraft from the 6th Fleet to meet the needs of the task force off Vietnam. . . . Specifically, the A-6, the Navy's only all-weather attack aircraft and a most admirable performer in the war. Most of the time, Task Force 77 (off Vietnam) had but two 12-plane squadrons on the line, even after the 6th Fleet's single squadron was shifted."

Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, chief of naval operations, testifying last month in connection with the Rivers shipbuilding bill, told a House subcommittee: "The ship assets that we have today to offset our future needs are eroding at a rate much greater than the influx of new ships which have been funded."

What Moorer had to say in broad terms about his Navy is generally true of the other services. There has been ample supply for Vietnam—but at the expense of forces elsewhere.

That, apart from an ABM system, is the multibillion-dollar rub.

Reserve organizations have been stripped of much usable material—guns, jeeps, trucks, aircraft—for Viet war service. Testimony of the Pentagon chiefs for a couple of years has been filled with references to plans for replacing National Guard and reserves stocks with better stuff, once the Viet shooting is over. But this "better" equipment will be leftovers from combat dumps—and the regular forces will have to have something new and more costly.

Production lines have been rolling these last four years, but not for stockpiling. The U.S. has lost 2,593 fixed-wing aircraft in Viet-

nam and 2,409 helicopters. What has been built and bought has had an instant-replacement requirement.

The shortages, the lag in acquisition of the newest and best, or sometimes only the adequate arms and equipment, are most dramatic in the Air Force and the Navy. But the Army has ample reason for worry. There isn't much glamor about a worn-out jeep, or truck, or armored personnel carrier. Congress won't get very much excited over inadequate communications gear. But perhaps a reasonable picture of the problems confronting the ordinary foot soldier can be found in a field survey of four Army and two Marine divisions in the U.S., completed less than a year ago by the Senate preparedness subcommittee headed by Sen. John C. Stennis (D-Miss.)

The subcommittee staff inspected the 2d Armored and 1st Armored Divisions, the 5th Infantry Division (mechanized), the 82d Airborne Division, and the 2d and 5th Marine Divisions.

Excerpts from the heavily censored subcommittee report:

2d Armored Division—" . . . Shortages existed in rotary wing aircraft, radios, radars, switchboard equipment, generators, tracked and wheeled vehicles, engineer equipment and other items . . . because of the personnel shortages, and a consequent reduction in the personnel available in the combat and combat arms support squads, crews, sections and platoons to man and maintain the combat equipment, it has been determined to place a [deleted] quantity of the division's tracked and wheeled vehicles into administrative storage."

1st Armored Division—" . . . Significant shortages existed in helicopters, cargo carriers, generators, radar sets, radio sets, portable flame throwers, water tank trailers, electronic test sets, water purification equipment, and other items."

5th Infantry Division—" . . . The division has significant quantities of over-age and over-mileage tracked and wheeled vehicles, namely 2½-ton and 5-ton trucks, M-113 armored personnel carriers, and the 105-mm. self-propelled howitzer . . . The division transferred two important types of equipment overseas; namely [deleted] of its 54 portable flame throwers and [deleted] of its 72 81-mm. mortars . . ."

82d Airborne Division—"With the exception of the shortage in helicopters, the division is combat-ready in terms of equipment. In fact, the commanding general described the division's logistic condition as excellent except for helicopters."

Like the 82d Airborne, the Marine divisions were reasonably well equipped (the 2d Marine Division still possesses significant quantities of various types of equipment which are over-age). The problems of these three crack units were in properly trained personnel, but that didn't seem to worry anybody unduly.

What is significant, to borrow a word from the subcommittee, is the finding of similar "significant" shortages and quantities in what the American public has been led to believe was the backbone of the strategic reserve within the U.S.

The question of turnover in personnel is an issue unto itself, and is linked with the deployment of troops to Vietnam. This hits each of the services, with problem areas from clerk to pilot. We'll stick to hardware for this survey. But it must be noted that pay and allowances, the subsistence of enlisted personnel, takes a whopping \$23 billion out of the \$80 billion-plus-defense budget.

Like that of the sister services, the Army's dilemma rests not alone on lack of funds and quibbling over design, but on the inevitable slippages when a weapon or a vehicle doesn't turn out to be quite as good in production as on the drawing board.

The Army's prime weapon, the rifle, is a case in point. The M-14 is used in Europe, the M-16 in Vietnam, and the ordnance peo-

pie are still trying to turn out a wholly new design. If somebody could make up his mind and settle on a weapon as generally satisfactory to us as the Soviet assault rifle seems to be to the Russians and the North Vietnamese, there might be a saving, and a catch-up in supply.

The Army tried to put a new turret and a new gun on the M-60 tank, ran into what Clifford reported were "new technical problems," and is returning to the turret with a 105-mm. gun. As for the new main battle tank, MBT-70, which the U.S. has been building for years with West Germany and which was supposed to be the hottest piece of armor in the free world, Clifford said sadly:

"The main battle tank program continues to present development problems, making it impossible at this time to fix an initial procurement date."

Such troubles in weapons, and what are now called weapons systems because they are so complicated, are not unexpected in ordnance development. But the normal difficulties, or normal abnormalities, are not the principal causes of the shortages and the over-age and over-mileage matters which bedevil the generals and the admirals trying to keep our forces in fighting trim.

There wasn't enough money available for guns needed in combat, nor for butter for the home folks who have their urgent and demanding needs.

It is in the Navy and the Air Force that the glaring examples of genuine shortfall are to be found, glaring because weapons like an ICBM or a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier cost staggering amounts of money to build or to replace.

The Navy seems to have settled on a "peacetime" requirement for 15 attack carriers—because of the Viet war, one anti-submarine carrier was temporarily added for attack duty. Thus, for fiscal 1970, the force will be: One nuclear-powered carrier, the big Enterprise, pride of the fleet, newly rehabilitated after the disastrous fire off Hawaii; eight conventionally powered Forrestal class carriers, including the new John F. Kennedy; three Midway class carriers, and three Hancock class carriers.

The Hancock (Essex) class is of World War II vintage. The Navy expects to have four nuclear-powered carriers by fiscal 1976 and is building toward that goal.

But Clifford's comment on what goes with the other aging ships is worth noting: "Last year we planned to start the modernization of the Franklin D. Roosevelt in fiscal 1970. However, the modernization of her sister ship, the Midway, is taking so much longer and is costing so much more than originally estimated [24 months and \$88 million vs. 48 months and \$178 million] that we have now decided not to modernize the Roosevelt."

Inflation has hit the military departments more tellingly than perhaps any other area in government, and has cost an estimated \$16 billion in the last eight or nine years. Clifford made this clear in discussing a requirement for 239 escort ships for the late 1970s.

A shipbuilding program of 68 new ships was worked out to meet the goal. Clifford said that "in the intervening year the cost [68 new ships] . . . has risen from about \$3 billion to around \$5 billion . . . We will have to retain in the force 17 more of the older escorts than we had previously planned."

The Navy has a new fighter plane coming along in five or six years, the F-14. This was approved after the sailors succeeded in dropping the Navy version of the exceedingly controversial F-111 (the old TFX).

The F-14 is intended to be the successor to the F-4, which in its various versions is the top American fighter plane in service today, used freely by both the Navy and the Air Force. The F-4 is our best, with a speed of mach 2.2, or about 1,600 m.p.h. It has proved superior to the vaunted Mig-21 in combat.

Unfortunately, the Russians have six new types, three of them coming into service,

which are even faster than the F-14 will be and of very high performance. These are the Foxbat, Nato code name for a new Mig with mach 2.8 speed, the Flagon, and the Flogger.

Adm. Moorer told the Stennis subcommittee a few months ago: "Worldwide, the U.S. and her allies have numerical parity in tactical aircraft with the Communist nations today in terms of the active inventory of aircraft in tactical units . . . [deleted] there is ample evidence of improving Soviet quality . . ."

"Replacement of our aircraft has been essentially on an attrition basis. To help meet our tactical requirements [deleted] older Navy tactical air types of aircraft have been removed from storage and returned to service to fill shortages and supplement our training command to increase the pilot training rate. Thus, with large numbers of older aircraft entering our active inventory, a degree of obsolescence has been introduced into our tactical force."

The Navy took 408 older aircraft out of storage to fill the gap of war requirements, fitting out a total of 14 squadrons in the Atlantic Fleet and 15 in the Pacific Fleet with planes that would be of questionable worth if employed against an enemy with modern airpower.

The Navy's money problems have run right down the line from the Enterprise to the Pueblo, whose inadequacies for its task have been well publicized. When the question of sealfit is concerned, the optimist faces a nightmare.

Clifford told Congress that the most demanding contingency, short of all-out nuclear war, is a major simultaneous conflict in Europe and Asia.

"Our existing Defense Department-controlled inter-theater sealfit force is completely inadequate, both quantitatively and qualitatively, and cannot meet this requirement," Clifford said. "It consists of 15 Victory ships, six aircraft ferries which are old, converted cargo ships, and two roll-on/roll-off ships, one constructed in 1958 and the other in 1966. In addition, we have three Victory ships and one new, privately owned roll-on/roll-off ship . . . on long-term charter . . ."

The Navy and the Air Force overlap in the composition of the strategic nuclear forces, the strongest element of the U.S. protective shield and that which receives the most tender, loving care in terms of money and choice manpower. Yet this total force, in numbers, is substantially below the size that some of the strategists feel should be provided for assured safety. The strategic forces are regarded strictly as a deterrent.

As Clifford described them: "Our calculations indicate that the U.S. strategic forces programmed over the next few years, even against the highest threat projected in the national intelligence estimate, would be able to destroy in a second strike [a launching after Russia had hit first] more than two-fifths of the Soviet population and about three-quarters of their industrial capacity."

The U.S. has 1,054 ICBMs on launchers, 1,000 of them the fast-firing Minuteman and the others the heavy-load Titans; and 656 Polaris submarine missiles, along with 646 intercontinental bombers, the hoary B-52s and a handful of the newer B-58s.

For comparison, Russia has 900 ICBMs, 45 submarine missiles, and 150 intercontinental bombers.

But the U.S. has available 4,200 warheads, compared to an estimated 1,200 for the Russians.

Polaris is going to become Poseidon in substantial quantities. The Poseidon is a much larger missile, requiring a refitting of the submarine. It will carry the "multiple" warheads, which can hit several targets with individually-aimed hydrogen explosive packages. The Navy plans to convert 31 Polaris submarines to Poseidon; Congress gave the money for two conversions in 1968, but cut

back the cash for a requested six in the 1969 budget to only two. The Navy will try for six more Poseidons in 1970.

The Air Force is having a painful time with the Defense Department and with Congress in trying to get a bomber to succeed the old B-52, and to get anybody interested in approving plans for a new air-superiority fighter plane. The airmen dream of AMSA, a new bomber, and an F-15, in the same area of performance as the Navy's F-14, but not much has come of the visions thus far except funds for planning and research and small amounts of development.

Sen. Stuart Symington (D-Mo.), first secretary of the Air Force, was appalled recently at the revelation that the Air Force now plans—because it has nothing else—to keep some of the B-52s in operation until 1978. At that time the B-52 will be about 30 years old, still lumbering along at about 600 m.p.h. among, or behind, aircraft flying more than three times as fast.

For years, the Air Force has been doggedly seeking approval of the AMSA—advanced manned strategic aircraft—as a successor to the B-52, insisting that for best protection in the way of a deterrent the U.S. needed a mixture of intercontinental bombers and missiles. Former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara couldn't see the need. Funds for research and long-range development seeped out grudgingly, and it now appears that maybe—and this is a very big maybe—a new administration and Congress may go along with AMSA. But it won't be soon in coming.

Whatever plans the Air Force had for newer planes were disrupted by the TFX (now F-111) fiasco. The Air Force is going to get a flock of the very expensive F-111 aircraft, described by some who have flown it as a splendid plane. But it is no replacement for the B-52; it won't do as an air superiority fighter. It is expected to be fine for what the military calls "deep interdiction" roles.

Out of necessity, the Air Force had to adopt and adapt the Navy's F-4 fighter as both fighter and fighter-bomber because there wasn't anything else around that could touch it. The Air Force is planning an F-15, a hotter new plane than the Navy's forthcoming F-14, but there is no guarantee that this fighter will be finally approved, or produced if it is approved.

The big wheel in air strikes against North Vietnam was the F-105 fighter-bomber—an aircraft which previously had a dubious reputation and which has been out of production for years. But it proved one of the best aircraft bought by the Air Force in a long, long while. The National Guard will get what's left of the F-105s when their combat day in Vietnam is done.

These accounts of sorrow and sadness among the armed services over unmet requirements are high-spot examples: A full record would fill an encyclopedia. There is in the record a sorry tale of misjudgment, miscalculation and waste, some of which appears inevitable when dealing in new and exotic weapons. There is also a record of brilliant successes, contributing to national security for a full generation.

There are estimates that from \$20 billion to \$80 billion may now be needed for the catch-up job in military hardware. And that sort of cash isn't in sight for the armed services, not even in Fort Knox.

ZANZIBAR—AID EGG

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, in South Vietnam, our boys who are lucky dodge Communist bullets while in Zanzibar,

U.S. parents spend their tax money through AID for a \$1.25 million college.

Is this a prestige project, courtesy of our World Bank representatives, to impress the local natives who may not yet be Communist that we support tyranny in their land?

And that, for the orphans of the free people of overrun Zanzibar we have subsidized the Communist regime so that their children may be indoctrinated in Communist loyalty in a nice shiny school building courtesy the U.S. taxpayers.

To help acquaint some of our colleagues as to the poor management and the misuse of taxpayers funds by AID the "Communist fighting" wing of the State Department, I place a report from Zanzibar by Anthony Astrachan which appeared on March 17 in a local paper at this point in the RECORD:

UNITED STATES-ZANZIBAR PROJECT BESET BY PROBLEMS

(By Anthony Astrachan)

ZANZIBAR.—A newly built technical college on this pretty but bedeviled island illustrates two problems that plague American aid projects throughout Africa.

The \$1.25-million college was set up for political reasons; that is, to make the American presence felt in revolutionary Zanzibar. East Germans and Chinese Communists are predominant among this island's advisers.

It seems to be succeeding from that point of view. The college was a feature of the Jan. 12 Revolution Day tour of the island, and on weekends numbers of Zanzibaris drive the five miles from town to see the attractive buildings and their impressive equipment.

The first problem is that the college is too impressive. "It's a bit too large, a bit rich, a bit overequipped," admits Carlos Nelson, the U.S. Agency for International Development director for Tanzania, who inherited the project. "But it's not a bad project. It should be viable."

Other Americans doubt its viability. For instance, it has eight South Bend precision toolroom lathes and no one in Zanzibar is qualified to teach their use. Even if a teacher is found, he will be training skilled lathe operators for an economy that has perhaps a dozen light-industry factories. They produce things like soap, coconut oil and shoes.

Many were set up by Chinese and other advisers who will discourage the employment of the "American" technical college.

The second problem is that, like most AID projects, the equipment came from American shippers who know and care little about African needs. Some manufacturers failed to meet specifications and most failed to pack their shipments properly.

It is also a question whether American equipment is of any use at all on an island where everything is British, Swedish, Japanese or Communist. Replacement parts will be difficult to get, and it is a rare student in a place like Zanzibar who can switch from one model of equipment to another without making expensive mistakes.

Drill presses arrived here with 60-cycle electrical motors instead of the 50 cycles specified and shop benches came with plates for holding sheetmetal tools that were not wanted.

The waterproof packing specified was inadequate in many cases, causing unsightliness, shortening the life of equipment and rendering useless collet chucks for the lathes that have rust inside the bore.

At least, one AID veterans observed, nothing happened here as agonizing as the time in Addis Ababa when Ethiopian laborers faced the problem of getting a \$30,000 printing press off a truck. They just shoved it off.

But enough has happened to make some

people—including Ray Allen, the California Polytechnic contract specialist who is trying to get the school in the best possible shape before it opens—feel that only an optimist would predict a happy ending for Zanzibar Technical College.

HON. RICHARD ICHORD ADDRESSES THE ASSOCIATION OF MILITARY COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS UPON THEIR 55TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, recently the Association of Military Colleges and Schools celebrated their 55th anniversary of dedicated service in the interest of national defense and the preservation of the principles on which this country was founded. Two of the members of this association are located within my congressional district, Texas A. & M. University and Allen Military Academy.

In view of the apparent increase in dissent throughout this country to our position in Vietnam and to our Selective Service System, it was only natural for this association to select one of our colleagues to deliver the main address, the Honorable Richard Ichord of Missouri, chairman of the House Committee on Internal Security. His address follows:

ADDRESS OF CONGRESSMAN RICHARD H. ICHORD, CHAIRMAN, HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY, BEFORE THE ASSOCIATION OF MILITARY COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS OF THE UNITED STATES, FORT MONROE, VA., MARCH 10, 1969

It is a great honor for me to address educators who, in these days, are making a unique and most valuable contribution to the security of the United States by instructing the youth of America in the Military Sciences, as well as the traditional academic subjects designed for their intellectual, cultural, and spiritual development.

Because of our mutual interest in the security of our Nation, I shall address myself to that subject this evening as Military Academy educators have a very special interest in the external aspect of our country's security—the threat to the United States posed by outside aggressors. Due to my Committee assignments in the House, I am involved in both aspects of security—the external side of it through my work on the Armed Services Committee, and the internal aspect, as Chairman of the House Committee on Internal Security.

First, a few words about external security, an area in which the problems—and the seriousness of them—are obvious. Last year, our government spent approximately \$79 billion dollars on the military phase of our external security—the recruiting, training, equipping and maintenance of our Armed Forces. This was about 40% of our total budget.

When we add to that figure the cost of running the Voice of America, the USIA, the CIA and also the State Department, it is apparent that external defense constitutes the major part of our budget, and we are spending far more on it than any one of us would wish we had to spend.

Why are we spending such enormous sums in this manner? And why have we been doing so during the 24 years since World War II ended? Certainly, Sweden is not a threat to

this country. Neither is Burma, South Africa, Ecuador, Belgium, England, France, or any combination of these or similar nations.

The one and only reason is the threat to this country posed by the aggressive nature of certain communist powers.

Fifty-two years ago, a relative handful of communists destroyed the first democratic government Russia had ever known and took over that country. This was communism's first seizure of any national government. Territory controlled by communism was limited to the traditional Russian borders from 1917 to 1940 when the Soviet Union occupied Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania and, against the will of their people, incorporated them into the USSR.

In the intervening 30 years, communism has expanded its power through various forms of aggression until it now controls almost one-third of the world's population and occupies about one-fourth of the earth's surface. In addition, as we can see from the reading of our daily newspapers, it is expanding its sphere of influence into Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America.

This is a tremendous accomplishment for a relatively small group of people. After over fifty years of communist rule in the Soviet Union, there are only about 13 million Communist Party members in the nation—approximately 5% of the total population.

In Red China, with an estimated population of 760 million, there are, after 20 years of communist rule, only 17 million Communist Party members—a little over 2% of the population.

In all countries under communist control, we find, on the average, Party members total only about 4% of the population.

These figures demonstrate a very important point: namely, the communist movement, which claims to be for the people and of the people, is actually a para-elite or "snob-type" movement, with only a carefully elected minority being granted the privilege of joining its ranks.

With what we have learned from the many thousands of escapees from communism during the past 25 years, and coupled with the lesson of Czechoslovakia and of Hungary in 1956, it also means that communist parties are no more than political machines designed for the seizure and maintenance of power by any and all means.

We are the mightiest nation on earth. Few would challenge this. For this reason, no communist power has ever dared to attack this country or formally declare war on it. Yet, in the last 20 years, 86,000 American servicemen have died in combat with the troops of communist forces.

Despite 86,000 men killed and countless more wounded, the naive in our society believed "with that horrible monster Stalin dead," things would change. They assured us communism was mellowing.

But now, Stalin is being resurrected and I, for one, find it rather difficult to interpret events in Vietnam or what we saw recently in Czechoslovakia as "mellowing." The present Soviet leadership's treatment of the freedom-loving people of Czechoslovakia is as cynically ruthless and brutal as Khrushchev's slaughter of the Hungarians in 1956, as Stalin's take over of the east European satellites in the 40's.

By these despotic actions—their actions today—communist leaders in all parts of the world, from Castro to Mao, to the men in the Kremlin, make clear the need for us to give prime attention to problems of our external security. Can we be too alert, too wary, too well prepared? Personally, I believe we could have more effectively spent the money we have spent, but we must continue to work toward a strong and even stronger national defense posture.

And what about our internal security?

Here we have a different and a somewhat more complicated, though, of course, not

so serious problem—even though it is certainly one we cannot take lightly.

A major part of the problem here is also created by communism—specifically by individuals and groups within our borders who are actually agents of Moscow, of Peking or of Castro. The problem they present is increased today by the emergence of the so-called New Left, considered a more or less indigenous radical, partly revolutionary movement, controlled neither by Moscow nor Peking but purportedly infiltrated to a considerable degree by their agents.

Further complicating our problem is the rise of other ultra-militant groups which advocate force and violence and which, in some cases, are actually instructing and training their members in the tactics of guerrilla warfare with the proclaimed intent of inflicting on this Nation a new form of guerrilla operations—guerrilla warfare conducted within our major cities rather than in the countryside. These are the groups that have actively planned and participated in the violence that is now tearing apart some of our major universities, and in acts of sabotage carried out against draft boards, ROTC and National Guard installations, induction centers and other facilities associated with our defense effort.

Dealing with our internal enemies is more complicated than dealing with potential external aggressors, because these internal enemies, for the most part, are citizens of the United States and as such, under our Constitution, enjoy each and every right, privilege, liberty and protection you and I enjoy. It is easy to play the part of a daring Che Guevara in the United States when you are guaranteed all the protections of the Constitution afforded to a citizen in times of peace.

In my opinion, the three greatest civilizations in the recorded history of man are the Greek, Roman and the American civilizations. Each of these civilizations has one common attribute. All three received their initial impetus from the strength of a republic. The Greek civilization had the republic in the Greek city-state of Athens. Rome formed its republic and spread its rule all over the civilized world. The American Republic, begun inauspiciously by thirteen small colonies on the Atlantic Seaboard, have grown mightily into 50 states, comprising a great nation, reaching to the top of the North American continent with Alaska and extending far into the Pacific with the island State of Hawaii.

I submit the historians must include the American civilization in the top three, not only because it has brought more people greater freedom and more material comforts than any other country in history, but also because it has welded together the peoples of many nations, many tongues and many races into one incomparable people. This miraculous accomplishment, of itself, should be sufficient to assign it top-rank, and I am confident the American civilization will not fall in our lifetime nor even in the immediate centuries ahead. But the lessons of history are plain. Both the Roman civilization and the Greek civilization endured for several centuries after the republics ceased to exist. This civilization, no doubt, will continue many years after the "republic" or "representative" democracy, if you prefer that term, has ceased to exist.

History reveals to those who dare to look that republics do not have the habit of lasting too long. Indeed, at this point in history which happens to embrace our lives, we are severely challenged to defend, preserve and bequeath a system that is not archaic but just as viable as the day it was created 180 years ago.

Unfortunately, we have witnessed in the last few years the emergence of developments and tendencies which, all too often in the past, have paved the way for the rule of

tyrants. I speak primarily of the so-called New Left, most of whom do not appear to be communist even though they welcome communists as members of their group and do not hesitate to work with them for what they consider mutually desired objectives. Those who may be well-intentioned among this group, and those who are more tolerant of such activity than I, have forgotten that every society demands some kind of order. Discipline is a concomitant of freedom. Without discipline there can be no freedom. Our choice is one of democratic order or some kind of totalitarian order. The action of these groups has brought about the inevitable reaction. Measures are being proposed and, unless conditions abate, many will probably be adopted that will curtail the freedom of those who realize that whatever change is desirable must be brought about through the democratic process.

One of the problems confronting the new Committee on Internal Security is to find the way to improve our legal machinery under the Constitution. In order to cope with new forms of warfare and subversion developed and perfected by the enemies of our free system of government in recent years. This problem has surfaced with explosive force during the fighting of the undeclared war in Vietnam. At what point does legitimate dissent end and criminal activity begin? Much of the activity going on today, almost any student of the law would have to admit, would in a period of declared war be treason. At the Chicago hearings I chaired as a Member of a subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, this problem was graphically illustrated by the testimony of one David Dellinger, who appears to be the "father confessor" of many young radicals and whom I have described as, at least, enunciating in his testimony during the Chicago hearings a philosophy which appears to be a combination of communism, anarchism, nihilism, pacifism and American constitutional law.

He brands this society a corrupt, imperialistic society.

He hates the free enterprise system.

He does not advocate, yet he condones, violence.

He makes no effort to impose peaceful demonstration tactics upon his followers.

He meets with, and reports to, the enemy about the activities of the National Mobilization Committee against the War in Vietnam.

He holds that the first amendment to the Constitution guaranteeing freedom of assembly gives him the absolute right to demonstrate against the war in Vietnam. He feels it is a paramount right and not subject to restriction by the Chicago authorities.

He advocates, generally but not specifically, desertion and disaffection on the part of the military. This is the "American constitutional law" aspect of his philosophy. He knows well how far freedom of speech extends.

Likewise, he generally advocates—but again not specifically—the violation of selective service legislation. A very complicated philosophy and course of action, indeed!

To work toward a solution of this problem, three years ago I conceived the idea of establishing the House Committee on Internal Security to which I was immediately named Chairman after the House adopted my resolution by an overwhelming vote of 306 to 80. Many are still arguing whether I changed the name of the House Committee on Un-American Activities with a clarified mandate or whether I established a new committee. This, of course, is merely an argument over semantics. Likewise, semantic is the argument of whether the Committee on Internal Security has increased or diminished powers. This depends upon one's definition of the vague and ambiguous term, "un-American". In any event, my resolution created a permanent legislative and investigative committee with

limited jurisdiction in the very important area of criminal subversion; and despite what you have read in a few of the nation's newspapers, the investigative mandate is clear and unambiguous. The investigative jurisdiction is not even remotely contained in the words "communist and subversive" as stated recently in a blantly erroneous editorial of the *Washington Post*.

The House Committee on Internal Security does have the power to investigate criminal subversion which is defined. It does have the power to advise the House of the nature and the extent of such activities so that the House and the Senate can legislate within this very important field and still preserve the constitutional liberties which have been the bulwark of this nation.

A little over one hundred years ago it was said:

"Our popular government has often been called an experiment. Two points in it our people have already settled—the successful *establishing* and the successful *administering* of it. One still remains—the successful *maintenance* against a formidable internal attempt to overthrow it."

What Abraham Lincoln said then I would repeat today. I want the House Committee on Internal Security to serve in an important way toward the successful *maintenance* of the great American experiment.

The House Committee on Internal Security is not concerned with change, as such, for I recognize that change is inherent in our system of government as envisaged by one of our nation's early leaders, Thomas Jefferson, our third President:

"Laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. As that becomes more developed, more enlightened, as new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also and keep pace with the times."

The committee is concerned with the activities of those who would undermine our system of government or attempt to bring about change by unlawful means outside the democratic process.

The security of the United States, in the final analysis, does not depend on military appropriations. It does not depend on the CIA, FBI, the Voice of America, USIA, the Department of State, the Congress or any of its committees or the President. It does not rest on the size of our Armed Forces. We can maintain the largest military machine in the history of civilization and still lose everything.

Our security rests ultimately in the minds and hearts of the people of this country— young and old. It rests in their devotion to our Nation and its principles and institutions—their love of them, their appreciation of them, in terms as simple as I can say it—their patriotism!

As far as I am concerned, there is far too much defaming of America. I read this blackening of America in newspapers and magazines. I hear it on radio. I see and hear it on TV. With such pervasiveness, how can we honestly expect our youth to love this country, to be devoted to it, to be willing to die for it, if necessary. It is high time that more people speak out less about what is bad and more about what is good in America. We do not seriously claim our country is perfect. We have our ills and deficiencies—serious ills and deficiencies—but still we know—and I must reiterate—our nation has given more people greater freedom and more material comforts than any other country in the history of man. During my 8 years in Congress, I have received scores of requests to assist people abroad to enter this country and thousands and thousands have come into this so-called "sick society" during that period. But I have not received a single request to assist any person to leave this nation. This would

perhaps be a much more worthy foundation program than some we have recently read about in the newspapers.

So let us have a little more objective talking, teaching, preaching and writing about our country. It is not necessary to cover up the faults and inequities in our society, but let us be fair about them and tell all that is good along with the bad.

Let us work together to build a stronger and better America to the end that our children and their children will be proud to inherit a nation that is truly a bastion of freedom, the hope of mankind and the paragon of free and democratic governments.

CRASH LOCATOR BEACONS

HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I offer my support to the bill introduced by my colleague, Mr. OTTINGER—H.R. 8804—which will direct the Federal Aviation Administration to require crash locator beacons on all civil aircraft in the United States.

The Armed Forces have successfully utilized radio beacons to find downed aircraft and their crews since World War II. Rescue helicopters have been guided to pilots who were forced to parachute into the jungles of North Vietnam sometimes in less than an hour after their ejection from the disabled craft. The immense value of these devices is clear both to the saved pilots and to those who conduct the search and rescue missions over enemy territory.

It is important to emphasize that many commercial produced crash locator systems have been developed, tested, and are currently available to the aviation industry. Aircraft owners have been reluctant to install and use these devices for two reasons: The cost involved is substantial, and there is no assurance that an emergency signal will be picked up since monitoring equipment is also not in general use.

The cost of installing beacon locator systems should be weighed against the costs of search effort expended and lives lost because crashes were not found quickly or were not found at all. The prices presently cited for the beacons—\$80 to \$750—could no doubt be greatly reduced if manufacturers were to begin large-scale production in response to a directive for required usage.

Mr. OTTINGER's bill will compel commercial air carriers to operate monitoring receivers on all of their flights. Most areas of the United States would therefore be periodically monitored. Air Force and Civil Air Patrol rescue planes could cover more remote regions when an aircraft is actually reported missing. Authoritative industry sources estimate the cost of an installed monitoring unit to be about \$400. Thus the entire U.S. fleet of 2,500 commercial aircraft could be equipped for \$1,000,000. There is ample precedent for requiring the airlines to carry listening devices. International maritime law has long required most commercial sea vessels to constantly

monitor an international distress frequency.

With the technology available today there should be no excuses for failure to locate an air crash in a short period of time. Yet during the period 1961-67, 52 aircraft were reported missing in the continental United States and were never found.

The case for universal use of crash locator beacons is overwhelming. I ask the Congress to promptly enact this much-needed legislation.

LEGISLATION TO IMPROVE THE FUNDING AND BENEFITS OF THE CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT SYSTEM

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, it gives me a great deal of pleasure to introduce today legislation to improve the funding and benefits of the civil service retirement system.

My bill is identical to legislation—H.R. 770—which has already been introduced in this session by my esteemed colleague, Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey, and other co-sponsors. Similar legislation was passed by the House during the last Congress but, unfortunately, it died elsewhere in our legislative system.

This bill is even more needed and justified today than it was when we passed it before. Its major purpose is to improve the financing and funding processes of the civil service retirement system, so as to maintain confidence in the soundness of the retirement fund and to assure that the necessary money is available when needed to pay the annuities of Government retirees and survivor annuitants in full and on time. In line with this, title I contains six specific provisions to strengthen the fund.

One objective of this legislation is to increase employee and agency contributions to 7 percent from the present 6½ percent, effective in January 1970. While this step alone would contribute much to the system's fiscal soundness, the bill also provides that future unfunded obligations may be met by appropriations.

Among the improved benefits provided in the bill are these:

Inclusion of compensation for overtime, differential, premium pay, and so forth, for retirement contributions and computation purposes.

Modification of the average salary computation period from a high-5 to a high-3 period. This goal is highly regarded by many employees and employee organizations.

A system of granting retirement service credit for unused sick leave.

Addition of another 1 percent to all future cost-of-living percentage adjustments.

Continues or restores the survivor annuity of a spouse, who after attaining age 60, remarries on or after July 18, 1966.

The funding and benefit provisions of this bill are highly deserving improvements in the civil service retirement system, and should be enacted by the Congress as soon as possible.

It is time that we provide equitable benefits for our loyal employees who have made a career of serving the people. I think that the provision allowing the highest 3 years of pay to be used as the base for computing retirement pay is especially deserving. During this period of rapid price escalation, those whose pay has finally been increased to a point comparable to private industry pay should not be penalized by using a 5-year base period. This long a period overlooks the rapidly changing nature of the Government pay structure and our recent efforts to upgrade Federal employee salary levels.

It will do little good for thousands of valuable Government employees if we raise their pay briefly before retirement, then compute their retirement income based on 5 years of previous inequitably low salaries. Justice demands that we at least reduce the computation period to 3 years so that the pay increases which we found necessary are taken into better account.

Since the House has previously passed this highly deserving legislation, there should be little standing in the way of even faster approval in this session. I hope Congress will meet its responsibility to all Government employees by acting swiftly to write these improved civil service retirement benefits into law.

POPULATION POLICY: A TIME FOR ACTION

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, too often these days it seems we here in Congress overconcentrate on certain topical issues while seemingly ignoring significant and far-reaching areas of concern.

A good example is that of President Johnson's Advisory Committee on Population and Family Planning. The Committee, established in mid-1968 and chaired by Health, Education, and Welfare Secretary Wilbur Cohen and John D. Rockefeller III, undertook a thorough analysis of ongoing population policies and programs and reported back to the President with a series of major recommendations.

Much valuable time and effort by some of the top experts in the Nation went into those recommendations, yet there has been no indication that anyone plans to do anything at this point but talk about it.

My concern with the problems of world population explosion is not new; during both the 89th and 90th Congresses I sponsored legislation asking for the creation of Assistant Secretaries in the Departments of State and Health, Education, and Welfare for Population Pro-

grams and Policies. The bill also asked for a White House Population Conference, a proposal met by administrative action when President Johnson established the Advisory Committee.

Today I am introducing three bills which mark the beginning of a new drive for broadened Government participation in population and family planning services and research efforts. Each bill is based upon a recommendation of the President's Committee, and I plan to add other bills, if needed, to further implement the Committee's objectives when the administration's own stance in this area becomes known.

The first bill calls for a Commission on Population. The 15-member Commission would report in 2 years its findings in these fields:

First. Social and economic consequences of population trends in the United States;

Second. Major trends in world population growth as they relate to U.S. policies and programs;

Third. Research needs, resources, and progress in the field of population and family planning;

Fourth. Consequences of alternative population policies;

Fifth. The need of the American people to recognize the relationship between population trends and the quality of life; and

Sixth. A review of the extent to which recommendations of the President's Committee have been carried out.

The second bill proposes that the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare set up a National Institute for Population Research within the Public Health Service. Such an Institute would serve the need for a concentrated—yet broad-based—research program in population policy.

The Institute would conduct and support research and training in population matters such as the physiology of human reproduction, the development and evaluation of means of fertility regulation, and the causes and consequences of population change.

Already, valuable population policy research efforts are being done by many institutions. These endeavors should be further encouraged. In order to supplement current programs and to provide for expanded research, the third bill asks for construction grants to be made for population research centers.

Greater supplies of trained personnel will be needed as research programs and service programs are expanded, and all of these contingencies are foreseen by these proposals. Basic support in large part would continue to stem from the research institutions, and increased assistance would flow from the new National Institute for Population Research.

A number of other recommendations were made by the President's Committee which do not require legislative action, and I would certainly urge that these be carried out. In addition, I favor substantial increases in funding for family planning services as proposed in the Committee report, but I am waiting to see what action the Nixon administration takes before I make additional proposals.

At this point, initial signs are optimistic. Secretary Finch deserves praise for his recent move to supplement funds for the Child Health Institute family planning program, but even at an expanded level current needs far outweigh available supplies, and I hope that even more additional resources can be found for this vital program.

Other nonlegislative recommendations of the President's Committee also should be implemented. I urge that these steps be taken as soon as possible:

First. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Office of Economic Opportunity develop specific 5-year plans for population and family planning programs;

Second. The Office of Education provide significant assistance to appropriate education agencies in the development of materials on population and family life;

Third. International programs be expanded as rapidly as funds can be properly allocated and effectively utilized by recipient countries and agencies; and

Fourth. Experienced specialists from other countries should be invited to serve on advisory groups for both domestic and international programs.

To go along with the three bills derived from the President's Committee report, I am also introducing a proposal providing for congressional review concerning policies and goals of the entire National Institutes of Health. I feel it imperative that Congress have on hand annual compilations showing the thrust and effectiveness of health programs in all areas—from population control to geriatric care.

Effective population control will be a crucial factor in the drive to halt poverty and blight. But controls on further growth have little effect on persons already in need. The blunt fact is that hunger exists for too many citizens in this richest of all countries; the blunt fact is that Americans spend more on pet food than on food stamps for the poor.

It is a terrible enigma to be able to fly men past and around the moon, yet have millions starving and undernourished; we can spend millions to burn villages, but how much do we spend to eradicate hunger?

Hunger, like population, too often gets shunted aside for more immediate mundane issues. But these are real problems, calling for immediate action. And so, in an effort to achieve such action, I am today introducing two bills which would act as a significant first step in a war on hunger. One bill, to establish a Commission on Hunger, was sponsored last Congress by a broad range of Members and again deserves consideration. The other, the Human Nutrition Act of 1969, provides for a coordinated program to improve nutrition levels through creation of an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture for Human Nutrition and by an Advisory Council on Human Nutrition.

The future of humanity is largely dictated by the size of humanity itself. Hunger looms as a key problem not only from differences in income levels, but also because of the rapidly expanding

demands for resources created by a spiraling population. As living standards rise, and the death rate falls because of improved health standards, the population squeeze will grow even tighter. The time for planning and research is now, and a viable program has been laid out by the President's Committee. I commend the Committee, its members and its staff for providing an excellent and important contribution in this important area.

Mr. Speaker, because I believe that the President's Committee on Population and Family Planning has made such an outstanding presentation I am including the report in the RECORD at this point. I would also like to insert a letter from Planned Parenthood World Population endorsing the President's Committee recommendations, a resolution passed in January by the Planned Parenthood Executive Committee, an editorial from the January 27, 1969, New York Times, three articles from the Los Angeles Times on matters of population and hunger, and an article from the Agency for International Development's population program assistance handbook for September 1968 which deals with worldwide aspects of the population problem.

The insertions follow:

POPULATION AND FAMILY PLANNING: THE TRANSITION FROM CONCERN TO ACTION

(Report of the President's Committee on Population and Family Planning, November 1968)

PROPOSALS FOR IMMEDIATE CONSIDERATION

The world's population problems must be high on the world's agenda. In the more developed nations, present rates of population growth cannot continue indefinitely without causing serious social and environmental problems. The rapid growth rates of the developing nations are a threat to their own plans for economic and social progress, on which the peace of the world may well depend. In both, the level of information and understanding must be improved. In both, the very quality of life is at stake.

No simple program will resolve the world's population problems: They demand a variety of actions on a sustained basis by governments, private organizations, and individuals. This report recommends a broad range of actions by the Government of the United States to resolve pressing problems and to establish sound, long-range policies. Present problems are so urgent, however, that the Committee has selected from the full report the following key proposals, recommended for immediate consideration.

As its first responsibility, the Committee considered domestic programs in population and family planning intended primarily to further the health and welfare of the American people. The Committee is convinced, moreover, that sound domestic programs will increase our experience and knowledge, and in consequence will make our participation in international programs more useful and valued. The Committee, therefore, recommends:

1. That the Federal Government rapidly expand family planning programs to make information and services available by 1973 on a voluntary basis to all American women who want but cannot afford them.

This policy will require an increase in the Federal appropriation for domestic family planning services, to be provided on a strictly voluntary basis, from \$30 million in the fiscal year 1969 to \$150 million in 1973. This is a small price to pay for providing help to an estimated five million women now de-

prived by poverty and ignorance of the opportunity to plan their families effectively.

2. That the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Office of Economic Opportunity develop specific five-year plans for their population and family planning programs.

The task to be done is so complex that a detailed, long-range plan is essential for translating policy into day-to-day operations. A prospectus for such a plan is presented in the full report.

3. That the Office of Education provide significant assistance to appropriate education agencies in the development of materials on population and family life.

All levels of the educational system stand in need of materials and curricula on the causes and consequences of population change, so that the American people can confront population issues intelligently. Also needed are curricula on family life so that personal decisions about marriage and parenthood can be made responsibly and with adequate information. Federal assistance for local educational programs in these fields should be expanded rapidly to at least \$8 million annually.

Beyond this nation's domestic needs, the United States shares with other nations a concern about the world's population problems. Increasing numbers of countries, caught in the crisis of rapid population growth, recognize that their aspirations for a better life may be frustrated without effective population and family planning programs. Assisting such programs is now an integral part of our national commitment to help the developing countries. The Committee therefore recommends:

4. That the United States continue to expand its programs of international assistance in population and family planning as rapidly as funds can be properly allocated by the U.S. and effectively utilized by recipient countries and agencies.

Reducing population growth is not a substitute for economic development. And yet in most of the developing countries, a decline in birth rates is necessary if they are to satisfy the reasonable aspirations of their people. Programs in population should continue to have high priority and increasing support as part of general assistance to social and economic development. It is clear now that our expenditures for assistance in this field should grow substantially in the next three to five years; however, the amount and allocation of increase should depend on a continuing review of our efforts in this field and the scale and effectiveness of programs undertaken by the developing countries.

5. That experienced specialists from other countries be invited to serve on advisory groups for both our domestic and international programs.

The American contribution to population programs abroad can only be a small part of their total costs, so it must be allocated through a carefully considered set of priorities to maximize long-term effects. This allocation will be more effective if the Federal Government seeks the advice of experts from other countries, some of which have more experience with large-scale family planning programs than our own country. Americans have served on such advisory groups for other countries; we should seek in return the benefit of similar advice for both our domestic and international programs.

Additional research and a greater supply of trained personnel are essential for both domestic and foreign programs. Larger research programs, especially when combined with the recommended expansion of service programs, will create a demand for qualified personnel and for programs to train them. The Committee therefore recommends:

6. That the newly established Center for Population Research accelerate the Federal Government's research and training pro-

grams in both the biological and social sciences and that within two years the Center be expanded into a National Institute for Population Research, established by act of Congress.

The expanded program of biomedical and social science research and training in population supported by the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development and coordinated by its Center for Population Research should rise to \$30 million in the fiscal year 1970 and to \$100 million in 1971. This level of funding will enable the Center to launch needed programs on improved methods of contraception, basic research on the physiology of reproduction and social science research integral to population problems. The Center should become the focal point within the government for information about population research and training, whether domestic or foreign.

Planning should begin now to bring about its transformation into a separate National Institute for Population Research within the next two years.

7. That the Federal Government provide basic support for population studies centers.

Priority should be given to basic support for existing population centers primarily in universities to carry out research and training programs in the biomedical, health and social sciences. Support should also be given to the establishment of additional university centers. Such support will attract scientists, teachers and administrators by assuring them of career opportunities. Basic support for existing and additional centers, including construction, is estimated at an average annual cost of \$40 million.

Making family planning available and effective is a principal aim of the actions recommended for immediate consideration, but family planning is only one of the important influences on population change. Population trends are influenced profoundly by many other things—for example, by tax policies, participation of women in the labor force, job and housing opportunities, population mobility, and marriage rates. Unfortunately, both knowledge and public information about population trends and policies are limited. The present report, completed in four months, should be supplemented by a more thorough review. The Committee therefore recommends:

8. That Congress authorize and the President appoint a Commission on Population.

Such a Commission should make the American public aware of the economic, educational and social impact of population trends. It should analyze the consequences of alternative U.S. policies in the light of this country's determination to enhance the quality of American life. It should evaluate the progress of this nation's programs and review the extent to which the recommendations of this Committee have been implemented. The Commission could have a major impact in highlighting for the American people the urgency and importance of the population problem.

These proposals have been selected by the Committee as deserving of special emphasis. They are taken from the full report, which follows.

THE PROBLEM

On Human Rights Day, December 11, 1967, Secretary General U Thant of the United Nations made public a "World Leaders Declaration on Population." This document was signed by the heads of thirty nations including the President of the United States. Among its principles were these:

"The population problem must be recognized as a principal element in long-range national planning if governments are to achieve their economic goals and fulfill the aspirations of their people.

"The great majority of parents desire to have the knowledge and means to plan their families; the opportunity to decide the num-

ber and spacing of children is a basic human right."

Support for these statements by national leaders through the United Nations reveals the increasing concern about population problems throughout the world and a growing determination to do something about them.

Rapid population growth is a direct result of man's enhanced ability at death control. Modern medicine and improved nutrition have cut death rates throughout the world, thus upsetting the traditional balance between births and deaths and producing rates of population growth unprecedented in the history of man. If present growth rates remain unchecked, the present world population of 3½ billion will double to seven billion by the end of the century.

More than 80 per cent of this increase will occur in the developing nations. With growth rates averaging 2½ per cent per year, the developing nations are suffering an acute imbalance between births and deaths, and throughout much of Asia, Africa and Latin America, successful efforts at economic development find their gains diluted by ever-increasing numbers of people. Most of the additional population will, therefore, come into the world with limited prospects of adequate food, shelter, education and employment.

In the industrialized nations, declines in death rates have been followed by declines in birth rates. In the United States, the resulting rate of natural population increase has been about one per cent per year. This rate of growth cannot be maintained indefinitely. Eventually, it will mean severe social and economic dislocations. At present, however, America faces a difficulty of another kind. Some members of our society, most of them poor, are unable to limit their families to the number of children they want. Consequently, they have more children than they desire and these children are too often condemned to perpetuate the poverty of their parents. Domestic programs should make family planning available on a voluntary basis, to all our citizens.

The population problem is serious enough simply from the standpoint of assuring a reasonably adequate supply of food for the anticipated increase in numbers. But it is far deeper than that, since it affects health and nutrition, literacy and education, productive employment and living standards. In essence, it is concerned not with the quantity of human life but with its quality.

At the same time, solving the population problem will not solve everything. Reducing excessive rates of population growth will speed development in the poorer nations. But reductions in birth rates must be accompanied by positive programs of economic development.

Accordingly, this Committee faced the question: What population and family planning policies ought the United States to adopt in its long-range efforts to improve the quality of life for its own citizens and to contribute to the improvement of life in the developing nations?

Since the President's State of the Union Message of 1965, the Federal Government has shown a sharply increased awareness of the nature and magnitude of population problems as they affect both the United States and the world. This report, requested by the President, is one indication of that new awareness and proposes establishing mechanisms through which the government can review existing policies and develop programs as the needs demand.

OUR DOMESTIC RESPONSIBILITIES

This section outlines the role of the Federal Government in achieving a society in which all parents can have the number of children they want when they want them. For the majority of the American people,

this goal will be attained by research programs yielding superior contraceptive methods and increased knowledge about human reproduction, by training programs for physicians and other family planning professionals, and by programs of public education.

For the one-fifth of Americans who are poor or nearly poor, however, these programs will not be enough. The current availability of family planning is of little help to those who cannot afford the services, who do not know that they are available, or who live where medical services are scarce.

The lack of family planning services among the poor is not a problem confined to one race, nor is it confined to the urban areas; in fact, two-thirds of the nation's poor are white, and only one-third live in central city slums. Neither is the problem confined to certain geographic areas; the people needing services live in all sections of the country.

Moreover, the poor are precisely those for whom a lack of family planning services is most disastrous. While surveys indicate that poor people want no more children than those who are not poor, they have in fact many more children. Excessive fertility can drive a family into poverty as well as reduce its chances of escaping it. The frequency of maternal deaths, the level of infant mortality, and the number of children who are chronically handicapped are all markedly greater among the poor than in the rest of the population. One of the most effective measures that could be taken to lower mortality and morbidity rates among mothers and children would be to help the poor to have the number of children they desire.

It is estimated that five million American women want family planning services but cannot get them because they cannot afford them or have no ready access to them. Basic legislation already exists, but modifications to provide adequate authorizations and appropriations will be needed. Under present legislation, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Office of Economic Opportunity have programs to bring family planning services to the poor. Such programs and private efforts now reach about one million needy women. In view of the scarcity of health resources in poor neighborhoods, services needed to reach an estimated five million women will require dedicated effort and careful planning. The Committee therefore recommends: That the Federal Government rapidly expand family planning programs to make information and services available by 1973 on a voluntary basis to all American women who want but cannot afford them.

An outline of a long-range plan to create adequate service structures, developed with DHEW specifically in mind, appears in the last section of this report.

Three different types of federally-assisted programs now provide family planning services primarily to the poor:

1. Project grants of the Children's Bureau of DHEW and of the Community Action Program of OEO can be used to establish or expand family planning services.
2. Formula grants to States for comprehensive health services and maternal and child health can be used to support family planning. In order to receive a maternal and child health grant a State must provide family planning services and make them available statewide by 1975.
3. Cash assistance is provided by States to families with dependent children, with the Federal Government sharing in the costs. Recent Federal legislation requires that each State offer family planning services to the recipients of such assistance. (The acceptance of services is voluntary and not a condition of welfare payments.) Under Medicaid, the Federal Government also shares with the States the cost of paying the medical bills of the poor.

In order to fit these programs into a sustained plan to make family planning services available, two apparently conflicting objectives must be reconciled. The basic thrust of recent Federal policy emphasizes the importance of a comprehensive approach to health care, making specialized health services a part of general health services. The fragmenting of health services into a host of special programs tends to reduce the quantity and quality of the general health care. Medical and allied health resources are scarce in poor neighborhoods. Relying solely on the development of comprehensive medical care for the poor, however, might seriously delay the provision of family planning services.

Our conclusion is that specialized family planning services should be provided now, and that later, as comprehensive medical services become available, family planning projects can be absorbed into the broader health systems. The Committee therefore recommends: That Federal programs for the delivery of family planning services be developed in phases, moving from initial provision through specialized programs to eventual incorporation into comprehensive health services.

Under such an approach, project grants, as the first phase, would provide the means of introducing family planning services speedily into areas of poverty.

In the next phase, the ultimate objectives of the program would be attained. This would mean establishing opportunities for the poor and near poor to avail themselves of family planning services offered them as part of comprehensive medical services.

To the extent that family planning services are made available to the poor through publicly supported institutions—whether they are hospitals, health departments, other health centers or family planning clinics—those services will usually be located in areas where the poor live. But their use need not be limited exclusively to the poor. Other people whose incomes are above the level of poverty and deprivation that qualifies them for Medicaid will find the services convenient and should have access to them. The proposals that have been outlined will encourage a wider use of the institutions offering family planning services. Individuals will be charged the cost of services, paying it out of their own pockets or through public financing, depending on their income level. The poor will not use one set of institutions and their neighbors another.

At the community level, the provision of modern family planning services for approximately five million women will require the active participation of private physicians, hospitals, health departments, voluntary agencies, anti-poverty programs and welfare departments. A uniform delivery pattern applicable in all communities does not now exist, nor would such uniformity be desirable.

In this light, the different programs launched in the last few years by DHEW and OEO should be viewed as complementary. DHEW fund for family planning services are channeled primarily through medical institutions and official health agencies, while OEO projects are initiated by community action agencies and are usually neighborhood-based. Other Federal departments such as Housing and Urban Development, Agriculture, Defense, and Interior are in a position to serve special groups and several have begun to do so.

So that the Congress will more easily understand the particular rules of each agency and can satisfy itself that unnecessary duplication of effort is not present, the Committee recommends: That in presenting to the Congress their separate budgets for family planning services, DHEW and OEO each make its own presentation in the context of an overall Federal budget for such services.

Current estimates put the annual cost to

the Federal Government of providing family planning services at an average of \$30 per woman, with considerable variation depending on individual circumstances. To reach five million women would accordingly require \$150 million a year in Federal support. Changes in cost estimates, including those resulting from program experience, can be reflected in future budget requests, but increases of \$30 million annually for the next few years can be put to high priority use regardless of later variations in unit costs. In any case, costs are low compared to health and social benefits. The Committee therefore recommends: That Federal appropriations for domestic family planning services be steadily increased from the present \$30 million in fiscal 1969 to \$60 million in 1970, and thence by \$30 million increments to a total of \$150 million in 1973. In the immediate future, the largest share of the increases should be concentrated in the project grant programs of DHEW and OEO.

Education and information

The domestic programs outlined above have dealt with family planning services and not with other aspects of the population field. This seems appropriate because our government has a policy for providing family planning services to those who want them. The Committee recommends studies and discussion as a basis for increasing public understanding of the effect of population trends.

Support for enlightened population policy and the attainment of its goals require that information about population matters, including family planning and responsible parenthood, be incorporated into the system of education. Of particular importance is the inclusion of population and family planning materials into the curricula of medical and professional schools for the training of such related personnel as nurses, social workers, psychologists, home economists, and educators. Support should be given to a stronger emphasis on population studies in the social science departments of colleges and universities.

The attention the schools are now giving to population matters, particularly sex education, has been largely stimulated by voluntary agencies and private foundations. The effort should now receive increased support from the Federal Government. The Office of Education should be directed to expand both its own effort in this area and its grant support for the preparation of educational materials in population dynamics and family life education. The Committee therefore recommends: That the Office of Education provide significant assistance to appropriate education agencies in the development of materials on population and family life.

Our estimate is that this program should be funded at about \$5 million per year for innovations in the public schools, \$2 million for special education projects in the first year, and about \$1 million for fellowships for teacher training in population studies and family planning in the first year.

The public discussion that will lead toward a national consensus on the policy implications of population growth for the family, the social structure, and the economic stability of the nation must be carried on as widely as possible. In view of the proper limitations on governmental intervention in this regard, private organizations should continue to have a fundamental responsibility in encouraging this discussion; but it is important that such efforts expand as governmental support for family planning programs expands. The Committee therefore recommends: That private organizations and the mass media expand their efforts in promoting public understanding of the population situation and of the effects of population trends upon family life, educational and occupational opportunities, maternal and child health, and the general quality of life.

A public consensus in support of enlightened policies rests on sound information about population change and its consequences for all sectors of the American people. Different audiences should be reached and informed: officials in national, State and local government; scientists, writers and educators; members of the health and social welfare professions; the lay public including such diverse groups as the urban, rural, middle class, poor, youth, parents, especially women in the childbearing ages, and special interest groups such as the business community, PTA, industry, labor, and religious groups.

OUR INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES

A number of countries have recently adopted official policies or programs designed to make family planning services available as health measures or to decrease their rates of population growth or both. The policies and programs differ widely. In some countries, policy statements are unaccompanied by programs; elsewhere, programs are operating without official policy statements. Yet in all the developing world, perhaps two thirds of the people live in countries where programs have been started or policies announced.

In many countries, family planning is gaining support as a means of improving the health and welfare of families. More and more countries are also explicitly recognizing that their plans for economic and social progress are being jeopardized by high rates of population growth. In terms of the recency of the effort, the progress is impressive. However, given the magnitude of the problem and the objectives set by many countries, the scale of the effort is grossly inadequate.

While a great deal can and should be done now with the personnel and knowledge already available, this is a new field in which it is essential to build a sound base for larger efforts in the coming years. Population problems will almost certainly be of urgent concern to the world beyond the end of this century. Every delay now will increase the difficulties of future generations.

Policy

The policy of the United States for international assistance in this field is based on the fact that excessive rates of population growth impede economic and social progress and on the principle that effective access to family planning information and service should be universally available.

The United States should encourage all nations to consider the impact of population factors on their development programs and to undertake action appropriate to their own situations. At the same time, this nation should not require any particular population policy as a condition of economic or other aid. The United States should continue, through appropriate public and private agencies, to be ready on request to assist any country to develop or strengthen population policies and programs based on respect for individual conscience and choice. Such assistance should be available even to those countries not presently receiving U.S. foreign assistance funds.

Program development in the international field

The Federal Government already recognizes that programs in the population field merit high priority as an integral part of general developmental assistance while acknowledging that reduction of population growth is not a substitute for other developmental assistance or progress. Excessive population growth retards general development; the converse is also true, that progress in social and economic development tends to accelerate the adoption of family planning and to speed a reduction in the birth rate.

The United States should continue to provide assistance to other countries, at their

request, to help them develop and implement their own population and family planning programs. Funds appropriated for this purpose should be increased as rapidly as they can be properly allocated by the U.S. and effectively used by the recipients. Countries requesting such aid should have plans for population programs to which they are prepared to give strong support, including the commitment of local resources and personnel. The United States, on its side, must assign qualified personnel to review the requests for aid and to provide technical assistance for the resulting programs as appropriate. In view of the urgency of the problem, enough is known now to justify support for large-scale family planning programs. With no more than existing methods and knowledge, millions of couples around the world who want to limit the number of their children can be helped to do so. The Committee therefore recommends: That the United States continue to expand its programs of international assistance in population and family planning as rapidly as funds can be properly allocated by the U.S. and effectively utilized by recipient countries and agencies.

Where maternal and child health services are weak or nonexistent, family planning programs can be carried out independently and at the same time provide an important avenue through which such services can be established or strengthened. Available evidence indicates that the shorter the time since the last birth, the more interested couples are in family planning. A recent birth reminds parents of their continuing fecundity and the problems they may encounter in caring adequately for their growing families as well as the question of birth spacing. The initial success of international postpartum family planning programs illustrates how limited resources can make a significant difference. Since family planning is welcomed in the early post-partum period, special efforts should be made to reach women at delivery and shortly thereafter. Therefore the Committee recommends: That in establishing priorities for its international assistance programs in population, the United States should relate family planning to maternal and child health programs wherever appropriate but also recognize that family planning efforts can be successfully conducted in their own right.

While continuing to work now with the best communications techniques presently available, government leaders and professional specialists must plan for the decades ahead. New means of communications already in use on an international basis offer possibilities for bringing information on family planning and population matters to hundreds of millions of persons now deprived of it. The Committee therefore recommends: That consideration be given to appropriate communications techniques, including television and other mass media, as possible methods for breaking through the barriers of illiteracy and misinformation.

Administrative problems appear to be a particular source of difficulty for many of the large-scale family planning programs now in operation in the developing world. A system of program evaluation is needed to bring together information about a variety of approaches. From an operating point of view, for example, questions remain unanswered about the various methods of providing family planning services in hospitals as compared with other locations, of working through governmental as compared with private organizations, of providing information through mass media as compared with personal contact or combinations of these approaches. Trials of alternative methods should be considered to determine which will be most effective.

In a number of countries, there appear to be adequate personnel and other resources

to carry out programs on which there is an evident consensus. Yet the programs are not carried out effectively. It might be that even if the programs were properly implemented, they would find little acceptance, but that question cannot be settled without a vigorous effort to undertake what is specified in the program. Until more is done in some places to carry out planned programs, it will be difficult to decide how much family planning can do and how much depends on going beyond present programs to change the social environment in which family decisions are made. The Committee therefore recommends: That special attention be given to research, developmental and operational projects on the administrative aspects of family planning programs.

Administration and funding of international assistance

The United States should encourage more active participation of United Nations organizations and other similar groups interested in international development in the population field and should make available adequate financial support for their programs. Several of the United Nations organizations have new policies supporting activities in population, but their actual involvement in action programs or in closely related research remains minimal. Declarations of support for enlightened family planning and population policies are important, but action is also required.

In addition to cooperation with official multilateral agencies, Federal assistance programs should, whenever feasible, utilize the private foundations, universities and other non-governmental agencies that are already providing technical assistance in population studies or family planning services in other countries. The Committee therefore recommends: That where appropriate, U.S. assistance in population matters should continue to be channeled through qualified non-governmental organizations and multilateral agencies.

In a field as complex as population, the funding of assistance programs on a one-year basis, especially when actual appropriations are made after the beginning of that year, compounds the difficulties in planning and administering programs that must be developed on a large-term basis. The Committee therefore recommends: That international assistance programs should be funded for periods of at least two years and projected for at least five years.

The State Department and the Agency for International Development have both expressed an interest in having the assistance of an advisory committee from outside the Government. In the short run, such a committee could help overcome the lack of qualified personnel to appraise programs in this rapidly expanding field and in addition could serve to informally review overall efforts where experienced personnel are in short supply. The Committee therefore recommends: That an advisory committee of experts from outside the Government should be appointed to meet at regular intervals with governmental officials concerned with population programs to review and advise on major policies and programs.

It would be to our national advantage to have foreign specialists in population and family planning provide this country with the kind of informed and objective reviews that have been received by other countries. Americans have served usefully on such missions. The United States should seek to receive reciprocal benefits by drawing on the experience of experts from nations with large-scale family planning programs. The specialists who would be invited to review our population programs, both domestic and foreign, should be suggested by one or more of the agencies that already have international experience in the field. The use of such specialists will make clear to the world this

nation's recognition that population problems are a matter of international concern. The Committee therefore recommends: That experienced specialists from other countries be invited to serve on advisory groups for both our domestic and international programs.

Even with the wider international effort proposed in this report, programs of international assistance in population by the United States will never provide more than a small part of the total resources that will be committed to the solution of the population problems of the developing world. It is therefore of the greatest importance that American assistance be allocated in accordance with a carefully considered set of priorities and that these priorities be regularly reviewed. This country's contribution should be particularly designed to help other nations or multilateral programs in areas where limited but concentrated support can make a "break-through" difference. The observations of the recommended advisory groups would be especially helpful in this difficult task.

International aspects of research

An anticipated increase in nationwide family planning programs in the coming decades will require advances in knowledge, continuing research, and the training of qualified personnel. The next section of this report is concerned with the details of training and research requirements for both domestic and international programs. Special attention is directed to the fact that differences among countries require that each receives individual consideration. Differences also provide an opportunity for the kind of comparative research that is possible only on an international basis although the results should prove of benefit to each nation.

Research to develop more effective contraceptive methods, as recommended later in the report, is immediately important for the welfare of American families, but it has added significance in the developing countries as well as long-range benefits for the whole world. Particularly in the developing countries, improved contraceptives will make it easier for married couples who want to plan their families to do so. It is important in every country that there should be a choice among a number of safe and acceptable methods to suit individual preferences and beliefs. It is additionally important in countries with poor health and communications facilities that the methods should be cheap, simple, and long-lasting, and should require minimal medical supervision. Direct benefits to our own citizens amply justify greatly increased expenditures for research on such contraceptive methods and on the basic physiology of reproduction. The fact that such research will benefit most of the world's population provides heightened justification with regard to our obligations of conscience and our concern for world peace.

DESIGNS FOR RESEARCH AND TRAINING

Population research and training involve the social and behavioral, biological and medical sciences, as well as health education, communications and public health administration; and population issues deal with the interactions between population change and a wide sweep of fundamental human concerns, including economic development as well as esthetic, educational, ethical and religious factors.

The nature of population research

Research in the field of population involves both the biomedical and social sciences.

On the biomedical side, research is directed to the study of reproduction and to the development and evaluation of means of fertility regulation. It extends also to investigations into the biological, medical and genetic implications of the regulation of reproductive rates and of specific methods of fertility control.

Research on new contraceptives must be aimed at the development of an array of methods suited to a variety of conditions and preferences. Methods should be developed for use by men and women of various age groups. They must be safe, effective, inexpensive, simple to administer and distribute, and easy to use. Contraceptive methodology has made great advances in recent years, but even the best new methods have some problems connected with their use.

Three recent developments in contraceptive technology—the intramuscular injection of progestin, the use of microdoses of progestin on a daily oral basis, and the subdermal insertion of a plastic capsule containing progestin—have reached the stage of clinical testing and may well lead to new methods for general use within two or three years. Investigations have started following other leads. In seeking solutions to population problems, it is essential that all leads toward improved contraceptive methods be identified and pursued without delay.

The urgency of population problems, however, must not act to confine biomedical research in this field to contraceptive development projects. Fundamental research is, after all, the prior condition of all applied technology. Basic studies of reproductive processes, grossly neglected in the past, must go forward in both human beings and laboratory animals in order to expand the information base from which new methods of fertility regulation can be expected to emerge. Also needed are long-range studies of the effects of changes in family planning practices on the genetic structure and demographic characteristics of societies.

Biomedical research is international in character; it involves foundations and international organizations as well as the scientific and medical personnel of other countries. Federal activities in population research should complement the work of private agencies and industrial firms, and should acknowledge the international nature of the problem by supporting the work of qualified scientists from many countries. Research should take into account the distinctive health conditions affecting contraception in different parts of the world and be carried out on a comparative worldwide basis.

On the side of the social sciences also, increased effort should be directed to both basic and applied research. The immediacy of some population problems demands at the same time that certain social and demographic studies be undertaken without delay. More detailed information on the health and reproductive behavior of the American people is urgently needed. A better understanding should be acquired of the factors that make for changes in the U.S. birth rate. Additional information about other countries will enable the United States to reach a better understanding of its own population characteristics as well as assist more effectively in the worldwide effort to reduce excessive rates of population growth.

Answers to some questions would lead to the improvement of family planning programs. How and to what extent do family planning programs affect fertility, birth control practices and population growth rates? To what extent do specific programs effect changes in specific modes of behavior? What social conditions also effect these changes? What is the evidence that effects attributed to programs are not the result of other social changes going on at the same time?

In the development of long-range population policy, the consideration of alternative policies and their consequences is a first step, and such consideration should accordingly be encouraged. Circumstances affecting fertility are of immediate concern in view of the central role of fertility in population change. However, the way a population grows, changes and comes to be distributed in a country is affected also by other factors, such as

migration and mortality. Population research should be broad enough to encompass all such factors. It should not be limited to studies of fertility.

In the widest sense, there is a demographic component in all social problems. It is thus difficult to set forth priorities that would limit the Committee's recommendations to something less than support for the whole range of social science. Much more demographic research and training are clearly needed, but the relative importance of different aspects of the field is a problem to which the Center for Population Research should give early attention. In view of identified needs in the biomedical and social sciences, the Committee recommends: That the newly established Center for Population Research accelerate the Federal Government's population research and training programs in both the biological and social sciences and that within two years the Center be expanded into a National Institute for Population Research, established by act of Congress.

In its present form or as its proposed successor Institute, the Center should serve as the Government's central clearing house of information on population research and training, whether domestic or foreign.

Operational research in family planning

Three factors are involved in family planning programs: people who want to regulate their fertility, a means of regulating fertility, and the organization to bring one to the other. The third factor, organization, is now a major problem in family planning efforts throughout the world.

Most foreign programs have included family planning within general health services without evaluating alternative operational structures. In these large, often nationwide programs, questions involving separate family planning services, the effectiveness of mobile units, the training of paramedical personnel to supplement scarce medical professionals, the results of concentrating effort on high-parity or low-parity mothers, the incidence of abortion and its demographic and social significance—none of these has been adequately studied.

Within the United States, the single purpose family planning clinic emerged historically to provide family planning services to those of the poor who could not otherwise get them. Now, while municipal and voluntary hospitals as well as State and county health departments are moving in the direction of family planning, an opportunity exists to make such services an integral part of comprehensive, high-quality health care. The role of hospitals and medical schools in providing community outreach programs has been recognized for other health needs and should be extended to include family planning.

Research in the operational aspects of family planning programs is a necessary part of the responsibility of those Federal agencies supporting such operations both here and abroad. As an integral part of their work in this field, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Agency for International Development should support studies of alternative administrative arrangements for providing services, of the effectiveness of new methods of contraception, of the extent to which the programs are utilized and their impact on ultimate objectives. Less than \$1.5 million was allocated for such studies in 1968, and no significant increase appears possible in 1969. In the international sphere, AID allocated relatively modest sums to operational research despite its vital importance to the success of national family planning programs in the developing world. The Committee therefore recommends: That Federal agencies involved in family planning services support operational research at a level adequate to evaluate their programs and make them more effective.

Immediate training needs

A large increase in training programs will be needed to provide qualified personnel for new and expanding programs in population. To meet immediate needs for trained personnel, operating agencies make interim arrangements with existing resources. While this interim training is under way, a comprehensive survey should be commissioned to project in detail the personnel and training needs of domestic and international programs. This survey should estimate the numbers and types of people who will be needed; it should indicate the institutions at home and abroad that can conduct training programs, and it should state what these programs will cost the Government and other organizations.

Essential projections of training needs do not now exist. The need for them is pressing. The Committee therefore recommends: That an appropriate agency be asked to undertake without delay a comprehensive survey of manpower and training requirements for both domestic and international population and family planning programs.

Immediate requirements for training family planning personnel can be met by operating agencies using presently available funds. The Committee therefore further recommends: That operating agencies use existing authority to train physicians, nurses, social workers, statisticians and other professionals needed immediately in both domestic family planning programs and foreign assistance efforts.

In the international field, special emphasis should be given to building a base of trained persons who can initiate and conduct programs of research, training and service. Countries with extensive experience in population and family planning work should be encouraged to provide training opportunities for nationals of other countries and to assist countries with limited experience in developing their own training programs. Existing institutions abroad should be used whenever possible, and relationships of exchange and collaboration should be developed among foreign and American institutions.

A Federal program of research in population

The Federal Government has made a start in organizing programs of research in population subjects and in the training of specialists to conduct the research. The scale of the present effort, however, is far too small when weighed against our national and international goals.

In only the past few years, Federal expenditures for population research have gone from close to nothing to the current level of \$18.25 million. The largest funding source in the Federal program is The National Institute of Child Health and Human Development. The President requested \$12 million for this agency's population program in fiscal 1969; Congress appropriated \$9.63 million. This meant that the resources available to the major Federal agency in the field are little larger in fiscal 1969 than they were in 1968. In view of cost increases, its current budget is in fact regressive at a time when population research should be a national priority and excellent research proposals are not being funded. More than half of the research grants and research training grants approved by the NICHD Council have either not been funded at all or have had to accept budgetary restrictions. The Institute's research support of outstanding foreign scientists has been virtually eliminated.

The Center for Population Studies should take advantage of every opportunity, foreign and domestic, to support research leading to improved contraceptive technology and to a broader understanding of reproductive biology. Funds sufficient for this purpose should be made available by Congress. Foreign assistance funds should also be used, as appropriate, to support research activities as a means of providing important assistance to

overseas programs. The contraceptive technology available is a major factor in the success or failure of most family planning programs.

Most of the Federal support for population research now goes to the biological sciences with almost none directed toward operational research and very little to the social sciences. Some support for population research by social scientists is contained in the programs of the National Institute of Mental Health, other institutes within the National Institutes of Health, the National Science Foundation, and—for projects with international scope—the Agency for International Development. The NICHD's Center for Population Research plans to initiate in 1969 a contract research program in the social sciences amounting to \$750,000. A major expansion is needed in support of social science studies of population, including fertility, population growth and distribution, and population policies.

The development of improved contraceptive methods is an example of the kind of vitally important task to which contract funds should be devoted. The Center for Population Research has already established a coordinated contract research program in contraceptive development. The level of funding for this activity is at present, however, so far short of what is needed that the program's chances for success are jeopardized. The Committee therefore recommends: That the Center for Population Research be given sufficient funds to set up and sustain a contract research program in contraceptive development that will assure a concentration of attention in this area by the world's most qualified scientists.

The Center should lend additional support to the development of improved methods of contraception by means of research grants. The Center's program of grants should be expanded to provide adequate support for other essential kinds of population research. Additional grant support should be forthcoming from operating agencies. The Committee therefore further recommends: That the Federal Government increase its research grants in population to provide a high level of support for programs in the physiology of reproduction, in continuing studies of existing methods of contraception, in the development of new contraceptive methods, in problems of effective field utilization and in population aspects of the social sciences.

Although the Center should serve as the principal instrument for the Federal Government's support of research in population, certain specialized research tasks in the broad field will have to be undertaken by other Federal agencies. The suggestion has been made that AID should support population research when it contributes to international assistance programs. Another recommendation proposes that operating agencies conduct operational research. Additional important areas exist in both the biomedical and social sciences in which Federal research related to population must be conducted elsewhere than in the Center for Population Research.

Both hormonal and intrauterine contraception, as well as most foreseeable new methods, require medical participation and supervision. Hormonal contraception in particular has given rise to a unique situation in which large numbers of healthy women have become continuous users of pharmaceutical products that are likely to have general physiological effects. In foreign family planning programs, national medical authorities will provide guidance for the medical management of contraception in the light of local conditions. Within the United States, the use of contraceptive drugs and devices in family planning programs must be accompanied by the medical safeguards that the Food and Drug Administration determines are necessary. It is essential that

contraceptive drugs and devices be subjected to exhaustive studies of their safety. The Committee therefore recommends: That the Food and Drug Administration be provided with sufficient funds to assure that adequate surveillance be maintained on approved contraceptive drugs and products under investigation including long-term monitoring studies that would reveal direct effects that may develop after a period of latency.

Demographic studies indicate that the death rate in the United States is at present both low and stable. The national rate of growth as well as the age structure of the U.S. population is therefore largely determined by variations in the birth rate. In the last three decades, the birth rate of the United States has moved from a low in the Great Depression through an unexpected high generally referred to as the "baby boom," and into a new decline toward even lower levels. Many expect the birth rate to rise again as the large number of "baby boom" babies become parents, as they are just now beginning to do—but such a prediction contains many uncertainties. To improve our understanding of the factors that determine birth rates, a continuing national survey of family growth characteristics should be a part of the Federal data collection system. Such a survey would provide a regular flow of information on changes in our reproductive norms, on the effectiveness with which parents control the number and spacing of their children, on the incidence of induced abortion, and in general on a variety of social and economic factors influencing patterns of childbearing.

A plan has already been developed for a continuing survey of this type to be conducted by the National Center for Health Statistics. Appropriations are needed to implement the plan. The Committee therefore recommends: That the National Center for Health Statistics be given funds to establish a continuing survey of family growth in the United States in order to determine trends in childbearing patterns and factors affecting the American birth rate.

In addition to supporting meritorious research proposals through grants and contracts, the Center for Population Research should contribute to the support of institutions capable of carrying out programs of population research involving a number of disciplines. University centers vary in the extent to which they devote themselves to the biomedical, public health and social science aspects of population research. Whatever their emphasis, however, the required resources are concentrated in universities, and without the further development of such centers, the recommended research and training activities will be severely handicapped. Existing population studies centers do not have assurance of support at even their present levels of activity. It is thus important that the Federal Government contribute both to the core support of present centers and to their expansion. Maximizing their activities would require annual expenditures of \$20 million with wide variations from center to center depending on how much of the work is devoted to the more expensive natural sciences.

The Federal Government should also provide funds for the establishment of new centers of population research and training for research, preferably in universities that can show a nucleus of qualified personnel on which to build.

Because of intense competition for limited funds appropriated for research facilities, legislative authority should be sought to speed the development of population research centers. Special legislation should make funds available on a three-to-one matching basis for construction costs. An estimated \$5 million would be required to build each new center with an annual average of \$1 million needed for core support. Additional support

for centers would be supplied through such traditional mechanisms as grants and contracts for research and training. A total authorization of \$100 million would be required for the construction of ten new population studies centers including their core support for five years. When the costs of providing construction and basic support to existing population studies centers is added to this, a total of \$200 million in Federal funds would be needed for center programs over a five-year period beginning in fiscal 1970. The Committee therefore recommends: That the Federal Government provide basic support for population studies centers.

In accordance with the previous recommendations, the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development will undertake three major activities coordinated by its Center for Population Research. It will administer a program of research through contracts. It will support additional studies through research grants. It will finance the proposed program of population studies centers primarily in universities. These three activities, conducted at a level commensurate with present needs, will require budgetary support at much higher levels. The Committee therefore recommends: That the expanded program of biomedical and social science research and training in population supported by the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development and coordinated by its Center for Population Research rise to \$30 million in the fiscal year 1970 and to \$100 million in 1971.

NEW DIRECTIONS IN POLICY AND PROGRAM PLANNING

Recommendations for actions that will advance this nation's domestic and international programs in population and family planning have been outlined in the preceding sections of the report.

Although a principal aim of the actions recommended in this report is to make family planning services more effective and widely available to all who want them, such services are only one of the important factors that influence population trends. Among the many other factors that exert profound influence on population trends are tax policies, participation of women in the labor force, job and housing opportunities, population mobility, age at marriage and marriage rates. The present report should be supplemented by a more thorough study, undertaken over a longer period of time, of alternative policies designed to meet the whole range of factors influencing population change. The Committee therefore recommends: That Congress authorize and the President appoint a Commission on Population.

This Commission should:

- Assess the social and economic consequences of population trends in the United States;
- Examine the major trends in world population growth as they relate to U.S. policies and programs;
- Evaluate research needs, resources and progress in the field of population and family planning;
- Consider the consequences of alternative population policies;
- Bring to the attention of the American people the relationship of population trends to the quality of life;
- Review the extent to which the recommendations of the President's Committee on Population and Family Planning have been carried out.

This Commission should be authorized by Congress and appointed by the President as soon as possible with instructions to report to the President and the nation by the end of 1970.

The Office of the President has a unique responsibility and opportunity to focus attention on population and family planning matters, and to encourage public understanding of them. Because of their impor-

tance, these programs must receive continuing attention at the highest level of Government. The Committee therefore recommends: That the President designate one of his special assistants to take particular cognizance of population and family planning matters.

As population programs develop they will impinge on bureaus and offices not directly engaged in the field. Therefore, it is essential that all Government agencies have access to expert information on the subject. Most of all, it is important that the President have immediately available the latest findings in the field. The Committee therefore recommends: That the President instruct the Director of the Office of Science and Technology to appoint at least one person to his staff with special competence in the biomedical and social science aspects of population.

To reach the long-term public objectives of the Federal Government in population and family planning, careful program planning and analysis will be required in each Federal agency with major responsibilities in the field. Designing, financing and implementing the population and family planning activities of the Department of Health Education, and Welfare is especially difficult because of the many tasks and operating organizations involved. Long-range problems require long-term plans to meet them. A specific five-year program plan should help insure that departmental policy continuously guides the operating units and coordinates diverse activities. A similar five-year plan should be developed by the Office of Economic Opportunity in close collaboration with DHEW. The Committee therefore recommends: That the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Office of Economic Opportunity develop specific five-year plans for their population and family planning programs.

The means for developing a five-year plan in population and family planning in DHEW is outlined here.

SUGGESTED OUTLINE OF PLAN FOR DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

(The following plan reflects current organizational structure.)

1. By May 31, 1969, develop a time-phased five-year operating plan, including:

- Programs to provide family planning services to the poor and near poor;
- Research programs;
- Training of medical, social welfare, and allied personnel, including the incorporation of family planning materials in the curricula of medical and other related professional schools;
- Public education.

(a) The plan should include: specific, time-phased objectives in terms of unwanted births prevented, number of people served, number of institutions served, and other relevant data; assignment of specific goals to each pertinent DHEW agency, including an explicit statement of goals vis-a-vis State health agencies; the role of project grants, formula grants, Medicaid, and cash assistance; costs and personnel requirements; legislative and organizational changes needed.

(b) The plan should be developed by the Office of Deputy Assistant Secretary for Population and Family Planning in cooperation with operating agencies, and with the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Program Evaluation.

(c) The plan is to be reviewed, and approved (with modifications, if necessary) by the Secretary.

(d) The approval plan should then provide explicit guidance for each operating agency: In making up annual budgets; in drawing up a detailed operating plan for its own activities in the field of family planning—to be reviewed by the Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Population and Family Planning and approved by the Secretary.

(e) Each year the five-year plan will be updated and one more year added.

(f) After the first year, each operating agency must submit an "accomplishment report" explicitly comparing actual results for the prior year with plan objectives.

2. By May, 1970, the five-year plan (i.e., in this case the updated five-year plan) should be developed for each DHEW region.

The initial submissions will be developed in each region by a small professional family planning staff reporting to the DHEW regional director.

Regional family planning staffs will also be responsible for plan execution.

3. By February 1, 1969, a specific three-year training program in family planning will be developed for DHEW personnel in the various operating bureaus:

The training program will be developed by the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Administration in cooperation with the Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Population and Family Planning.

4. By May 1, 1969, an explicit time-phased multi-year plan (including objectives, costs and personnel requirements) should be developed to evaluate the relative effectiveness of various approaches to the delivery of family planning services, including a program for experimental projects to gain more operational knowledge.

The evaluation plan should be drawn up by the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Program Evaluation in consultation with the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Population and Family Planning.

The evaluation plan should give guidance to operating agencies on how to structure the "accomplishment reports" called for above.

5. By May 1, 1969, a time-phased specific plan should be ready for collecting the demographic and operational data needed to draw up the basic plans and to evaluate results.

Particular attention should be given to collecting operating information on formula programs run by the States.

Data collection, analysis and publication plans should be developed by the Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Population and Family Planning.

Although the five-year basic operating plan will be substantially changed and revised as time goes by, the plan is useful as a tactical mechanism: to force decisions on budget, personnel, and operations in accordance with top-level DHEW policy; to provide a means to check results against promises; to provide a meaningful power center at the regional level; to bring the Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Population and Family Planning to bear directly on the decision process; to provide a mechanism by which evaluation results can help shape program decisions.

This outline for a basic five-year operating plan for a domestic program is presented in detail as a model suitable for other agencies. Such long-range planning is more difficult in the field of international assistance programs since these depend in part on policies and actions of other governments and multilateral agencies. However, the Committee believes that it is possible to develop longer-range plans than those now developed even for our international assistance programs. Population problems are of a long-term character and they are unlikely to be resolved successfully by programs, plans and appropriations that have a horizon of only one year.

Since the population and family planning programs of the Federal Government are becoming so diverse—covering research, training and service activities, domestic and international, carried on by many operating units—a comprehensive statement of the scope of those activities should be readily available. Without such a statement showing activities in prior years and amounts proposed for the new budget, neither the Con-

gress, nor outside observers, nor indeed officials of the executive branch, can evaluate the adequacy of and trends in Federal resources supporting population and family planning programs. This summary statement should classify Federal programs in meaningful categories such as research, training, and service activities, and provide both budgetary information and operating data on research accomplishments, the number of individuals served, people trained and other relevant data. The Committee therefore recommends: That a special analysis of Federal population and family planning programs be published as part of the annual budget document.

In accordance with its mandate from the President, the Committee has centered its attention on the Federal Government and its role in the broad effort to resolve population problems. The new organizational forms proposed for governmental activity will supplement rather than replace the important private organizations already at work in the field. Some of this report's recommendations have as their purpose a strengthening of private agencies while linking their work to essential governmental activity. The past work of private agencies in fields related to population and family planning has laid a foundation on which extensive governmental activity can be constructed. Without the continued growth and cooperation of private agencies, the much larger governmental programs recommended for the future could be carried out only with great difficulty and at much greater cost. A continuing partnership is essential between the Government and other concerned organizations.

Three Presidents have demonstrated an increasing awareness of the nature and importance of the population problem. The present administration has already started the transition from concern to action with a number of measures including the establishment of a Federal population research center, the expansion of domestic family planning programs, and the launching of international assistance programs in population.

The importance of these measures must not be underrated, and yet they are not enough. The Federal Government must undertake a much larger effort if this nation hopes to play its proper role in attaining a better life for its people and for the citizens of the developing nations. In working to avert a population crisis, this nation will at the same time help strengthen the voluntary exercise of a basic human right, the right of parents to have the number of children they want, when they want them.

THE MANDATE TO THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON POPULATION AND FAMILY PLANNING

I am appointing a Committee of distinguished citizens and Government officials to make a careful review of Federal policies and programs in relation to worldwide and domestic needs.

I am asking the Committee

To determine ways of providing the American people with meaningful information about population change and assuring that its significance will be understood by the rising generation.

To define the Federal Government's direct role in research and training in population matters including the physiology of human reproduction, in fertility control and the development of new contraceptives, and the Government's role in supporting such research and training in private institutions at home and overseas.

To define the responsibility of the Federal Government, in cooperation with State, community, and private agencies in assuring that all families have access to information and services that will enable them to plan the number and spacing of their children.

To suggest actions which the United

States should take in concert with other countries and with international organizations to help the developing countries of the world to understand and to deal effectively with their high rate of population growth.

I am asking the Committee to provide me with an estimate of the costs of an effective five-year program plan in research, training and services.

The Committee may establish working groups of government and non-government experts to study technical, economic or social aspects of the population problem.

I am asking the Committee to report to me within 120 days.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, July 16, 1968.

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON POPULATION AND FAMILY PLANNING

Honorable Wilbur J. Cohen, *chairman*, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Mr. John D. Rockefeller, 3rd, *Co-Chairman*, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, The Population Council.

Leona Baumgartner, M.D., School of Medicine, Harvard University.

Ivan L. Bennett, Jr., M.D., Deputy Director, Office of Science and Technology.

Mr. Philander P. Claxton, Jr., Special Assistant to the Secretary for Population Matters, Department of State.

Lloyd Elan, M.D., President, Meharry Medical College.

Joseph English, M.D., Assistant Director for Health Affairs, Office of Economic Opportunity.

Dr. Ronald Freedman, Director, Population Studies Center, University of Michigan.

Hon. William S. Gaud, Administrator, Agency for International Development.

Dr. Oscar Harkavy, Program Officer in Charge, Population Office, Ford Foundation.

Philip R. Lee, M.D., Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Gary D. London, M.D., Director, Family Planning Programs, Office of Economic Opportunity.

Mrs. Katherine B. Ottinger, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Population and Family Planning, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Dr. Charles Schultze, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution.

Dr. Sheldon J. Segal, Director, Biomedical Division, The Population Council.

James A. Shannon, M.D., Assistant to the President, National Academy of Sciences.

Mr. Paul H. Todd, Jr., Chief Executive Officer, Planned Parenthood-World Population.

Andre Hellegers, M.D., Professor, Obstetrics and Gynecology, School of Medicine, Georgetown University.

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Mr. James T. Walls, Information Officer, The Population Council.

Dr. Gooloo S. Wunderlich, Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Population and Family Planning, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

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Sex Information & Education Council of the United States.

Mr. Arthur Campbell, Deputy Director, Center for Population Research, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Dr. Ansley J. Coale, Director, Office of Population Research, Princeton University.

Philip Corfman, M.D., Director, Center for Population Research, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Dr. Philip Hauser, Director, Population Research & Training Center, University of Chicago.

Mr. Nathan Hershey, Research Professor of Health Law, School of Public Health, University of Pittsburgh.

Mr. Frederick S. Jaffe, Vice President for Program Planning, Planned Parenthood-World Population.

Arthur J. Lesser, M.D., Deputy Chief, Children's Bureau, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Mr. Rutherford M. Poats, Deputy Administrator, Agency for International Development.

Mr. Philip Power, Publisher, Observer Newspapers, Inc.

R. T. Ravenholt, M.D., Director, Population Service War on Hunger, Agency for International Development.

Dr. Alice M. Rivlin, Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Mr. John S. Scanlan, Vice President and Account Supervisor, Greer, Dubois.

Dr. Irene Taeuber, Senior Research Demographer, Office of Population Research, Princeton University.

Dr. J. Richard Udry, Associate Director, Carolina Population Center, University of North Carolina.

Myron Wegman, M.D., Dean, School of Public Health, University of Michigan.

Samuel Wishik, M.D., Director, Division of Program Development and Evaluation, International Institute for the Study of Human Reproduction, Columbia University.

Mr. Theodore D. Woolsey, Director, National Center for Health Statistics, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

PLANNED PARENTHOOD

WORLD POPULATION,

New York, N.Y., February 5, 1969.

Representative GEORGE E. BROWN, Jr.,

House Office Building,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE BROWN: We urge your support for the very important recommendations made last month by the President's Committee on Population and Family Planning.

This group, headed by John D. Rockefeller 3rd and former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Wilbur Cohen, spent several months investigating the role our nation must play to help solve the population problem. Their report calls for the achievement of a "society in which all parents can have the number of children they want, when they want them."

The Committee recognizes the crucial role this new freedom of choice to delay, space, and limit pregnancies can have on the economic, physical, and mental health of our low-income families. Indeed, this freedom of choice is considered by researchers to be among the most cost-effective means of providing upward mobility out of poverty, as well as of reducing this nation's appallingly high infant mortality rate.

The Committee believes it entirely feasible to provide voluntary family planning services by 1973 to the roughly five million poor American women who do not now have access to them. This will require that the momentum achieved in the last several years to expand available services be accelerated to encompass an additional million patients annually. For each million women served, it is estimated that at least 100,000 unwanted

pregnancies will be prevented each year, not including those terminated by self-induced or criminal abortions, or miscarriages due to poor health of the mother.

The Committee also considered appropriate actions our government might take to help cope with the world population explosion, particularly as it stifles even the most heroic attempts to achieve economic and social stability and prevent world-wide famine. The Committee recommended increases in appropriations to assist, on request, foreign nations to expand their family planning programs. Of equal significance, the Committee recommended rapid expansion of research programs to discover more effective, more easily used, and more acceptable contraceptives and to increase our understanding of population problems. Such research will, of course, not only benefit the poor, but all individuals in our society. It is shameful that our present clear public support of such research is limited to about \$10 million provided by the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development.

The Committee called for immediate Federal action to achieve these goals. The first steps are:

1. Fiscal 1970 appropriations of at least \$30 million for Children's Bureau family planning project grants, primarily channeled through medical institutions and health agencies, and \$30 million for the Office of Economic Opportunity's neighborhood based family planning programs.

2. Fiscal 1970 appropriations of \$30 million to expand the current very modest research program of the Center for Population Research of the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development.

3. Expansion of international assistance programs in population and family planning beginning with an increase in foreign assistance appropriations for this purpose of \$75-100 million in Fiscal 1970.

The cost of these programs is small when compared to the effect of unlimited population growth on the health and welfare of the American people and the prospects for world peace and economic stability. We ask your support for the expanded program and funding levels proposed by the Committee.

For your information, we are enclosing a copy of a resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of Planned Parenthood-World Population on this important matter, and a recent editorial on this subject from The New York Times.

Sincerely yours,

JEROME H. HOLLAND, Ph. D.,
Chairman.

JOSEPH D. BEASLEY, M.D.,
Chairman, Executive Committee.

PLANNED PARENTHOOD-WORLD POPULATION:
RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE, JANUARY 16, 1969

We endorse the recommendations of the President's Committee on Population and Family Planning as a comprehensive statement of steps America must take now if it is to use its resources effectively to help solve one of the world's most pressing problems.

The President's Committee outlines the role of the United States Government in achieving a "society in which all parents can have the number of children they want, when they want them." It calls for assignment of the highest priority to efforts necessary to accomplish this goal which is vital to the health and welfare of the American people and the attainment of world peace. The incoming Administration and Congress should move rapidly to implement the Committee's recommendations for considerably expanded programs of domestic family planning services, international assistance and biological and social research.

Within the United States, it is completely feasible to achieve the goals projected by the Committee that "the Federal Government rapidly expand family planning programs to

make information and services available by 1973 on a voluntary basis to all women who want them but cannot afford them."

The Committee recommended that funds available for family planning service be increased to \$150 million by 1973—which would require that the FY 1970 budget include:

(1) An appropriation of not less than \$30 million allocated for Department of Health, Education and Welfare (Children's Bureau) family planning project grants, primarily channeled through medical institutions and official health agencies;

(2) An appropriation of not less than \$30 million allocated for the neighborhood-based and oriented family planning programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity (which the Committee properly recognized as complementary to the Children's Bureau program); and

(3) Broadened coverage under the Medicaid program to include all fertile women who are poor but not eligible for public assistance.

The President's Committee recognized that an accelerated research program in biological and social sciences is essential both for the required expansion of services at home and assistance to programs abroad. As an immediate step, they urged that \$30 million be appropriated to expand the very modest research program of the Center for Population Research of the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development. This is the minimum appropriation consistent with the Committee's call for "a high level of support for programs in the physiology of reproduction, in continuing studies of existing methods of contraception, in the development of new contraceptive methods, in problems of effective field utilization and in population aspects of the social sciences." An immediate increase of our research effort in this field is mandatory if each family, living in various conditions, cultures, and personal settings, is to have effective means to exercise free choice in family size and child spacing.

Finally, we concur in the Committee's recommendation that, "the United States continue to expand its programs of international assistance in population and family planning" through the foreign aid program, non-governmental organizations and international agencies. This expansion, so crucial to the improvement of the quality of life for billions of our fellow-men, will require increased support through the foreign assistance appropriations to a level of \$75-\$100,000,000 in FY 1970.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 27, 1969]

FUNDS FOR FAMILY PLANNING

Among the legacies left for the Nixon Administration by President Johnson was a White House report calling for multiple increases in Federal expenditures for family planning at home and abroad.

The Committee on Population and Family Planning recommended that funds to provide family planning services for all who want them in the United States be increased from the current \$30 million a year to \$150 million by 1973; that funds for population research be expanded from \$30 million to \$100 million by 1971, and that foreign aid for family planning be increased as rapidly as it can effectively be used.

In releasing the report, Mr. Johnson said population control is second only to peace among the critical issues facing the world. But the former President's farewell budget does not reflect this sense of urgency, nor does it follow the recommendations of his own committee. It provides only token increases for domestic family planning, is seriously deficient in funds for research and offers no increase in aid for family planning overseas.

The Nixon Administration must do better—for its own sake and the world's. Unless the present explosive rate of population

growth is checked—the population of the United States has increased by more than 20 million and that of the world by more than 500 million in the eight years since the last Republican Administration—the quality of life in this country and life itself in many foreign lands will be seriously threatened.

[From the Los Angeles Times, Feb. 19, 1969]
POPULATION DENSITY, PERSONAL OUTLOOK—
THERE'S A CONNECTION

(By Irving S. Bengelsdorf, Ph. D.)

Look at a map of Los Angeles. The east-to-west distance between Western and Vermont avenues and the north-to-south distance between Wilshire and Pico boulevards is one mile.

Thus, the square-shaped area bounded by Wilshire Blvd. on the north, Vermont Ave. on the east, Pico Blvd. on the south and Western Ave. on the west represents an area of one square mile.

The number of people that live in a square mile is called the population density. In America, about AD 1500, before the white man arrived, the native Indian population density was about 1/3 person per square mile (p.p.s.m.). But by 1960, the population density of America had risen to about 50 p.p.s.m.

This is an average figure for the entire nation. The population density of an average "central city" within a metropolitan area can go up to about 8,000 p.p.s.m. A city such as Chicago has a population density of 17,000 p.p.s.m., while New York City reaches a population density of 25,000 p.p.s.m. And the island of Manhattan within New York City hits a population density of 75,000 p.p.s.m.

Thus, a person walking through a square mile of Chicago could make 16,999 possible contacts with other people, while a person in Manhattan walking through the same area potentially can make contacts with 74,999 other people! And these people may be of different culture, language, religion, value system, behavior and race.

Or, as Dr. Philip M. Hauser of the University of Chicago, in his presidential address to the 63rd annual meetings of the American Sociological Assn. put it, "The potential number of contacts, when considered as a measure of potential human interaction, provides a basis for understanding the difference that city living makes."

Thus, population density could affect one's outlook on life. Dr. Hauser adds, "In contemporary society, the approach to the solution of our problems, whether on the international or on the national front, is characteristically split in two, reflecting deep ideological cleavage. It is my contention that the conservative and liberal reflect the ideology of the social conditions in which they were reared or to which they were exposed.

"It is not an accident, for example, that Sen. Barry Goldwater comes from a state which as recently as 1940 had a population density about the same as that of the United States in 1790—4.4 p.p.s.m., and only 6.6 in 1950 and 11.5 in 1960. Nor is it a mere coincidence that Sen. Jacob Javits, in contrast, comes from a state with population densities of 281 in 1940, 309 in 1950, and 350 in 1960."

The word "anachronism" refers to something that is out of place with respect to a specific time. It would be an anachronism if an actor in a Shakespearean play were to look at a wristwatch to tell the time.

Dr. Hauser says, "Contemporary society can be best understood . . . as an anachronistic society. Throughout the millennia of the historical era, society, at any instant in time, is made up of layers of culture which, like geological strata, reflect the passage and deposits of time.

"Confusion and disorder, or chaos, may be viewed in large part as the result of the dissonance and discord among the various

cultural strata, each of which tends to persist beyond the physical and social conditions which generated it."

But if each society has been anachronistic with respect to the society that preceded it, then our present society should be different only in degree and not in kind. But Dr. Hauser feels it is different in kind. He explains:

"Contemporary society, as the most recent, contains the greatest number of cultural layers, and, therefore, the greatest potential for confusion and disorder. These cultural layers are much more diverse than those in predecessor societies and, therefore, more dissonant. And, unlike any predecessor, contemporary society contains the means of its own destruction . . . the explosive power of thermonuclear fusion."

He adds, "Contemporary society, unlike any predecessor, possesses the knowledge . . . that affords some hope for the dissipation of confusion and the restoration of order before the advent of collective suicide."

But, Dr. Hauser concludes, "It is a moot question, however, as to whether society yet possesses the will and the organization to utilize available (social sciences) knowledge to his end."

[From the Los Angeles Times, Feb. 7, 1969]
FAMILY PLANNING CLINIC AIDS IMPOVERISHED AREA

The place looks kind of old. But for the women who go there it offers a new future and just maybe a chance to step out of the poverty pocket or at least eliminate some of its crushing blows.

It is the newly opened, freshly funded Family Planning Clinic at Harbor General Hospital.

Funded by the Federal Office of Economic Opportunity, it is operated by the Los Angeles Regional Family Planning Council, which runs several other clinics in the Los Angeles area.

And to its doors come women of all ages, usually in their late 20s or early 30s, a cultural mix of brown, black and white. Many have as many as seven or eight children, all looking for the same thing, knowledge and help.

Many are desperate. Take the case of Rosa, a Mexican-American, mother of eight, who didn't know there was such a thing as family planning. On learning she was pregnant for the ninth time, she resorted to a \$350 abortion she could ill afford under primitive medical conditions. Then she ended up in a county hospital when complications set in.

Or the case of Norma, a Negro from Compton with five children who experienced complications from a birth control pill. Not knowing where to go for help, she ended up alone and bleeding all night in an emergency room because she couldn't reach a doctor for medical care and advice.

At the Family Planning Clinic, the only prerequisite is that the service is limited to people who can't afford a private physician.

Otherwise, the most complete care of its type for any free clinic in Southern California is provided.

The clinic operates 65 hours a week, making its services available to almost any woman under any special circumstances.

Hours are 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. Mondays through Fridays and 10 a.m. to 3 p.m. on Saturdays.

No appointment is necessary, there are no lengthy waits, no tedious financial screenings.

Instead they accept a statement of need. Then the patient is whisked into a pleasant decorated pale blue consulting room, where all methods of contraception—intra-uterine devices ("the loop"), the pill, foam, diaphragms, etc.—are explained by a doctor or nurse.

The woman and her husband are then free to make their choice. If it is for a vasectomy

or tubaligation, the case is referred to the hospital, thus giving a full range of care.

In addition, women are given a gynecological examination and a complete cancer screening—breast check, pap smear and culposcopy, a visual scan with a microscope of the cervix and vaginal areas to check for cell changes. If a cell looks bad, they do an instant biopsy.

CONTINUING CARE

And the care is continuing—revisits, consultations to see how the birth control device is working, pelvic examinations a minimum of once a year by a team of doctors headed by Dr. Daniel R. Mishell, head of the hospital's Ob-Gyn department, and including Drs. Duane E. Townsend, Sidney Wechsler and Jim Gardner.

For its task, the hospital is well located, placed in the middle of some of the worst poverty areas in the Southland—parts of Harbor City, Wilmington, Lawndale, Lomita, Compton, Carson and Artesia.

Many of the residents have less than eighth-grade educations.

The facts speak for themselves.
 Fact: Nine out of 10 poor women in Los Angeles had no access to birth control services until very recently.

Fact: Women in poverty have between two and seven or more children.

Fact: Educated middle-class women want and bear between two and four children.

Fact: The local infant mortality rate is as low as 10 per 1,000 in wealthier sections of the city. It is as high as 38 per 1,000 in extreme poverty pockets. The highest acceptable rate determined by the World Health Organization is 17 per 1,000.

Until now, the alternatives for expectant mothers from these areas have been limited. The abortion rates are alarmingly high. One out of five pregnancies, with the poor hazing poor health care and high costs, is aborted.

MORE CLINICS

A partial answer is the founding of family planning clinics (more will open under the auspices of the Los Angeles Regional Family Planning Council), offering efficient, hygienic and total health service to a portion of the population long neglected.

The problems underlying such an undertaking are enormous. But the clinic hopes to overcome them in part through the services of Peggy Golden, educator and social worker.

She is dedicated to her cause and believes that, next to the issue of peace, overpopulation is the most significant problem of our time.

She goes to schools, to community agencies, to welfare agencies, to poverty agencies, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Department of Public Social Service—anyone and everyone directly connected to poverty—to tell about their service.

She also works with six specially trained women—two from Compton, two from the Long Beach Pact, two from the Parent Child Center in Harbor City—who go into neighborhoods and explain birth control.

EX-PROBATION OFFICER

She comes by her interest not only as the wife of an assistant dean of the UCLA School of Medicine, Dr. Joshua Golden, but as a former probation officer for Los Angeles and San Bernardino counties.

"That's when I saw firsthand what happens to children people don't want," she said.

"People in poverty are rightly incensed because they are weak and voiceless and feel they are being singled out because other people don't control their progeny.

"This is exactly what we're trying not to do. We're trying to offer them a complete medical service they've previously had no access to. We try to do everything for these women.

"They have to have faith they won't be

harmed, or embarrassed or that their fertility won't be interfered with.

"Many women don't know they have certain medical problems," she adds. "You live with a great deal more disease if you live in poverty.

"But when people are in stress, it doesn't matter what their ideologies are, they want the help."

Slowly and uncertainly women began to trickle into the clinic after it opened Nov. 4. Since then, the caseloads have doubled to 40 or more patients a week. But the facilities can service 10 times that many. That is the clinic's goal.

[From the Los Angeles Times, Feb. 6, 1969]
U.S. COURT TO HEAR CONSTITUTIONAL PLEA ON RIGHT TO FOOD

(By Harry Bernstein)

The federal courts have agreed for the first time to decide whether Americans have a constitutional right not to go hungry.

"The decision could well become a major force for the abolition of hunger in the United States," said Robert L. Gnaizda. He is deputy director of the federally financed California Rural Legal Assistance which brought the test case on behalf of a farm worker.

CRLA want the federal courts to require all counties to use federal food programs to help the needy, saying it is wrong to deprive some poor people of federal help just because their own county government doesn't approve of such help.

A total of 480 counties around the country have refused to take part in the federal food programs.

Beyond this, CRLA wants the courts to rule that all citizens have a constitutional right to an adequate diet and that the government must provide the food for those who cannot get it on their own.

MOTION TO DISMISS REJECTED

A three-judge federal court Wednesday refused a U.S. Department of Agriculture motion to get the whole case thrown out of court.

Instead, the judges convening in San Francisco agreed to keep in effect a temporary order which affects only California so far and also to let the broader legal attack on hunger now proceed.

The temporary order issued Dec. 31 by U.S. Judge Stanley A. Weigel was itself a unique document in U.S. history:

The court told the Department of Agriculture to put a federal food program into all California counties, regardless of the opposition of some reluctant boards of supervisors, and to do it "in the shortest time feasible."

In its "findings of fact," the court said all of the 16 California counties which refused to take the federal food program had "substantial amounts of hunger."

Those entitled to such help would "suffer immediate and irreparable harm unless the government moved in quickly," the court held.

Ten of the 16 reluctant California counties have now agreed to try to work out a food-for-the-poor program in line with the court order, but six others are still refusing to pay any costs connected with distribution.

The six are Glenn, Nevada, Placer, Sierra, Mono and Calaveras.

Those counties which have decided to go along included Orange, San Bernardino, Fresno, Riverside and Imperial.

Several reasons have been given by counties around the country for not accepting the federal food programs.

But the two key reasons have been a claim that there is no poverty in the counties and that they oppose the concept of federal help to the poor.

Federal officials say they want the food programs to be accepted in all parts of the country.

But government attorneys are arguing that the courts cannot order the secretary of agriculture to put the program into effect in all counties because some counties will not pay their food distribution costs.

And if the federal government pays such costs, as directed in the temporary court order, this in effect penalizes those counties which want the programs and pay their own distribution costs.

BASIC QUESTION

The government also is contesting the basic question of whether Americans have a constitutional right not to go hungry.

The Department of Agriculture estimates it could end hunger in America with about \$1 billion more a year than the government now spends.

While there is speculation that the Nixon Administration may try to step up food programs to do just that, CRLA wants to achieve the same goal through the courts, and do it quicker and make it permanent.

Last Nov. 19, a series of 23 lawsuits were filed around the country aimed at forcing all counties to accept the food programs and to establish a constitutional right not to go hungry.

But only in California was there a move to get immediate court relief with a temporary court order, pending a final decision on the issues.

So far, the Department of Agriculture attorneys are insisting that the primary purpose of the federal food assistance programs is to help farmers take care of their surplus foods, and only incidentally are the poor supposed to be helped.

CRLA's Gnalzda said the basic argument being used in the court on the constitutional question of hunger is the same as that used by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1954 when it ruled that public school segregation was illegal.

CHANCE OF SUCCESS

The court then said "it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied an opportunity to an education . . ."

Gnalzda said the same logic about the right to an education applies to persons denied an adequate diet, since those who are hungry "are deprived of normal brain development, as attested by U.S. government studies repeatedly."

The argument would extend, however, only to "such fundamental rights as food and education," Gnalzda said when asked where such claimed rights would end.

Gnalzda said one of the "most infuriating aspects of the entire case is that while people are still going hungry . . . the Department of Agriculture continues to return millions of dollars to the Treasury each year from unused food help programs."

For the past year alone, about \$227 million is being returned to the Treasury "even though government attorneys are willing to stipulate that there is real hunger which could be ended by using such funds," he complained.

There are three basic food programs involved in the case:

1—The largest is the school-lunch program, which last year cost \$550 million, but which CRLA claims helped primarily middle-income and high-income families, not the poor.

This money, CRLA contends, is usually used to lower the cost of school lunches for everyone in the school, not just to pay the costs for poor children.

2—The food stamp program, used in about 1,500 counties by 2.7 million people, amounts to a discount on food.

Needy people are sold stamps which can be used in any food market. The very poor get the highest return on their investment. But on the average, a needy family that buys \$1 worth of food stamps can get \$1.40 worth of food in a market.

3—The free food-distribution program is used in about 1,100 counties around the country by about 3 million people. While this is food given without cost to the poor, it is limited to those items which farmers are trying to get rid of. And it costs more money to administer because actual food is distributed, not food stamps which can be used in regular markets.

Gnalzda said that California government officials have been "completely cooperative" in trying to get these programs in all counties of the state.

But "so far the opposite has been true of U.S. government officials, both under former Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman and, now, under the new secretary, Clifford Hardin."

California Deputy Atty. Gen. Richard L. Mayers charged in a sworn affidavit the U.S. Department of Agriculture has been "wholly frustrating and interfering with the ability of the state" to comply with the court order to put the food programs into effect quickly.

[From Population Program Assistance, September 1968, Agency for International Development]

POPULATION GROWTH: A WORLDWIDE PROBLEM

The problem of population growth is worldwide in character, scope, and effects. World population is increasing by some two percent each year—over 60 millions annually—with both the rate and numbers of gain rising year by year. This increase is at a pace never before known.

It is already posing numerous problems for many countries, developed and less developed—creating present and future difficulties for all regions and nations. In the shorter run, these difficulties have immediate and urgent meaning for the developing countries of the world where rates of population increase are greatest and population pressure upon resources is most acute. In the longer view, however, they bear directly upon family and individual levels of living everywhere, the peace and progress of humanity, and the stability of free institutions.

If the present two percent rate of increase continues, world population—now nearly 3.5 billions—would double in the next 35 years or by about the year 2000. This would mean that, in half a lifetime, more people would be added to earth's total than in all the ages since man's creation.

The worldwide average population growth rate of 2 percent per year obscures significant differences in the growth rate between the more developed countries, as a group, and the less developed countries of the world. The former, on the average, show a population growth rate of about 1.1 percent per year, and the latter about 2.5 percent. In many of the less developed countries the rate of growth ranges from 2.5 to 3.8 percent per year—rates which if continued will double their populations in 20–30 years. Two-thirds of the world's population live in the less developed countries of the world. Mortality rates in most of these countries will probably continue to decline in the years ahead. In the absence of widespread adoption of family planning they face the prospect of further increases in their already high rates of population growth.

Where would the developing countries find the resources to maintain the population increase that present population growth rates will produce in a few years? What of their hopes for economic progress and better standards of living for their peoples?

If their populations continue to grow at present rates, enormous increases in food supplies, jobs, housing, education, health facilities, roads, communications and public services as a whole would be required within a phenomenally short period just to maintain existing living conditions.

An excessive rate of population increase is in itself an impediment to development.

The experience of numerous less developed nations has underlined this. Even in the face of concerted programs of economic development standards of living may stagnate or regress if population grows too rapidly.

There is growing recognition of the problems associated with too rapid rates of population growth. The World Leaders' Declaration on Population made in 1966 to the United Nations has been signed by 30 heads of state for as many countries. The United States in its foreign economic assistance program has assigned the highest priority, along with measures to expand food production, to assistance in curbing population growth by means of voluntary family planning.

In the developing countries themselves, there is a growing awareness of the need for, and increasing support being given to, family planning programs.

AMELIA EARHART AND JOAN MERRIAM SMITH: GREAT WOMEN AVIATORS

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I congratulate my colleagues today on introduction of legislation to designate the 12th day of May, each year, as "Amelia Earhart-Joan Merriam Aviation Day," in order to recognize the historic aviation achievements of these late patriotic American aviatrixes.

Amelia Earhart—1897 to 1937—was America's first and greatest aviatrix. Her record flights include: The first person to fly from Hawaii to the U.S. mainland; to fly the Atlantic Ocean twice; to fly non-stop from Mexico City to Newark, N.J.; and the first woman to fly the Atlantic solo; to fly both ways across the United States; to be awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross by Congress—in 1932—and the winner of the Harmon International Aviation Trophy in 1932, 1933, and 1934, which is aviation's highest award. Her last great effort was an epic 27,000-mile round-the-world flight at the equator—a flight which was never completed. The world was shocked and saddened by her still unexplained disappearance.

Born in Miami, Fla., within a year of Amelia Earhart's tragic death, Joan Merriam Smith developed an early interest in aviation, and later made it her ambition to fly the equatorial route around the world which her illustrious predecessor had attempted so bravely. She soloed at 16, obtained commercial license and instructor and instrument ratings at 17 to 18, and became the first woman to obtain an airline transport rating at age 23.

On March 17, 1964, 27 years to the day after Amelia Earhart took off from Oakland, Calif., on her ill-fated flight, Joan Merriam Smith taxied her small airplane onto the same runway to begin her effort to fly around the world. During March 17–May 12, 1964, a period of 57.5 days, she flew 27,750 miles as close as possible to the equator, and on completing the journey became the first solo pilot, man or woman, to circumnavigate the globe at the equator. In recognition of this historic achievement, she was awarded the

1965 Harmon International Aviation Trophy posthumously. She was killed in a California aircraft accident on February 17, 1965, only 5 weeks after the airplane in which she had circled the world was destroyed in a forced landing caused by an electrical fire.

Because of the significant contributions of these two American aviatrixes in the field of aviation, it is fitting that the Congress recommend to the President their names for consideration for awarding them the Presidential Medal of Freedom, posthumously, or other appropriate award, as the President may authorize. I trust that legislation to this effect will receive full consideration in the current Congress and win approval so that the Nation may pay final tribute to the illustrious achievements of Amelia Earhart and her disciple, Joan Merriam Smith.

A SWEDISH DILEMMATICIAN—
GUNNAR MYRDAL

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, Karl Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish economist who has done more to disrupt the people of the United States, as well as his own country, is not only scientifically discredited, he is personally disoriented as he views a world in chaos as it complies with his personal theories.

The present era is truly a "Myrdal dilemma," courtesy of a three-quarter million dollar tax-free grant by Carnegie Corp.

On a subject out of his field, Myrdal qualified himself as an "expert" on the strength of a single tour through the country. Myrdal's theories, accepted by the U.S. Supreme Court as findings of fact, have proved a greater threat to the human race than the atomic bomb. Even Myrdal now has afterthoughts and acknowledges he is "not presenting a view that is absolutely right."

The Supreme Court, so eager to make Brown against Topeka "the law of the land," must be aware that Myrdal's antiquated and irrelevant writings are not in keeping with the development of advanced knowledge in social, political and cultural progress, and must take judicial cognizance of the need to grant a new trial.

Mr. Speaker, I place "What Is the Answer?" by Henry E. Garrett, Ph. D., excerpts of a New York Times Book Review on "An American Dilemma," and a new story from the New York Times of October 4, 1967, at this point in the RECORD:

WHAT IS THE ANSWER?

(By Henry E. Garrett, Ph. D., professor emeritus, psychology, Columbia University, past president, American Psychological Association)

Question. Dr. Garrett, I keep seeing the name, Gunnar Myrdal, in relation to racial integration. I must have missed something along the way. Who is (or was) he?

Answer. Gunnar Myrdal is a Swedish social philosopher who was mainly responsible for the calamitous decision on school desegregation in 1954. Myrdal, 10 years be-

fore, had written a book he called *An American Dilemma*. That book set the stage for the 1954 decision; the Supreme Court cited in its decision. In 1968, in a lecture given before New York City University, Myrdal admitted he may not have been right. He said, last year: "Twenty-five years ago, I was an expert on the Negro problem in America. . . . In the present situation I am not an expert. I'm not presenting a view that I feel is absolutely right." Myrdal said that he thought "black capitalism" as proposed by Nixon "solves very little." Myrdal also felt, he said, that black history is largely black mythology. Unfortunately, whatever Myrdal's changed views, the court decision still governs American racial policy.

[From the New York Times' Book Review Section, Apr. 21, 1963]

A BOOK THAT CHANGED AMERICAN LIFE: A REVISIT TO A CLASSIC WORK ON U.S. NEGROES REMINDS US OF PROGRESS MADE AND YET TO COME

"An American Dilemma." The Negro problem and Modern Democracy. By Gunnar Myrdal with the assistance of Richard Sterner and Arnold Rose.

(By Oscar Handlin)

Few serious students of American society have been more widely read than Gunnar Myrdal's social-science classic, "An American Dilemma." Its analysis of the Negro problem in the United States has been a magnet to scholars and a catalyst to political groups. Its recommendations have helped shape the strategy of every organization interested in legislation and in judicial interpretations. It was cited in the Supreme Court decision of 1954 that ended segregation in the public schools and killed the doctrine of separate but equal.

The book is peculiarly a foundation product. Its subject was not formulated by the author as an outgrowth of his previous research, but was suggested to him by a great scholarly organization. And much of the excellence of the result was due to the sense of purpose and the awareness of the immediate issues that animated the work.

Newton D. Baker, the son of a Confederate officer and formerly Secretary of War and Mayor of Cleveland, in 1937 proposed to the Carnegie Corporation, on the board of which he sat, that it undertake a comprehensive survey of the question. The suggestion elicited the support of Frederick P. Keppel, president of the corporation, who became the major force in planning the project and pushing it through to completion.

It was not altogether surprising that the corporation should seek a foreigner to conduct the study. The trustees of the Rosenthal Foundation a few years earlier had called upon a Dutch expert on Indonesia for a similar assignment. It was difficult then to imagine that any American could free himself sufficiently from passion to treat the problem of color with objectivity.

Mr. Keppel therefore sought an uncommitted European, native of a country with no history of imperialism or of domestic race problems. He was fortunate to pick upon Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish economist in the prime of life who had achieved wide scholarly recognition for his technical studies, but who had no previous involvement with the problems of the Negro or, for that matter, with those of the United States.

Myrdal set to work on the subject in 1938 and a year later had mapped out a plan of investigation. The project he outlined called for a succession of research memoranda (some of which were later published) to be prepared independently by a team of scholars and ultimately to be integrated into a single work. The outbreak of war in Europe called

Myrdal back to his own country, but the work on the research memoranda went on in his absence. Myrdal returned to the United States in March, 1941, and, with the assistance of George Sterner and Arnold Rose, spent almost two years preparing the synthesis which was published as "An American Dilemma."

The support of the Carnegie Corporation and the talents of the author contributed significantly to the success of the enterprise. Keppel had a genuine understanding of the needs of the scholar and Myrdal brought to his task a keen, reflective mind, sensitive powers of observation, and skill as an organizer. Furthermore, he and the foundation had no intention of relying upon the efforts of a single investigator; and the development of the social sciences by 1938 made available to them a corps of skilled collaborators.

In that respect the times were propitious; American graduate schools since the First World War had produced a generation of able sociologists, economists and anthropologists, while the competition for talent had not yet become as severe as it would with the proliferation of projects after 1945. In any case, Myrdal was able to attract as advisers or as participants almost all the important younger figures in American social science. Samuel A. Stouffer, Ralph Bunche, Melville Herskovits, Otto Klineberg, Louis Wirth, Allison Davis and Franklin Frazier were among those who took a hand in the work.

[From the New York Times, Oct. 4, 1967]

KARL GUNNAR MYRDAL: PROPHET OF RACE CRISIS

As a rather lonely explorer of the American dilemmas of poverty amid great wealth and discrimination against Negroes, Karl Gunnar Myrdal looked ahead 23 years ago and predicted this country's racial crisis in terms that today are common language among sociologists. Yesterday the Swedish social philosopher addressed himself to the same subject and warned that if poverty is attacked as a problem for Negroes alone, the United States will risk racism comparable to South Africa's. Such a sharp conclusion came as no surprise from a man who has spent the better part of his 69 years telling the world what is wrong with it.

Dr. Myrdal has not spared his own country from his penchant for the intellectual irritant. In Sweden's small, homogeneous society, he has provoked more indignation, admiration, criticism and enthusiasm than perhaps any other Swede in his lifetime.

He has also been catholic in his influence, and many things at home bear his name: the Myrdal sofa (a very broad one); the Myrdal house (a tenement house for families with many children); Myrdal cycles (for two or three); and Myrdal (couples living together without marriage).

He wrote that the whole system of segregation and discrimination was designed to prevent the eventual inbreeding of the races. He rejected a vague concept of a self-propelled gradualism, and concluded that the problems of American Negroes would eventually be solved through Government intervention, a rise in productivity and the efforts of the Negroes themselves.

Dr. Myrdal is 6 feet tall and has greenish eyes and light hair speckled with grey. He speaks English with a slight accent. He never uses his first name, Karl.

He was born Dec. 6, 1898, in Gustaf Parish, Dalecarlia, Sweden. At 21 he entered the University of Stockholm, where he studied law.

In 1927 he received his doctorate in economics and was appointed an instructor in political economy at the university. At 34 he was named to the Lars Hierta Chair of Political Economy and Public Finance.

A ROCKEFELLER FELLOWSHIP

He toured the United States on a Rockefeller Fellowship, and after completing his study of the American Negro returned to Sweden as Minister of Commerce.

In 1947, he was appointed secretary general of the Economic Council for Europe and spent the next 10 years in Geneva doing economic research.

Among his many works is one on which Dr. Myrdal collaborated with his wife, the former Alva Reimers, a writer and lecturer in sociology. Their study of Sweden's declining birth rate, "Crisis in the Population Question," became the blueprint for many reforms.

The Myrdals were married in 1924 and had three children, Jan, Sissela and Kaj. They live in Sweden.

As a member of the Social Democratic party, Dr. Myrdal served in the Swedish Senate in 1936-38 and was known as a biting debater who presented his own ideas without caring whether they crossed party lines.

One time, summing up his philosophy, he said, "Private business can't—or doesn't—plan and invest for the whole economy. The Government can and should. Rationally induced change, and planning of it, are the dynamics of a properly functioning democracy."

STUDENT MAJORITY SPEAKS OUT

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, one common feature to be found in most of the disruptions on campus is the small number of instigators responsible for the disturbances in educational institutions throughout the Nation. Heretofore, most of the students sincerely seeking an education were content to stand by and let the militants fight it out with the administration. Perhaps encouraged by statements such as those by President Nixon, the Justice Department, Father Hesburgh of Notre Dame, and Governor Reagan and Dr. Hayakawa in California, student groups in various areas are making their voices heard in defense of orderly educational processes.

In the March 18 issue of the National Review Bulletin, M. Stanton Evans, the perceptive author and editor, lists for our consideration a number of movements which seemingly are catching fire throughout the land. Apparently, young people on campus who are serious about educating themselves are getting fed up with the disruptive antics of extremist elements and their phony arguments and justifications for fomenting disorder.

This is certainly an encouraging development to be fostered and helped along by concerned students in every section of the country. Widespread disenchantment on the part of student majorities, plus a fair but forceful execution of laws and regulations by national and local officials could be the one-two punch relegating campus disorders to the album of distasteful memories.

I include the above-mentioned column by Mr. Stanton Evans in the RECORD at this point:

STUDENT MAJORITY SPEAKS OUT

Newest phenomenon on the youth scene is an extensive backlash against the activities

of New Leftists intent on disrupting campus procedure. Major headlines have been devoted to the pronouncements of Father Theodore Hesburgh of Notre Dame and the continued efforts of Gov. Ronald Reagan of California to put the brakes on radical youth activity. Both have drawn plaudits for taking a firm stand against the "confrontation" politics of Students for a Democratic Society and other groups determined to bring American education to a standstill.

Less publicized but even more significant is the spreading revulsion of many undergraduates against radical tactics and the demand from young people themselves that New Left excesses be brought to a halt. On one campus after another, conservative-to-moderate student forces are being mobilized to counteract the pressure from the Left. SDS and other such groups have set out to "radicalize" student opinion, but in the main may be pushing it to the Right rather than the Left.

Premier example of this development was the founding at Wichita University of an organization called SPASM—the Society for the Prevention of Asinine Student Movements. The first activity of SPASM was a "milk-in" at Wichita State, to protest a previous beer drink-in staged by undergraduates who wanted beer on campus. SPASM promoters said they were staging a protest against protests.

At Michigan State University, a petition drive was launched to allow students to condemn "intimidation, violence and disruption" on the campus. Organizer Peter W. Hens said the petition campaign was started because it was "ridiculous" that a small group could impede the work of a university with some 37,000 students. According to the Associated Press, the drive has secured some 10,000 signatures.

The petition circulated at the East Lansing institutions states that "it is the aim of the undersigned students and faculty at MSU to seek the welfare of all the students while preserving the dignity of the university. This can never be accomplished in an atmosphere of intimidation, violence and disruption which is being fostered by irresponsible people."

Down the road at Purdue, ROTC students conducted a blood drive as a counter-protest against the Left. Allen Force, president of the "Semper Fidelis Society" which sponsored the drive, says that "the average student doesn't dare to get up and speak against [left-wing] activists. This blood drive gives this student an opportunity to say what he believes without any particular talent for rhetoric." An earlier effort by conservative students at Purdue secured 6,000 signatures on a petition for open recruiting at the West Lafayette campus.

At the University of Tennessee, a new group has been formed called the "Majority Coalition," in opposition to student government members battling the school administration. Student government spokesmen had unleashed a blast at the school authorities when they said, an agreement on women's dorm hours had been violated. The Majority Coalition did not necessarily disagree with the no-hours effort, but strongly disapproved the rhetoric used in "censuring" college officials.

According to Majority Coalition chairman Jim Duncan, "our group is composed of concerned students who wish to demonstrate support for the UT administration in its efforts to maintain a truly free academic environment on the campus. The small minority of students who have been extremely critical of the administration lately is definitely not representative of the student body as a whole. Most UT students are proud of their school and do not support efforts to tear it down."

Instances of countervailing action by conservative-to-moderate undergraduates have

surfaced on other campuses as well. The original "Majority Coalition" was established at Columbia University, and a successor to that group is still functioning there under the name of Students for Columbia. Also active at Morningside Heights is the Committee for a Free Campus. These groups recently staged a counter-demonstration against SDS and are reportedly working with anti-New Left groups on other campuses in the area.

Like activities are reported at campuses in every section of the country. At troubled San Francisco State, there is a Committee for an Academic Environment, which has gathered some 2,300 petition signatures against disruptive tactics. At Wisconsin, Stanford, and the University of Texas, there have been counter-movements spearheaded by Young Americans for Freedom. On many Big Ten and Southern campuses there are concerted campaigns by conservative students to dislodge left-liberal spokesmen from positions of leverage in student government.

Most unusual of all, there has even been a drive by faculty members to oppose disruption of schools. Prof. Sidney Hook of New York University has announced formation of the Organization of University Centers for Rational Alternatives. Hook says the group has some 400 faculty participants at 36 universities—including San Francisco State president S. I. Hayakawa. Hook asserts that "there's a danger to academic freedom when you substitute the methods of violence for free inquiry." He speaks for an increasing number of people in the academy.

A MIGHTY BUILDER

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, on previous occasions I have spoken of the many contributions to education made by Dr. Frank L. Boyden. As headmaster of Deerfield Academy, Dr. Boyden built his school into one of the finest educational institutions in this country. In addition, Dr. Boyden gave unstintingly of his time and effort as the chairman of the University of Massachusetts board of trustees.

His resignation from the chairmanship, although understandable, is a singular loss to the university and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. I would like at this time to insert the following editorial, from the Greenfield Recorder, which aptly recognizes Dr. Boyden's many accomplishments on behalf of his fellow man:

[From the Greenfield Recorder, Feb. 3, 1969]

A MIGHTY BUILDER

Dr. Frank L. Boyden's decision to step down from the chairmanship of University of Massachusetts board of trustees must be accepted with regret and understanding.

Second only to his record of educational leadership at Deerfield Academy is his service to the Commonwealth as a trustee of its university. For more than 30 years he has been both a working member and a professional advisor.

Although a building on the Amherst campus bears his name, the finest memorial to Dr. Boyden is the individual attainments of thousands of students whose lives were touched by him—even though indirectly. His service as a trustee has involved two generations of UMass youth and his impact will be felt far into the 21st Century.

Perhaps the most lasting contribution Dr. Boyden has made as a trustee and as chairman has been his simplicity. Varied and complex problems have faced the university board over the past three decades. But the majority have faded before the direct, down-to-earth approach of the Deerfield headmaster. He has proved to campus intellectual and Beacon Hill politician alike that common sense and plain talk are an unbeatable combination.

It is pleasant to note that Dr. Boyden is continuing on the board. Although he is nearing 90, he still possesses a knowledge of education that is beyond price. His age may be a handicap in handling the demanding duties of chairman but it is an asset in its wealth of practical educational experience.

The name of Boyden is synonymous with Deerfield, of course. But to thousands of Massachusetts alumni and alumnae it is also to be forever associated with the Amherst campus and the halls of the statehouse. No man has contributed more to the growth of the university and to its administrative and intellectual independence.

For a person of small stature, Frank L. Boyden has cast as impressive reflection on the waters of Campus Pond.

CEREMONY MARKS ISSUANCE OF 50TH ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATIVE STAMP OF AMERICAN LEGION

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the American Legion marked its golden anniversary on Saturday, March 15, and the occasion was fittingly observed by a first-day-of-issue ceremony for the American Legion commemorative postage stamp.

Postmaster General Winton M. Blount was the principal speaker and presented the beautiful albums prepared especially for the occasion.

The Legion's national adjutant, William F. Hauck, who presided at the ceremony, offered the official welcome to the largely attended affair and introduced the guests.

The formal response was made by the national commander, William C. Doyle, who is doing an excellent job in leading this great veterans' organization.

There were a number of dignitaries on the dais including Rev. C. J. Olander, national chaplain; Chairman Albert V. LaBiche, and Vice Chairman Donald E. Johnson, of the Legion's 50th anniversary committee; Mrs. Arthur B. Hanell, national president of the American Legion Auxiliary; Mrs. Walter H. Glynn, chairman of the Legion Auxiliary's 50th anniversary committee; James M. Henderson, special assistant to the Postmaster General for public information; and Robert Hallock of Newton, Conn., designer of the Legion's commemorative stamp.

Among those present in the audience were the New York State Commander, Michael J. Kogutek of Lackawanna, N.Y., and the Erie County Commander, Joseph Herberger, of Buffalo.

There were several members present from my own Legion Post, Adam Plew-

acki Post No. 799 in Buffalo, N.Y., including Dr. Matt A. Gajewski, president of the Adam Plewacki Post Stamp Society, and several fellow stamp enthusiasts. This is the largest stamp club in the American Legion.

I would like to commend Dr. Gajewski for the important role he played last year in helping to bring into fruition Public Law 90-353. He was a key advocate in behalf of my bill, H.R. 15972, to permit the reproduction of U.S. postage stamps in color.

Following is the text of the very appropriate remarks of Postmaster General Blount:

REMARKS BY POSTMASTER GENERAL AT LEGION STAMP CEREMONY

I am delighted to be able to share this important ceremony with you today.

The dedication of a new commemorative stamp is an important occasion because it enables the nation to honor American individuals and institutions that have made important contributions to the development of the nation.

The stamp we dedicate today commemorates the 50th anniversary of the founding of the American Legion, an institution that has played a unique and historic role in national affairs.

Over the last half century, the country has suffered through four major armed conflicts. The American Legion emerged to give voice to the needs of the millions of men who fought in those wars.

The activities of the Legion have expanded beyond direct concern with veterans affairs to an involvement in many areas of our national life, including child welfare, community development, education, youth activities, the preservation of Americanism, and national security.

It is an organization through which veterans, as citizens, can work to build a better America.

This is the theme of our American Legion stamp. The design is adapted from the Great Seal of the United States, and shows that part of the eagle which clutches an olive branch, symbolic in this case of the peacetime activities of veterans. Printed on the stamp are these words: "American Legion . . . 50 years . . . Veterans as Citizens."

Veterans as citizens have been a force for good in our society reflecting the peacetime equivalent of that patriotism which compels a man to risk his life in defense of freedom. The same patriotism and love of country which carry men courageously to the battlefield also make them valuable citizens.

The Legion has long believed that man who fights for his country on the battlefield will want to struggle to build his country in peacetime. He has earned for himself an important stake in the destiny of his nation.

For the veteran, when he returns from the front, finds many battles still to be won—battles against apathy, forgetfulness of ideals and purposes, the deterioration of our moral and physical strengths, the abuses of freedom. There are campaigns to be waged for better neighborhoods, healthier communities, quality schools, and effective government.

And he faces the struggle that never seems to end, the struggle for peace. This has been a continuing concern of the Legion. Down through the years, it has consistently advocated military preparedness, without losing sight of the fact that we must work just as diligently to strengthen our ability to wage peace.

In his inaugural address, President Nixon said:

"After a period of confrontation, we are entering an era of negotiation. Let all nations know that during this Administration our lines of communications will be open."

Like the stamp we dedicate today, this Administration will focus on the olive branch. Veterans, perhaps more than others, realize the vital importance of the peace initiative and of the skills which the President brings to this effort. At the same time, we also have the assurance—evident in yesterday's decision on the ABM—that the nation's military might will not be neglected.

The American Legion is like so many great American institutions which grow in response to a particular need, and in serving that need, serve the entire nation as well.

Following World War I, thousands returned from Europe disabled, in one way or another, by that war. They returned to a society unprepared to assist them in their great need of rehabilitation and readjustment, and indeed, a society largely unaware these needs existed.

The Legion, after its formation in Paris by officers and men of the American Army, championed the plight of these heroes of the nation and succeeded in gaining just compensation for them.

The Legion is largely responsible for the structure of state and federal veterans' legislation today. It had an important role in the creation of the Veterans' Administration, in the system of 165 veterans' hospitals throughout the nation, and has been a major factor in almost every piece of veterans' legislation passed in the last 50 years.

It was the motivating force behind the passage in 1944 of the GI Bill of Rights. More than 11 million men were educated or trained under the provisions of this Act, and some 7 million borrowed money for homes and businesses. We can only imagine the extent of the impact of this measure on the nation's development over the past two decades, but certainly it has been a considerable factor in the growth of the economy, not to mention the untold benefits for individuals and their families.

The extent of the Legion's involvement in child welfare is such that it is responsible for helping raise the standards, through federal and state legislation, of juvenile court procedure, child adoptions, and guardianship, and the rights of children in general.

Legion posts are particularly active in community and youth activities, sponsoring baseball teams, Boy Scout troops, high school oratorical contests, Boys' State programs, and various community patriotic, education and charity programs.

On this 50th anniversary, we can salute the American Legion for attaining most of its objectives in the field of veterans' benefits. The United States has the highest standard of veterans' benefits in the world. Yet, there is perhaps a greater need for the Legion's service today than ever before.

Because of its broad involvement in many areas of our national life, because it has shaped for itself a role in solving modern problems, and because it brings together like-minded men for service to their country, the Legion faces challenges it will not exhaust in the next half century.

President Nixon has said we are approaching the limits of what government can do alone.

"Our greatest need now," he said, "is to reach beyond government, to enlist the legions of the concerned and committed."

One need not hold high office to be concerned and committed. Nor is it necessary to do great things. In the gathering bigness of things, we often lose sight of the fact there is something each of us can do. Each must labor to perform those daily, often unnoticed often thankless tasks which build and hold together a nation.

Or as the President said: ". . . We need the energies of our people—enlisted not only in grand enterprises, but more importantly in those small, splendid efforts that make headlines in the neighborhood newspaper instead of the national journal.

I am convinced the action is going to be

at the community level in the coming years. There is a new awareness of needs of the communities. Great national problems are reflected, in one way or another, in every smaller city across the nation. Some communities are exploding with tension and discontent. Others have a quiet, desperate need for attention. Community efforts, guided by the personal touch of concerned and committed Americans, often meet a need in a way that is impossible for the sweeping, national program.

The voluntary efforts of organizations like the American Legion promise more than all the grand programs we can devise. I urge you to continue your commitment to our nation's communities.

It seems to me very appropriate that the Post Office cite veterans through a commemorative stamp. The military and the Post Office have traditionally had strong ties. The Department has devoted much time and effort to improving mail service to our fighting men. And this is important. General Eisenhower is said to have considered the mail as vital to his armies as an additional division of troops.

We will be endeavoring, in the coming months and years, to improve not only military mail service, but mail service for the entire nation. The Post Office is in serious need of better efficiency and performance. I believe the American people want better mail service and are willing to support the necessary steps to achieve it. Those of you who are veterans can particularly appreciate the importance of making these improvements.

My friends, I am certain all Americans join with me in saluting the impact which veterans as citizens have had on this nation, and the important and historic role which the American Legion has played in promoting that citizenship. This stamp will serve to remind us we are twice indebted to our veterans—for service abroad and at home.

The chairman of the ceremony also called upon me for a few brief remarks. Following is my text:

REMARKS BY CONGRESSMAN DULSKI AT
LEGION STAMP CEREMONY

Mr. Chairman, Commander Doyle, Mr. Postmaster General, and friends: This is a golden occasion for the American Legion, and I am grateful that our Post Office Department is recognizing it with the issuance of a special commemorative stamp.

It is an honor and a pleasure for me to be with you today. I am very proud of my membership in one of your larger posts, the Adam Plewacki Post #799 in Buffalo, New York, which also has one of the largest stamp clubs in the American Legion.

The American Legion has compiled an illustrious record of dedication and service to our country since those days when it was formed in Paris after World War I.

Its focus has been on patriotism—about which all of us should be more concerned than we are.

Along this line, the design of the commemorative stamp is most appropriate. It involves an adaptation by Artist Robert Hallock of a portion of the Great Seal of the United States, showing the American Eagle clutching an olive branch—the heraldic symbol of peace.

The Legion also has been concerned, as we all should be, with the need to maintain law and order. The continuation of our way of life—as a free nation and as a leader in the effort to bring about world peace—this is very much dependent upon our ability to maintain law and order within our own boundaries.

It is not simply a matter of personal safety on our streets and in our homes and in our business establishments, but it also is a matter of peaceful existence in our public

places, in particular in our schools and colleges. No one argues with the right to dissent, so long as it doesn't infringe upon the rights of others.

It was four wars and a half century ago that the American Legion was founded in Paris.

Throughout its history, its major concern has been the aiding of veterans as they return to civilian life. This is a great service and one for which the Legion is well organized.

Besides its fundamental concern with the returning veteran, the Legion also gives great attention to programs for our young people. It is this work for which, it seems to me, the Legion warrants the accolade: "50 years young."

Each year, more than 750,000 young men from around the country participate in Legion-sponsored programs. These include: Boys State and Boys Nation, American Legion baseball, the National Oratorical Contest, Boy Scouting and Boys Clubs.

The cornerstone of all of these programs is the recognition given to the ideal of human values and the dignity and worth of the individual.

It is a great honor for me to be here on this memorable occasion, for the American Legion and for its millions of members.

The commemorative stamp which is being presented to the public for the first time today, is one of the more impressive stamps which has been issued by the Post Office Department, and I want to commend the Department and the designer.

NEW YORKERS AGAINST ABM

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I very much regret that President Nixon has decided to proceed with deployment of an ABM system. I will have more to say on the subject at a later date. Meanwhile, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to a resolution adopted on March 8 at the founding meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee of New Yorkers Against ABM, a group of community leaders in the New York area which I took the lead in convening. This resolution, which was sent that same day to President Nixon, reflects the concerns of millions of Americans and therefore deserves our careful consideration. The text is as follows:

NEW YORKERS AGAINST ABM

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: As concerned leaders and members of the New York community, we have today met together to reaffirm our opposition to deployment of an anti-ballistic missile system. To this end, we have adopted the following resolution, and urge that you give it the urgent consideration which this vital subject so fully deserves:

Whereas leading spokesmen of the American scientific community have testified that the presently-conceived Sentinel ABM system will be largely ineffectual and will be obsolescent or obsolete before it is deployed; and

Whereas deployment of an ABM system at this time will have a serious destabilizing effect on the current balance of strategic arms between this country and the Soviet Union, thus jeopardizing the prospects for successful negotiations on the limitation of offensive and defensive missiles; and

Whereas such deployment would contra-

vene the spirit, and perhaps the letter, of Article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty; and

Whereas the costs of an ABM system have been variously estimated from \$5 billion to \$10 billion for a "thin" shield and from \$40 billion to \$400 billion for a "thick" shield; and

Whereas an expenditure of this magnitude can only be made at the expense of other critical national priorities, such as the eradication of hunger in America, the assurance of a decent home to every American, the improvement of our educational system, the guarantee of full and equal opportunity to every citizen, and the defense of our environment against pollution;

Now, therefore, be it resolved,

That the undersigned firmly oppose deployment at this time of an anti-ballistic missile system, whether located in close proximity to urban areas or deployed for protection of offensive missile installations, and urge that the President halt the acquisition of sites and procurement of components for such a system, thus permitting the resources otherwise destined for this purpose to be reallocated to programs of human betterment for the American people and for the world.

AD HOC COMMITTEE OF NEW YORKERS AGAINST
ABM

Jonathan B. Bingham, Roswell Gilpatric, Ogden Reid, Stephen Smith, Stanley Stein-gut, Eleanor Clark French, O. Edmund Clubb, Sarah Kovner, William Vanden Heuvel.

Members of the following organizations have endorsed this resolution:

Americans for Democratic Action—New York Branch; Ansonia Independent Democratic Club; Bay Ridge Independent Democrats, Benjamin Franklin Reform Democratic Club, Bolivar-Douglas Democratic Club, Bronx-Pelham Reform Democratic Club, Brookhaven Reform Democrats, Episcopal Peace Fellowship, FDR-Woodrow Wilson Reform Democratic Club, Lenox Hill Democratic Club, Lexington Democratic Club.

McManus Democratic Club, Murray Hill Democratic Club, New Chelsea Reform Democratic Club, New Democratic Coalition, Park East Reform Democratic Club, Park River Democratic Club, Park Lincoln Free Democrats, Park Slope Democrats, Renaissance Republican Organization, Riverside Democratic Club.

Roosevelt Kingsborough Independent Democrats, Rutgers New Frontier Democrats, SANE, St. George's Church, Universities Committee on the Problems of War and Peace, U.S. Youth Council, Village Independent Democrats, West Brooklyn Independent Democrats, West Side Progressive Forum, Women Strike for Peace, Women's City Club of New York.

ATTAINMENT OF PEACE WITHIN
SECURE BOUNDARIES IS ISRAEL'S
FIRM RESOLVE

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to call to the attention of the U.S. Congress and the American people the following interview with the Foreign Minister of Israel, His Excellency Abba Eban, by Alfred Friendly of the Washington Post, Thursday, March 6, 1969.

The interview follows:

TEXT OF INTERVIEW WITH ISRAEL'S FOREIGN MINISTER EBAN

Question. The Arab states insist that Israel has never stated that it accepts the Security Council resolution of Nov. 22, 1967, or would implement it. Is this true?

Answer. We've made so many statements on the acceptance of the resolutions as the framework of a negotiated settlement that we can't even attach seriousness to any Arab assertions to the contrary. On Oct. 8, I myself said in the U.N. General Assembly: "Israel accepts the Security Council resolution . . . and declares its readiness to negotiate agreements on all matters mentioned therein."

That is the cabinet position. Now the Arab states have reservations about our use of the word "agreement." The word "agreement" is in the resolution. It is the very essence of our position.

That peace must grow from agreements in the Middle East, not from settlements dictated outside it. There are no Security Council resolutions calling for any action except on the basis of agreement.

Question. Have you ever declared that your implementation of the resolution would entail the withdrawal of Israeli troops to new borders? The Arabs claim you refuse to say so.

Answer. I was asked that by Ambassador Jarring in a memorandum presented by the United Arab Republic (Egypt). I gave him a clear answer, namely that in a peace agreement we would replace the cease-fire lines by secure and agreed boundaries and that the disposition of troops would then be made in accordance with the new boundaries.

It is ludicrous to say that Israel and an Arab state would agree to negotiate and recognized boundaries and then would restate their troops in places where they were not entitled to be under the agreement.

The trouble is that the Arab states ask for withdrawal without peace or the establishment of new boundaries.

Question. Why has Israel not made public in more specific terms the new territorial arrangements it envisions?

Answer. Here we're in a quandary. When we make our ideas public it increases the complexities. We make certain proposals and the Arab states look at them, recoil and say they cannot negotiate on them. I think it is much better to say officially that at the negotiating table the whole problem of boundaries and territories is open for agreement. The territorial question is open for free discussion, anyone can make any proposals he likes for negotiation.

When I go to my colleagues to discuss possible terms, they say "Have you got an Arab government that is willing in principle to talk peace? If not, why should we fight among ourselves about something hypothetical."

If I came one day and said, "Gentlemen, Arab government XYZ says it wants peace and would like to explore its conditions, then we would have to cross the Rubicon. We would have to give our negotiators concrete positions, determining what things are indispensable for us and on which matters they can be flexible."

The Arab states have never put us in the position of having to work out a detailed range of contingent positions.

They will not negotiate directly, they will not negotiate indirectly—as Nasser told *The New York Times* the other day—they will not negotiate orally, they will not negotiate with Jarring or without him. They will not even negotiate by correspondence course.

That's where the frustration lies. Unless they negotiate with us they will never know and we ourselves will never know the true limits of our flexibility and of theirs.

Question. You have said that details of a peace agreement are secondary to the principal objective, the sine qua non: an end to

the long Arab campaign for the extinction of the State of Israel. Do you believe that the Arab states are, as they claim, sincerely renouncing that goal by accepting the Security Council resolution?

Answer. The policy of the UAR must be interpreted in accordance with the statements of its leaders and from communications to us by Ambassador Jarring. These are quite consistent: There isn't any distinction between them. They present the following picture:

They want us to withdraw in the first stage to the June 4, 1967 boundaries—what we call our nightmare map. They want us to reconstruct our own peril and put us back into the straitjacket. But this is only stage one.

Stage two is that the Arab armies would follow our retreat. Notice that in the Soviet Union's dialogue with the United States, the principle of demilitarization in Sinai is dropped: Arab troops move into wherever Israeli troops move out. The June 4 powder keg is reconstructed.

Then the blockade is re-established. Freedom of passage in the Suez is made contingent on settlement of the refugee problem, which is at the very best a matter of years—I hope not decades.

The same is true about passage through the Straits of Tiran, the issue that exploded into the June war.

The UAR tells us that they would oppose any permanent arrangement not contingent on their consent. The Sword of Damocles would be put back into place. The May 23, 1967, crisis could be recreated whenever the UAR decided to do so.

Thereafter, the Palestine problem, as they call it, would have to be settled by allowing all the refugees back into what remained of Israel after its withdrawal. Enough Arabs must be introduced to convert Israel into something that is not Israel.

Then, Nasser says, he would make peace with the Israel that it then would have become, namely another Arab state.

This is so clear, so repeatedly stated, that to assume that Nasser wants peace with Israel as a sovereign Jewish state in its own national personality is utterly frivolous.

In fact, in the last few days, the governments which are in closest contact with us have told us very frankly that they do not now believe that the UAR is ready for a peace with us on terms that Israel would accept or that friendly governments would advise us to accept.

At the most, Nasser would accept a Jewish community in an Arab state, or perhaps a sort of Lebanon. But the idea that Israel is an independent nation with roots in the Middle East, no less deep and much older than Arab roots is foreign to Nasser's thinking.

Our case is that Israel is part of the Middle East past and the Middle East present and the Middle East future. This is something that he has never grasped.

I think that this is the real essence of the conflict—that Arab intellectual and political leaders have never really solved the mystery of Israel's deep and authentic roots in the Middle East past and destiny.

Question. Is the same unwillingness that you assert on the part of Egypt to make peace true with respect to Jordan?

Answer. The situation is different, in the psychological sense. There are Palestinian and Jordanian leaders who say frankly that they would have preferred Israel not to exist but that its existence is an inexorable fact.

If Nasser can allow himself to dream, however vainly, of a military victory as a final solution, the Jordanians cannot possibly have any such illusions.

The question is whether there is in Jordan a sovereign capacity to negotiate. The question marks are whether Jordan can negotiate without a green light, or even an amber light, from Cairo; whether the green

or amber light exists; whether it could explore a settlement with us under the pressure of the terrorist organizations; whether the presence of Iraqi troops in Jordan exercises an inhibiting effect.

But the issue is not dead. What I have in mind is an integral solution solving the problems of Israel, Jordan and the Palestinian Arabs by establishing an open boundary on the community model familiar in Western Europe, as for example Benelux.

We must look for a way of living together without a million Arabs being forced into an unwanted allegiance.

Question. How can there be the "real peace," the sincere willingness of Arabs to live in peace with Israel, unless the refugee problem is solved? Have you a proposal for its solution?

Answer. I used to think that a solution of the refugee problem would bring about peace. It is my conviction now that the exact opposite is true, that only peace can bring about a solution of the refugee problem.

So long as the Arab states do not want peace, they will not want a solution of the refugee problem.

The Security Council resolution is the first international recognition of the fact that the refugee solution can only come as a part of an integral peace solution. The problem was caused by war; it can only be solved by peace.

Nevertheless we did make a proposal, to which the press has given insufficient attention, that ahead of any question of peace or boundaries or recognition, we should have an international conference to charter a five-year plan for the solution of the refugee problem with the participation of Middle Eastern states, of governments which help to support the refugees and the U.N. specialized agencies. I should be anxious to know what is wrong with that suggestion. In proposing in New York in October to try to reach an agreement on each of the eight or nine subjects in the Security Council resolution, of which the refugees is one, I said it made no matter to me which was discussed first.

I said let's begin with navigation, or the refugee problem, or boundaries, or take them up simultaneously with subcommittees to discuss each of them.

UAR Foreign Minister Riad's answer was to book passage back to Cairo because any response to this would have involved him in a dialogue with us. The peace idea was becoming too concrete for his liking. The proposal for a refugee conference was rejected rather nervously by him, because it is not easy to explain to world opinion that it should be rejected by anyone who cares anything for the refugees.

Question. But have you stated, even in principle, what Israel is prepared to do to solve that enormous problem?

Answer. We are on our guard against any manner of thinking that makes the refugee problem an exclusive Israeli responsibility. Israel simply cannot solve the problem; it can make a contribution to its solution. I don't believe the states of the Middle East can solve it alone. It has to be solved regionally and internationally. That is why we must create a regional and international framework for the refugee discussion. But when I say that peace could solve it, I mean that the psychology of peace would open up possibilities which we cannot envisage in a condition of war.

That's what I think the Arab governments don't understand. The key to the Israeli attitude lies in their hands. The moment they negotiate with us, they unlock in the Israeli mind all kinds of impulses which have been held back.

Question. In the absence of progress towards a settlement, will the Palestine liberation movement grow and capture the imagination of the Arab peoples, to the point

that a political settlement becomes impossible.

Answer. These groups are a burden on our security in some places, but in my mind they are still marginal and not central.

Arab governments established these organizations. Without Arab governments they would have neither weapons nor support. The mastery still belongs to the Arab governments. If Nasser or King Hussein decided to negotiate peace, I believe these movements would dwindle at the negotiating stage and fade away at the settlement stage.

Question. They have not become Frankenstein's monster, more powerful than their creator?

Answer. I think the governments still retain executive control. The Fatah is simply a convenience for Arab governments which do not want to fight with their regular armies and yet do not want a period of tranquility leading to peace.

Question. Israel is accused of asking for a degree of security that no other country enjoys; that you refuse to gamble on the possible turning of your adversaries' minds towards a peaceful outcome.

Answer. On the contrary, I would settle for the kind of security which every other country has. I would take any sovereign country in the world and ask what are its relationships with its neighbors in a state of peace. I would shut my eyes, pick one, and settle for that.

Question. How will the Israeli government changes affect the relationship between hawks and doves? Where do you stand personally in that division?

Answer. The ornithological definition is not useful. The hawk-dove phrase has done more to confuse public thinking on international problems than any other semantic device.

We are all hawks only in our ambition to make Israel really secure, and most of us are doves in our ardent desire for peace. My colleague (Defence Minister Moshe) Dayan is called a hawk but it was he who told your people on television that he "would give up a lot of territory for peace" with Egypt or Jordan. That sounds dovish to me.

Mrs. Meir, who I hope will lead the next cabinet, has said that she opposed the extreme slogan of "no surrender of territory" and that if our boundaries are to be agreed boundaries they cannot be the present ones, but that only a peace negotiation can make the discussion real.

So there is a national consensus which I have been expressing all these months.

SHALL WE CONTINUE TO REPAIR, OR BUILD A NEW HOUSE?

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, in law-enforcement efforts, as well as in almost every other aspect of today's world, we must make certain that improvements which we might plan really would contribute toward the favorable end result which we might have in mind.

Police Chief Everett F. Holladay, Monterey Park, Calif., Police Department, is one of those farsighted individuals who has this capacity to look beyond the first step. He has an excellent background in police work and in accomplishments to his credit, and is fast earning the respect of law enforcement people throughout the Nation.

A recent article featured in *Police*, November-December 1968, which describes

itself as a "journal covering the professional interests of all law enforcement personnel," was written by Chief Holladay and deals with the need for enlightened attitudes toward change in police procedures.

I am quite pleased that Everett Holladay heads one of the police departments in my congressional districts and can report that the city of Monterey Park knows that they have one of the finest small city enforcement agencies on the west coast—thanks to Chief Holladay.

The article follows:

SHALL WE CONTINUE TO REPAIR, OR BUILD A NEW HOUSE?

(Editorial feature by E. F. Holladay)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—We have invited a number of different individuals representing different areas of opinion and geography, to prepare editorials of their own subject selection and representing their own opinions rather than, necessarily, that of Police.

(This editorial has been submitted by Chief Holladay who has been in the field of law enforcement for twenty-five years. He served with the Pomona Police Department from 1943 to 1962 during which time he rose through the ranks to the position of Assistant Chief. He was appointed Police Chief of the city of Monterey Park on August 1, 1962.

(While at Pomona, Chief Holladay attended the Delinquency Control Institute at the University of Southern California and, in 1951, organized Pomona's first Juvenile Bureau. He is an alumnus of the USC School of Public Administration where he occasionally guest lectures. He is the Secretary-Treasurer of the California Police Chiefs Association.

(Having taught Juvenile Court Law and Procedure at Mount San Antonio and Chaffey Junior Colleges, Chief Holladay has always been a strong advocate of crime prevention. One of his first acts upon becoming administrative head of the Monterey Park Police was to initiate "Operation Identification," a project to reduce burglary and theft whereby the citizen etches his driver's license number on his personal property as positive evidence of ownership, traceable by law enforcement agencies. Later, the program, P.A.C.E., (Public Anti-Crime Effort) was developed and implemented involving active participation of the citizens of Monterey Park in the prevention of crime.

(It is the opinion of the Editorial staff of Police that in a free society it is desirable to have these different points of view and recommendations, and we encourage others to submit similar editorial comment.)

Ted and Mary Jones were respected citizens who lived comfortably in their farmhouse on the outskirts of Centerville. Ted was one of the first to buy a tractor and get rid of the walking plow. When rural electricity became available, he had the necessary lines run down to the house from the highway and bought Mary a new refrigerator to replace the old ice box. Ted, Jr., had gone through the local high school and on to A & M College. On occasion when he wanted to apply some of the college-learned theories in the operation of the farm, he found Dad opposing on the basis of impracticality. However, these arguments generally resulted in the young man's persuasion leading to the adoption of the innovation. Yes, in retrospect, Ted and Mary felt quite proud of their modernization.

During this period, something was happening to Centerville: urbanization. Although the Jones had heard some talk about it, they weren't too concerned until a subdivider offered them more money than they could afford to turn down for their "south 40."

Later, when the newcomers began to occupy the many homes that dotted the hillsides where the Jones' cattle had formerly pastured, the change that had taken place

became vividly personal when complaints were launched against them for the offensive odor of their piggens and against the noises of the rooster crowing at daylight. After much discussion, they reluctantly disposed of the hogs and finally gave up the chickens out of deference to their new neighbors. But these sacrifices were not made easily and some ill will was created as a result.

Later on they were sadly surprised to find that the general location of their farmhouse had been rezoned R-1 and they were now subject to a revolutionary and shocking number of requirements, all designed to make their living more enjoyable!

The plumbing inspector prescribed the work to be completed to provide for the sanitation of the family; the electrical inspector prescribed the increased-capacity type service which meant tearing out a portion of the old system and installing the new. And the crowning blow came when a new street was surveyed in front of the house and they were informed that, to conform with the setback regulations, the front room would have to be removed and relocated on another side of their home.

Ted and Mary sat down and reflected on all the changes they had experienced during the past several years, and realized that most of these had not been of their own choosing; and yet, realistically, the end result had improved some aspects of their living conditions. And so Ted asked, "Should we continue to repair and remodel to meet these requirements, or should we build a new house?" The family resolved to build a house which would not only include all of the modern code requirements but would be designed to foresee similar changes of the future so that its architecture and serviceability would reflect their own desires and personalities for many years to come without the necessity of intervention by outsiders.

Has the family of law enforcement arrived at a similar point of decision? It would seem so. Since World War II we have continued to improve techniques, procedures, policies, and personnel. Yet our record of accomplishment seems sadly lacking.

During this 25-year war on crime, though we have fought gallantly, we have been criticized, cajoled, cramped and constrained while the weight of the advantage continues toward the lawless element as crime rates soar.

Social changes accompanying urbanization of our exploding population have daily represented new challenges. As we struggle to meet these required adjustments, the periodic visits of the inspectors—(the Supreme Court by decision)—invariably prescribe additional limitation of our traditional methods by what would appear to us to be an insatiable desire on the part of the court to insulate the criminal at the expense of the protection of society.

Shall we continue to commiserate our wounds, making our required changes with a disgruntled attitude toward our position? Or, shall we use our wits and, as the wise man, turn the situation to our own advantage? Shall we continue to repair? Or, shall we build a new house?

Thinking only of the present, it obviously would be easier to continue the repair in an attempt to maintain compliance with requirements. This course would offer no relief, however, from the frustrations of having other people telling us what to do.

On the shoulders of law enforcement today rests the greatest responsibility in the history of its existence, and from the aspect of sensitivity, perhaps the greatest immediate responsibility of any single profession. If we are to wear this proudly, we must be the architects of our own destiny. We must not choose to simply adjust to the requirements of the day. Like the farmer, we must study every possibility of change likely to be required of us in the future and set our course in areas to produce greatest support and least legal criticism. This would mean research in far greater depth than that to

which we are accustomed. It would mean a re-examination of our role in the total spectrum of the administration of criminal justice, and an intensified study of forces of support which are presently available to us.

A limited assessment of our present position would indicate that our two most obvious pursuits should be in the technological and sociological fields. As never before, the attention of society is currently focused on our needs and the dilemma of our position. Never before has the technical scientist been so willing to provide answers if we will specifically describe our problems. Never before has the citizen been so willing to get behind the man behind the badge, not just with empty lip service but by actually adjusting or changing his personal habits in a manner designed to frustrate the criminal.

Recently legislation to appropriate funds for our use is unprecedented. This money should not be looked upon with fear of upstream government control. Rather, our legislators should be approached as "financial partners" to whom we submit our architectural renderings as a normal prerequisite to securing the loan to build.

As we enjoy our brief moment in the spotlight of Shakespeare's stage, let us direct our attention to recognizing the overwhelming potential of imagination and creativity represented in our ranks. Let us reflect upon our traditions with a question as to present-day usefulness, and let us properly utilize the support available to us. In so doing, we will build our new house with pride, and, in fact, we will play the lead role in a historical chapter during which both the rise and the fall of crime are duly recorded.

CRIME REPORT—A RECORD OF EXTREME LIBERALISM

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Daily News publishes a crime clock which lists the "reported crimes in Washington, D.C."

Day by day the understanding observer can determine the great cost in life and property that liberalism has cost the American people in their Nation's Capital.

Compare, for example, crime in the entire African nation of Rhodesia with a population of 4,510,000 to Washington, D.C., with 809,000; Rhodesia having 50 times as many people as the District of Columbia.

[From the Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader, Feb. 18, 1969]

Below is a comparison in the crime rates of Washington and anti-Communist Rhodesia.

Washington, D.C. (Population 809,000—July 1967)

Murders (+35 percent).....	178
Forcible rape (+79 percent).....	172
Robbery (+152 percent).....	5,795
Aggravated assault (+20 percent)....	3,143
Burglary (+65 percent).....	14,702
Source, FBI.	

Rhodesia (Population 4,510,000—July 1967)

Murders (-6 percent).....	157
Forcible rape (-70 percent).....	62
Robbery (-52 percent).....	20
Aggravated assault (-31 percent).....	55
Burglary (-62 percent).....	240
Source, Attorney General's Office.	

Until we stop allowing criminal actions to be encouraged with excuses of "the roots of crime," we can expect the District of Columbia crime rate to continue to soar.

Mr. Speaker, I submit news articles for inclusion in the RECORD as follows:

[From the Washington Daily News, Mar 15, 1969]

THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS TALLY: CRIME CLOCK

Here is The Washington Daily News tally of robberies and crimes of violence—many of them accomplished with guns—reported in the District of Columbia in the 24-hour period ending at 8 a.m. today.

1:20 p.m.: Two Negro gunmen walked into the Little Tavern, 1251 New York-av ne, and took a total of \$93 from manager Thomas Simmons, 36, white and customer Freddie Spence.

3 p.m.: Max White, 60, white, owner of the White Market, 910 13th-st ne, said two Negro gunmen came into his store and shot a special police officer, Cejec Jackson, 22, Negro, in the right leg. He was taken to D.C. General Hospital and is now in serious condition.

3:55 p.m.: Miles Gibbons, 45, white, a school teacher was walking near 17th and East Capitol-st when a Negro gunman demanded his wallet. When the gunman looked in the wallet and saw that it was empty he gave it back to Mr. Gibbons.

4:35 p.m.: William Bradley, 40, Negro, was in his beet truck near 10th and Hamlin-st ne when two Negro men jumped into the truck and took his wallet containing \$27 at gunpoint.

5:35 p.m.: Melvin Fox, 18, Negro, of Southeast, said he was at 11th and W Streets nw, when two Negro gunmen took an unknown amount of money from him.

7 p.m.: Darrell Banks, 15, Negro, was in the alley near his Northeast home when a Negro youth took \$20.

8 p.m.: Paul J. Kindhl, 33, white, was in the lobby of his Northwest apartment when two Negro men took \$2 from him at gunpoint.

8:30 p.m.: Warren Dillon, 26, Negro, manager of a Grand Union food store, 5010 First-st nw, said four Negro bandits, two of them armed, took an undetermined amount of cash from the store and from three employees. One bandit struck the store security guard, Emory Keyser, in the head with a shotgun butt.

9:15 p.m.: George Moyers, 41, white, of Grotoes, Md., was robbed of \$52 at gunpoint, while he was at 4230 South Capitol-st, by a lone Negro bandit, carrying a revolver.

10 p.m.: Randolph Washington, 42, Negro, of Northwest, was held up by a lone Negro gunman at 1122 H-st ne. The bandit got \$29.

10:20 p.m.: Willie Felder, 12, Negro, was collecting for his paper route near 57th Place and Banks-st ne, when a Negro man grabbed him and took an unknown amount of money.

10:25 p.m.: Carol Silva, 23, Negro, of Northwest, lost an unknown amount of cash to a Negro bandit at 14th and Tuckerman streets nw.

11:45 p.m.: Donald C. Schreiber, 23, white, of Williamsburg, was in the hallway of 2225 N-st nw, when he was shot in the chest by one Negro gunman, during an apparent robbery attempt. He was pronounced dead at D.C. General Hospital.

12:10 a.m.: Steven R. Fahner, 19, Norman Sellers, 18, and Ernest Cook, 19, all white, U.S. Marines from Alexandria were robbed at gunpoint of \$100 and their watches in front of 1220 N-st nw by three Negro men.

12:45 a.m.: James Edelin, 48, Negro said five Negro men took \$68 from him while he was walking near 55th and Dix streets ne.

3:50 a.m.: Charles Turner, 34, Negro, night manager of the Esso Service Center at One

Florida-ave ne, said a Negro man carrying two guns took an undetermined amount of money.

[From the Washington Evening Star, Mar. 15, 1969]

PREGNANT WOMAN LEAVING CIRCUS BEATEN AND RAPED

A Capitol Hill housewife who took her 2-year-old boy to the circus was raped early last night after leaving the Washington Coliseum. She is five months pregnant.

Police said that after the woman put her son in her car, which was parked between 5th and 6th near L Street NE, she was grabbed by a man who demanded money.

She told him she didn't have any money and he hit her on the face with either a stick or black jack, police said. People who passed by as the two were struggling didn't try to help, she told police.

The man forced the woman into her car with the child, sat beside her and forced her to drive to an alley nearby where he raped her. He then forced her to drive to another alley where he attacked her again.

The woman, who is white was treated at D.C. General Hospital and released. The child was not harmed. The attacker was described to police as a Negro.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Mar. 15, 1969]

MAN LURED INTO BUILDING AND SLAIN

A 22-year-old man who police said stopped with his date to help a man in apparent trouble was later slain by him.

He was the 56th homicide victim this year in the city.

According to police, Donald Schreiber, 22, of the 2200 block of Hall Place NW, was walking his date home from a movie around midnight when they encountered a man at 25th and M Streets NW. The man was bent over and appeared to be either intoxicated or sick. The man asked for help, police recounted.

When the couple said they would help, he mumbled and gestured in the direction he wanted to go, police said.

They accompanied him, and were joined on the way by a second man who appeared to know the first.

Arriving at a building in the 2200 block of N Street NW, they went to the second floor where the man "recovered" and produced a pistol in an apparent holdup attempt, police said.

Before any robbery could occur, police said, he fired the gun at Schreiber's chest and both men fled. The girl, who then notified police, was unharmed. Schreiber was pronounced dead at D.C. General Hospital.

Police described the man with the gun as a Negro, 25 to 30 years old, 5 feet 6 inches tall, of slight build and neatly dressed. His companion was also described as a Negro.

Schreiber was white, as is the girl.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Mar. 13, 1969]

MICROBIOLOGIST IS SHOT, BEATEN BY YOUTH IN NORTHWEST

A 62-year-old microbiologist at Walter Reed Army Institute of Research was beaten and shot on the street near his home at 810 Tuckerman St. NW last night in an unexplained attack by a teen-aged youth, police reported.

Harry Gelsing was reported in serious condition at Washington Hospital Center today.

Police said he was walking on Tuckerman street across the street from his home when a car pulled up and stopped. A teen-aged boy got out and began to berate and curse Gelsing for no apparent reason, they said.

The youth then struck at Gelsing and a struggle ensued. Going from one side of the street to the other. Gelsing was knocked

down, beaten and kicked, according to the account.

The youth then backed away, pointed a gun at his victim and pulled the trigger. The gun misfired, but the youth fired again, this time hitting Gelsing in the shoulder, police said.

The attacker then jumped into the car and drove away. Police said that at no time during the attack did he ever mention anything about wanting money.

A neighbor said today that Gelsing is single, has lived at the Tuckerman street address for some time and is a "very fine man." The neighbor said he knew of "no reason at all" why Gelsing should have been attacked.

An office associate declared he "doesn't have an enemy in the world," and described him as a quiet but friendly man.

Gelsing is a theater-goer, and it was believed he may have been going home from a performance when he was attacked about 11:15 p.m.

Police issued a lookout for a Negro about 15 or 16 years old, 5 feet 3 inches to 5 feet 7 inches tall, wearing a light-colored trench coat, who was in a light green or light blue automobile.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Mar. 15, 1969]

GUARD IS INJURED, FOOD STORE ROBBED BY FOUR BANDITS

A Grand Union food store at 5010 1st Street NW was robbed of an undetermined amount of money and a store guard was struck on the head with a shotgun and disarmed last night by four holdup men, police reported.

According to police, two men entered the store about 8:30 p.m., one pointed a revolver at manager Warren Dillon, 26, and ordered him to the front office and took money. Another struck the guard, Emory Keyser, on the left side of the head with a shotgun and took the revolver from his holster, police said.

Two other men entered, taking money from cashiers Beverly A. Fox, 33, and Earnest Manifee, 32, in brown paper bags, police said. The bandits left by the front door.

Keyser was treated at Washington Hospital Center for a head injury, reported not to be serious.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Mar. 15, 1969]

NEGRO, WHITE INJURED IN ALEXANDRIA INCIDENTS

A 15-year-old Negro and a 56-year-old white man were injured early today in two assault cases with racial overtones, Alexandria police reported. They said the incidents appeared unrelated.

The teen-ager was critically wounded by a knife-wielding assailant in a fight among seven Negroes and three white men at King and West Streets, shortly after midnight, police said.

According to police, the men started fighting after remarks were exchanged among some women of both races. Police said two white women were fighting on the street when the Negro women approached them and the remarks followed.

The youngster, who was later injured and six companions became involved when the three white men lunged at the Negro women, police added. The brawl stopped when the 15-year-old fell to the ground with a knife wound across the abdomen.

Investigators said the knife apparently was wielded by a young man about 6 feet 3 inches tall, with blonde hair, wearing a blue sweat-shirt with writing in a circle on the front.

The wounded youngster underwent emergency surgery at 6 a.m. today and was reported in critical condition at Alexandria Hospital.

In the meantime, police reported, Claude Lawson, 56, was assaulted by five or six Negro

youths in the 100 block of S. Alfred Street about 12:30 a.m.

According to police, the tip of his nose was cut off when an assailant struck him in the face with a bottle. Doctors at Alexandria Hospital later sewed the tissue back in an attempt to save it, police added. Lawson was reported in fairly good condition.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Mar. 15, 1969]

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COUNCIL WILL REVIEW TEAR GAS USE

The new District City Council chairman, Gilbert Hahn Jr., said yesterday that the council will consider a recommendation that new guidelines be established for the use of tear gas by city police.

Yesterday, the District Human Relations Commission asked that guidelines be studied by the council after concluding that tear gas fired at a gunman Feb. 21 should not have been used because it started a fire in the house in the 1400 block of Madison Street NW where the gunman was.

Police Chief John B. Layton last night issued a statement citing what he felt were good and bad aspects of the report and stating:

"I also deplore criticism by the commission of our use of tear gas during the Madison Street incident. In the case of a barricaded subject, tear gas has proven to be the only effective, nonfatal, relatively safe method of apprehending a criminal.

"In my judgment, the circumstances of this incident do not justify the call for a public hearing by the city council to review the professional judgments made by police officials during the emergency."

REPORTING CRIME IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

HON. WENDELL WYATT

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, the crime explosion in this Nation in recent years has grown to the proportions of a major crisis. This new administration has declared one of its main objectives to be the war on crime.

The District of Columbia, in particular, has been pointed out as an area in which the Federal Government has a more direct role to play in the fight against lawlessness. Crime in the District of Columbia has gotten well out of hand. The Nixon administration has moved quickly and positively to bolster local police efforts in combating this menace.

A Washington, D.C., resident, Mrs. Barbara C. Cummings, has presented what, I believe, to be a salient point in regard to the war on crime. She has questioned the attitude of the news media, newspapers in particular, in their reporting of lawlessness.

Mrs. Cummings has noted the high priority given the reporting of individual crimes, especially the more violent ones. She further notes the lack of follow-up in the news media when these criminals are eventually caught and convicted.

As she notes, it could be that this one-sided manner of reporting leads potential criminals to believe that crime does pay. In emphasizing the crime and ignoring the police and court action potential criminals may be led to the belief that no one is getting caught.

Mrs. Cummings wrote a letter to the editor of the Washington Post setting forth her views on this matter. The letter was not published.

I feel her analysis warrants a larger audience, especially in the Congress, which is charged with the welfare of residents of the District of Columbia. Here, then, is her letter, just as it was forwarded to the Post:

WASHINGTON, D. C.,

January 31, 1969.

Mr. PHILLIP L. GEYELIN,
Editorial Page Editor,
The Washington Post,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. GEYELIN: With D.C. crime curbs at the top of today's priority list, may I suggest that the news media—newspapers, radio, TV—examine their own responsibilities in reporting crime and its effect upon the lawbreaker and would-be lawbreaker. We are bombarded daily with accounts of the more spectacular robberies involving substantial sums of money, often enlivened by a bit of humor to please the reading, listening, or viewing audiences; we can only hope there were some convictions for previous crimes.

Much has been made by the news media of the credibility gap between the government and the press. There now seems to be a crime-reporting credibility gap between the news media and the public, for the impression gleaned from the crime news is that few, if any, apprehensions and convictions are made. How does the reader, listener, or viewer react to this kind of reporting? Does he begin to wonder whether, if it is that easy to commit an armed robbery, snatch a purse, pilfer from a store or his employer without fear of punishment, he too might profit? Are more teen-agers encouraged to try their luck in the easy-money racket? Are repeaters also encouraged to take another fling with a gun?

News stories continue to report on improving ways to combat crime, including speedier trials, more judges, more policemen, etc., all very salutary, but with few results. For a time The Washington Post was showing a simple listing of convictions in extra-small print buried where few could find it; but even that seems to have disappeared. In the newspaper field, for example, the January 29 Washington Post carried a front page article, a lead editorial, and a column by Evans and Novak on the President's plans to combat crime. It also carried such items as: (1) "Robberies Doubled in Late 1968" (front page) with statistics for December 1965 through 1968—but no apprehensions or convictions for those periods. (2) "D.C. Bandit Gets Total of 50 Years" (p. C1)—the only conviction that day? (3) A conservative four robberies and an attempted rape (p. C6) by various culprits, all of whom "ran away" or "fled." (4) Fifteen arrests in a narcotics raid (p. A16). The TV and radio newscasts also carried similar reports, but to my knowledge did not include the only conviction reported in your paper.

So I was surprised to read on page A6 (in the lower left-hand corner) of the January 30 Post, in the item on crimes while on bail, that "only 65.1 per cent of the persons indicted for robbery in fiscal 1967 were ultimately convicted. . . ." I was surprised because I was under the impression, along with a great many others, that very few persons are apprehended, and of those, a very, very small percentage convicted; hence, I was actually comforted by the 65.1%.

I suggest that a newsworthy crime summary be devised as a public service for use on TV, radio, and in all local newspapers, just as market reports and sports events are summarized, focusing attention not just on the crimes of a particular day, but the convictions for past crimes of other months or

years, with a more comprehensive summary at regular intervals, perhaps with cumulative totals and percentages.

The crime-credibility gap could thus be

closed by a responsible mass news media thinking in terms of the psychological impact of its reporting on those who would try for easy money and on those who would be

reassured that convictions are in fact being handed down by the courts.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. BARBARA B. CUMMINGS.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Tuesday, March 18, 1969

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall walk and not faint.—Isaiah 40: 31.

Eternal God and Father of us all, as we live through the hours of this day may we be humble in spirit, helpful in attitude, faithful in service, and fruitful in all good works.

Deliver us from worries that wear us out, from resentments that tear us down, and from frustrations that weaken our morale. Help us to realize that though life may have for us many difficulties and some disagreements, we must not allow difficulties to become too discouraging, nor permit disagreements to make us too disagreeable, and certainly never allow them to weaken our faith or lower our ideals.

Grant wisdom and courage to our President, our Speaker, all Members of Congress, and those who work diligently with them as they set themselves to solve the problems that confront our Nation in these trying times.

Together may all of us walk in Thy way and not faint.

In the Master's name we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 408. An act to modify eligibility requirements governing the grant of assistance in acquiring specially adapted housing to include loss or loss of use of a lower extremity and other service-connected neurological or orthopedic disability which impairs locomotion to the extent that a wheelchair is regularly required; and

S. 1130. An act to provide for the striking of medals in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the founding of the American Fisheries Society.

The message also announced that the Presiding Officer of the Senate, pursuant to Public Law 115, 78th Congress, entitled "An act to provide for the disposal of certain records of the U.S. Government," appointed Mr. McGEE and Mr. FONG members of the Joint Select Committee on the part of the Senate for the Disposition of Executive Papers referred to in the report of the Archivist of the United States numbered 69-4.

LOGJAM ON FLOOD CONTROL PROJECTS SHOULD BE BROKEN

(Mr. EDMONDSON asked and was given permission to address the House

for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, this morning Members of the Oklahoma delegation, through arrangements by our distinguished majority leader, met with some of the soil conservation leaders of our State who are seriously concerned about the continued logjam that exists on small projects.

Thousands of Oklahomans have been deeply distressed by this longstanding logjam that arises through a disagreement between several committees of the Congress and the Congress itself on the one hand and the previous administration on the other. Continuation of this disagreement delays some of the most vitally needed flood control work in the United States. Some of our most serious flood damage is suffered upstream and on these watersheds.

I hope we can have speedy attention to this problem in the new administration and a breaking of this logjam that is affecting adversely so many communities and areas of the country.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the distinguished gentleman yield?

Mr. EDMONDSON. I am glad to yield to the distinguished minority leader.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I think it is regrettable that we have had this dispute. I do not challenge the good faith of either the previous administration or the respective committees in the House and Senate. It was a legitimate, honest difference of opinion. However, I hope for the benefit of the country the new administration and the respective committees can find an answer so that we can proceed with this highly important watershed program.

Mr. EDMONDSON. I thank the gentleman very much.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EDMONDSON. I am glad to yield to the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I associate myself with the remarks of my colleague. He has performed a service to the country in bringing this matter to the attention of the House.

Mr. EDMONDSON. I thank the gentleman from Oklahoma.

H.R. 8699, FOR BENEFIT OF AIR FORCE OFFICERS WHO FOR TECHNICAL REASONS WERE UNJUSTLY DENIED PROMOTIONS WHEN RECALLED TO ACTIVE DUTY

(Mr. FISHER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, on March 11, I introduced H.R. 8699, a private bill, on behalf of 25 Air Force Reserve officers, to correct an obvious injustice to them for having been denied promotions

because of being recalled to active duty in January of last year.

Solely because of an archaic quirk in the statutes governing the promotion of Reserve officers, these men—fully qualified and duly recommended for promotion—were denied their promotions because they belonged to units mobilized for the Pueblo crisis. On the other hand, their contemporaries who were not recalled, did receive the same promotions the recalled men would have received had they not been recalled.

This bill, if enacted, will empower and enjoin the Secretary of the Air Force to grant these men the promotions they justly deserve.

The measure will benefit a number of my constituents. Other deserving officers have, at the request of their respective Representatives in the House, been included. Except for the House rule which does not permit cosponsorship of private bills, these Members would be listed as coauthors.

These Members who in behalf of their officer constituents have joined me in sponsoring this legislation are as follows: Representatives ADAMS, DON H. CLAUSEN, COHELAN, DAVIS of Georgia, GUBSER, HANSEN of Washington, MAILLIARD, McCLOSKEY, McKNEALLY, MOSS, and WALDIE.

Incidentally, I have also introduced a bill (H.R. 8650) which would amend the present law and prevent a recurrence of these unfortunate injustices in the future.

INCREASED FEDERAL INCOME TAX EXEMPTION

(Mr. STEED asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill that would increase the personal Federal income tax exemption from \$600 to \$1,200.

This figure has remained unchanged since 1948, for 21 years. During that period inflation and rising costs have reduced it to only token relief for the taxpayer. Even before World War II, with the cost of living many times less than now, the figure was \$750.

The bill would apply to exemptions for the taxpayer, spouse, and dependents, as well as the additional exemptions for old age and blindness.

Chairman MILLS and the Ways and Means Committee are conducting an intensive review of the entire tax structure, and I hope that this will result in substantial improvements. I believe that a realistic increase in the personal exemption should be included in any tax reform measure eventually enacted.

Loss of revenue to the Government would be relatively small and can be recouped by economy and by revisions to correct other inequities in the tax structure.