

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## A MAN ON THE MOON

**HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

**Mr. FREY.** Mr. Speaker, a man on the moon—just a few short years ago this was science fiction. Today, the phenomenal success of Apollo 9 has removed the last major technological barrier to this feat, now scheduled for midsummer. Never before had anyone flown a space vehicle designed specifically for operation in a vacuum. When Schweickart and McDivitt were separated from the command module Gumdrop, on March 6, they well knew their lunar landing "spider" could never return to earth, but instead had to rejoin the command module piloted by Scott. The two astronauts simulated their descent to the moon, and rejoined Gumdrop after being separated by as many as 113 miles.

The flight demonstrated the success of the unique docking system, which enabled the two vehicles to join and lock together in space, and allowed the crew to transfer through a tunnel from one spacecraft to the other without actually venturing into space. The life-supporting backdrop, which the astronauts will need after stepping onto the moon, was tested for the first time.

The backdrop will replace the umbilical, and provide them with oxygen, communications, and other vital links.

The flawless flight of Apollo 9 proved that a spacecraft had been developed which will be able to make a safe, controlled landing at a selected site on the moon's surface, provide shelter and support for the astronauts during their brief exploration of the moon, and return them to the orbiting command module for a safe flight back to earth.

This Nation and the world owe a great debt of gratitude to the many men and women whose skill, dedication, and courage have paved the way to the moon.

Certainly all of our astronauts deserve the highest praise. The Apollo 9 astronauts, fellow Americans who share with us such uncomfortable occurrences as headaches and upset stomachs, accomplished the most critical and dangerous phase of the lunar mission to date. But the astronauts would be the first to point out that the success of the entire Apollo mission is dependent on the thousands of Americans in our space program. These are men and women who represent an unequalled partnership of the free enterprise system and our Government.

And while it is true that most Americans think of the space program only when they view a launch or splashdown on television, this is only a small part of the story. The work leading up to the final Apollo mission will not only unlock the secrets of the moon, but has already been of tremendous benefit to man on earth, as has our entire space program. A six-legged vehicle proposed for unmanned exploration of the moon was re-

designed as a walking chair for crippled children. An instrument to measure air pressure has been adapted to measure blood pressure, and is so small it can be maneuvered into and through the heart itself. A plastic-metallic spray for attaching heart electrodes to NASA test pilots is used to transmit electrocardiograms of ambulance patients ahead to a hospital receiving room. Our live television from around the world is yet another benefit, with the potential of new and better satellite communications systems just ahead. Safer designs for highway and runway surfaces have resulted in 15 airports modifying their runways, and many States experimenting on treacherous stretches of highway. From miniaturization to computer technology, from Teflon to new long-wearing paint—the space program is helping us with new ideas, new technology and new jobs here on earth. I think it is fitting that we recognize not only the glamors of our space program, but also the spinoff which affects every American at some point every day, and promises new benefits in the future.

## A GREAT AMERICAN

**HON. WALTER S. BARING**

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

**Mr. BARING.** Mr. Speaker, my good friend and longtime booster of Nevada, Tom Miller, has been coming to Washington for various events and purposes for the welfare of Nevada over the past numerous years. He is a devoted man to the cause of the American Legion and just recently had occasion to spend some time with me while the Legionnaires visited the Nation's Capital during the 50th anniversary of the American Legion.

It was on this occasion that the Washington Post reporter Phil Casey met with Miller, Col. Tom Miller, as he is known in Nevada, and wrote a fine article which is worthy of inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as he is not only a fine man but a former colleague of the House of Representatives.

## ACTIVE MEMBER

(By Phil Casey)

Tom Miller takes things a bit easier than he used to and tries not to overdo. All he does these days is hunt and fish, serve as chairman of Nevada's Park Commission, oversee his mining and ranching interests and serve the American Legion, which he helped to found 50 years ago this weekend.

Miller is 82. "I don't do any of those calisthenics," he said. "The Lord has been good to me, all my organs are intact, in good shape. I don't want to spoil anything. I get my exercise walking."

Miller, born in Wilmington, Del., is the son of a Delaware Governor and served as a Delaware Congressman from 1915 to 1917 ("I was the youngest member of Congress at the time"). He has been a miner and rancher in Nevada for the past 35 years.

He's here, in a suite at the Sheraton-Park

Hotel, for the Ninth Annual Washington Conference of the American Legion and the observance of the Legion's 50th anniversary.

Miller is 6 feet 1½ inches tall, weighs 196 pounds most of the time and doesn't drink or smoke.

"I've been on the wagon since last September," he said. "Drinking was never a problem. I was never a cocktail man, and didn't drink Scotch. I drank bourbon and ditch water. But I quit that and my plumbing's been fine."

"I sympathize," he said, "with alcoholics, because I used to like cigars. I used to smoke six to eight Corona Coronas a day, and I quit one day, overnight, when I was 76."

"I was at a Legion affair and I was smoking a cigar in a Mormon schoolhouse in Utah. A Mormon woman complained, and I threw it away and that night I gave the rest of my cigars away. Haven't smoked since. I never did smoke cigarettes but I still like cigars."

Miller entered the Army as a private after he served his Congressional term and got beaten in a bid for a second term ("by 123 votes, that's all. The Bull Moose ticket did me in"). He rose to lieutenant colonel. He was a machine-gun officer, decorated for meritorious service, and has been very deaf in his right ear ever since his machine-gun days.

"Now the other one's going bad," he said, with no sign of sadness. "I just got a hearing aid for it."

Miller has lived in Reno since the early 1930s. "I was put in charge of CCC camps in northwestern Nevada, the eastern slope of the Sierras and southern Oregon," he said. "And I decided to stay."

He remembers the days when Las Vegas was just a spot on the road. "I used to go there to get out in the sun," he said. "I don't do that anymore, I don't want to criticize Las Vegas, but it's not the same. Reno is wonderful. It has the best climate anywhere. Dry cold and dry heat. But Las Vegas is good, too. You can go skiing on the snow there, drive for an hour and then go water-skiing."

Miller is credited with being a founder not only of the American Legion, but of the Nevada state park system, and he is a strong conservationist and an ardent Nevada booster.

"I hate to sound like the Chamber of Commerce," he said, "But it's a great state. It's really exploding, and the climate is wonderful. I remember when I was a Congressman, I lived at the Army-Navy Club here in Washington, and we used to go up and sit on the roof every night to get cool. There was no air-conditioning then. That's what made Las Vegas, air-conditioning."

Though Miller takes it easy, as he says, he does go hunting every year for deer. "I get my quota—that's one big buck, weighing about 175 pounds," he said.

"I have the meat prepared as venison jerky and venison salami, and I bring it to conventions for my friends. I don't bring the jerky any more (that's like a steak), because I figure it's too hard on my friends' dentures. I bring the salami, though," he said, "and everybody loves it."

"Here," he said, rising and cutting the roll of salami with a fingernail file, "have some." And he handed half a roll of wildy aromatic venison salami to a reporter.

"I hope I didn't talk too much," he said, "and I hope you like the salami."

He turned to a photographer half his age and said, "Here, let me help you on with your coat." And he did.

Another veteran Legion member was asked about Miller's venison salami. "Miller is a

fine man," he said, "and his salami is okay, too. But if you eat too much of it, flies follow you down the street."

#### LEGISLATION TO RELIEVE UNDUE HARDSHIPS FROM AMERICAN LANDOWNERS

##### HON. DONALD G. BROTHMAN

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, March 19, 1969*

Mr. BROTHMAN. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing three bills which were drafted to revise and reform the procedures followed by the Federal Government in acquiring real property for Federal and federally assisted projects.

My interest in this legislation arose from an extensive background in eminent domain procedures during my years as an attorney and, more recently, through working with residents of my district and nearby Colorado areas whose property is being acquired for various Federal projects.

Although the enactment of this legislation will not help these people where litigation is pending, I believe their experiences can be helpful in guiding Congress to avoid many human problems in the future, for thousands of persons today are faced with inequities and needless inconvenience because of antiquated policies which exist in various departments and agencies.

Under these policies it is probably true that most landowners eventually receive an equitable settlement. However, far too many people find that they cannot replace their property with the offers made by the Federal Government and—because they also cannot afford the cost of a court fight—they "sell short" and then must use these discounted funds to buy new homes and businesses on an inflated free market.

The provisions of my first bill—which is the keystone of the three-part package—would assure fair compensation, to owners and tenants of property acquired for public programs, for their property and for other losses and necessary expenses incurred. Congress would establish a uniform policy to guide the land-acquisition practices of all Federal agencies in order to assure consistent and equitable treatment. Every reasonable effort would be made to acquire real property by kindly and friendly negotiated purchase to insure bargain and barter. Congress would provide a definition of "market value standard" to serve as a basis for Government acquisition of land that assures compensation shall be the highest price which the property could reasonably be expected to bring if exposed for sale in the open market for a reasonable time, unaffected by the project.

My second bill would amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 so as to provide for more equitable treatment of persons affected by capital gains caused by involuntary sales of real property through eminent domain to the Federal Government or for federally assisted programs. The bill provides that an

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owner of property taken for public use may defer any recognition of gain on the transfer if he reinvested the compensation received for the property in, first, any interest in real property; second, any property used in trade or business; and third, any property to be held by the taxpayer for investment.

The third and final bill of this package is an amendment to the Small Business Act to provide assistance for owners and employees of small business concerns displaced or injured by Federal or federally assisted programs. This assistance would take the form of loans, information, and other aid.

Much of the legislation which I am proposing is based on a 3-year study by the staff of a select subcommittee of the House Public Works Committee. This intensive study was completed at the end of 1964 and its basic recommendations have not been implemented. But the growing number of Federal and federally assisted programs requiring the acquisition of real property under the present problematical policies presents a growing emergency situation that can no longer be ignored.

I would like to add, Mr. Speaker, that a good deal of the spadework which precedes the passage of legislation by this body was accomplished in the 90th Congress. Subsequent to introduction of the same three bills by several Members—myself included—hearings were begun by the Committee on Public Works.

It is my hope that we can complete the work which still needs to be done early in the 91st Congress, for every day which passes brings undue hardships to Americans whose only offense was that they bought property which the Federal Government later needed.

#### CIGARETTE ADVERTISING

##### HON. RICHARDSON PREYER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, March 19, 1969*

Mr. PREYER of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the enclosed editorial from one of North Carolina's finest newspapers, the Greensboro Daily News, presents a balanced view of the question of the FCC proposed ban on cigarette advertising. The discussion of this issue has generally been on the level of emotion and even hysteria and it is refreshing to have it presented in the light of a cool analysis. The editorial follows:

#### CIGARETTE ADVERTISING

Like every other federal regulatory agency, the Federal Communications Commission is basically an instrument of the will of Congress. Its rulings are also subject to review in the courts.

Those who react so hysterically to an exceedingly iffy FCC threat to ban cigarette advertising from television should bear both facts in mind.

Only if Congress permits present legislation in the cigarette advertising field to expire June 30 would the FCC have power to carry out its threat. And even if the ban went into effect temporarily it is difficult to believe that the courts or Congress would up-

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hold a ban so patently discriminatory against one product.

It is, in any case, a matter of speculation how much impact TV cigarette advertising has on the total consumption of cigarettes. Obviously the manufacturers believe it has some impact or they would not spend \$227 million a year. But the function of most cigarette advertising on television is to differentiate what it is difficult to differentiate, not to introduce more non-smokers to the hazards and pleasures of smoking. The usual emphasis of cigarette advertising is that this brand adds glamor, that one ruggedness, or another a certain touch of personal unorthodoxy. There are no pitches to the effect that smoking is good for you.

We continue to feel, when all is said and done, that the interest of the FCC and Congress in smoking and health is not misplaced—and certainly no example of wanton "bureaucratic tyranny." Despite the counter-barrage of the tobacco-boosters, there is little reasonable doubt that too much cigarette smoking can be harmful to health and can increase the statistical possibility of lung and heart disorders.

In our view, spokesmen for tobacco interests should not—and many already do not—expect their advertising efforts to cast doubt on the case against cigarette smoking, or change very many minds or habits. Few smokers smoke because they manage to conceal from themselves the persuasive case made by the Surgeon-General's reports. More of them believe, with Dorothy Parker, that—

"Razors pain you;  
Rivers are damp;  
Acids stain you;  
And drugs cause cramp.  
Guns aren't lawful;  
Nooses give;  
Gas smells awful;  
You might as well live."

About all the FCC has done, in signifying its intent to ban cigarette advertising, is put Congress on notice to renew the 1965 legislation when it expires and, moreover, give a talking point to those in Raleigh who desperately—and wrongheadedly—suggest that tobacco be spared its long overdue share of the tax burden in North Carolina.

#### FIFTY YEARS OF SERVICE

##### HON. TOM BEVILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, March 19, 1969*

Mr. BEVILL. Mr. Speaker, I wish to associate myself with the remarks already made by several Members with regard to the 50th anniversary of the American Legion. Legionnaires are solid citizens dedicated to advancing the credo of love for flag and country.

Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial which appeared in a recent issue of the Sand Mountain Reporter in my congressional district. This editorial appropriately points out how much we are indebted to the American Legion:

#### FIFTY YEARS OF SERVICE

They left wearing those ridiculously flimsy helmets buckled tightly to their heads, carrying arms which would shoot only as fast as the dexterity of the shooter would permit. They sang "Over There," "Long, Long Trail A-Winding." Their nicknames, now an anachronism, were "doughboys."

That was World War I, the war the politi-

cians said would end all wars. Somehow, the politicians had never heard of Adolph Hitler, Mao Tse Tung, Ho Chi Minh and other warlords who were later to throw the world into holocaust.

However, a great organization was spawned in the dust and rubble of that first great war and its founders called it the American Legion.

Fifty years old this year, that patriotic organization has done more perhaps than any other to advance the credo of love for flag and country. While Legionnaires over the world have different accents, are of different religious faiths, they are bound a common bond and that is support of the nation. While the Legionnaire doesn't always agree with the government in power, he is morally obligated to support it with all his strength and character.

The Legion post is a familiar sight in most every hamlet in the nation, but the Sand Mountain Post is conspicuous. Its civic and charitable actions are a tremendous asset to the communities here.

We wonder in just what state the nation would be today without the American Legion. Legionnaires are solid citizens, and we congratulate them on 50 years of loyalty and service to community, state and nation.

#### AN EXAMPLE WORTHY OF NOTICE

#### HON. EARL B. RUTH

OF NORTH CAROLINA

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, March 19, 1969*

**Mr. RUTH.** Mr. Speaker, the problem of water pollution is one of growing concern to communities all across the Nation. While Government seeks ways to save our streams, the cooperation of industry is even more vital. It is in their hands to keep the waters clean at the very source of the problem.

Therefore, I was delighted to read an editorial in the March 10, 1969, issue of the Laurinburg Exchange of Laurinburg, N.C., which tells of the fine action and the civic concern shown by Springs Mills.

I commend the mills on their effort and thank the Laurinburg editor for telling us of the mills work. The editorial, printed in full, follows:

#### AN EXAMPLE WORTHY OF NOTICE

In one of the more critical areas of industrial affairs Springs Mills maintains an example which could well be followed by other industries the nation over. The problem of water pollution is becoming more acute as time passes and as national administrations pay too little attention to what the end result could be. In a recent issue of The Springs Bulletin, a report shows just to what lengths this textile organization has gone in order to protect streams which receive its waste water.

According to J. D. Lesslie, director of sanitation and water supply for Springs, this organization has invested nearly \$2 million dollars for wastes treatment facilities during the past five years. Much of this total was spent at the Springs complex in Spring Hill Township. Some was invested in a modern disposal plant at the Springfield plant.

"Contrary to the belief many people have regarding the industry's lack of enthusiasm about pollution control, we are very strongly in favor of high standards of stream control," Mr. Lesslie said. "We believe that the vast majority of other industrial users of

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water feel the same way. We are happy that we can say that all of our waste, throughout our entire company, is treated and meets or exceeds the required standards."

Springs hasn't been doing as well financially as some other textile organizations during the past few years. Perhaps this firm's attention to such matters as employee benefits and community health and beauty has had a bit to do with it. Anyhow, this giant in the industry hasn't lost any friends because of its willingness to assume such a leading position in stream protection. Springs stands tall because of its cooperative spirit in an area where profits in humanity are more immediately apparent than profits in money.

#### SIXTY-FIVE CONGRESSMEN INTRODUCE BILL ON LINCOLN HOME

#### HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, March 19, 1969*

**Mr. FINDLEY.** Mr. Speaker, bills to establish the Lincoln home area in Springfield, Ill., as a national historic site under the U.S. Department of the Interior introduced today are sponsored by 65 Representatives, including the entire Illinois House delegation. The 65 Congressmen represent 23 States.

This legislation authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to acquire the Lincoln home property together with adjacent lands for the establishment and administration of the property as a national historic shrine. The legislation conforms with previous legislation under which national historic sites have been established for operation by the National Park Service.

The decision to introduce this bill was taken after consultation with Illinois Governor Oglivie; Mayor Nelson Howarth, of Springfield; and Mr. Marshall Luthringer, president of the Abraham Lincoln Association of Springfield, Ill. The proposal has the endorsement of both Illinois U.S. Senators—EVERETT M. DIRKSEN and CHARLES H. PERCY, who are introducing identical legislation in the Senate—as well as Governor Oglivie, Mayor Howarth, and Mr. Luthringer.

It is important that affirmative action be taken as soon as possible to safeguard the Lincoln home for future generations. It is truly an international shrine, being one of the 10 top centers of tourist interest in the Nation, and annually attracting many foreign visitors. Its environs are presently inadequate to serve the ever-growing number of visitors and in important respects below the standards that should be maintained for this great shrine.

The importance of complete control and highest protection standards over the immediate area surrounding the home was dramatized a few weeks ago when a house just three doors down from the Lincoln home was ravaged by fire.

The proposed bill, together with existing law, would make possible considerable flexibility as to the ownership of the property. The State of Illinois conceivably could retain title to the Lincoln resi-

dence property even though the custody and control of the property would be placed in the Department of the Interior.

Because of the wide bipartisan interest in the proposal, three separate resolutions were introduced in the House. One, sponsored by me, included the names of all 24 Illinois Representatives. The other two were sponsored by members of the House Committee on the Interior—Representative JOHN KYL, Republican, of Iowa, and Representative MORRIS K. UDALL, Democrat, of Arizona.

A national drive for private funds to advance the project is being organized.

A list of cosponsors follows:

Findley bill: Rep. Paul Findley, Republican, chief sponsor; Rep. William L. Dawson, Democrat; Rep. Leslie C. Arends, Republican; Rep. Dan Rostenkowski, Democrat; Rep. Robert McClory, Republican; Rep. Abner J. Mikva, Democrat; Rep. Donald Rumsfeld, Republican; Rep. William T. Murphy, Democrat; Rep. John N. Erlenborn, Republican; Rep. John C. Kluczynski, Democrat; Rep. Edward J. Derwinski, Republican; Rep. Daniel J. Ronan, Democrat; Rep. Charlotte T. Reid, Republican; Rep. Frank Annunzio, Democrat; Rep. John B. Anderson, Republican; Rep. Sidney R. Yates, Democrat; Rep. Harold R. Collier, Republican; Rep. Roman C. Pucinski, Democrat; Rep. Robert H. Michel, Republican; Rep. Melvin Price, Democrat; Rep. Thomas F. Railsback, Republican; Rep. Kenneth J. Gray, Democrat; Rep. William L. Springer, Republican; and Rep. George E. Shiple, Democrat.

Kyl bill: Rep. John Kyl, Republican, of Iowa, chief sponsor; Rep. Henry C. Schadeberg, Republican, of Wisconsin; Rep. Edwin D. Eshleman, Republican, of Pennsylvania; Rep. James Grover, Jr., Republican, of New York; Rep. Carleton J. King, Republican, of New York; Rep. Vernon Thomson, Republican, of Wisconsin; Rep. Charles E. Wiggins, Republican, of California; Rep. Thomas S. Kleppe, Republican, of North Dakota; Rep. Spark M. Matsunaga, Democrat, of Hawaii; Rep. Arnold Olsen, Democrat, of Montana; Rep. J. Glenn Beall, Jr., Republican, of Maryland; Rep. Lawrence G. Williams, Republican, of Pennsylvania; Rep. George E. Brown, Jr., Democrat, of California; Rep. Fred Schwengel, Republican, of Iowa; Rep. Benjamin B. Blackburn, Republican, of Georgia; Rep. Henry Helstoski, Democrat, of New Jersey; Rep. Alexander Pirnie, Republican, of New York; Rep. Jim Wright, Democrat, of Texas; Rep. James McClure, Republican, of Idaho; Rep. Charles W. Sandman, Jr., Republican, of New Jersey; Rep. James C. Corman, Democrat, of California; Rep. Howard W. Robison, Republican, of New York; Rep. Guy Vander Jagt, Republican, of Michigan; Rep. Dominick V. Daniels, Democrat, of New Jersey; Rep. William B. Widnall, Republican, of New Jersey.

Udall bill: Rep. Morris K. Udall, Democrat, of Arizona, chief sponsor; Rep. Robert J. Corbett, Republican, of Pennsylvania; Rep. Ken Hechler, Democrat, of West Virginia; Rep. John Wold, Republican, of Wyoming; Rep. Howard W. Pollock, Republican, of Alaska; Rep. Samuel N. Friedel, Democrat, of Maryland; Rep. Frank Horton, Republican, of New York; Rep. Jonathan Bingham, Democrat, of New York; Rep. Bill Chappell, Jr., Democrat, of Florida; Rep. Daniel Button, Republican, of New York; Rep. Robert O. Tiernan, Democrat, of Rhode Island; Rep. Laurence J. Burton, Republican, of Utah; Rep. George A. Goodling, Republican, of Pennsylvania; Rep. Ben Reifel, Republican, of South Dakota; Rep. John Brademas, Democrat, of Indiana; Rep. Ogden Reid, Republican, of New York.

The text of the bill follows:

H.R. 9251

A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to establish the Lincoln Home National Historic Site in the State of Illinois, and for other purposes

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That in order to preserve and interpret for the benefit of the people the home of Abraham Lincoln in Springfield, Illinois, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to acquire by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, or exchange, the property at the northeast corner of Eighth and Jackson Streets, in the State of Illinois, including improvements thereon, together with such adjacent lands and interests therein as the Secretary may deem necessary for the establishment and administration of the property as a national historic site. The Secretary is further authorized to acquire by any of the above means personal property used and to be used in connection with the national historic site.

Sec. 2. The property acquired pursuant to the first section of this Act shall be known as the Lincoln Home National Historic Site, and it shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior in accordance with the Act of August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535), as amended and supplemented (16 U.S.C. 1, 2-4) and the Act of August 21, 1935 (49 Stat. 666, 16 U.S.C. 461-467).

Sec. 3. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

#### PELLY POSITION ON THE SENTINEL ABM

**HON. THOMAS M. PELLY**

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, if I thought that in anyway it was necessary to proceed with an anti-ballistic-missile system for our Nation's defense, I would support the President's modified program.

However, testimony has been presented, most notably from Disarmament Control Agency Director Gerald Smith, that a halt in our ABM program will not jeopardize our defense. Therefore, it seems logical to me that we not proceed until after we talk with the Russians about disarmament.

As to the recent announcement by President Nixon of the modified ABM system, this would have been my second choice, and, accordingly, I intend to vote against it.

Mr. Speaker, I believe our second-strike capability is our most powerful deterrent, and this retaliatory capacity should be sufficient warning to the Chinese or the Russians that we have the ability and the will to destroy their society should they decide to launch an attack on the United States. I should add that this second-strike capacity which we now have was constructed at a cost of many billions of dollars.

As to the potential effectiveness of a defensive system, it should be remembered that it always can be neutralized if the enemy strengthens his offense. Russia, in other words, could overcome our defense system simply by flooding an attack zone with more warheads than the

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ABM's could handle, thus leading to a costly upward spiral of the arms race.

I do believe the President was wise in moving the defensive missiles away from cities and establishing the Sentinel System as a defense of our second-strike force.

But, again, Mr. Speaker, this to me was a second choice and conceivably a very costly one. I believe it would have been far better to continue research and development of the Sentinel System while seeking to achieve meaningful disarmament talks with the Russians.

#### PERSECUTION OF UKRAINIAN CHRISTIANS CONTINUES

**HON. JOHN R. RARICK**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, another Christian martyr has fallen—another at the hands of Russian Communists.

The Most Reverend Wasyl Welychowsky's great "crime" was an act against the state. He had gone into a parishioner's home to hear confession—a fearful crime, indeed, in the eyes of the atheistic Communists.

Since his arrest on January 27, 1969, Archbishop Welychowsky had been confined in a Soviet prison. There he died—remaining true to the Christian faith. He had been the Ukrainian Catholic Archbishop.

The archbishop had his Judas—Judas in the guise of a "French tourist," who actually turned out to be an agent of the MVD—the dreaded secret police. The agent was successful in "conning" the archbishop out of names and addresses of priests and parishioners in the Ukraine.

Subsequently, scores of Ukrainian Christians have been rounded up and herded off to prison camps. Nuns have had severe restrictions placed upon their religious practice.

Mr. Speaker, I insert an *Annuario Pontificio* release of March 16, 1969, and an article from *America*, a publication of American-Ukrainian Catholics, following my remarks:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Mar. 16, 1969]

#### PRIEST'S DEATH IN RED JAIL REPORTED

ROME, March 15.—Reports circulated in church circles today that a Ukrainian Roman Catholic bishop has died in a Soviet prison where he had been confined since Jan. 27.

He was identified as the Most Rev. Wasyl Welychowsky, about 65, who had been secretly consecrated a bishop several years ago and jailed for engaging in religious activities without government permission.

Informants said he died recently in a prison at Leopoli, in the Ukraine.

The Bishop was a member of the Redemptorist religious society. His work was said to be so secret that it did not appear in the *Annuario Pontificio*, the official Vatican yearbook listing all cardinals and bishops.

[From *America*, Feb. 27, 1969]

ARCHBISHOP WELYCHKOWSKY ARRESTED IN LVIV—NEW WAVE OF PERSECUTIONS SWEEP OVER UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

PHILADELPHIA.—According to reports received from reliable sources, the Soviet police

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(MVD) on January 27, 1969, arrested in Lviv Most Rev. Wasyl Welychowsky, Ukrainian Catholic Archbishop of Lviv. The Archbishop had gone to confess a woman in her home. Police agents followed him to the woman's home and arrested him. The Archbishop was then taken back to his apartment where a thorough search was made. When the Archbishop was being taken away, members of the sick woman's family heard one of the agents say: "You'll never see him again."

On the same day a host of other Ukrainian Catholic priests were arrested. Their names have not been disclosed as yet.

It is said that about a month and a half before the Archbishop's arrest he was visited by a man, who called himself a tourist. The man spoke French and said he was a priest. He told Archbishop Welychowsky that he had come with a tourist group and had instructions from the Vatican to find out about the activities of the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine. The man said that he would need to have the information recorded on paper.

It soon turned out that the man was no tourist, but an agent of the MVD. Following Archbishop Welychowsky's arrest he was shown the written notes which he had made for the "tourist."

Following the arrest of the Archbishop, searches and arrests were made in the home of other Ukrainian Catholic priests in Lviv and in other West Ukrainian cities.

In Stanislaviv, members of the Communist Party, on instructions from the MVD, gave out lists of instructions to Ukrainian nuns. The instructions warned the nuns not to attend Masses, receive priests in their homes, baptize children, or persuade people to go to confession.

Failure to comply with the instructions would bring three years imprisonment and the loss of all civil rights.

#### POCHAYEV SYNOD

Last fall a synod of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was held in Pochayev. The Orthodox priests, who are under the jurisdiction of the Moscow patriarchate, complained that the underground activities of the Ukrainian Catholic priests make it difficult for them to carry out their activities among the people. They made a joint appeal to Moscow to help them in liquidating the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine. The reply came immediately: "By 1970, the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth, the Ukrainian Catholic Church will be completely crushed."

In addition, an Orthodox bishop arrived in Western Ukraine from Kiev, and in a meeting with the Orthodox priests attacked them for not having liquidated the Catholic Church in the 30-year period of their activity. The bishop then handed out small tokens of encouragement to the Orthodox priests: watches, clothing, and money.

#### STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE JOEL T. BROTHILL OF VIRGINIA IN SUPPORT OF HIS BILL TO AUTHORIZE AN INVESTIGATION AND REGULATION OF THE USE OF PLASTIC BAGS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

**HON. JOEL T. BROTHILL**

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. BROTHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill to authorize the District of Columbia Council to investigate and regulate the

use of plastic bags by drycleaning and laundry establishments in the District of Columbia.

Recently Col. Gaylord B. Kidwell, chairman of the Arlington Safety Council Committee on Home Safety, in Arlington, Va., conducted a survey of the 50 States and the District of Columbia and determined that at least 166 children across the Nation suffocated in plastic death traps in the years 1965, 1966, and 1967. During the same 36 months, 56 adult deaths due to plastic bag suffocations were reported, mostly suicides. The plastic bags, the survey concluded, came principally from drycleaning and laundry establishments and were used to cover freshly drycleaned or laundered clothes.

Mr. Speaker, the present efforts of the drycleaning industry to print warning labels on plastic bags has not been enough. As the survey found, "babies can not read." Efforts to educate the public have also been disappointing. It is apparent that engineering to redesign present bags in use by the drycleaning industry is required. Obviously, some degree of regulation of the industry is also required.

My bill will authorize the jurisdiction under the direct control of the Congress, the District of Columbia, to investigate this critical safety problem and to regulate the use of plastic bags by drycleaning and laundry establishments. The District of Columbia needs this authority and it is our duty to assist them to stop this needless loss of life to our youngsters. I urge adoption of this bill.

#### CIGARETTE ADVERTISING BAN

#### Hon. G. V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, March 19, 1969*

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I recently received a thought-stimulating letter from a constituent on mine concerning the Federal Communications Commission's proposed ban on televised advertising of cigarettes. I would like to share his comments with my colleagues:

MEDICAL ARTS CLINIC,

Meridian, Miss., February 11, 1969.  
FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIRS: I am writing in regard to your recent proposal to ban cigarette advertising on television and radio broadcasts. I would like it clearly understood that I do not smoke cigarettes nor have I ever smoked. I must, however, bitterly oppose such an action as the one you have taken, not because I completely disagree with some of your claims, but because of your willingness to pick out one specific industry which has some known health hazards and yet completely allow to go untouched the alcohol traffic which is such a much more menacing problem, not only to personal health, but to society in general.

What about cirrhosis, alcoholism, and 70% of the traffic fatalities on our highways related to drinking? At least cigarette smoking is a health hazard only to a person who is willing to consume this product at his own risk. In the case of the problem of alcohol, the general public is at the mercy of the

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

example set by even the occasional beer drinker.

I will not linger at length on this subject, but I must summarize by saying that it is a ridiculous situation to try to ban a product such as cigarettes and at the same time allow a product such as alcoholic beverages to go completely unscathed, considering the relative infrequency of complications of tobacco smoking compared to the direct and indirect effects of alcoholic beverages.

In closing, I would like to add that those persons who smoke as a nervous habit will probably soon begin to over-eat as soon as they have discontinued the smoking habit. Arteriosclerotic heart disease will catch the "rebounders". Thank you very much for your attention.

Sincerely,

JOHN D. McEACHIN, M.D.

#### OFFICIALLY OPPOSE OUTSIDE HELP

#### HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, March 19, 1969*

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, in a time when this body daily receives petitions for ever-increasing sums of money to be used in urban renewal in the cities, it is with pardonable pride that I call your attention to a group in my hometown of Chattanooga who have done a tremendous improvement job while refusing any public funds whatsoever.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD a story from the Chattanooga News-Free Press, which gives the details of the job done by the St. Elmo Improvement League in the finest American tradition:

#### OFFICIALLY OPPOSE OUTSIDE HELP

(By J. B. Collins)

Members of the St. Elmo Improvement League Monday night renewed "for the record" its opposition to "any Community Action Programs" for their neighborhood, renewing their determination to make their own improvements "without outside help."

League president Bernard Wassman asked some 60 persons present for the meeting at the St. Elmo Methodist Church whether this "do it ourselves" attitude was not still the consensus.

While no vote was taken, there were several audible responses of "yes" from the audience. There was no opposition indicated.

The meeting had a twofold purpose: To discuss progress in the community's program of improving all residential structures with private funds (no federal money) and to hear a report by Charles Kendricks, principal of the Lookout Junior High School, which has undergone an improvement program of its own.

Mr. Wassman praised residents and property owners in the community for their response to a program spearheaded by the Chattanooga Better Housing Commission to upgrade all residential structures found to be substandard in St. Elmo, one of the city's oldest neighborhoods.

#### NO RESTRICTIONS

A member asked Mr. Wassman, who presided, whether anything could be done about discouraging "representatives of the Community Action Program" from making surveys within the neighborhood.

Mr. Wassman said he felt that the community could impose no restrictions on these activities "if they want to come in here."

Someone else observed that "they" get \$50 a week for making the survey and the speaker

objected to a policy (federal) of "paying for this kind of thing."

Another comment from the audience indicated that "they might as well stay away ... we don't want what they are offering."

Mr. Wassman said that the improvement program is now about 90 per cent complete and he expects the other 10 per cent to be completed "soon." A survey showed that there are some 942 dwelling units comprising 1,620 units in the neighborhood.

Mr. Kendricks commended the residents for their enterprise and noted that some of their drive for self-improvement had been carried out in the Lookout Junior High School.

He said that, contrary to rumors, the school is not going to close. He said enrollment, which had dropped from "more than 600" to about 100, had increased again to 225.

One of the school's problems, he said, is a "mobility of population." This meant, he said, that some of the children "come and go" during a term, some staying only a week. He said the school is surveying its needs and making an effort to locate agencies offering assistance in these areas.

Among some of the improvements the school has been able to make, according to its principal are: Increase of 1,000 books in its library, better campus lighting (with help from Commissioner Steve Conrad), new lockers in gymnasium and improved physical education facilities including hot water for after-practice showers; additional science equipment, reintroduction of several courses, including typing for eighth graders and shop and home economics alternately among boys and girls, addition of guidance, Spanish and art teachers.

"I believe we are on the way back," the principal said. "We are committed to this ... if we were not, we shouldn't be there."

Mr. Kendricks said he believes strongly that progress in the community and its schools are closely linked.

#### PROBLEM OF CONTROLLING CIGARETTE LABELING AND ADVERTISING

#### HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, March 19, 1969*

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I have long been concerned about the health hazards resulting from cigarette smoking, and have consistently supported efforts to require more stringent language on cigarette packages to warn of the health dangers. In this Congress, I am again a cosponsor of this essential legislation—H.R. 5212—and I strongly believe congressional action is needed. The Federal Communications Commission, as we know, has moved on its own to ban cigarette advertising on radio and television after June 30, and this has raised another problem in our efforts to properly protect the public, and particularly young people, in this area. In this connection, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial from the February 13, 1969, issue of one of New Jersey's leading newspapers, the Evening News of Newark, N.J. The editorial follows:

#### FCC'S CENSORSHIP

Among bureaucrats the craze for running practically everything has found its latest expression in the Federal Communications Commission's intention, Congress permitting,

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

to ban cigarette advertising on television and radio.

Cigarettes undoubtedly are injurious to the health. The medical profession generally believes smoking is a factor in cancer, heart and other ills. Statistical support for this position is marshaled regularly, and every cigarette package carries its own warning. Time is provided on the air for admonitions about the perils of cigarettes, and newspapers duly keep the public apprised of developments.

Therefore it may be reasonably assumed that virtually everyone is on notice that cigarettes have no redeeming qualities. That being so, Congress has seen no need for another noble experiment, one to a century being enough. Cigarettes not having been outlawed, there is no legal basis for FCC to impose its own brand of censorship.

Excessive consumption of coffee may be harmful to some persons; ditto beer and wine. Nevertheless, no bureaucracy has attempted to bar this type of advertising from the air. Accordingly, what the FCC offers is another example of what President Eisenhower once decried as "Washington poking its long nose where it has no right to be."

**LAW SCHOOL BUILDING IS NAMED FOR DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.**

**HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, March 19, 1969*

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, as we approach the anniversary of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., one is reminded of the unique contributions of his life and of his sensitive understanding of the times in which he lived.

The University of California at Davis is in my congressional district and it is with a deep sense of pride and satisfaction that I point out to my colleagues that the new law school building on the UCD campus has been named after Dr. King.

King Hall will be dedicated on April 12 by the distinguished dean of the law school, Dr. Edward L. Barrett.

It is my opinion that the students and faculty of the University of California at Davis demonstrated their awareness of Dr. King's love of the law and his commitment to it when they requested that the building in which they will work and study be named for this great man whom we so tragically lost.

An article from the California Aggie, the UCD student newspaper, follows:

The large new law school building on the University of California campus at Davis has been named in honor of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

UC President Charles J. Hitch and Davis Chancellor Emil M. Mrak made the announcement following approval by the Regents.

Martin Luther King, Jr. Hall houses the entire three-year-old law school, including classrooms, faculty offices, a moot court and a law library with space for 100,000 volumes. Students and faculty had asked that the building be named for the civil rights leader, who was assassinated last year. The request followed up on a proposal made last summer by the Martin Luther King coalition, a

student movement representing civil rights and political action groups at Davis.

The naming of King Hall marks the first instance in which a Davis campus building has been named after a major world figure. It will be dedicated April 12, with the dean of the school, Edward L. Barrett, Jr. presiding.

In recommending Regental approval, President Hitch said, "Many of Martin Luther King's activities dramatize the need for strengthening civil rights legislation which was subsequently accomplished.

"Periods of great transition, such as the one through which our white-black relations are now passing, are frequently accompanied by public strife and violence. No one understood this better than Martin Luther King or took more foresighted means to blunt the violence and contain the struggle within our legal system. His tremendous influence for achieving legal and peaceful solutions in the early stages of a period of great potential violence was perceptively recognized in the award to him of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964. Clearly he foresaw the great potential danger which violence and hatred during this period posed for the country and its legal system and, therefore, for his people.

"It may be said, then, that in a period of very dangerous transition, Martin Luther King was a major factor in forcing the law to recognize and to accommodate rationally to the transition and, hence, in preserving respect for the essential justice and practicality of law. It therefore seems singularly appropriate that a building for the teaching of the law should be named 'Martin Luther King, Jr. Hall'."

The \$1.9 million, two-story, concrete and brick, u-shaped structure designed by Gardner A. Dailey, is located on Putah Creek, in the southwest section of the main campus area. It includes space for 500 students and 25 faculty members, the ultimate size of the law school.

The current enrollment of 250 students, along with 12 law school faculty members, moved into the building last fall from temporary structures located nearby. The first class will graduate in June.

**A TRIBUTE TO MAINE'S WOMEN**

**HON. PETER N. KYROS**

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, March 19, 1969*

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a joint resolution calling for a constitutional amendment to provide for equal rights for men and women. I am especially proud to introduce this legislation upon the date that Maine's House of Representatives 50 years ago passed a bill giving Maine's women the right to vote in presidential elections. Later in 1919, Maine was the 19th State to ratify the 19th amendment, giving all otherwise qualified women the right to vote in all elections.

I would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate Maine's League of Women Voters, which today begins its 50th anniversary observances. Maine's League of Women Voters has at least one remaining charter member, Mrs. Philip Chapman, whom I would like to commend for her early interest in this important organization. Over the 50 years which have ensued since passage

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of the woman's suffrage amendment, the League of Women Voters in Maine and throughout the Nation has, together with many other women's organizations, given evidence beyond all doubt of the justification for the equal treatment of women at the polls. The 1964 Civil Rights Act provided women with equal treatment in many, although not all, areas of employment. I can think of no better way to honor the women of Maine and the women of the United States than to enact a constitutional guarantee of equal rights in all matters. I urge, therefore, prompt enactment of legislation such as I am introducing today, not as a favor to women, but in recognition of rights which have already been denied too long.

**FAVORITE TEACHER**

**HON. TOM BEVILL**

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, March 19, 1969*

Mr. BEVILL. Mr. Speaker, for the 20th time, the Birmingham Post-Herald has announced a new favorite teacher. This is done to give thanks and pay tribute to our teachers.

Far too often we tend to take our teachers for granted. As the Post-Herald stated, in announcing its selection:

In a time when the schools and the classroom teachers are being called upon to perform increasingly heavy tasks it is especially appropriate to salute an instructor for the primary grades who must lay the basis for any meaningful education which is to follow.

This could also be said for every teacher in our Nation. At this time, Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I place in the Record an editorial from the Post-Herald which pays tribute to our teachers:

**NEW FAVORITE**

For the 20th time in as many years The Birmingham Post-Herald has announced a new Favorite Teacher.

This year the honors go to Miss Sarah Ann White who has taught second grade at Robinson School in the Birmingham system for 23 years. Miss White, incidentally, is the first teacher from Jefferson to receive the statewide honor since 1958.

In a time when the schools and the classroom teachers are being called upon to perform increasingly heavy tasks it is especially appropriate to salute an instructor from the primary grades who must lay the basis for any meaningful education which is to follow.

The independent board of judges which makes the annual selection of the Favorite always comes up with a truly outstanding teacher. They have done it again this year.

If we are ever to have the better world and the better society for which we all hope, it will be the Sarah Ann Whites upon whom we shall most depend.

A salute to Sarah Ann White from us is superfluous: the devotion of the youngsters now in her charge and the successes of those she has set upon the proper way are unquestionably the rewards which mean most to the Favorite Teacher.

But we do give her thanks, complete and from the heart. We also express our gratitude in alphabetical order, to Mrs. Connie Barnes of Talladega, to P. L. Hunt of Mill-

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port, to Miss Peggy Murrah of Thorsby and to Mrs. Mabel Phillips of Birmingham, this year's runners-up. They have demonstrated a devotion to their profession and to their fellow man which we all would do well to copy.

PHILIP J. WEAVER

HON. RICHARDSON PREYER  
OF NORTH CAROLINA  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. PREYER of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, North Carolina lost one of its greatest citizens in the sudden death of Philip J. Weaver, superintendent of the Greensboro, N.C., public schools, this past weekend. In the opinion of many expert schoolmen, Phil Weaver was the finest superintendent of schools in the United States. There is no way to calculate his value to the community; he enriched the lives of all those whom he touched. His friends, his family, and the children of Greensboro will miss this great and modest man.

I inclose an editorial from the Greensboro Daily News of March 18, 1969, which expresses our community's appreciation to Philip J. Weaver:

PHILIP J. WEAVER

When death-in-war comes to able and courageous men it has a special poignancy. Something of the same sense of loss in gallantry struck Greensboro over the weekend in the death of Philip J. Weaver.

Here was a 55-year-old educator at the peak of his competency cut down in mid-flight. One must, in all candor, conclude that the perplexing and frustrating school desegregation controversy played a major part in wearing him out. For the turmoil of clashing principles can be especially taxing on a man of integrity.

Phil Weaver came of a line of distinguished public men devoted above all to their professions. His uncle, Chief Justice Walter P. Stacy, served as one of North Carolina's youngest and most able jurists. Mr. Weaver's father was a college president and one of his brothers carries on that tradition today.

Phil Weaver inculcated qualities of the superior schoolmaster. Almost destined from the beginning to devote his life to education, he rapidly mastered his profession. Nature endowed him with mental and physical attributes of leadership. Handsome in appearance, intelligent, temperamentally reserved, courageous, he quickly made his way to the top of North Carolina's public school system.

Personal modesty was Phil Weaver's becoming trait. Even those who knew him best rarely heard him speak of himself or his own accomplishments, although they were legion. Along with this quality he combined a jovial disposition which, at least on the exterior, dismissed the storm of criticism and complaints normally assailing every school administrator. One close associate said yesterday that during his work with Mr. Weaver over the last 18 years, he had never once seen him lose his temper or storm about in anger.

Another Weaver trait, and one which made him effective in his taxing job, was his candor. Always open with his school board, he was never unwilling to accept an alternative course with equity and good humor. But his fairness, combined with intelligence, seldom made that necessary. As a leader of men he had those essential qualities of command which built a devoted following.

As an administrator Phil Weaver had few peers. At the head of a complex organization comprising hundreds of teachers and thou-

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

sands of students, he managed his constituency with coolness and efficiency. Under him he built a splendid staff. Greensboro's schools will continue to operate well because their superintendent gave so much of himself to that mission.

Phil Weaver's associates know that he could have long since departed Greensboro for other fields—attractive offers constantly came his way. But for personal reasons in his family life he chose to remain.

The community has been blessed because he lingered here, and because he passed this way.

RESOLUTIONS EXPRESSING THE GRATITUDE OF THE SAN BERNARDINO COUNTY BOARD OF SUPERVISORS

HON. JERRY L. PETTIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. PETTIS. Mr. Speaker, during the February flood in California, many communities in my district were devastated by water, mud slides, and highway wash-outs. At the same time, roads in the mountain communities of the district were blocked by record snowfall. The disaster, as severe as it was, would have been even worse had it not been for the timely and effective assistance rendered by military units from two bases in the district. The following resolutions by the San Bernardino County Board of Supervisors outlines the aid given by the Army and Marine units and expresses the gratitude of the people of the county:

A RESOLUTION FROM THE BOARD OF SUPERVISORS, COUNTY OF SAN BERNARDINO

Whereas, the Provisional Battalion of the U.S. Marine Corps at Twentynine Palms was quick to answer the call for help during the disastrous snow-piling situation in San Bernardino mountain communities of Big Bear, Lake Arrowhead, Crestline, Running Springs and Mt. Baldy and the flooding conditions in the communities of Loma Linda and Yucaipa during the week of February 23, 1969; and

Whereas, the 425 men and officers of the U.S. Marine Corps wholeheartedly accepted the task of providing access to these devastated communities and worked rapidly and conscientiously to clear debris of trees, rocks, mud and vehicles from road and schools, remove heavy snow-loads from roofs of public buildings, saving lives and aiding the sick and by their very presence reassured the residents that their safety was of prime concern to everyone; and

Whereas, without the assistance of the U.S. Marine Corps, these communities would have been snowbound and isolated for a much longer period of time, with the inevitable danger to health, welfare and morale of the residents; now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Board of Supervisors of the County of San Bernardino, State of California, that it hereby expresses its deep gratitude and heartfelt thanks to the U.S. Marine Corps of Twentynine Palms for their invaluable help and *esprit de corps* in aiding their fellow man in time of stress and trouble and further, the members of the Board commend the officers of the Marine Corps for their wise planning which resulted in immediate aid to these communities; be it further

Resolved that this resolution be noted in the minutes of this Board and a copy forwarded to the Commanding Officer of the

Marine Corps at Twentynine Palms, California.

RUBEN S. AYALA,  
Chairman, Board of Supervisors.

Attest:

W. DENNIS WARDLE,  
County Clerk and  
ex-officio clerk of said Board.  
By MARTIN SPONSLER,  
Deputy.

A RESOLUTION FROM THE BOARD OF SUPERVISORS, COUNTY OF SAN BERNARDINO

Whereas, the U.S. Army 78th Engineer Construction Company at Fort Irwin was quick to answer the call for help during the disastrous flood situation in the Lytle Creek area during the week of February 23, 1969; and

Whereas, the 150 men and officers of the U.S. Army wholeheartedly accepted the challenge of providing access to this community which was isolated for almost four weeks due to impassable roads in hazardous mountain areas to permit bringing in food, water, medical aid, clothing and the necessities of life; and

Whereas, this task was estimated to require five days to complete but with diligence, perseverance and excellent planning, the U.S. Army was able to complete this important assignment in one and a half days, thereby not only alleviating danger to the community but, equally as important, reassuring the residents that their safety and welfare was of prime concern to everyone; and

Whereas, without the assistance of the U.S. Army this community would have been isolated for many more months with inevitable danger to the health, welfare and morale of the residents; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Board of Supervisors of the County of San Bernardino, State of California, that it hereby expresses its deep gratitude and heartfelt thanks to the U.S. Army 78th Engineer Construction Company for their invaluable help and *esprit de corps* in aiding their fellow man in time of stress and trouble and further, the members of this Board commend the officers of this Company for their wise planning which resulted in immediate aid for this area. Be it further

Resolved that this resolution be noted in the minutes of this Board and a copy forwarded to the Commanding Officer of the 78th Engineer Construction Company U.S. Army Unit at Fort Irwin, California.

Dated: March 3, 1969.

RUBEN S. AYALA,  
Chairman, Board of Supervisors.

Attest:

V. DENNIS WARDLE,  
County Clerk and ex-officio Clerk  
of said Board.  
By MARTIN SPONSLER,  
Deputy.

THE 45TH ANNIVERSARY OF PIONEER CHAPTER, ORDER OF DEMOLAY, LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to honor Pioneer chapter, Order of DeMolay, of Los Angeles, Calif., one of the oldest chapters of this honorable organization, on the celebration of its 45th anniversary on March 18, 1969. I would like to take a few moments to call attention to an order personifying those qualities so many of us feel are needed by youths today.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

The DeMolay movement was founded in 1919 by the late Frank S. Land of Kansas City, Mo., with a group of nine high school boys. It has grown now to over 165,000 members in 2,500 chapters in 12 countries around the world. Today, nearly 3 million men have passed through this group and many are leaders in business, government service, the military, entertainment, and athletics. Youths from 14 to 21 are imbued with spiritual ideals and given wholesome occupations in a DeMolay chapter which range from community service projects to social affairs and athletics. In this environment, among worthwhile associates, a young man forms lasting friendships and learns responsibilities and self-reliance. Each DeMolay chapter is sponsored by a group of Masons, who provide advisers and facilities for DeMolay activities.

Two degrees are offered each DeMolay member: the initiatory degree, which is one of great solemnity and dignity in which a young man dedicates himself to unfaltering love of God, home, and country; and the DeMolay degree depicting a great lesson in fidelity.

Mr. Speaker, I ask Congress to join me in honoring all DeMolay and, in particular, the Pioneer chapter and its new master councilor, Michael Glaser.

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**STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN  
ALLARD LOWENSTEIN**


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**HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend to my colleagues a statement prepared by Congressman ALLARD LOWENSTEIN. The statement follows:

**STATEMENT OF ALLARD K. LOWENSTEIN PREPARED FOR EXHIBITION TITLED: "1776: THE CHALLENGE TO 1969," IN THE TIME-LIFE EXHIBITION CENTER IN NEW YORK CITY FROM JANUARY 18 TO MARCH 2, 1969**

In 1963 when President Kennedy spoke of the work of the Founding Fathers he said: "Winning independence was only half the job. The harder task was to establish a society which would give the rights of man full protection and full scope, which would provide for man's freedom within a framework of order and progress."

There has been some progress toward completing this other "half of the job" since that comment of President Kennedy's. But the sad fact is that for millions of our people the United States seems farther from this goal now than it was then.

Hunger blights, in ghettos, in hollows, on reservations. Pollution and decay spread, in urban centers and through the countryside.

Taxes climb, and confidence in the fairness of their collection and the wisdom of their expenditure erodes.

War continues, and some brave men die while others defy their country or leave it.

Hates and fears run riot, and even men of good will flail about, substituting scapegoats for solutions.

The democratic process creaks, in Presidential elections, in Congress, in the opening of opportunity equally to all Americans.

The greatest of our leaders are killed as their greatness touches the land, so the very

fact of their greatness comes to stand as an indictment of the land.

So now we face a question as critical to our future as any in our history: the question of whether the promises of the Constitution, the rhetoric of our heritage, can finally be squared with the realities of American life for all our people. If the gap remains between promises and performance, between rhetoric and reality, these promises and this rhetoric, for so long the pride and hope of the Republic, must become tools for its undoing. Not foreign invaders, not communists, not anarchists or yippies, but rather our own national patience with injustice, our material success, would then be responsible for the failure of this greatest experiment in self-government.

Knowing this, it seems unthinkable that any obstacle could further deter us, any task further divert us, from finishing the second "half of the job".

When a nation's most cherished principles and most urgent needs unite to dictate goals, and the direction to move to realize those goals, that nation delays response at her own peril. We know America's goals, we know what direction to move, we know the priorities of effort and resources necessary if we are to move effectively.

We know, too, that time is running out if we are ever to forge a society with liberty and justice for all.

The Constitution of this country—so flexible where change meant survival, so unyielding in its insistence on a society which in President Kennedy's phrase: "would give the rights of man full protection and full scope"—this Constitution provides the best possible framework for forging such a society.

More than that no Constitution can do. The rest we do, or it is not done. No people have ever had incentive to do what they ought to do than we have now.

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**THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL ORDER OF  
DEMOLAY**


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**HON. MARK ANDREWS**

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, the International Order of DeMolay is this year celebrating its 50th anniversary, and this week has been set aside as DeMolay Week. Having been a member of this fine organization, I am well aware of the tremendous contribution it has made in developing the fine attributes of our young people. From a modest beginning, DeMolay has grown to a membership of 166,000 in over 2,500 chapters throughout the world.

Today, perhaps more than at any time in our history, we are concerned about our young people—their attitudes, their ambitions, and their goals in life. Far too frequently, I think, the emphasis has been upon the dissidents, the agnostics, the troublemakers, and those who would cast aside all the values and standards which have been established through the years.

This, Mr. Speaker, is why I believe it is so important that we pay proper tribute to an organization of fine young people which emphasizes reverence of God, love of parents, patriotism, and respect for law and order, fidelity, comradeship, courtesy, and cleanliness.

**JOHN H. SNIDER RETIRES AFTER  
28 YEARS OF SERVICE**

**HON. JAMES C. CORMAN**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, out in my district a banquet will take place this Friday, March 21, to honor a man whose life work, in a sense, is a microcosm of the total historical span of organized labor. This man is John H. Snider, who is retiring after 28 years of service to organized labor, the Government, and the community.

John Snider's working life began for him at the age of 10 when he took a job in a food canning plant, long before the conscience of this Nation was stirred sufficiently to guard against exploitation of child labor. His first union affiliation came at the age of 18 when he became a member of the A.F. of L. Hod Carrier's Union.

Perhaps spurred by his marred childhood, this early affiliation with the cause of labor was to shape the course of his entire professional life. In 1923, he was attracted to the young aircraft industry. He was a mechanic in these early years, but very shortly, after migrating west in 1930 to Lockheed, his deep interest in labor causes led to his being chosen shop steward for the then-fledgling International Association of Machinists. In rapid succession, and in the short span of the years from 1943 to 1947, he became the first president of the newly organized local lodge G, he was elected district trustee a year later, the negotiating committee member the following year, and finally district organizer.

In 1949 he began his long and successful affiliation with IAM, local 727, as president, but also with his ever-increasing capacity to do the work of three men, as grand lodge representative. These representatives work with the international vice presidents in forwarding the objectives of labor on a regional and international basis. His work carried him all over the southwest territory, which included Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, California, and Hawaii.

This is a thumbnail sketch of a remarkable man and his remarkable energies, the signposts along the way being the various and ever-increasing posts of responsibility that gravitated to him as a magnet attracts ionized particles. Although rapidly rising through the structured layers, his concern for his fellow workers and his community enabled him, somehow, to find the additional energy for 12 years to spend his "spare" time at Lockheed, administering the Buck-of-the-Month Club. Each member in this club contributed a buck a month to a fund which was used to assist fellow employees who were having financial problems or to make contributions to such organizations as the Red Cross and other charitable organizations.

In his working career, labor developed from its first tentative objectives of simply seeking fair play and reasonably safe working conditions, to a force which now powerfully protects the interests of every

working man and woman. Powerful and humanitarian. Most of the great major social concepts, starting with protecting children from unconscionable labor exploitation, to assuring to retired workers the right to live out their lives in dignity and free from want, have been developed in John Snider's time. He was one of the forces that helped forge these developments we now list as proof that ours is a humanitarian nation. The concept that a working contract is also a social contract has its source in the pioneer efforts of men like John H. Snider.

His friends, who will gather in California on Friday to honor this man's accomplishments, do so knowing that although nominally he is retiring, actually his great fund of experience, knowledge, and humanity will still be there to draw on when the need arises and the cause is great.

**WARNING ON INCREASING RUSSIAN FLEET BY MARITIME EDITOR HELEN DELICH BENTLEY**

**HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ**

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, in every profession, a chosen few tower above their colleagues. Mrs. Helen Delich Bentley, maritime editor of the Baltimore Sun, is such a person. In addition to demonstrating an outstanding expertise on the highly complex and diversified maritime industry, her writings are characterized by an uninhibited patriotism that is especially gratifying at a time when patriotism is ridiculed and considered passé.

I think it is important to generate more public concern over the very real and growing threat of Soviet seapower; and I think it is equally important for leading Americans to express their true feelings about their flag and their country. Mrs. Bentley handled both of these subjects exceptionally well in a recent speech delivered before the Rudder Club in New York and I submit her remarks for inclusion in the Extensions of Remarks of the RECORD as must reading for every Member of Congress:

**REMARKS BY HELEN DELICH BENTLEY, MARITIME EDITOR, THE BALTIMORE (Md.) SUN, BEFORE RUDDER CLUB OF NEW YORK, INTERNATIONAL STEAMSHIP PRESIDENTS NIGHT, MARCH 12, 1969**

This is international steamship presidents night—and certainly there is nothing more international than shipping—and there is no group of people who are more competitive and more reminiscent of the pirates of old on the high seas than you people here tonight.

I indeed feel international myself. As a native American born of Yugoslav parents—who had immigrated through the great port of Baltimore and ended up in the high mountains of Nevada deep in mining country because the turbulent trip over the old immigrant ship made them want to get as far away from water as they could.

Last year after a trip to study shipping in Norway, one, no less than Nicholas Johnson, the former controversial maritime administrator, dropped a note, reading:

**EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS**

"My spies tell me you have almost been accorded honorary Norwegian citizenship."

It was a very educational trip for as you know, the Norwegians today have the largest legitimate merchant fleet, second only to Liberia, with Norway's consisting of 1,352 ships totalling 30,209,000 tons which represents 7.1 per cent of the world's total number of ships and 11.6 per cent of the world's total deadweight tonnage.

The Norwegians have done such a good job with their merchant marine that one of my colleagues on the trip at the end of the briefings on shipping last year quipped, "The easy solution to all of the problems of the American Merchant Marine is to sink all of the old ships and then turn the operation of what's left over to the Norwegians. Let them build it up."

Unfortunately we would find out that there actually wouldn't be much to turn over to the Norwegians or anybody else. There just isn't that much left in the American Merchant Marine that anybody would have, even as an outright gift, because the worn out old rustbuckets composing two-thirds of the American-flag fleet are just too expensive to keep patched up—most of them are at the point now of where the patchups are almost impossible at any price.

Even though most of you people here tonight earn your livelihood by dealing with foreign-flag ships, you are all American citizens or at least making your homes in the United States. Therefore, the condition of the American-flag fleet must be of some concern to you as it must be to everybody living in the United States and to all the citizens of the free world. If the United States of America is supposed to be the keeper of the free world—and this is an honor bestowed upon this great country by the withdrawal of the British from points around the world, and the French before that—the United States must have seapower of her own. She cannot be the world power holding the wall against the Communist line without riding high on the ocean waves. No nation can be a world power without seapower. No nation in that position can afford to depend on another's fleet.

The Russians learned this lesson well. They learned it at the time of the Cuban crisis—in 1962, the Soviets had an immensely powerful ground army and a large rocket force, but they were still militarily handicapped because they lacked strategic mobility. The geographical position of the Soviet Union makes difficult the effective application of military forces. This became so apparent during the Cuban crisis when the lack of a strong surface fleet seriously hindered the U.S.S.R. The Soviets realized that they were incapable of bringing their power fully to bear in remote regions because they lacked ships.

They set out to do something about it. They began building ships, placing orders all over the world.

Eight per cent of the Russian fleet of 11 million tons has been added in the past decade, at the rate of one million tons per year. The Russian fleet since the Cuban missile crisis has moved from 11th to sixth position in the world, right behind that of the United States, and soon will overtake it.

In fact, when comparing the two, the United States has 976 privately-owned merchant ships and about 240 in the reserve fleet which would be usable for the next handful of years, representing about 7 per cent of the world's number of ships. The Russians now have more than 1400 ships representing 7.6 per cent of the ships.

However, Victor Bakayev, Russ minister of mercantile, pointed out that by 1975, the Russian fleet will consist of about 17 to 18 million tons, continuing the 1 million tons per year addition, and by 1980, it will be up to 23 million tons—at the same rate.

Those figures are rather shocking when one realizes that the leading nation in the free

world does not have any plans to replace two-thirds of a very sad limping fleet.

Just as they proceed very matter-of-factly in many avenues, the Russians pull no punches as to why they are building up their merchant fleet as they are. In 1968, more than two billion tons of cargo was moved in international trade by 46,000 vessels with a total registered tonnage of more than 190 million tons.

Mr. Bakayev stated that they have taken into consideration the growth of population and the development of world industrial and agricultural production, along with the expansion of trade among the countries of the world, and have reached the conclusion that the scope of international shipping by water will reach 3 billion to 3 billion 500 million tons by 1980.

So when the foreign tonnage movements reach that mark, the Russians intend to have enough ships on hand to more than carry their share of that cargo.

One of the great concerns of the free world today is the hold which the Soviet Union has gained in the Mediterranean. That hold has been developed through its expansion of its seapower—both naval and merchant. This is the first time that all segments of the free world have become worried over the developments in this very important international body of water. They should be worried because unlike the Cuban missile crisis, the Russians today have the mobility.

Tied in with that are recent happenings in Peru. Not since Czarist days has Russia bothered to foster relations with far-away Peru, or has Peru cared about Russia. Now the two are becoming the best of friends. Three weeks ago they agreed to exchange Ambassadors. A two-year trade agreement was signed although the precise products and terms are so far uncertain.

The Russians are able to sign such agreements with the developing nations now because they have the shipping tonnage on which the cargoes can be transported. You may have noticed that the vast numbers of ships the Russians have seems somewhat out of proportion today with the smaller tonnage when one realizes that most of the bulk ships of today begin at 100,000 tons in size. But the Russians are still building 25,000 deadweight ton tankers. Why? Because these small vessels can navigate safely into the shallow draft harbors of underdeveloped countries. Then Russia can transport her own oil and other commodities to these nations, making them more dependent upon her. They can deliver their own arms if arms are to be delivered. They can carry away such cargoes as bananas, coffee, cocoa, and sugar which they are pledged to buy since these are the backbones of Latin American nations.

In four years, Russia has increased her trade with Latin America from \$157 million to \$260 million and has been opening embassies in Colombia and Chile as well as Peru. Six South American countries now recognize Russia diplomatically.

Why are the Russians still building passenger ships when others are giving up on them except in the cruise trade? The Soviet Union is doing this because it can transport the young people from these developing nations easily and cheaply to the U.S.S.R. to attend the Communist schools. At the same time, they can transport Russian troops, teachers, and experts to these countries to help in their development.

Unfortunately for the free world, too many persons in the upper echelon of the Government of the United States and in European countries pooh-poohed those who raised their eyebrows over the expansion and activities of the Soviet Union on the high seas. They discounted every reference that the Russians had ulterior motives.

Many Europeans changed their minds after last summer when the Soviet Union decided it wanted return cargoes for its ships trans-

porting weapons of war to North Vietnam. Those return cargoes should come from Australia which was practically on the trade route since the Suez Canal was closed. They were really very polite about it—seeking membership in the conference under the terms that the Soviet ships should have 36 of the existing 72 sailings to Western Europe. The conference naturally turned them down and a rate war ensued.

There is a compromise of sorts now in the mill, but you can bet that the Norwegians and British who operated almost exclusively on that trade route over the decades are now observing the Russians with a jaundiced eye—and constantly afraid of what is forthcoming next.

About four months later, the Soviet Union announced it was ready to start a major third-flag operation to the North American continent—from Japan to Vancouver, Canada. You can bet that the Japanese haven't been too happy about that—and apparently many more Soviet third-flag routes based out of Japan to Far East and Middle East points are in the making.

This is all taking place when the Russian tonnage stands at only 11 million with some 1,300 ships. Think what it is going to do when its tonnage is double that in the next decade—the big question is what formidable force is going to be available to protect the entire free world's interest against that Communist line—it must be Uncle Sam.

Maybe someone else in our Government is going to say that any concern over the Russian activities on the high seas is unwarranted. Fortunately there are those who believe otherwise in such important places as the Georgetown Center for Strategic Studies, the American Security Council, and today, thank goodness, in the White House.

President Nixon, during his campaign, did express sincere interest and concern about the Russian situation.

Realizing all of this and realizing at the same time the desperate plight of the American Merchant Marine, gentlemen, I say to you tonight that as American citizens, you do have something to be concerned about.

We all do. It would be a much easier feeling if we knew that the ships which were going to be competing with the British, Norwegian, Swedes, Italians, Yugoslavs, and French, not only in cargoes but in general strategy were those flying the Stars and Stripes instead of the Hammer and Sickle. At least it would make the picture a healthier one if we could feel that there was going to be a strong Stars and Stripes force moving forward in the area of seapower at least parallel to that force of the Soviet Union. This indeed is vital, for without enough of those Star Spangled Banners flying throughout the world, there is the real possibility that the freedom—on the high seas or elsewhere—provided by the red, white and blue banners, cannot survive for long.

May I make one little personal comment in conclusion—

I'm dismayed at the treatment that is being given the Flag of the United States these days in our own country. I also want to call to your attention the fact that only today it was revealed that some of the evidence gained against people like Rap Brown, Cassius Clay and Benjamin Spock and his supporters, was through wire tapping of the telephones at the Communist Embassies in Washington. These people who are causing so much turmoil and dissension in our country and who are spitting on our flag are being given every protection to continue to do so. Something, somewhere, is wrong—and it is up to people like yourselves to begin fighting back.

Wherever you are, or whoever you are—as an American citizen, never be embarrassed to acknowledge that flag, but treat it with the same respect and awe which helped make the

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

United States the powerful country it is today. It is your flag, just as it is mine.

I'm proud of it. You should be, too.

Thank you for having me tonight. It has indeed been a real pleasure.

## ACCENT THE GOOD NEWS

### HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, March 19, 1969*

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend to my colleagues a recent editorial of station WGR-TV in my home city of Buffalo, N.Y. It deals with a question that so many of us have often pondered: Why must news be of a sensational nature to capture the reader's eye or ear?

The news media, of course, has a certain responsibility for accurate and fair reporting. Perhaps, more often than not, when a news item is harsh or unjustifiably critical, it was developed before the newsman had an opportunity to obtain and/or assess all the facts on which to base his story.

As the WGR-TV editorial so clearly points out, if all the news now considered of the sensational variety were adulterated or even obliterated, it could well be considered censorship on the part of the news media. As such, it would be a greater threat to our democratic way of life than letting the "sensational" aspect of the news prevail.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the February 12 editorial of WGR-TV:

A WGR-TV, BUFFALO, N.Y., EDITORIAL,  
FEBRUARY 12, 1969

It seems repeatedly, we've been asked a question: Why isn't it possible to accent more good news in Radio and TV newscasts rather than the sensational, dramatic and ominous news that make up the bulk of most of them?

Well, believe it or not, this is what most of our newsmen would like to do and are doing more of, if for no other reason than they're tired of reporting only catastrophes. Contrary to what many believe, we're not in the business of slanting news toward the sensational as a means of gaining greater audience, and, hence, more business.

However, it is an accepted fact that our job isn't to make news but, rather, to report it. If the public reacts negatively to a steady diet of sensationalism, it follows that any station would lose its audience. But this is generally not the case.

In fact, it appears that most people seem to thrive on hearing about bad news. This is why gossips prevail, why crowds gather around accidents, why people freely pass on their personal troubles or problems to anyone who will listen.

To try to put a happy face only on the news, though, has a serious consequence. It would mean that our newsmen would have to censor news; decide what they want to report and what they prefer to delete. This type of news reporting would, in our estimation, present a much greater danger to the public since it comes close to censorship.

Finally, as disturbing as it may be, it is not generally news when a man does his job well and successfully, for this is what he is expected to do.

It is the poor soul who botches the job who makes headlines—not because a news-

man decrees it so, but because the public does.

## PROPOSALS FOR CUTTING THE 1970 FEDERAL BUDGET

### HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, March 19, 1969*

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, as we know, the Nixon administration is in the process of reviewing the 1970 fiscal year budget prepared by the former administration in the hope of finding opportunities for significant economies.

Meanwhile, two important studies on the subject have been released, the first by the Council of State Chambers of Commerce, and the second by the American Farm Bureau Federation. The efforts of these experts are always helpful, and I include them with my remarks for the information and consideration of all Members. I do so without endorsing or commenting upon any of the specific recommendations.

The material follows:

#### COUNCIL OF STATE CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE PROPOSALS FOR CUTTING THE 1970 FEDERAL BUDGET

(By Eugene F. Rinta, Research Director)

One of the most specific pledges made by President Nixon during the presidential campaign last fall was that the ten percent surtax would be terminated on schedule July 1, 1969. This pledge presupposed that his Administration would be able to control expenditures at a level to justify removal of the surtax under prevailing economic conditions.

Promptly upon taking office the new Budget Director, Robert P. Mayo, wrote to all Executive department and agency heads requesting on behalf of President Nixon that they review all programs under their jurisdictions with a view to holding spending plans to bare minimums so long as it remains necessary to retain the surtax. But on February 18 in an appearance before the Congressional Joint Economic Committee Mr. Mayo said that, while results of agency reviews on expenditures were not yet in, he did not expect "dramatic" reductions from amounts budgeted for 1970. At the same time he said the Administration's current position is to support extension of the surtax.

Inasmuch as the agency heads in the new Administration have barely had time to become fully acquainted with the activities under their jurisdictions, they would necessarily have to rely heavily on the career people for recommendations as to possible savings. But the normal vested interest of bureaucrats in continuing, expanding, and creating new programs precludes an aggressive search for spending reductions on their parts. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Budget Director is not optimistic of "dramatic" results from the reviews of spending plans which he requested of the agency heads.

The Federal Finance Committee of this Council believes, however, that the 1970 budget can and should be cut substantially. Toward that end, the Committee offers a series of specific recommendations which would reduce appropriations proposed in the budget by \$8.8 billion. In arriving at its recommendations, the Committee selected over 50 budget line items in which it believes 1970 program obligations (spending commitments) should be held at 1969 levels instead of being increased as proposed in the budget.

Different treatment is recommended in a number of special situations. In some of these the appropriation for 1970 would be greater than for 1969 and in others less. The recommendations follow:

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### PROGRAMS TO BE HELD AT 1969 LEVELS

It is proposed in the following programs that obligations in 1970 be held at the 1969 program levels. This limitation of 1970 obligations could be accomplished by reductions

in the appropriation requests in amounts equal to the cuts in budgeted 1970 obligations. The total of reductions proposed in this manner is \$1,250 million.

[In millions of dollars]

Programs	Program levels				Programs	Program levels			
	Actual 1968	Estimated 1969	Budgeted 1970	Proposed reduction		Actual 1968	Estimated 1969	Budgeted 1970	Proposed reduction
<b>Funds appropriated to the President:</b>									
Appalachian regional development	244.0	242.4	287.5	43.1	Department of Housing and Urban Development:	958.0	1,100.0	1,350.0	250.0
Peace Corps	106.8	103.1	109.8	6.7	Urban renewal grants	76.8	75.3	95.0	19.7
<b>Department of Agriculture:</b>					Open space land programs				
Co-op State research	58.9	58.9	63.7	4.8	Geological surveys and investigations	88.4	90.9	97.4	6.5
Co-op extension work	93.4	97.1	100.8	3.7	Fish and wildlife resources	44.8	47.1	48.4	1.3
Resource conservation and development	8.1	7.2	10.3	3.1	Park Service, management and protection	43.9	45.0	46.7	1.7
Meat and poultry inspection	70.1	95.4	119.3	23.9	Maintenance and rehabilitation, park resources	30.4	32.9	36.7	3.8
Food stamp program	184.7	279.9	340.0	60.1	Preservation of historic properties	.8	6	1.6	1.0
Rural water and waste disposal grants	28.0	28.0	52.0	24.0	Bonneville Power Administration, construction	110.8	106.4	110.4	4.0
<b>Department of Commerce:</b>					Department of State: Salaries and expenses	195.6	206.3	208.3	2.0
Economic development facilities	175.0	180.0	199.3	19.3	Coast Guard:				
Industrial development loans	54.8	50.0	52.7	2.7	Operating expenses	354.6	371.6	389.3	17.7
Development planning, etc.	25.5	25.0	30.5	5.5	R. & D.	1.5	4.0	15.4	11.4
Environmental science, salaries and expenses	106.6	118.5	126.8	8.3	Highway beautification	1.2	26.1	86.3	60.2
Bureau of Standards, research and technical services	32.3	36.1	40.1	4.0	Traffic and highway safety	22.1	27.2	38.2	11.0
<b>Department of Health, Education, and Welfare:</b>					Federal aid highways, grants	4,068.5	4,769.0	5,044.0	275.0
Food and Drug Administration, salaries and expenses	67.3	70.4	72.7	2.3	Urban mass transportation	131.9	177.5	205.0	27.5
Mental health activities	327.2	367.9	377.3	9.4	Veterans' Administration: Direct loan program	208.7	251.9	255.2	3.3
Health services, R. & D.	30.7	40.9	45.0	4.1	Civil Service Commission: Salaries and expenses	42.2	45.4	49.4	4.0
Comprehensive health planning and services	143.2	194.0	216.4	22.4	Equal Employment Opportunity Commission:				
Regional medical programs	67.7	119.1	120.6	1.0	Salaries and expenses	6.6	9.0	16.0	7.0
National Institutes of Health	1,045.6	1,079.1	1,099.8	20.7	National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities: Salaries and expenses	14.4	16.9	18.7	1.8
Health manpower activities	160.6	206.7	245.5	38.8	National Science Foundation: Salaries and expenses	505.2	435.0	517.3	82.3
Education professions development	72.3	95.0	105.0	10.0	Selective Service System: Salaries and expenses	61.1	65.5	69.7	4.2
Teacher Corps	13.4	20.9	31.1	10.2	Small Business Administration:				
Higher education opportunity grants	131.4	133.8	175.6	41.8	Salaries and expenses	53.5	59.3	67.1	7.8
Office of Education, salaries and expenses	35.1	40.8	43.4	2.6	Business loan and investment fund, capital outlay	397.7	297.5	310.7	13.2
Civil rights education	9.9	10.8	13.8	3.0	Smithsonian Institution: Salaries and expenses	24.3	26.3	29.0	2.7
<b>SPECIAL SITUATIONS</b>					U.S. Information Agency: Salaries and expenses	153.5	163.3	165.3	2.0
<b>Foreign Economic Assistance:</b> Last year Congress cut the \$2,500 million 1969 request for grant and loan programs to \$1,382 million. That amount compared to \$1,894 million approved for 1968. The request for 1970 is \$2,348 million. It is suggested that this request be cut by \$1,000 million and that incentives be developed for encouraging greater private investments in underdeveloped areas. This reduction would still allow almost the same new obligating authority for 1970 as Congress approved for 1969.					Corps of Engineers: Civil functions, general investigations	34.6	33.4	43.8	10.4
<b>Economic Opportunity:</b> The appropriation request for 1970 is \$2,172 million which requests an increase of \$227 million over 1969 and \$419 million over 1968. The total request for O.E.O. work and training programs in 1970 is \$965 million, of which \$283 million is for the Job Corps in which the man-year training cost is estimated at \$8,086. It is recommended that this program be liquidated and that the other O.E.O. work and training programs be carried out at the budgeted level of \$682 million. In addition, \$688 million is budgeted for the Labor Department's manpower development and training program.					Total				1,249.7
The 1970 program level budgeted for community action programs is \$987 million. This compares to \$914 million in 1969 and \$859 million in 1968. It is suggested that these programs be held to the 1968 level for a reduction of \$128 million from the request.									
<b>Rural Electrification Administration:</b> Budget plans call for approval of \$345 million loans for electrification purposes in 1970. With about \$150 million needed for power distribution facility loans annually, it appears that \$195 million is planned for power generating and transmission facility loans. It is recommended that funds for distribution loans be approved but that G & T loan appropriations be denied for a saving of \$195 million.									
<b>Vocational Rehabilitation:</b> Appropriations for grants to the States for vocational rehabilitation services and facilities have risen from \$259 million in 1967 to \$312 million in 1968 and \$369 million in 1969. A sharp further increase to \$564 million is proposed in the budget for 1970. It is questionable whether this increase of \$195 million, as compared to increases of \$53 million in 1968 and \$57 million in 1969, in this specialized field can be efficiently utilized. It is suggested that the increase be held to \$60 million for a saving of \$135 million.									
<b>Model Cities:</b> Appropriations for this program were \$212 million in 1968 and \$313 million in 1969. The request for 1970 is \$750 million. Obligations in 1969, including use of unobligated funds from 1968, are estimated at \$400 million and the program level budgeted for 1970 is \$871 million. It is suggested that the 1970 appropriation be held to the 1969 amount of \$313 million for a reduction of \$437 million. This new appropriation together with \$121 million of unobligated funds available from 1969 will permit a somewhat higher program level than in 1969. It will permit an evaluation of the results of the current 75 model cities programs before commitments are made for great expansion of such programs.									
<b>NASA—Space Programs:</b> Total program costs for space research and development have been receding the last few years and the 1970 total is down to \$3,238 million as compared to \$3,635 million in 1969 and \$3,869 million in 1968. But a number of increases in activities other than manned space flight programs are proposed for 1970. It is suggested that the increases in these other activities totaling \$120 million be disallowed.									
<b>Department of Defense—Military Programs:</b> The total 1970 appropriation request for the Department of Defense, exclusive of civil programs, is \$80,238 million. This amount compares with appropriations of \$76,611 million in 1969, including \$3,012 million of 1969 supplemental requests yet to be submitted to Congress. The 1968 total was \$76,248 million. Assuming enactment of the full 1969 supplemental, which includes \$1,191 million for previously unfunded civilian and military pay increases that became effective last July 1, the 1970 appropriation request is \$3,627 million more than provided for 1969.									
This increase of \$3.6 billion is proposed in the budget despite the fact that appropriations for special Vietnam and other Southeast Asia purposes are down to \$23.0 billion in 1970 from about \$26.9 billion in 1969. This indicates that appropriations requested in 1970 for purposes other than the Vietnam war total \$7.5 billion more than in 1969—\$57.2 billion in 1970 as compared to \$49.7 billion in 1969. It is suggested that appropriations for non-Vietnam purposes be cut by 7.5 percent, or \$4,290 million. This would still allow \$52,922 million for non-Vietnam purposes in 1970 which is \$3.2 billion more than in 1969. It is proposed that the reduction be attained through greater efficiency and elimination of lowest priority programs.									
<b>Civilian and Military Pay Increases:</b> Provision is made in the budget in a single item of \$2,800 million to cover Federal civilian and military pay increases effective July 1, 1969 under existing law. This will be the third general pay increase for Federal personnel in 19 months. The total cost of direct compensation for civilian and military personnel in 1970, exclusive of the pay increases, is estimated in the budget at \$40,250 million. Thus the \$2,800 million pay increase cost represents an average increase of 6.96 percent.									
It is recommended that the pay increase be limited to the percentage increase in the cost of living during calendar year 1968. U.S. Department of Labor statistics indicate that from December 1967 to December 1968 the cost of living rose 4.65 percent from an index of 118.2 to 123.7. A 4.65 percent average salary increase for civilian and military personnel effective July 1, 1969 would cost \$1,872 million, or \$928 million less than is proposed in the budget. If Congress should approve more than a 4.65 percent pay increase, the additional cost above such an increase should be offset by a required reduction in budgeted personnel.									

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**Department of Defense—Military Programs:** The total 1970 appropriation request for the Department of Defense, exclusive of civil programs, is \$80,238 million. This amount compares with appropriations of \$76,611 million in 1969, including \$3,012 million of 1969 supplemental requests yet to be submitted to Congress. The 1968 total was \$76,248 million. Assuming enactment of the full 1969 supplemental, which includes \$1,191 million for previously unfunded civilian

and military pay increases that became effective last July 1, the 1970 appropriation request is \$3,627 million more than provided for 1969.

This increase of \$3.6 billion is proposed in the budget despite the fact that appropriations for special Vietnam and other Southeast Asia purposes are down to \$23.0 billion in 1970 from about \$26.9 billion in 1969. This indicates that appropriations requested in 1970 for purposes other than the Vietnam war total \$7.5 billion more than in 1969—\$57.2 billion in 1970 as compared to \$49.7 billion in 1969. It is suggested that appropriations for non-Vietnam purposes be cut by 7.5 percent, or \$4,290 million. This would still allow \$52,922 million for non-Vietnam purposes in 1970 which is \$3.2 billion more than in 1969. It is proposed that the reduction be attained through greater efficiency and elimination of lowest priority programs.

**Civilian and Military Pay Increases:** Provision is made in the budget in a single item of \$2,800 million to cover Federal civilian and military pay increases effective July 1, 1969 under existing law. This will be the third general pay increase for Federal personnel in 19 months. The total cost of direct compensation for civilian and military personnel in 1970, exclusive of the pay increases, is estimated in the budget at \$40,250 million. Thus the \$2,800 million pay increase cost represents an average increase of 6.96 percent.

It is recommended that the pay increase be limited to the percentage increase in the cost of living during calendar year 1968. U.S. Department of Labor statistics indicate that from December 1967 to December 1968 the cost of living rose 4.65 percent from an index of 118.2 to 123.7. A 4.65 percent average salary increase for civilian and military personnel effective July 1, 1969 would cost \$1,872 million, or \$928 million less than is proposed in the budget. If Congress should approve more than a 4.65 percent pay increase, the additional cost above such an increase should be offset by a required reduction in budgeted personnel.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

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## Recapitulation of proposed budget reductions

[In millions]

## Cuts in proposed 1970 appropriations

Reductions from holding certain programs at 1969 obligations levels	\$1,250
Foreign economic assistance	1,000
Economic opportunity:	
Jobs Corps	283
Community action programs	128
Rural Electrification Adm.—G. & T. loans	195
Vocational rehabilitation programs	135
Model Cities	437
NASA—Space programs	120
Department of Defense—military activities	4,290
Civilian and military pay increases	928
Total reductions	8,766

## EXPENDITURE LIMITATION

The Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 (P.L. 90-364) required that reductions be made from the fiscal 1969 budget estimates in the amounts of \$10 billion in new spending authority and \$6 billion in actual expenditures. The Act provided for exceptions from these spending limitations with respect to Vietnam war costs and such relatively uncontrollable costs as interest, social insurance trust fund programs, veterans programs, farm price supports, and public assistance. In setting the amounts of reductions for new spending authority (\$10 billion) and expenditures (\$6 billion), the fiscal leaders in Congress recognized that not all of the cuts in appropriations or other new spending authority would produce expenditure reductions in the same year and that the normal effect in the first year would be expenditure reductions of about 60 percent.

It is recommended that the \$8,766 million proposed 1970 appropriation reductions be accompanied by an expenditure limitation which would require an expenditure reduction of \$5.3 billion (60 percent of the appropriation cuts) in non-Vietnam defense

programs and in relatively controllable civilian programs.

On the basis of the spending plans in the 1970 budget and the projections of 1970 receipts the budget shows a surplus of \$3.4 billion. Adoption of the Council Committee's budget recommendations would increase the surplus to \$8.7 billion as a result of the expenditure limitation and would, in addition, be an important step toward control of 1971 spending because of the \$8.8 billion appropriation reductions. The Committee submits that such a change in the budget situation should be adequate basis for termination of the surtax on schedule. While the state of the economy a few months hence

might dictate retention of a part or all of the surtax, the current objective should be sufficient expenditure reduction to permit its termination at approximate budget balance.

## AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION RECOMMENDED REDUCTIONS IN THE FEDERAL BUDGET, FISCAL 1970

The Budget for 1970 has created some confusion in that it projects surpluses for both 1969 and 1970, yet the debt will rise in both years. This comes about as a result of the new unified budget first adopted last year. The following table outlines the situation as presented in the Budget.

## BUDGET RECEIPTS AND OUTLAYS, BY FUND GROUP

	[In millions of dollars]					
	Federal fund receipts	Federal fund outlays (+) or (-) <sup>1</sup>	Trust fund receipts	Trust fund outlays (+) or (-)	Budget (+) or (-) <sup>2</sup>	
Fiscal 1968 actual	114,723	143,105	-28,382	44,724	41,529	+3,195
Fiscal 1969 estimate	141,198	148,160	-6,962	52,390	43,037	+9,353
Fiscal 1970 estimate	147,874	154,722	-6,848	58,693	48,431	+10,262
						+3,414

<sup>1</sup> Represents actual cash difference in Federal expenditures and receipts. Figures reflect impact on total Federal debt.

<sup>2</sup> Represents difference between receipts from the public and Federal payments to the public, including trust fund transactions.

The figures in the first column assume a continuation of the 10% surtax and present excise tax rates through June 30, 1970. If Congress does not extend these two measures, revenue would drop by \$9.5 billion. This would indicate that expenditures during 1970 would have to be reduced by more than \$16 billion if a balanced budget is to be achieved in the absence of a tax-package extension.

Recognizing there would be a tight budget situation again in 1970, the voting delegates at the annual meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation in December, 1968 said in part:

"The current fiscal situation calls for action to eliminate inflationary pressures. Congress sought to deal with this problem in 1968 through (1) action directing the administration to cut federal expenditures and (2) passage of the 10 percent income surtax.

Nevertheless, inflation has continued and is still our most serious economic problem.

"We therefore urge Congress to pursue inflation control with greater vigor in 1969. In achieving this, major emphasis should be on cutting federal expenditures, but, if necessary to obtain a balanced budget for fiscal 1970, we will support continuation of a surtax for an additional year."

The following pages include recommendations for reductions in New Spending Authority of more than \$9.5 billion. These reductions could bring about an expenditure savings of at least \$6.5 billion during fiscal 1970. However, due to the inclusion of \$1.7 billion of NSA and expenditures for Social Security payments in these reductions, this document reflects a "cash" reduction of \$7.8 billion of NSA and \$4.8 billion of expenditures.

## RECOMMENDED BUDGET REDUCTIONS, FISCAL 1970

[In millions of dollars]

Functional code	Expenditures	New spending authority	Functional code	Expenditures	New spending authority
051 Military research and development	260	595	553 Grants to neighborhood facilities	4	18
ABM facilities	490		554 Planning grants	6	21
Military housing	109		Urban research and technology	6	14
057 Military assistance	529	408	555 Low-rent public housing	126	108
152 Foreign aid	40	1,126	Rent supplements	81	87
251 Space program	60	60	601 Head Start, etc., OEO	33	50
351 ASCS salaries	4	6	Aid to elementary and secondary schools	138	242
352 Rural waste planning	4	24	602 Higher education	36	190
Rural public housing	9	9	604 Manpower training, OEO	22	97
FHA salaries	25	26	Manpower development	100	290
401 Corps of Army Engineers	20	20	605 National Science Foundation	20	100
Bureau of Reclamation expenses	13	20	651 Environmental control programs	3	3
405 National Park Service	7	11	Comprehensive health planning	36	36
409 Geological surveys	5	10	Regional medical programs	46	59
501 New airports	150	275	Health manpower programs	57	47
502 Maritime subsidy	38	2	652 Social security payments	1,700	1,700
503 Urban mass transit	5	8	653 Rehabilitation grants	60	140
Highway beautification	80	85	804 Veterans hospital construction	30	38
505 Postal operations and construction	140	140	908 Law-enforcement grants	172	237
506 Secretary of Transportation	21	28	Other pay increases	1,400	1,400
507 Appalachian Development Highway	25	25	Contingency funds	250	350
551 Community Action, OEO	16	80	Total reductions	6,529	9,522
552 Model cities	465	438			
Urban renewal	287	250			

## VALUE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, sometimes we forget the value of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as an informational vehicle for

students of government, civics classes, and constituents. Today, I received some thoughts from Dr. E. A. DeShazo, professor of government at Southwest Texas State College. Mr. DeShazo's remarks are at times whimsical, but always poignant and I wish to enter them into the RECORD at this time:

## THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

I read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I read the editorials of a cross-section of the American free press on a daily basis.

I read articles appearing in a representative selection of popular magazines and periodicals devoted to a discussion of contemporary American affairs.

I read the scholarly discussions of the major issues of the day found in the foremost journals of opinion, both American and foreign.

I read reports, analyses, and discussions of contemporary problems presented by a great variety of non-governmental organizations.

I read public addresses, commencement speeches, and remarks made before numerous

audiences by individuals from every walk of life on every sort of question.

I read discussions of contemporary issues by the leading reporters in all of the leading news media of the world, both free and unfree.

I read the public debates of the representatives of a free people, which discussions cover every issue of the day, large or small.

I read the petitions, memorials, and resolutions of every form of American organization exercising its constitutional right of peaceful assembly and petition for a redress of grievances.

I read the reports, investigations, and criticisms made by hundreds of government officials and agencies in the performance of their duties.

I read the addresses, messages, and proposals for legislative action made by the President of the United States to the Congress.

I read the latest statistical information on a variety of problems, both public and private.

I read the latest court decisions bearing on the significant issues of the day, and the criticisms thereof.

I read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.  
ELMER ANTHONY DESHAZO, Ph. D.,  
Professor of Government, Southwest  
Texas State College.

SAN MARCOS, TEX.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

If these press reports correctly convey the sense of the U.S. position, this is a most unfortunate reversal of roles. In the past, it has been the United States that has pressed for comprehensive demilitarization of such areas as the Antarctic and outer space and has consistently been in favor of inspection of arms control measures.

As I indicated, the idea of totally barring military installations from an agreed area is not new. There are two clear precedents in recent international agreements to which the United States is a party. The first of these, the Antarctic Treaty, was signed in 1959 and went into force in 1961. In its preamble, the contracting parties recognized:

It is in the interest of all mankind that Antarctica shall continue forever to be used exclusively for peaceful purposes and shall not become the scene or object of international discord.

And, in the first paragraph of article 1, the treaty makes clear:

Antarctica shall be used for peaceful purposes only. There shall be prohibited, *inter alia*, any measures of a military nature such as the establishment of military bases or fortifications, the carrying out of military maneuvers, as well as the testing of any type of weapon.

The second precedent is even more recent. In the Outer Space Treaty, signed and proclaimed in 1967, the signatories "undertake not to place in orbit around the earth any objects carrying nuclear weapons or any other kinds of weapons of mass destruction, install such weapons on celestial bodies, or station such weapons in outer space in any other manner." In addition, article 4 of the treaty provides that—

The moon and other celestial bodies shall be used by all States Parties to the Treaty exclusively for peaceful purposes. The establishment of military bases, installations and fortifications, the testing of any type of weapons and the conduct of military maneuvers on celestial bodies shall be forbidden.

Mr. SPEAKER, the United States took the lead in bringing both Antarctica and outer space under the rule of law. The position enunciated in Geneva by Mr. Smith appears on the face of it to be a serious step backward from our traditional support for such extensions of the rule of law. The New York Times suggests, though it does not state specifically, that the authors of the restrictive American proposal may perhaps be found in the Pentagon. For, as the paper notes:

The Soviet proposal would bar from the ocean floor radar and other navigational devices for aiming rockets, along with missile-launching devices implanted in the seabed that are reported to be under development.

We cannot afford a position in which the rule of law is permitted to go only where the military are not immediately interested in installing new weapons systems. The seabed is the last major area on the globe still largely free of either clashing sovereignties or weapons of war. It would be inexcusable for the United States to become the principal obstacle to keeping it that way by bringing it under the rule of law.

## TREATY ON MILITARY USE OF SEABED

### HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times this morning reported on page 1 that the Soviet Union has proposed at Geneva a treaty which would bar all types of military installations from the seabed. This is deservedly page 1 news. For if such an agreement could be reached—and only patient negotiation in good faith can determine its feasibility—it would represent a significant extension of the rule of law and would make this vast area a far less likely source of potential conflict among the nations of the world.

In the light of this, I was disturbed to learn that the American reaction to the Soviet proposal was negative, at least in part. According to the Times, the chief American negotiator, Director Gerard C. Smith of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, said at a news conference:

I am inclined to doubt that we would have very much interest in a treaty which would eliminate the possibility of any military use of the seabed.

According to the Washington Post, Mr. Smith stated:

It would be very difficult to reach an agreement on the basis of that sort of language [i.e. comprehensive coverage]. I don't detect any interest on the part of the United States government to make an arrangement which would be a complete demilitarization of the ocean floors.

According to the Post:

The United States apparently does not envisage the removal of fixed navigation aids from the seabed, or accept the Soviet call for reciprocal inspection of all installations on the seabed.

## PRESIDENT NIXON'S CHOICES IN VIETNAM

### HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, Richard J. Barnett, codirector of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C., has prepared a very thoughtful and well-reasoned analysis of the choices before the Nixon administration with regard to the Vietnam war. Mr. Barnett's statement summarizes his thoughts on the choices before us and cogently discusses the implications of each alternative policy. If Congress is to play a role in shaping our Vietnam policy, I believe it is imperative that the Members of Congress be acquainted with the alternatives. I am, therefore, inserting Mr. Barnett's statement in the RECORD, which I commend to my colleagues for their careful consideration and review:

PRESIDENT NIXON'S CHOICES: THE WAY OUT OF VIETNAM

(By Richard J. Barnett)

After sixty days in office, the Nixon Administration has yet to adopt a strategy for ending the Vietnam War. To end it the President must make some decisions as hard as any American leader has ever faced. He must look coldly at the real choices open to the U.S. and prepare to redefine U.S. war aims in terms of political realities rather than the optimistic fantasies that so misled his predecessor. Unless he is prepared to do this soon, the momentum of war will carry him into a new round of escalation. Johnson's War will have become Nixon's War, the obsession of his Administration and a legacy for his successor.

What are Nixon's choices?

(1) Military Escalation: The familiar one is to concentrate more military power on the enemy to induce him to accept a settlement more to our liking than what his political position in South Vietnam would warrant. To put the matter plainly, Nixon Administration officials say privately that the U.S. objective still is to prevent a coalition government in which the NLF would play any significant role, despite the fact that the communists represent the best organized political force in the country and have the allegiance of the largest single minority, if not a majority, of the population. The Nixon Administration like the Johnson Administration, continues to define "negotiated settlement" to mean something other than the admission of the NLF to a share of power and responsibility in the Saigon government. Why the NLF should accept less has never been clear. How the U.S. hopes to arrange a settlement that denies the fundamental war aim of a movement that has been fighting for a generation without first crushing that movement is equally mysterious. Such a negotiation can take place only as a ratification of a decisive U.S. military victory. The present Tet offensive, like the one last year, is designed not to defeat the U.S.—the NLF has no illusions on that score—but to demonstrate that they are not defeated.

The Nixon Administration could replay the last year of the Johnson Administration and send in the 207,000 troops that the Johnson advisors concluded could not win the war. Or he could send in more and court the risks again of a confrontation with China, worsening relations with the Soviet Union, and a resurgence of domestic opposition in the United States. The events of the past three months show that the U.S. escalation in

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

B-52 raids on South Vietnam and in offensive operations in the South elicit military responses rather than political concessions. The military option is a totally unreal path to peace and American extrication. To continue the hopeless strategy because we will not face the alternatives is to betray a trust to the fighting men we send there. To continue the present cost of 15,000 to 20,000 American lives and \$30 billion, after four years of war, is a tragedy and a scandal. Even for the world's most powerful country a debilitating war without moral purpose or prospect of political victory is a recipe for self-destruction.

(2) Mutual Withdrawals: What about negotiated military withdrawals? The United States has talked recently about the possibility of bringing home 50,000 U.S. troops as the first step in a process of mutual withdrawals. Such a process would help bring about a de-escalation of the war and would therefore be useful. But this strategy cannot rescue the U.S. government from the necessity of choice. The Nixon Administration will still have to answer the fundamental political issue at the heart of the struggle: Are we willing to accept NLF participation in a coalition government? If not, then the withdrawals can be no more than token, because the Thieu government backed by the South Vietnamese Army shows no signs that it will ever be strong enough to keep the NLF from power once U.S. troops are gone.

What kind of coalition government could be arranged? Henry Kissinger has pointed out that a Thieu-Ky-NLF government is the equivalent of an SDS-KKK coalition to run the state of Georgia. Even if such a coalition could come into being, it could not last. Each faction would maintain its own private armies. Once the Americans left Ky and Thieu would have no political base from which to deal with the NLF for they have no reliable support in Vietnam outside the U.S. Embassy except for a small minority who are afraid of retaliation from the Vietcong or who profit enough from the flow of U.S. dollars to back the warrior government.

(3) Imposed coalition: One possible alternative model for arranging a coalition government is the Laos settlement of 1962. An international conference, perhaps an expanded version of the Paris talks, would attempt to put together a cabinet in Saigon. Those who advocate this approach argue that the commitment to such an arrangement of the U.S. and the Soviet Union—perhaps even China—would guarantee its stability. The NLF would try to take over the crucial ministries and the United States would try to interest them in the Ministry of Tourism. Such a negotiation would solve nothing for the United States. Even if the wrangling of the rival great powers and the bitterly hostile internal forces could somehow produce agreement, the United States would be no less committed in Vietnam than it is now. It would have staked its prestige on maintaining the uneasy coalition that it helped to engineer. It is hard to believe that such an imposed coalition would survive. Thus once again the U.S. would face the dilemma whether to intervene to try to save a protege or to dishonor what would now be a clear international commitment. One lesson of the Vietnam war is that the U.S. cannot arrange political structures for other people that will serve their interests or will last. The process of political reconciliation in Vietnam will be improved and American reputation served during the formation of a coalition government if the U.S. Embassy in Saigon devotes its full attention to packing. The less American responsibility there is for the government that emerges in Vietnam and the more such coalition is the product of indigenous Vietnamese forces, the sooner the U.S. can end its destructive involvement and the Vietnamese can begin to reconstruct their tortured country.

(4) Encourage negotiation between broadened Saigon Government and NLF for Coalition: In short, the United States should negotiate with North Vietnam and the NLF for mutual military withdrawals while at the same time encouraging the warring Vietnamese factions to negotiate among themselves for an interim coalition government that will hold elections. If the United States commitment in Vietnam is really self-determination for the Vietnamese people rather than loyalty to a group of discredited leaders who cannot govern without American troops, then the Nixon Administration should insist that negotiation among Vietnamese for a coalition government including the NLF begin immediately.

But what can the U.S. do to get such negotiations started? The government of Thieu, Ky, and Huong adamantly opposes any steps to broaden the present war cabinet so that it could conduct serious peace negotiations. The jails of Saigon are filled with Buddhists, neutralists, former government officials, and students who have pointed out the truth that the leaders of the Saigon government are incapable of making peace because they know that their power will not survive the war. The current NLF proposal at the Paris talks for the establishment of a "peace cabinet" in Saigon representing a broad spectrum of Vietnamese political interests is not original. Similar proposals have been made at considerable personal risk by non-communist students, monks, priests, and professionals in South Vietnam. To anyone who believes that ending the war takes priority over keeping the NLF out of the government, it is clear that the creation of some sort of peace-oriented cabinet in Saigon is an absolutely essential precondition to serious negotiations. If peace is to come through negotiation, at least some members of the Saigon government must want it.

This then is Nixon's dilemma. He cannot get a negotiated peace even if he is willing to accept a coalition with communist participation until Thieu and Ky bring enough moderates into the government to change its essential character, and this they will never do as long as they believe there is any alternative. Administration officials greet the suggestion that they put pressure on Saigon generals to liberalize their government with the remarkable observation that the United States does not intervene in the internal affairs of other countries! The real reason why U.S. officials have treated the Thieu government so gingerly despite its continuing efforts to sabotage the peace talks and suppress those non-communist political forces in South Vietnam who represent the most hopeful stabilizing influences in a post-war government is that the Saigon generals are essential instruments of present U.S. policy. By the standards of its predecessors, the present regime is a reasonably effective government for prosecuting the war and it is fiercely committed to the present U.S. objective of defeating the communists.

As long as military strategies for ending the war take priority over political strategies, Thieu and Ky will continue to hold an effective veto over U.S. policy by threatening to collapse. Once the U.S. changes its basic objective, however, and stands ready to accept a coalition government which includes communists, the Saigon generals lose their power to wreck a settlement. The Saigon government depends on the U.S. completely for cash, gasoline, and credibility. Although the U.S. has always had the power to compel it to take less extreme positions, the exercise of that power has seemed self-defeating because pressure on the Saigon generals to make political accommodations undercuts their effectiveness as warriors. But once the military option is recognized as an expensive illusion, the generals are no longer indispensable and the U.S. can begin to talk honestly to them.

March 19, 1969

If the President actually communicated his decision that he was prepared to extricate the U.S. from Vietnam even at the price of a communist South Vietnam, the Thieu government would have no choice but to move quickly towards accommodation with these elements in South Vietnam who favor a negotiated peace. One effective way to communicate that the policy change is serious would be to begin significant troop withdrawals. Another would be to protest publicly and privately the mass arrests of political prisoners (which now number about 20,000) and the suppression of political opponents who call for peace. Without such pressure, the Thieu government has no incentive to broaden the government sufficiently to make negotiation with the NLF possible. If the President grasps the truth that further escalation of the war will only bring further tragedy to the American and Vietnamese people, he should not shrink from using political power and persuasion to keep a group of self-seeking politicians from prolonging the slaughter.

What is likely to happen in Vietnam if the U.S. encouraged the formation in Saigon of a peace cabinet willing to negotiate with the NLF? The only reliable answer at this point is that we really do not know except that the war would move quickly to an end since no one would have an interest in prolonging it. The U.S. Government has always assumed that the National Liberation Front would take over the government and quickly arrange for the reunification of the country with Hanoi.

A communist-dominated South Vietnam is a distinct possibility which the U.S., once having adopted the proposed strategy would be powerless to prevent. The Administration must not deceive itself or the public that it can control internal politics in South Vietnam once it takes out a substantial number of troops. There are important political groups in Saigon which see themselves as a "third force"—some Buddhists, Catholics, Cao Dai, Hoa Hao, and Montagnards—but whether they have the strength to contain the communists depends upon what happens in Vietnamese politics in the next few months and is quite beyond U.S. influence. The sooner such groups are released from prison and harassment and can rehabilitate themselves, the sooner they can unite their forces and deal with the communists from greater strength. The NLF is under no illusion that political opposition to them will disappear once the Americans leave. They are going to have to accommodate the various factions or else continue a bloody civil war which it is in the interests of no Vietnamese to prolong.

There are some solid grounds for believing that the NLF cannot eliminate all other elements of Vietnamese society from a share in power. For one thing, strong religious factions, such as the Buddhists Struggle Movement under Thich Tri Quang, and the Cao Dai, are as anti-Communist as they are anti-United States intervention. Presumably, when the intervention ceases, and they are no longer torn between nationalism and anti-Communism, their ideological antagonism to the NLF leadership will grow stronger. The religious groups, along with other semiautonomous factions such as the Hoa Hao, which now runs Angiang Province with virtually no interference from Saigon, are as unlikely to submit to tight NLF control as they are to Ky's. The Catholics, too, who are well organized, are a force which cannot easily be ignored by the NLF. Indeed, the NLF has demonstrated its awareness of the necessity of enlisting the cooperation of these various groups by pointedly including in its own Central Committee representatives of the Buddhists, Cao Dai and Catholics.

The Front recognizes that the two most popular issues, other than simply ending the war, are the termination of all "foreign" in-

tervention (which to most Vietnamese means Americans, not other Vietnamese who happen to live in the North) and the granting of autonomy to those factions in the society which represent regional, religious and social interests. It may well be that they will be able to construct a monolithic Socialist Vietnam, but they know that this will not be easy and that it will take a long time. The only certainty is that the longer the war goes on and the more fragmented Vietnamese society becomes, the greater power the communists will have.

Reunification according to repeated statements of the NLF, must be delayed a decade or more because of the profound political and economic differences that have developed in the two sections of the country as well as the historic distrust that Northerners and Southerners have had for each other. Normalization of relations between the two zones, the issue over which the communist insurgency began in 1957, would take place much sooner.

As for foreign relations, the NLF has emphasized many times their interest in maintaining a neutrality based on good relations with the three great powers, the Soviet Union, China, and the United States. The Vietnamese communists desire postwar U.S. aid not only to help with the staggering task of reconstruction but also to symbolize a U.S. interest in their country that can be balanced off against Soviet and Chinese influence. Far more than ideology the Vietnamese value national independence. If the U.S. can play a role in helping to preserve it, and they believe that it can, they will welcome that role.

The most difficult issues raised by the proposed strategy concern the future of the United States. How can the President accept the risk of a communist takeover after the huge sacrifice the American people have been asked to make to prevent precisely that result? How can he escape "stab in the back" criticism from the military? Is there no "face-saving formula" that can vindicate the judgment of those officials who committed the national honor in Vietnam? The question can be answered on two levels, one superficial and the other profound. On the superficial level, I am convinced from my talks with the North Vietnamese and the NLF that they understand the problem that occidentals, especially powerful ones, have with face-saving. As long as the basic objectives of independence and freedom from foreign domination are met, they would go to great lengths to make extrication as easy as possible for the U.S. They have too clear a sense of their own interests to try to humiliate us. Indeed, if the Nixon Administration would revise U.S. war aims to anything more modest than the total political defeat of the NLF, they would probably make some ostentatious concessions. If they really believed that we were prepared to leave, they would probably accept some international supervision of the elections or even a token U.S. base or two for a number of years.

But on a more profound level, such "concessions" could not conceal the fact that the U.S. failed to realize the war aims for which so much blood and treasure has been sacrificed. There is no way to mask this fact. If the war is to end in his administration, the President will have to rouse the American people from the long dream of omnipotence and all-righteousness. The President can transcend the post-Vietnam trauma as de Gaulle transcended Algeria only by talking sense to the American people. He can point out that American power and prestige are being damaged by the never-ending war, that a communist Vietnam need not be our enemy, and that America's initiative to end the war will win the gratitude and respect of the whole world. Finally, he can articulate for the public the essential truth that a U.S. foreign policy makes sense only if it serves the interests of the American people. The

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

health of American society in 1969 demands a diplomacy of extrication for it is this society, not the Vietnamese that must become central to our concern.

The alternative is to make this country a warrior state willing to sacrifice its youth, wealth, and the hopes of its people in a vain effort to cover up the past errors of misguided politicians and generals. Neither secret talks nor patience will deliver us from this war until our leaders give up the goal of determining the political future of South Vietnam, an objective which adds nothing to the security of either the Vietnamese people or our own. The Congress has a responsibility to the American people and particularly to those we send to their death in Vietnam to tell the President and the public the truth. Unless voices of sanity are heard in this chamber, there is no possibility for building the political climate for a realistic strategy to end the war. To take the course of statesmanship the President needs your prodding and your help now.

But the constitutional responsibility of Congress goes even beyond this. If it should turn out that the President lacks the courage to end the dishonor that this war is bringing upon the nation, then Congress itself must act. How many thousands more must die and how many billions more must be wasted before the Congress votes no to this war and withdraws the money to carry it on?

### TAX REFORM AND THE AVAILABILITY OF MORTGAGE FUNDS

#### HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, March 19, 1969*

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the problem of meeting the ever-growing demand for housing and the consequent need for mortgage money has caused great concern among all of us who need housing and all of those concerned with providing it.

The Honorable Sherman J. Maisel, Member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, a distinguished economist, and one of the foremost experts in the country on housing, discussed the difficulties of the housing money market in a recent speech at New York University's Conference on the Implications of the Changing Money and Mortgage Market.

In analyzing Government policies intended to insure a greater availability of mortgage funds, Governor Maisel points to the impressive support given through the Federal National Mortgage Association, Home Loan Bank Board, Federal Housing Administration, Veterans' Administration, Government National Mortgage Association, and other agencies.

Of special interest to the Congress now, as it deliberates on reform of our tax system, are Governor Maisel's remarks about the tax incentives for housing and homeownership. He concludes:

It can be conservatively estimated that existing incentives now cost over \$4 billion in tax receipts and some estimates even go as high as \$6 billion a year.

The questions Governor Maisel raises about the actual benefits which these tax incentives provide are important ones. He points out—

There is as little agreement on what is obtained by the Government for these sums as there is over whether they should be considered as forgivenesses, subsidies, or simply not proper areas for taxation.

Mr. Speaker, I insert Governor Maisel's speech at this point in the RECORD and urge that it be given careful attention by my colleagues who are concerned about the multibillion-dollar mortgage money problem, as well as its role in the reform of our tax system:

#### THE AVAILABILITY OF MORTGAGE FUNDS

(Remarks of Sherman J. Maisel, Member, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, at the Conference on the Implications of the Changing Money and Mortgage Market, sponsored by the Mortgage Banking and Investment Institute, the Division of Business and Management, New York University, New York, N.Y., February 24, 1969)

I welcome the opportunity to address you this afternoon so that I can make one of my periodic attempts to bridge what has too frequently been a major communications gap. That is the lack of understanding between those concerned that the flow of money and credit be consistent with the needs of the economy as a whole and those concerned that there be an adequate flow of credit into a specific segment of the economy, namely, housing.

While I will maintain Federal Reserve tradition and avoid a forecast, it probably is fair to say that I will not be surprised if much of this year is filled with a great deal of discussion, debate, and recriminations over the problems of the mortgage market. All this will be enlivened by statements calling attention to shortages of mortgage money, anger about rates, and demands for reforms.

I think it vital that we not simply shrug our shoulders and close our ears because we have heard these problems stated in much the same terms so many times in the past. Rather, we must recognize that the frequent difficulty experienced by residential borrowers in getting adequate funds is a real, major, and recurring problem. We must try to understand why this problem arises so often. In the light of that understanding, we must try to reform the institutional arrangements that underlie the difficulties.

While I am pessimistic over the short run, I am optimistic that we can, over a longer period, make the necessary institutional changes. I think those concerned have a much better understanding of the basic problems than they did in the past. We have made some major improvements which should help ameliorate this year's difficulties. With a concentrated effort, further progress should be possible.

What has caused this communications gap?

Mortgage market difficulties have occurred when demand for output in the overall economy has risen faster than the ability to produce. When such excess demand threatened inflationary price rises, monetary authorities felt it necessary to slow down the increases in demand created by an expansion of money and credit. As a rule, they have believed it proper and necessary simply to limit the pool of funds available and to avoid going beneath the surface to see which specific demands were most affected by the credit slowdown. In some cases they may even have welcomed the fact that certain demands such as that for construction would fall as credit became more difficult to obtain.

On the other hand, those concerned with mortgage lending and housing have paid primary attention to the credit changes in their own markets. They have not been concerned with general inflation or excess demand. They have seen interest rates rise and the credit available to themselves fall. They have

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emphasized the decrease in national welfare which occurs as fewer houses are produced, rents and costs rise, slums get worse.

The gap between these viewpoints has narrowed. Those concerned with overall demand have become far more aware of the vastly differential impacts of credit restraint in individual markets. They have recognized the costs to the national welfare of housing shortages and of delays in correcting our urban problems. They understand that housing shortages may cause sharp increases in the price indexes as rents and house prices are forced up. They no longer look upon the complaints of mortgage and housing people as arising primarily from self-interest. Far fewer than in the past would welcome a cut-back in housing construction. Most, I believe, would agree that changes which could spread the effects of credit restraint more evenly over all markets would be welcome.

At the same time, those primarily interested in the mortgage market now recognize general inflation as a more critical problem. They see that a steady creation of money and credit does not guarantee low interest rates. They recognize the threat of rising prices to financial (particularly thrift) institutions. They sense the danger from inflation to the mortgage system as we have known it.

While such progress is helpful, far more is required. We need action in addition to understanding. Let me summarize the problem as I see it and then briefly expand the major points.

Our present overall mortgage system has built-in weaknesses. These cause the availability of funds to fluctuate far more than is desirable.

These weaknesses arise from the manner in which mortgages compete or fail to compete for their share of the general credit supply.

The ability to compete can be improved through institutional change.

In a free market, such competition is likely to mean higher rates. This means a larger share of the population will not be able to afford mortgages or decent housing. They should be aided by a reshaping of the tax incentives now used to aid housing.

## THE SUPPLY OF MORTGAGE MONEY

The system through which mortgage money is supplied is closely tied to our financial, particularly thrift, institutions. In recent years, excluding U.S. Government agencies, the four types of financial institutions—savings and loans, commercial banks, mutual savings banks, and life insurance companies—have furnished close to 95 per cent of the net increase in residential mortgage money. This was divided: 48 per cent for S&L's, 22 per cent for commercial banks, 18 per cent for mutual savings banks, and 12 per cent for life insurance companies.

For the past two years savings and loans, on the average, put 79 per cent of their asset gain into residential mortgages. The ratio for mutual savings banks was 43 per cent; for life insurance companies and commercial banks it was between 7 and 9 per cent. All of these percentages are much lower than in the early 1960's when thrift institutions placed nearly 85 per cent; life insurance companies about 17 per cent; and commercial banks about 12 per cent of their net change in assets into residential mortgages.

Under our present system, the availability of mortgage money is primarily determined by the flow of money into financial institutions and the share of their inflow that these institutions place in residential mortgages. Neither flow has been stable.

American households and corporations have become increasingly sophisticated in the choice of savings media. While convenience and liquidity remain important, their significance has diminished. As the gap between rates paid in money markets and those at institutions alters, and as equities vary in favor, the share of savings

that flows through financial institutions expands and contracts widely.

Available mortgage funds fluctuate even more since, depending upon relative rates and profitability, institutions shift the percentage of their funds they place in the mortgage market. The joint impact of these forces is only too evident. In 1963-65, financial institutions increased their residential mortgage holdings by over \$18 billion per year. The amount fell by over 45 per cent in 1966 and still was down by more than a quarter in the expanded economy of the past two years. The fall in purchases of mortgages on single-family houses was even greater. In 1966, savings and loans' net purchases of residential mortgages fell by more than 60 per cent from their previous three-year average. In the past two years, life insurance companies' average net purchases of residential mortgages were less than one-third of their level in the previous three years. Mutual savings banks have averaged about two-thirds of their previous rate. Commercial banks' net purchases have fluctuated widely, but in 1968 they apparently set a new high.

## STICKY RATES

The fact that the availability of mortgage credit shifts far more rapidly and drastically than that of other funds apparently is caused by sticky rates. Both the rates paid by financial institutions for their funds and the rates paid to the institutions by mortgage borrowers fail to follow the market closely. As adverse gaps arise between these rates and the market, the available funds fall sharply. The reverse is also true, of course. In some periods, too much money flowed into mortgages because rates fell more slowly than other market rates.

The special character of thrift institutions has contributed to their sticky rates. Most of their deposits in effect have been payable on demand. If such institutions raised the rates offered in order to maintain their flow of current funds, similarly increased rates would have to be paid on all their accounts both existing and new. On the other hand, the maturities on mortgage portfolios are long. Because an increase in income could be expected not on their outstanding portfolios but only on new acquisitions, inevitably a minor share of the total, an earnings squeeze would result.

The stickiness of mortgage rates has a different cause. Part has been owing to legal constraints. In recent years statutory ceilings on rates in many States were below the market. The special case of the FHA-VA rate ceiling is familiar to all. Considered more broadly, however, mortgages rates are really just one example of the use of administered prices in a diverse market. A characteristic of administered prices is that they are hard to change frequently or rapidly. Their movements tend to be discrete, in larger jumps, and less frequent than rates set more freely by the market. As an example, while most mutual savings banks in recent years probably have not changed their mortgage rates more than a few times, the rate offered them on bonds changes daily or more often.

## IMPROVED MORTGAGE FLOWS

There seem to be two major types of solutions to the problem of sticky rates and sharp shifts in available mortgage funds. The first is to attack the problem directly by making more frequent changes in rates feasible. The second is to try an end-run around the problem by making it possible for mortgage lenders and borrowers to obtain the funds they desire directly from capital markets at the going rate.

Both of these possible solutions run into a type of difficulty which has rarely been well expressed or analyzed. National policy attempts to insure each American family a decent home in which to live. Strongly implied in policy is the view that home ownership is a preferable way of meeting this goal. A myriad of governmental programs have

been established in an attempt to meet these goals. They include subsidies, tax incentives, insurance, guarantees, special rules for thrift institutions, and many other forms of assistance. One aspect of these operations, rarely spelled out, is an attempt to earmark funds flowing into certain segments of the savings market for mortgage borrowers. If institutions can lend only on homes, prospective house buyers may be able to obtain funds at lower rates. This will be particularly true if the rates charged can be limited by law or regulation. As a quid pro quo, the institutions may be given tax or other subsidies.

The ability to maintain lower than market rates consistent with an adequate flow of funds to mortgages depends on the type of regulation used, the degree to which savers and lenders are locked into particular channels, and the amount of competition for funds within a channel. Past fluctuations in mortgage flows are a result of the difficulties with these arrangements when they attempt to keep rates below the market. Another problem with this system is the lack of relationship between the need for funds and the way they are distributed. Given past difficulties, the question obviously arises whether the objectives of the present system could not be achieved in a more realistic and less contradictory or self-defeating manner.

## INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

I and others have over the years advocated many changes in the way thrift institutions bid for and invest funds. We have also made many suggestions as to how the operations of the mortgage market might be improved. Enough of these changes have already been incorporated to provide some amelioration of this year's mortgage difficulties. Far more are required, however.

In bidding for funds, thrift institutions should be allowed to offer an even greater range of savings instruments at different rates. With a variety of instruments, consideration of amount, convenience, rights to liquidity, and rates could be shaped individually to the needs of separate segments of the savings market. An institution would be able to borrow as much as it deemed worthwhile in each market. Some progress along these lines has been made, but it has been small compared to the needs.

The mortgage needs improvement as an investment instrument. Some but not much action has been taken by States to improve the mechanics of mortgage lending. The ceilings on mortgages—particularly FHA-VA insured or guaranteed—have been made more flexible. Some mortgages have been written with variable interest rates. This has clearly been significant in making loans more available for apartment houses. The ability to write loans with "kickers" is, however, limited. Most thrift institutions cannot do so. Increased use of variable rates over a broader range, including mortgages on individual houses, appears desirable.

There have been suggestions that thrift institutions be allowed to invest in a larger variety of assets. While studies of these proposals are still in progress, many of these studies seem to show that this idea conflicts with the concept of giving mortgage borrowers a more or less protected channel to certain types of savings.

Finally, slightly anticipating the next topic, the mortgage market information gap has been closed somewhat. As you know, FNMA last year through its new auction procedure helped improve pricing practices for mortgages. We now have a better idea of what changes are taking place on a week-to-week basis in at least one segment of the market.

## ACCESS TO THE MARKET

Because of the recognized uncertainties in the flow of mortgages from financial institutions, the Government has increasingly attempted to make it possible for more mortgage money to be raised in the general capi-

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tal market. Since these funds have been raised through U.S. agency issues, they may have served to lower mortgage rates slightly. However, the differences in rates are a rather minor factor compared with the contribution of these systems to insuring a greater availability of funds in times of need.

Major funds have been raised through the operations of FNMA and the Home Loan Bank Board, but the FHA and VA plus other minor agencies have also put some funds directly into the market. The magnitude of this support has been impressive. In 1964, a year of more than adequate mortgage funds, the government agencies properly operated at a low level. They furnished less than 2 per cent of the net increase in residential mortgages. On the other hand, in 1966, when the need was great, these agencies furnished about 28 per cent of the net increase in total funds. In dollars the amount grew from under 0.4 billion in 1964 to nearly 3.8 billion in 1966, or a growth of 950 per cent. In 1968, under far less critical mortgage market conditions, the amount stayed close to the level of 1966, but it was, of course, a smaller percentage of the total.

Last year Congress created a new channel which I believe can open a major new source for funds. This involves the authority of the newly created GNMA to insure or guarantee bonds backed by FHA or VA mortgages. I am glad to see that your session this afternoon is devoted to this topic. If this approach can be made to work, it should make it still more possible for mortgage borrowers to compete on a basis of greater equality with other long-term borrowers of funds.

Problems may still arise related to the general availability of savings or because of imbalances between the overall demand and supply for financial funds. However, relatively direct access to the capital markets for mortgage borrowers should reduce the difficulty experienced so often in the past when flows to financial institutions decreased or institutions shifted their lending away from the mortgage market.

#### PAYING MARKET INTEREST RATES

As I indicated earlier, one major problem in this whole institutional structure seems to me to have been sadly neglected. We have rarely articulated the theory of what supports the Government now gives, should give, or might give to mortgage borrowers. I think such a theory badly needs development. Our existing system of incentives with related ceilings on rates has created too much instability in the mortgage and housing market. At the same time, there is little evidence that benefits are being distributed in accordance with needs.

Particularly if we want to develop a system which assures the availability of funds through the payment of going market rates, a careful re-examination of our existing system is necessary. We all recognize that as rates rise, more and more families are forced out of the market. Could the existing system be reshaped better to meet these needs?

I won't spend any time on direct subsidies or the general concepts of the various financing packages contained in the almost-annual housing acts. I will restrict my remarks to our general scheme of tax incentives to real estate, housing, and home ownership, asking whether the country is getting its money's worth. I do this even though I recognize that the field of tax incentives is a can of worms. A regulation or law that is a tax incentive to one observer, is a subsidy to another, and simply a necessary and legitimate exemption or deduction to a third.

There are three general types of tax exemptions or deductions in the housing sphere. First come the provisions for rapid depreciation plus related capital gains and other special features for rental properties. The Treasury states the cost of these incentives as over \$250 million per year. Second comes the special income tax treatment of thrift institutions primarily related to their

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special function as mortgage lenders. Tax savings in this sphere have been estimated at \$200 to \$350 million a year or more. Finally, there are deductions allowed owner-occupiers for mortgage interest and real estate taxes from their taxable income. These total over \$3.5 billion.

Thus, it can be conservatively estimated that existing incentives now cost over \$4.0 billion in tax receipts and some estimates even go as high as \$6.0 billion a year. There is as little agreement on what is obtained by the Government for these sums as there is over whether they should be considered as forgivenesses, subsidies, or simply not proper areas for taxation.

The Treasury's tax reform studies argue that the incentives to owners of rental property in many cases have had a negative impact. They tended to decrease the quality of our housing stock. Bankers have attacked the tax status of other financial institutions—particularly those specializing in home finance—as unfair competition. More significantly, the criteria which determine the actual beneficiaries of these aids are unclear. Are they the owners of the institutions (the majority are mutuals)? Are they the management and staff? If they are the mortgage lenders, how significant in determining their lending rates is the forgiveness and the related lending restrictions on the institutions compared to market pressures? How many borrowers are aided who need the help to make possible their housing purchases? How do these compare with others who are pleased simply to find their after-tax income increased?

The same problem arises with respect to the deductions granted to homeowners. If mortgage interest rates rise, as an example, the share of the increased interest paid for through a reduced liability for income taxes will be higher the wealthier is the family. There are probably few for whom this incentive is crucial in enabling them to borrow. This will be even more true if the liberalized standard deduction suggested in the Treasury tax studies is passed. The potential owner who would seem most in need of aid—he who is on the line between being able to afford a house or not—will probably receive no benefit at all. The Treasury suggests that with the proposed change, 80 per cent of taxpayers would find it to their advantage to use the standard deduction. This means that the tax advantage for housing would be useful only to those with the highest incomes. These clearly are the ones who can best afford to pay any increase in market mortgage rates even without this additional subsidy.

#### CONCLUSION

I don't propose to suggest today how our tax incentives should be reshaped. Obviously though it is a multi-billion dollar problem, one worth a great deal more thought than it has been given in the past if our goals for housing and the general welfare are to be realized in a meaningful way.

I do suggest that we press forward with our reforms of the mortgage market. The country will be better off if the burden of a general decline in credit expansion, which unfortunately seems to be facing us, can be spread among more spending groups. The improved access of mortgage borrowers to the capital markets which results from the operations of FNMA and the HLBB can be expanded. Such access should be promoted even though it may involve a higher level of capital market rates than would result from simply rationing potential mortgage borrowers out of the market.

The same statements apply to the new GNMA-guaranteed bonds. The fact that credit may be tight and government bond rates at record levels should not be used as an excuse to halt their development. Potential mortgage borrowers should at least be given the chance to compete for all the credit for which they can and are willing to pay.

## CANCION DE LA RAZA

### HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, one of the most interesting experiments in educational television that I have seen or heard of recently originates right in my own area in Los Angeles and involves not only an educational approach but a very real and useful action program.

I think the descriptive article written by Mr. Edward Moreno, community relations coordinator for the project, and a recent article from *Newsweek* magazine—March 10, 1969—as well as the script of one of the programs in the *Cancion de la Raza* series will best illustrate the work that is being done in this respect. These items follow:

#### CANCION DE LA RAZA

(By Edward Moreno, community relations coordinator, "Cancion de la Raza" project, KCET, Los Angeles)

On October 14, 1968, under a grant from the Ford Foundation, "CANCION DE LA RAZA," a new experiment in television began at Los Angeles' KCET, Channel 28, to attempt to increase communication within the Mexican American Community, and outside of itself. The program is a daily serial, shown Monday through Friday at 3 p.m., and at 7:30 p.m. Its sixty-five episodes attempt to depict typical situations found among Mexican American barrio families, who are trying to break away from the chains of poverty, ignorance, misunderstanding, maltreatment, and inadequacy of services. In this article, I will try to describe the various phases of the project.

#### THE SILENT MEXICAN AMERICAN

Of the communications gaps that exist in our culture, perhaps one of the most disturbing is that which occurs between the mass media at large, and the Mexican American communities in the United States. Metropolitan Los Angeles has the largest community of this type, with more than 1 million persons of Mexican American extraction. For very large segments of this population, especially in the ghettos of East Los Angeles, Pacoima, and Azusa, life may be a series of drab experiences, artificially imposed isolation, self alienation, and even resentment, despite the fact that Los Angeles is considered one of the most attractive areas in the nation by most Mexican Americans.

TV and radio broadcasting designed for mass audiences have very little to offer to these people. The image of America offered by the medium is White and middle-class, different and remote from the image of America that the barrio resident perceives in his daily life. Even in the news, the Mexican American is recognized, in general, only when he comes in conflict with the rest of society. Without identification, and positive recognition, the Mexican American, especially if he has language difficulties, turns to the Spanish language stations, which in the majority of cases also serve him, at nominally, at best.

KCET decided to attempt to plug this gap and to plunge into the area of social action among the underprivileged and deprived Mexican Americans—an area thus far neglected by the commercial mass media. It was hoped to establish communication with them. The medium would speak, but would also hear. It would show more adequate ways to deal with community problems and concerns; it would try to increase knowledge among them about agencies of service to their community, and it would suggest remedies for

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the most pressing needs. But while providing mass educational experiences to the Mexican American communities, it would also allow them to select the general orientation for the effort, and the areas for such involvement.

The basis of the attempt was an earlier experiment, successfully conducted at the University of Denver by Dr. Harold Mendelsohn, and Dr. Charles Welch.

Charles Allen, KCFI's program director, wrote a proposal entitled "Feedback for Advancement." Essentially, the idea was a daily "soap opera" about a Mexican American family of the barrio, to suggest action, and a one-time per week panel discussion show, supported by an open telephone line, designed to receive and broadcast community feedback. The project was presented to the Ford Foundation in competition with proposals from most of the 150 public TV stations, and it was approved.

Dr. Richard Scott, a physician/TV producer of a closed circuit medical television program, "Res Medica," was put in charge of the production. And since both Allen and Scott required for the new project similar standards of verity and credibility to those attained by "Res Medica," the chief initial emphasis was given to research.

## THE INITIAL RESEARCH

A five member team was formed, and their first research task was to compile a mass of sociological data dealing with Mexican Americans, to be used as background for the problems with which the scripts of the series would deal.

The research team, mostly Mexican Americans, read hundreds of reports on the "Mexican American problem" from the scholarly work of the University of California at Los Angeles "The Mexican American Study" to unpublished papers and dissertations from persons interested in the subject. However, much of the literature was found to be obsolescent or dated. Treatment of the problem, it was discovered, was mainly from the Anglo point of view. Not many Mexican Americans were among the authors; not many of them had written much about their community.

The team decided to hear from the Mexican American in Los Angeles, to explore the most salient and relevant problems, and the most realistic solutions. It added several other persons to the staff, to be used as resources. It also conducted various meetings with community active groups whose reactions and suggestions were noted and recorded. At this point, it was decided to adopt the name of "Cancion de la Raza" (The Song of the People) for the forthcoming series.

In their contact with the community, the researchers were able to make various assumptions. The main concerns of the communities seemed to be the condition of local education, the lack of knowledge by the Mexican American about social agencies, already working in the barrios, and the uncertainty of the Mexican American about the effectiveness of techniques and channels available to him for communication with the rest of the community, especially for the expression of social grievances. Another assumption was that Mexican Americans (the label of identification preferred by more persons of Mexican background than any other) have the same desires, feelings, and drives as the Anglo American population, but that they differ from the population at large, in the methods of handling problems.

For example, when problems arise, Mexican Americans are more likely than their Anglo-American counterparts to simply discuss the issue with wives or relatives, and close friends. This seems to be where the process of attempting change stops. Anglos complain in this manner too. However, their complaints are accompanied by an attempt to do something about the problems, either singly, or in groups.

To validate these assumptions, further research was organized and performed by Mendelsohn and Welch, who were selected for their experience in the original model for this project. They prepared and conducted 404 at-random, in-depth interviews in the Los Angeles Mexican American communities. The results of these interviews confirmed the initial findings and explained some of the dynamics involved.

The seeming apathy of the Mexican American, the research showed, could be attributed in part to the following findings:

1) To a large degree, the Mexican American feels that the society at large is Anglo; that it has values different or opposite to his values; and that he is powerless to induce substantial change.

2) More often than not, the Mexican American is basically unaware of the existing channels available for amelioration of his social problems.

3) While he admits that he has problems, he voices considerably more manifest satisfaction with things as they are than his Anglo counterpart. The paradox is that he holds contradictory positions at the same time. He feels, for instance, that things will be much better in the future for himself and for his children, but he argues that he has no method and no say in the betterment process. He states that he is satisfied with political representation in all aspects of government, but shows very little faith in the intentions of the politicians. He also asserts that he must work with his Anglo counterparts and be active, but refuses, at the same time, to see any benefit in joining organizations, or in having his existing organizations join in major efforts of unification of the communities, as an active Mexican American entity.

## FROM RESEARCH TO SCRIPT

To express such problems in the scripts and to give them cohesiveness, consistency and form, a writers' workshop was organized, out of which five Mexican Americans were selected. These writers, teachers and social workers by profession, already conscious of the problems existing in the barrios, were prodded into further exploration by the popular reaction to the series which had been gaining momentum in the communities. The writers' team was placed under the supervision of Abel Franco, a Mexican American activist, head of the drama department at Pasadena High School, and with long experience in acting and directing.

It was decided that the episodes would have to depict the concerns of the "here and now," in a realistic fashion, and in understandable ways, if the attempt to remedy the situations found by the research was expected to generate community feedback. It was also determined that, to make the series a true social action generator moved mainly by community action, the writers would not attempt to complete the sixty five scripts too far in advance of the broadcast date. Rather, each script would be completed only five to six days ahead of the actual air time. This system was adopted to limit the opportunities for treatment of peripheral issues, to allow daily resorting to fresh audience feedback, and to analyze closer the impact of each episode, so that matters that were not clear in an original presentation would receive reinforcement and clarification in subsequent episodes. Thus the audience was actually contributing to the writing of the story. The actual production of the first episode was accomplished only a week before its airing.

The vehicle selected for the frontal attack, the daily "soap opera," is a familiar and palatable form of entertainment for the Mexican American communities, especially for the more isolated families. It is also a preferred form of expression of dramatic situations and it allows identification. While

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each episode expressed the possible ramifications of the problems exposed and its extension into areas not originally perceived by the central cast of characters, the fact that cultural "common sense" may have different solutions than those portrayed was never discounted.

The episodes centered around a mythical family in its extended Mexican American form, the Ramos family, their close relatives, and their close friends. The story showed how the family attempted to solve the problems superimposed on it; it presented and suggested solutions, and it showed how some solutions could be gratifying, and what kind of relief might result when the action suggested was taken. But each episode was planned to cause reaction and to generate comment, without necessarily being "open ended."

## FROM SCRIPT TO TAPE

The production group was organized, and headed by Charles Polacheck, with a long career in network television, especially in the production of daily soap operas for CBS and NBC. For the direction, Lamar Caselli, from Loyola University was selected for his network experience. To assist Caselli and Polacheck, three leading Mexican American actors, with substantial experience in movies and broadcasting were selected. They were Victor Millan, Francisco Ortega and Natividad Vacio. All three had also extensive experience in teaching dramatics. Millan heads the Drama Department at Santa Monica City College, Ortega and Vacio teach in the Los Angeles School System. Vacio, has been extremely active in the poverty area, encouraging the survival of Mexican American cultural values.

To obtain people from the community who could realistically portray the roles of persons in poverty, an Actors' Workshop was formed. Some seventy barrio residents of all economic levels participated in a six week seminar where they received a total of 18 weekly hours of acting experience. The Mexican American assistant directors were the coaches and instructors in the workshop. From the group, the final cast of "Cancion de la Raza" was selected.

For the central characters, persons well-known in the community for their activities were selected. Bernarda Ramos, the mother, is Tina Menard; Miguel Ramos, the father, is Mike de Anda. Both are experienced actors involved in community betterment. The supporting roles went to Jon Milo, Priscilla Garcia, Robert de Anda, Richard Yniguez, and Gil Barreto. Incidental characters in the story were played by non-actors, some portraying their own roles, or roles from their professions or vocations, such as high-pressure salesmen, a parish priest, members of militant groups, ex-addicts, members of youth gangs, teachers, etc.

## ON THE AIR

It was decided that to increase the number of viewers, each episode would be presented twice daily at 3 and at 7:30 p.m. At midbreak in the programs, a telephone number was given as part of a community news-public service type of spot announcement. The audience was encouraged to call, to solicit information about the community services, and to comment about the episode, its characters and its situations. The name selected for this ancillary service was "Linea Abierta" (Open Line.) It was hoped that the vital element of feedback from the audience, and the beginning of the true dialogue between the people and the project, could be accomplished by such a system. "Linea Abierta" began operating the same day the episodes went on the air, serving the community from 3 until 9 p.m.

From the first day, the reaction of the audience was good. The largest number of calls occurred right after the presentation of each episode, and tapered off after about an

hour. However, the calls kept coming throughout the scheduled period. Calls that were made to the station outside of the "Linea Abierta" operation were answered by personnel assigned to the project.

Two community workers with experience in the work of agencies operating in the community were assigned to man the open line. They were Ray Chavez and Marcella Gonzalez, who answered questions and recorded comments. If a question required more explanation than a simple answer or address, the line workers postponed it, and handled it through a call-back.

The number of calls increased if the topic was closer or more relevant to the audience. Among the topics producing the greatest number of calls were immigration, consumer education, the Delano grape strike, the problems of education and unemployment.

A constant ratio of 3.5 favorable to 1 unfavorable calls was initially registered. However, when any of the episodes dealt with the problem of "image," the number of unfavorable calls seemed to increase. With the permission of the caller, some of the questions and comments were "banked" for further use in a panel discussion show which also received the title of "Linea Abierta."

In its initial presentation, "Linea Abierta," which aired at 7 p.m. each Monday night, prior to the second presentation of the day's episode, consisted of a panel of community resource leaders who discussed some of the accumulated questions. They attempted to offer viewers additional information on each case presented. Up to five different cases were processed on each panel show.

The format was later modified to include live discussion about urgent community matters or concerns, including education, the condition of the barrio schools, the attitude of administrators, housing, police-community relations, immigration and aging. In some instances, audience reaction and audience participation were used to increase feedback. Thus the methodology emerged clearly: the daily episode would discuss general concerns, the panel show would select and discuss specific topics.

The series began on October 14, 1968 and ended on January 17, 1969. An immediate re-run started January 20, 1969.

The combined effort of the writers, the production staff, and the acting team made each situation as precise and as clear as possible. Most of the time the message was also clearly received by the audience. In some isolated instances, however, the message was not totally perceived; in other instances one group perceived it in one manner, another group in a different way. Whenever possible, subjects, especially education, received treatment both in the series and the panel during the same week.

Some interesting examples occurred with scripts such as Number 20, in which the young son, David Ramos, after having been out of school for some time, decides to return and graduate. He is interviewed by an officious clerk and a naive principal who have not learned the language of the barrio—a rather frequent occurrence.

For some activist groups, the initial perception was that the serial had portrayed "very nice people who do not exist in the school system." However, in subsequent indept discussions with these groups, the message intended, "... their nicely hides their own remoteness," actually emerged.

Script Number 31 featured Maria Elena asking permission from her father to date an older boy. The adult groups' reactions were very favorable to the need for more dialogue between parent and child. The reaction of the junior high schoolers was a reinforcement of what they consider the problem: the parents worry too much about early dating.

A later script dealt with the topic of immi-

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gration, legal and illegal. The chapter was presented on a Wednesday of the same week in which the Monday discussion panel had dealt with a similar subject. During that week the open line registered a great number of questions on how to legalize one's status in this country.

### THE PUBLIC REACTION

The public reaction has been of general acceptance of the project. This is shown not only by the tally of the calls to open line, but also by the number of favorable letters received, the personal comments made to the staff, the favorable publicity attained, and other similar measures of opinion.

But criticism has also been high, especially from the more accommodated, non-barrio residents, for whom the portrayal of poverty is tantamount to a "loss of face" for the Mexican American community before Anglo eyes. Criticism emanated too, from the more militant groups which would have liked a more aggressive point of view in the scripts plus a greater attribution of communal ills to "the Anglo establishment." In each case, a positive effort has been made to search for a central area of mutual understanding and concern, either in the scripts, or through personal contact with the critical groups.

This steady dialogue of the community with a communication medium conditionally accepted before, if at all, is now considered worthy of personal involvement and can be called a major gain for the project.

### AUDIENCE RESEARCH AND FEEDBACK

Two more aspects of research are to be considered in the project. Phase II is designed to obtain feedback; to analyze the people's reaction to the episodes; to get the views from the audience for changing direction, characterization; and to validate further the topics dealt with by the drama and its supporting panel programs. Phase III will be the final evaluation determining what permanent effects the program has had on the audiences.

For Phase II, several methods have been used to detect penetration, impact and effect of the program on the communities. Random calls were made to secure one-hundred viewers, on October 29, with episode 12, and again on December 2, with episode number 36. A 75-family panel, weighted according to population characteristics, was selected. The panel agreed to keep diaries for the researchers, and to submit to them individual evaluations at various times. The first panel callback was made on November 2 and 4; the second on December 7 and 9; and the third on January 4 and 6.

Five reaction panels with community groups, using one-half inch helical tape dubs of selected episodes were also accomplished. The panels saw the dubs of episodes 20, 28 and 31, after the episodes had been aired.

Although complete evaluation of the results will not be available until May the primary findings show that 88% of the respondents had a "good" opinion of the program, against only 8% of negative evaluations; 76% believed that the program presented things "as being true." Also, 76% or more of the people in the target area watched the series routinely.

The most frequent negative observation was the feeling that Anglos might intensify their "negative views of Mexican Americans" (less than 20% of the respondents), plus the feeling that the program was not doing much for the people in the barrios (7% of the respondents.)

The most encouraging finding of all was that close to 80% of the respondents indicated that they "had taken some action" as a result of the show, such as visiting an agency, or availing themselves of the services offered by a community facility.

Phase III, debriefing and in-depth inter-

views, has just begun, following the start of the series rerun.

Feedback was also intensified by personal presentations made to community active groups by the Community Relations Coordinator employed for the project. In these presentations, a promotional tape of the program or a complete episode's dub was used. The group viewed the tape, and made comments which were given to the production staff by the coordinator. Many of these presentations were attended by the writers, members of the production staff or by actors of the cast.

### ANCILLARY GAINS

Various ancillary gains resulted from the activities of the project. For instance, the most intensive publicity penetration of the community was attained through the cooperation of the commercial broadcasting media which operate in English or in Spanish, the local newspapers, and the magazines and periodicals of various orientations.

Another gain was the cooperation by the many organizations of service to the community, which formerly had ignored the educational efforts of the station. Even the bus systems that operate in high concentration areas of Mexican Americans donated space inside and outside the buses for the placement of bus cards.

The Actors' Workshop has become an independent unit, and has obtained some opportunities, though limited, for some of its members for commercial movies and television.

The task of increasing communication between the two cultures at the station level was undertaken by a Spanish teacher for the production group. Later, these classes were attended voluntarily by many members of the general station personnel to whom the difficulties of operating in another language and culture are now evident.

Some of the episodes have been used by colleges, high schools and universities for their classes in social studies. Two organizations and one individual researcher have polled the community (independent of the internal research efforts) about their reactions to the project.

Foot and telephone traffic has increased substantially to some of the agencies recognized by the episodes, or mentioned in the open line panel programs, and members of the project's staff have been included as participants in community seminars, workshops and projects for advancement.

It is still too early to predict the final changes in behavior and modifications in attitude that will result from an effort such as this. It is obviously unrealistic to expect total conversion through the sixty-five episodes of the project. Post-series research will reveal if the changes are of lasting value, and how much longer an effort of this kind has to be continued to be permanent.

But the ferment and conditions already at work in the Mexican American communities of Los Angeles, together with this definitive and positive effort to better things, and the amount of traffic generated by the combination of these two elements, appear to predict success for two of the major objectives of the project: to increase internal and external communication in the minority community and to help it perceive its needs and begin taking action to solve them.

[From Newsweek magazine, Mar. 10, 1969]

### SONG OF THE PEOPLE

Rafael, just home from Vietnam, can't seem to readjust to ghetto life. Miguel has betrayed the striking grapeworkers by becoming a scab. Jaime has immigration problems. Old Maton lives on welfare checks and booze. But the most crushing blow to the Ramos family comes when 18-year-old David is badly beaten by Los Angeles police during

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a high-school demonstration. Overcome, Mrs. Ramos sinks to the kitchen floor and begins praying to the Virgin of Guadalupe. "Por favor, get off your knees, Mama," chides her teen-age daughter. "We need to stand up. We need to be counted." Appalled, Mama Ramos slaps her daughter's face.

For the 257,000 Mexican-Americans living in greater Los Angeles, such supercharged yet pertinent traumas are nightly fare on "Canción de la Raza" (Song of the People), a 65-episode, bilingual soap opera produced by KCET, the city's educational TV station. Now a much bigger slice of the U.S.'s 6 million Spanish-speaking Americans are about to face life with the Ramoses. By April, "Canción" will be unwinding daily on educational channels in six more cities with dense Spanish-American populations.

**Gap:** The move may be television's first real stirring of awareness for the country's second-largest minority. While programming for and about blacks continues to escalate, the U.S.'s low-income "browns"—many of whom face a linguistic as well as a cultural gap—still recognize woefully little of themselves in TV's mirror. "Its problems are not their problems," says KCET programming director Charles Allen. "Even the news has very little real bearing on their everyday lives. To this degree, TV ceases to be a tool of socialization; it is rather, part of the process of alienation."

The Ford Foundation, which underwrote Allen's prospectus for "Canción" with a \$625,000 grant, favored the soap-opera approach because of its potential as an information service. During the 1940s, studies of radio audiences discovered that many rural housewives regarded the soaps as both arbiters of social behavior and vehicles for education. That no longer applies to today's sophisticated soap-watchers, but low-income, ethnic audiences are another matter.

Accordingly, the four Mexican-American writers of "Canción" regularly introduce the names and activities of various community agencies as part of their plots. In one episode, a pregnant wife visits the city's Maternity Infant Care Center while a young man learns about the Horizons program, which recruits drop-outs and prepares them for college. The show also jabs at ghetto villains: high-interest credit shysters, *curanderos* who practice quack medicine and school officials who automatically dismiss young Mexican-Americans as uneducable.

**Aid:** "Canción" has its critics. Middle-class viewers say that the Ramos home is atypically shabby; political militants dismiss the show as bourgeois brainwashing, and traditionalists worry about its tinkering with tradition (for instance, modern pragmatic daughter challenges old religious mama). No faction, however, has attacked "Línea Abierta" (Open Line), a unique half-hour KCET telephone show that encourages viewers of "Canción" to phone in questions about the various social services mentioned in each episode. During the first thirteen weeks, a staff of bilingual college and graduate students advised 800 callers on where to go and whom to see.

Whether Puerto Ricans and Cubans in the six other cities will relate to "Canción" as well as the Mexican-Americans is uncertain. But if nothing else, the show's exposure should impress on non-Latin viewers that the crisis of the ghettos cannot be viewed in just black and white terms. "Most people still regard us as the happy, quaint, *mañana* people," says Ed Moreno, one of KCET's staffers. "Well, I don't want to be quaint, any more. I don't even know how to play the guitar—and I don't care."

LINEA ABIERTA—"IMMIGRATION AND ILLEGAL RESIDENCY"

Broadcast: 7:00 p.m. Monday, January 6, 1969.

Panel: Mel Sherman, International Institute of Los Angeles; Arthur Camargo, Neighborhood Nationalities Service Center; Judge Philip Newman, Municipal Court of Los Angeles Judicial District.

Host: Eduardo Moreno.

EDUARDO MORENO. Buenos noches amigos y bienvenidos a nuestro programa regular de los lunes Línea Abierta.

Good evening ladies and gentlemen and welcome to KCET's regular Monday night program Línea Abierta. Tonight we will discuss the problems of Immigration and Illegal Residency which face a vast number in the Mexican-American community. Our guests are men who are vitally involved in working for solutions for these problems. They are: Mel Sherman of the International Institute, Arthur Camargo of the Nationalities Service Center, and Judge Philip Newman of the Municipal Court of Los Angeles Judicial District.

MORENO. Mr. Sherman, in many instances you have expressed the feelings that the illegal status of many Mexican and Latin American immigrants here is at the root of many of the difficulties for the Mexican-American employment and education, literacy and what have you. Now would you elaborate on this please.

MEL SHERMAN. Well, at the Institute we look at the human problems that these expressions of the problems present to us and we're very concerned because we've had at our agency many people who have lived in mortal fear of being deported. This leads to mental illness, it leads to exportation by employers, it leads to parents being afraid to have their children enrolled in school for fear they will be caught and then deported so we're very concerned about how this affects the total Mexican-American community in the Los Angeles area.

MORENO. You wouldn't say then that the problems the Institute is concerned with is just the problem of the illegal immigrant but the problem that the illegal immigrant also causes in the community; is that so?

SHERMAN. Yes, I think that puts it very well. It's almost like an infectious disease because of the fact that people don't get the proper medical care for fear of discovery. This leads to, in a way, really affecting other parts of the community—poor educational. There is a problem of not getting sufficient educational opportunities because of fear of discovery and this leads to many other social problems and this is what we're very concerned about.

Judge PHILIP NEWMAN. I might add there Mr. Moreno, the additional sociological economic problems presented by this influx of illegal immigrants also creates a big market for exploitation of the aliens by people who prey upon them, who exploit them financially, economically, promising results by way of adjustment of status or by reimmigration when they are not even able or qualified to resolve these problems but they are getting large fees from people who can't afford it. That's why it's so nice to have people like Mr. Sherman and Mr. Camargo here who are people who know the area of immigration who are accessible to people who have problems and people don't have to resort to unauthorized practitioners and be victims of exploitation.

MORENO. Let me ask Arthur Camargo who is with—what is the name of your organization?

CAMARGO. The Nationalities Service Center. MORENO. What are you concerned with in this Nationalities Service Center?

CAMARGO. We have been for quite some time trying to take care of the clients or people who come to us for services who reside farther and quite a distance from the International Institute who is located more towards the downtown area of Los Angeles. Our clients come mostly from towns of Pico Rivera, Whittier, Santa Fe Springs and points

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east from there. We have encountered, as mentioned here before, quite a lot of very serious and large number of immigration problems of people who have come to us with severe immigration problems. A lot of them as mentioned here also have been exploited unnecessarily because we all know that essentially a person does not require the services of a lawyer in order to legalize their residence in this country. Quite often they require possibly a little bit of basic help in completing certain documents and they require sometimes a little bit of moral assistance in being accompanied to an office and since they are sometimes people that are simple essentially and are not accustomed to complete documents to go through legal processes and they are very much ill at ease and uncertain.

NEWMAN. Let me interrupt for a moment perhaps in defense of my profession—my legal profession. I don't want to disagree with Mr. Camargo but I know—I've practiced in this area for twenty some years as a practicing attorney in the field of immigration and there are cases are there not where there are intricate legal questions that may require appeals to the Board of Immigration or judicial review where legitimate lawyers now—before I mention the unauthorized practitioners that people who hold themselves out as lawyers were not lawyers—I say that the social worker who is skilled certainly can handle the routine problem but I would also like to say that there are skilled professional lawyers whose services are needed in certain cases.

MORENO. Alright gentlemen. However, one of the points that most of the people that are opposed to any service to the illegal immigrant or to the immigrant in general, one of the points that they frequently make is that the person who comes into the country illegally if he experiences any of the things that you have exposed it's his own fault and therefore his just fault paying what he owes to society or he is taking part of his own medicine. Now how do you react to this feeling because the feeling is not without generalization in the community as such.

SHERMAN. It seems to me this is a most distressing feeling. We have in this country—most of us are descendants of immigrants. I myself am a first generation American. My father came here to make a new life for himself and his family and most of the people who are here illegally are people who want to make a better life for themselves and their family. They want to get better education for their children, they want to make a decent wage. Unfortunately the economic conditions in Mexico are such that many of these people are earning \$2.00 to \$3.00 per day. To come to our country with its opportunities is just really part of what I used to think was the American dream and I find it very distressing that we don't have the kind of sympathy for the newcomer nowadays; the person who used to be called the new-seed immigrant, the kind of people that made the United States what it is today. Now we have many people who want to make this life for themselves, are willing to work hard, who don't want to go on welfare, who only want the opportunity to become a part of this country and we have found, and Mr. Camargo and his outpost have found, that there are many people who live in fear of discovery who are able to become legal residents.

MORENO. What grounds are there to help a person who is illegally in the country or who has migrated illegally to the country. On what grounds do you decide that you can . . .

NEWMAN. I would say this Mr. Moreno. Technically the illegal immigrant has violated the law. No question about it. He entered without compliance with the legal requirements. But I don't believe you can

equate a person who has broken the laws for purpose of improving himself and his family with somebody who engages in anti-social conduct and is detrimental to the community and there is no question logically illegally they are in violation of the law but the equities are different. There are people—I agree with Mr. Sherman, people whose only sin against society is seeking a better way of life, so it's more of an equitable difference than a legal difference.

MORENO. Fine. Then you have mentioned some of the problems that the immigrant faces in here. For instance, one of the things that you said is that sometimes he does not register his kids in school because he is afraid that through his kids he is going to be found. What do you do with a problem of this nature?

CAMARGO. Well, on certain occasions we have been able to make arrangements with the Board of Education to have these children admitted in school on the promise we are going to help the parents attempt to solve their immigration problems.

MORENO. We are talking about children perhaps American born kids?

CAMARGO. Quite often yes, this is the case exactly—who have not gone to school simply because they are in fear, because the parents are in fear that they are going to be discovered so we have encountered a number of very tragic situations where we have seen children as old as 16 years of age who have not attended a school for five or six years actually.

MORENO. Are there cases where both parents are illegal immigrants?

CAMARGO. Yes. Occasionally people come to us with hundreds of problems, all sorts of you might say strange and weird combinations of immigration problems. Sometimes both parents may conceivably be here illegally.

MORENO. You have also expressed your feelings about the exploitation—the economic exploitation that the immigrant goes through. Would you elaborate on this point?

NEWMAN. My favorite subject of course is the use or abuse of the so-called commuter or green card holder where a person resides on the other side of the border, that is the Mexican-American border, and is employed on the American side at a lower standard of wages. He is being deprived of the benefits of organized labor with union contracts, he is driving down the wage scales being paid less because of the fact that he lives on the other side of the line and his cost of living is lowered. I think that's one point that should be brought out especially true in the Rio Grande Valley in Texas and Arizona. Now I think Mr. Sherman mentioned other people for example the illegal, who we call the illegal Mexican, the "wet", who is driving wages down. We discussed that earlier, do you want to elaborate upon that?

SHERMAN. Again, there is where the illegal is, in a way, exploited in a way, the pond of the economic problems that we have in this country, because there are certain minimal jobs that pay minimal wages and it's often difficult because of these minimal wages for the job to be filled. But again, to a person who is making \$2.00 to \$3.00 a day, \$1.50 an hour seems like a fortune so that the illegal is very willing to work for this wage and because of the fact that the job is filled this causes the economic situation to continue, the wage continues to be depressed and this way the whole economic system is poor. The job doesn't meet the law of supply and demand, the wage does not go up because of this because here are these illegal immigrants ready to fill this job. And one thing that I think we have to say is that no one really knows how many illegal immigrants there are in the Los Angeles area. We do know that last year the Immigration Naturalization Department with a relatively small force picked up and deported over 20,000 illegal immigrants. Now, if they actually discovered

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that many it's incredible to guess as to how many there are. Maybe the Judge would want to guess.

NEWMAN. I think I've heard the figure of 30,000 in the district of Southern California and Arizona. In the previous conference of this type that we had the figure of 30,000 was used as those who are resident deported but unfortunately the matter of the illegal resident, if we can call them that, is kind of paradoxical. It's subject to economic pressures. When this country needs a pool of cheap labor somehow they seem to manage to let them in and keep them here for awhile then when labor conditions tighten up all of a sudden they are discovered and deported when they are no longer needed.

What we lack is an organized system of letting workers here on a permanent basis comparable to what we have in the Law 148, the El Bracero Contract Law, whereby there isn't this constant flow back and forth to the detriment of the people who are uprooted from one country into another.

MORENO. Essentially you are saying then that the system, the economic system also abets, aids and abets the problem.

NEWMAN. That's right.

MORENO. Now, doesn't it happen also that the immigrant is discovered in many places that are known that they hire this type of immigrant?

NEWMAN. No question about it. The Immigration Service knows the type of industry or business where the illegal Mexican is more likely to be hired. It becomes almost like a game. We talked about that before also.

MORENO. Now what kind of industry generally employs this type of immigrant?

NEWMAN. Well, of course, the packing houses and agriculture, the restaurants, some of the manufacturing—garment industry for example, and what others can you think of Mel?

SHERMAN. I think it's usually light manufacturing you know, where there are unskilled positions, where there is seasonal supply and demand of workers, some of the fish packing industries you know where it is seasonal.

MORENO. Some of the illegal practices that have been mentioned to me are raids on payday. Now is this frequent? In other words, immigration raids on payday so that the individual does not collect his pay for the week that he has worked before.

NEWMAN. I don't think so. It has been my experience to the contrary but I have seen people who are picked up by Immigration for deportation—they made sure they got their pay that was coming to them before they were sent out. I've never come across any specific cases for contention at all.

MORENO. Fine. Now what do we do then to help the immigrant that is illegally in the United States and can the immigrant, the illegal immigrant, be aided at all?

SHERMAN. I think we have to say that the Immigration and Naturalization Department in the L.A. District really recognizes that this is a problem and that there is an administrative program that they have set up to help the illegal immigrant and it's called the Mexican Equity Visa Program and under this program an illegal immigrant who has what is termed equity in the country can be helped to legalize his family ties. There are family ties, American born children, one or either husband and wife American born or a resident alien and actually the Immigration Department is very concerned about helping these people. They refer many of these people to our Institute for help.

Unfortunately they have a rather small number of agents working on this program so that they only process about 250 individuals and families a year and that's a relative drop in the bucket and they're very concerned about this also. They would like to expand the program but they have not been able to get extra resources to hire more aid.

MORENO. How does this equity visa work? Maybe you can say it in Spanish for those people who don't have a good command of English.

(For the next few minutes the participants speak in Spanish. The following is a translation.)

CAMARGO. The way it works is thus. If, for example, a person is married to a legal resident or citizen of the United States and they have a child born in this country, they can, at the present time, make an application and possibly the relative or family member who is here legally will have the chance to arrange their immigration business, if he can present evidence that he is employed [and] that he won't become a public charge.

MORENO. Let's say that he is employed. Isn't this being employed already a violation of the law and doesn't it work against him?

CAMARGO. That is one of the aspects of this so complex problem.

NEWMAN. Employment alone isn't a crime.

MORENO. In other words, [if he was employed] he may have the chance to return, let's say, as a legal immigrant.

NEWMAN. If he worked at a legal occupation here, it isn't a record or crime that can hinder his returning legally.

MORENO. And this equity, Mexican equity as you call it, does it also count in helping him solve his illegal problem. Does it count enough and, for example, that a great number is taking this equity?

CAMARGO. Well, if the person can prove that at the present time he has employment which is sufficient to support his family, and that he [fills] the other requirements that were mentioned previously, the case can be resolved.

NEWMAN. I believe that Mr. Moreno is referring to facilitating the entry if they have relatives here or family roots in a legal way, preference is given to visa applicants. He has preference for his turn in receiving his visa and expediting his return to this country.

(The participants begin speaking English again at this point.)

NEWMAN (to Mr. Sherman). Are we leaving you behind?

SHERMAN. Somewhat.

MORENO. This is the way sometimes our immigrants feel to be left behind because they do not understand English and I hope that you sense a little bit of the frustration that we Mexicans felt when we were unable to handle English. But going back to the topic. You mention another point of this question of immigration. You mention having relatives in the United States and having those relatives help you immigrate. Would you elaborate on that one.

SHERMAN. Well there are certain preference categories under our immigration law and under these certain preference categories let's say a minor child of a resident alien can immigrate to the United States, brothers and sisters have certain preferences of resident aliens, also parents of resident aliens or citizens have certain preferences. If anyone has any question about any of these problems they can contact the International Institute ...

MORENO. Whether they are legally or illegally in the country?

SHERMAN. Yes, if a person is here illegally and they have no opportunity legally of legalizing their illegal status—if you can get what I'm saying, then we will inform them and we will tell them that they must return to Mexico.

NEWMAN. There is a difference, Mr. Moreno. The person who has no conscience, an unauthorized practitioner, and here I am not talking about the legal profession, will strong that person along and give me \$300.00 today and \$300.00 next month and either go to Tijuana or Mexico and wait for me knowing all the time this person has no remedy for adjustment of the immigration status and

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he exploits and exploits that person up to a point then tells the person to go to Mexico and wait for the documents to arrive so of course that person can't get back to complain and he has been milked of all his hard earned funds.

SHERMAN. We often have people who have laid out as much as 3 to 4 to 5 thousand dollars trying to arrange—and again, this is a cultural thing because unfortunately in much of Latin America it is possible to sort of buy certain official favors. Of course this is impossible in our country and we have difficulty getting across to people that this is so and when the Judge was saying about attorneys—unfortunately many attorneys in Latin America are, in addition to being attorneys, notarys so that a person from that culture seeing a notary sign feels that this person is also an attorney and they're willing to trust them when unfortunately many of these notaries are the most terrible offenders.

NEWMAN. I would like to say it in Spanish for the benefit of our audience.

MORENO. Before we go into that it's an important point because I think that our people should have complete information about the International Institute and I hope you are able to give us the address of the International Institute please.

SHERMAN. We're at 435 South Boyle Avenue and our telephone number is 261-4171.

MORENO. And could we get the information of the Neighborhood office of the Nationalities Service?

CAMARGO. We are located at 8830 East Whittier Boulevard in Pico Rivera. We're right at the corner of Whittier and Rosemead Boulevards. The telephone number is 699-7619.

MORENO. Mr. Newman you brought a very good point before.

(The participants begin speaking in Spanish again at this point.)

NEWMAN. Yes, in Spanish, please.

I would like to advise our listening public of that which Mr. Sherman referred. About the coyotes who hide under the title of "notary", in the Latin American countries, and Mr. Sherman said in English, the notary is a lawyer. In order to be a notary, he has to be a licensed lawyer. In this country, in this state in particular, the notary doesn't have to be a lawyer or licensed. Anyone who can read and write can become a notary someday or other. The Latin American often goes and seeks the person who advertises himself—something a lawyer can't do, advertise himself—the notary advertises himself as an authority in immigration matters and actually, they use that in order to exploit the illegal and drain him of all his savings. I want to clarify that a notary isn't necessarily a lawyer.

CAMARGO. Something else that occurs to me is that another result of this situation is that many people don't trust us sometimes because they don't understand why we can give them services without charging them a lot of money.

MORENO. Good, that was the question I was going to ask you, too. Who is giving the funds to you so you can serve the community in that way? Who's paying for your services?

(The participants speak in English again from this point to the end of the program.)

NEWMAN. Well you're a Community Chest agency aren't you?

SHERMAN. Yes, we're a member of the United Way and we get about 70% of our budget from the United Way—give your fair share next time—time for a commercial.

MORENO. So that United Way which is an umbrella organization is actually funding the services of the Nationalities Services.

SHERMAN. We are 55 years old and if we really are the expression—(Mr. Newman, "Please, I'm not that old") of the communities concerned for the immigrant and over the years we've helped different groups as they've come in and now there is no question that the group that needs the most help of the Institute are immigrants from Mexico.

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versalist Association, on a voyage down the Colorado River.

The trip came 99 years after a similar exploratory journey by Maj. John Wesley Powell. A copy of Reverend Booth's fine article follows for the information of the Members because of the points he makes regarding conservation of the river. It implies that there is a constantly reserved decision between needs of an expanding population and conservation:

**MAN: THE EARTH KILLER**  
(By John Nicholls Booth)

In the summer of 1967, for the first time in the Grand Canyon of the Colorado's century old relationship to the white man, no one dared drink freely of its waters. Pollution had begun.

Of greater seriousness is the potential wrecking of this unique canyon's integrity by human beings who would construct enormous dams across the captive monarch's lifeline. Does the Grand Canyon have only three centuries more of unspoiled existence ahead?

Exactly ninety-nine years to the month after Major John Wesley Powell, in 1869, first explored this chasm of mystery lying deep in Indian territory, a group of us duplicated his exact route aboard two pontoon-type rafts. Our "expedition" sailed the 295 miles from Lees Ferry to Lake Mead in nine days. We shot 161 rapids, portaging none, and lost no one overboard, a tribute to our death grips, ape affinities and river pilot skills. Smashing through boulder-filled rapids, amidst inundating waves, ripping cross currents and suction "holes" on an open raft, combines the experience of over-Niagara-Falls-in-a-barrel, the roller coaster and a momentary tropical hurricane. Insurance covered my photographic equipment damages shooting the king-size Lava Falls rapids. Weathered plaques and a wreck or two dot the canyon to memorialize abruptly ended lives.

For days on end we drifted or hurtled through an oven-hot solitude virtually untouched by mankind and its markings. No telephone wires, settlers' cabins, bridges or humans broke the rhythm of the wilderness. Vertical canyon walls a prison make, and we were happy because of it. Only an occasional vapor trail slashing across the blue ceiling of our world reminded us that we were not on an alien planet.

At night, as we camped on sandbars, the darkened sky glowed with a carpet of diamonds. I recalled the millions of other huge worlds sharing space with us. Looking up, I understood afresh why man can no more resist exploring space that he can stop investigating the mighty Colorado River.

Twice during our Kon Tiki journey down the deep stone slot our silver-gray rafts passed borings in the vertical rock at particularly narrow points in the gorge. Engineers have been testing the stone's strength to act as an anchor for a pair of huge dams proposed by the Bureau of Reclamation.

The government claims that the barriers are obligatory parts of any Colorado River water project. Conservationists, led by the Sierra Club, deny that this is true. After the Congressional hearings on the issue, termed the battle of the century to save the Grand Canyon, the legislators finally passed a bill giving victory to the anti-dam forces. The sites at Marble Gorge and Bridge Canyon remain unchanged.

My sense of spiritual uplift was augmented by ruminating upon this narrow escape; I watched the multi-hued stone fairyland floating by far overhead. Nature's eroded towers defied imagination. Music temples? Oriental pagodas? Buttressed cathedrals? Regal palaces? Row on row, they soared a mile upward into the sky. Drifting through the multi-colored bowels of this ageless rock, with the peace and violence of

## JOURNEY DOWN THE COLORADO

**HON. CRAIG HOSMER**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the Reverend John Nicholls Booth, minister of the Unitarian Church in Long Beach, Calif., recently wrote an article for UUA Now, the magazine of the Unitarian Uni-

eternity overwhelmingly felt, a strange power took possession of the spirit. One moment, a rare sense of calm; then a delicious exaltation. Puny as we obviously were, we yet found new wings of faith and courage and insight amidst such dimensions of space, form and magnificence.

Is man going to convert this dynamic river into a dead reservoir and substitute a static museum piece for this living laboratory? Nowhere on earth can the history of our planet's crust be read so far back into time. Each stratum represents a former surface of the earth. Once the ocean rested here; another stratum proves the ancient existence of live volcanoes. The oldest rocks, gneiss and schist, at the water's edge, iron black and as hard as any on earth, are 1.7 billion years old. We could hardly conceive what those rocks had endured in time.

No organism resembling man walked this globe when most of that rock was laid down. When the next stratum is completed, will any human eyes be left to examine it? Indeed, if all the history currently recorded in those exposed cliffs were telescoped into twenty-four hours, man's presence would come only in the last one-fifth second of the final hour.

The victory of the conservationists in preserving this eighth wonder of the world may be short-lived. Pressures for more water for irrigation and electrical power for industry are compounded relentlessly by the population blast. This Damoclean menace to mankind, polluting, exploiting and destroying our little terrestrial home, begins in the human genes. The Grand Canyon may depend upon the "pill" for survival.

Strangely, the crisis also emerges from man's race against the river's incredible burden of silt and rocks. A half-million tons of suspended silt move every day in that surging current. Another half-million tons of boulders roll every twenty-four hours along the stream bed. Prior to the construction of the Hoover and Glen Canyon Dams, this fantastic mass of material was deposited in the Gulf of California. Today, much of it is piling up behind the two dams and slowly filling in Lakes Mead and Powell, created behind them.

Steep walls around the lakes make dredging presently prohibitive. Perhaps future technology will solve this. If not, the lakes will disappear in silt, rendered useless as reservoirs, and the dams, as power generators, become unworkable. The Bureau of Reclamation insists that additional "clean" dams are the answer. One might accept philosophically this breaking up of canyon and river in sections if the dam building (profanity intentional) would provide lasting benefits.

One old-timer on the river remarked to me: "After a few decades, each dam will eventually be silted-in and useless. In 300 years the Colorado will be a dead river. Its length will be marked by a series of huge earthen steps, tombstones to engineering efforts to supply mankind temporarily with water and power."

Marble Gorge Dam would submerge under eighty-five feet of water such incomparably lovely spots as the mouth of Havasu Creek, Vasey's Paradise, Elves Chasm and Redwall Cavern. Bridge Canyon would back water all the way through the National Monument and thirteen miles into the National Park. All would finally become buried under silt and boulders.

We are living in the sunset years of earth's untouched monuments. Man is hurriedly laying cement, noise and waste over the jewels bequeathed him by ages of unspoiled nature. Unless systematic planning for conservation is respected the wilderness treasures will vanish forever.

On September 1, 1968, exactly ninety-nine years and three days after Major Powell himself, minus three "deserters" lost to Indian arrows, emerged from the Grand Canyon, we

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

too sailed our rafts out onto Lake Mead. Ignominiously, in our moment of triumph, we became stranded on a mudbank, victims ourselves of the river's diabolical silt.

Man! Pollute and disfigure this glorious creation. Engineers and builders! Smother it in grey mountains of cement. Choke the mighty cleft's blazing beauty and touches of wonder into a crumbling dump. Patience? Why wait for nuclear power? We crave electricity now. Besides, the Colorado's bed may be chiseled to sea level by silt and rock in five million years, anyway....

### REVISING THE SOCIAL "INSECURITY" SYSTEM

#### HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, March 19, 1969*

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, on January 3, 1969, I introduced H.R. 201 which would permit social security beneficiaries to earn up to \$3,000 a year without reduction of benefits.

As we all know the present law limits such earnings to \$1,680, which is indeed inadequate. A recent survey of my own city, Philadelphia, has indicated that a family of four, to maintain "a moderate standard of living," must have income of more than \$9,000 annually.

It is easy to understand why one of my constituents have tagged the program the Social "Insecurity" System.

As inflationary pressures mount against fixed incomes, this Congress must act to relieve the plight of many of our senior citizens.

These proud, and often lonely, Americans have woes enough keeping afloat in the swirling seas of change and dislocation.

The Committee on Federal Legislation of the New York State Bar Association has prepared a report on my bill and similar bills introduced by two of my colleagues. I enter that report for the RECORD:

NEW YORK STATE BAR ASSOCIATION, COMMITTEE ON FEDERAL LEGISLATION

#### REPORT ON BILLS TO INCREASE PERMISSIBLE OUTSIDE EARNINGS OF SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFICIARIES

Several bills have been introduced in the 91st Congress to amend Title II of the Social Security Act to increase from \$1,500 to \$3,000 the amount of outside earnings permitted without loss or deduction from benefits. H.R. 80 introduced by Mr. Anderson of Illinois makes this change as to both covered beneficiaries and their dependents; H.R. 201 introduced by Mr. Elberg of Pennsylvania for the breadwinner only. H.R. 1372 introduced by Mr. Thomson of Wisconsin would remove the limitation entirely.

In June 1966 the Committee on Labor and Social Security Legislation of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York unanimously recommended elimination of the limitation. Its report stated in part:

"BILLS TO PERMIT SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFICIARIES TO EARN INCOME TO THE EXTENT OF THEIR ABILITY WITHOUT DEDUCTIONS FROM SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS"

"Several bills are before the Congress to permit receipt of full Social Security benefits by otherwise qualified employees over 65 who are able to continue to make a contribution to their own welfare and to society by part-time or full-time work. This Committee endorses the purposes of the bills.

"Under present law, persons over 65 receiving Social Security benefits cannot earn more than \$1,680 per year without having their benefits reduced. Penalties are provided for failure to report earnings.

"These income limitations were initially enacted in 1935 during the period of the Great Depression, when the notion was widespread that as many persons as possible should be removed from the labor force in order to spread the available work. In our opinion the limitations serve no useful purpose today and should be removed.

"We have found other ways of promoting high employment than discouraging people anxious and willing to work. Social Security benefits are frequently insufficient by themselves to maintain our older citizens in the dignity which should be their lot. These citizens in our opinion should be encouraged in their efforts to supplement their income by constructive work which also redounds to the benefit of society. This seems particularly true today when many employers are reporting a shortage of qualified personnel for many jobs. Older citizens who possess skills accumulated during many years of experience may be especially qualified for many of these very positions. Indeed it is now recognized that an important segment of retired persons as the average life span lengthens, will want and need to continue to work beyond 65 in order to feel a sense of constructive usefulness in their lives.

"The earned income limitation is also contrary to the basic philosophy of the Social Security Act, which has always been that benefits were available as a matter of right on the basis of the contribution paid in through Social Security taxes, without resort to a "Means test" of any kind.

"In addition we note that under present law a person over 65 can receive an unlimited amount of income from investments, whereas he is penalized if he works to earn additional income. Similarly, those over 72 can now earn more than the limit without losing benefits. In our opinion such distinctions have no basis and should be abolished.

"We, therefore, endorse the bills calling for repeal of the income limitation."

We concur with this reasoning. We also note that at least in New York City, welfare authorities have concluded that a family of 4 needs \$6,000 for bare necessities.

He believes that an increase in the ceiling to \$3,000 would be desirable and we endorse this proposal even though we also favor complete removal of the limitation for the reasons given.

Committee on Federal Legislation: Richard A. Givens, Chairman; Anthony P. Marshall, Secretary; Leslie H. Arps, New York City; Harold Baer, Jr., New York City; Mark K. Benenson, New York City; Edward S. Blackstone, New York City; Vincent L. Broderick, New York City; Mason O. Damon, Buffalo; David M. Dorsen, New York City; John T. Elifvin, Buffalo; Robert B. Fiske, Jr., New York City; Lawrence W. Keehn, New York City; Norman Kellar, Kingston; Herbert C. Miller, New York City; George W. Myers, Jr., Buffalo; Bernard Nussbaum, New York City; Robert Patterson, Jr., New York City; Arthur C. Stever, Jr., Watertown.

### THE LUMBER PRICE CRISIS: A REALISTIC APPRAISAL

#### HON. WENDELL WYATT

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, March 19, 1969*

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, we are all aware of the difficulties in achieving our

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housing goals in America. Much blame has been directed at the lumber industry.

Mr. R. B. Pamplin, chairman of the board of Georgia-Pacific Corp., is a widely recognized and highly progressive leader in the wood products industry. Recently he issued a statement pointing up some of the realities of the situation, and suggested constructive solutions.

This statement should be of extraordinary interest to my colleagues in the Congress, who, like myself, are plagued with this problem. I present Mr. Pamplin's statement herewith:

**MOST PLYWOOD STILL BELOW PRICES OF 20 YEARS AGO—REALISTIC FEDERAL TIMBER POLICY HELD ANSWER TO LUMBER-PLYWOOD SHORTAGE**

Recent price increases shared by plywood, lumber and federal timber through competitive bidding in the marketplace "have been blown out of perspective by panic reaction," a major forest industry spokesman declared today.

"The largest part of the industry's plywood production still is selling at mill prices slightly below the level of 20 years ago," it was pointed out by R. B. Pamplin, chairman and president of Georgia-Pacific Corp., "but the recent recovery from near-record lows, caused by the 1966-67 housing recession, has been too rapid for builders' construction programming."

In a supplemental statement to the company's just-published annual report, he said "much of the current imbalance between the supply and demand, despite full plywood and lumber production to the limit of raw material supply, has been caused by temporary conditions.

"But a worse and more permanent shortage faces us in the future if remedial action is not taken now.

"An increase in the allowable harvest of over-ripe federal timber is urgently needed, but it must be done within long-term sustained yield timber growing programs to assure a continuous supply of raw material," Pamplin declared.

He said U.S. forest service studies indicate demand for timber will double during the next 30 years.

Two temporary factors are blamed for much of the current timber shortage and the resulting shortage of plywood and lumber. They are the worst winter logging weather in over half a century, coupled with log exports from federal lands. The latter problem is being eased by Congressional action curtailing exports, it was explained.

"However," Pamplin added, "with the long-range demand for forest products expected to increase sharply, a permanent supply-and-demand squeeze will develop soon if federal timberlands are not brought up to their full growth and harvest potential.

"We also must not lock up too much timber growing land in single-use, wilderness type withdrawals."

Federal lands are the industry's basic raw material supply since they comprise some 65 per cent of all commercial timberlands in the nation, it was pointed out. Industry owns only 15 per cent of the total. The remainder is in farm woodlots, watersheds and other scattered holdings.

"As the basic supplier, the federal government must assume basic responsibility. This means Congress should re-invest more federal timber sale revenues to grow more and better trees, and to provide access roads into over-ripe timber stands. This is a necessary part of our nation's multi-purpose wood fiber, watershed and recreational improvement program."

Plywood sheathing, the industry's basic product accounting for approximately 62 per cent of total 1968 softwood plywood produc-

tion, also is the basic construction material for walls, floors and roofs. Sheathing's current mill price index is \$6 a thousand square feet below 20 years ago, according to market reporting services.

Sanded plywood for cabinetwork and some other interior uses, plus lumber for framing and boards, are approaching 50 per cent above the 20-years-ago mill price index. Many manufacturing costs including wage rates, are up more than 100 per cent.

"We feel sanded plywood and lumber have risen too high too fast for the good of our industry or the construction industry, even though these products remain a bargain compared with vastly greater increases in almost every other construction area," Pamplin said.

Georgia-Pacific in early December instituted a plywood price freeze, rescinded early this year after the abrupt price climb slowed.

"The next 20 years will see much more pressure on raw material supplies to meet the nation's needs. Unless all federal timberlands not vitally needed for other purposes are geared to growing more and better trees faster, as modern timber management can do, we face much more serious supply-demand price problems," Pamplin declared.

"The private industry tree farms already are helping boost production of needed building products."

Georgia-Pacific's annual report to stockholders underlines the need for increased building product production by totaling, for the first time, a list of 17 new G-P building materials manufacturing facilities on which construction has either started or is about to start under the company's current \$220 million capital expansion program.

The new facilities will add 1.21 billion feet of building products to the company's capacity, plus chemicals for plywood, particleboard and hardboard adhesives.

Some of these facilities will be in production this year and most of the remainder by the first half of 1970.

This current expansion includes three new plywood plants and major expansion of three additional plants to add 500 million square feet of capacity, five new particleboard plants to add 400 million square feet, five new sawmills with 125 million board feet of lumber capacity, and a new gypsum plant with 185 million square feet.

The particleboard and gypsum wallboard share some uses with plywood.

The new chemical facilities will produce methanol, phenol, formaldehyde and resins.

Also involved are new pulp, paper, corrugated container, milk carton and safety paper operations to meet market demand and provide better timber utilization.

The Georgia-Pacific annual report shows 1968 net sales of \$1,023,930,000 up 15.6 per cent from the previous year, net income of \$76,620,000 up 30.9 per cent, cash flow of \$138,740,000 up 19.1 per cent and assets of \$1,268,890,000 up 10.8 per cent.

#### BEAM: VICTORY FOR WHOM?

#### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, Jacob Dyneley Beam has now been unanimously confirmed as U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Otto Otepka is now a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board.

Assuredly this is a victory—but for whom?

Mr. Speaker, I ask clippings from the Government Employees Exchange for

March 19, 1969

March 19, 1969, and the Manchester Union Leader of March 15, 1969 follow: [From the Government Employees Exchange, Washington (D.C.) Mar. 19, 1969]

**BEAM, CLEAN; OTEPKA UP—UNANIMOUS BEAM "OK" IS BIG ROGERS VICTORY**

Secretary of State William P. Rogers scored a "major victory" on March 13 over the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in the "unanimous voice vote for the confirmation" of Jacob Dyneley Beam as U.S. Ambassador to Moscow, a top official at the State Department stated to this newspaper on March 14.

The victory on the Senate floor followed a "unanimous record vote" the preceding day, March 12, in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the source stated.

The "magnitude" of the victory of Secretary Rogers over the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, which had printed and circulated hundreds of pages of testimony reflecting adversely on Ambassador Beam for his role in the Warsaw "sex and spy scandals", was described by the source as, "highly welcome even if still unbelievable."

He revealed that top officials at the State Department were "gloating in especial glee" over the "obvious absence" from the debate on Ambassador Beam of . . . prominent members of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee ". . . [who had] . . . built reputations for criticising the State Department's security programs."

Asked to explain why the "victory was unbelievable", the source said that the Internal Security Subcommittee members couldn't possibly have had a better target than Beam. Everything was involved: the old school tie, illicit sex, espionage, bugging, mismanagement. Moreover, nothing was secret about these; everyone on the Hill, down to the messengers, knew about Beam's record. Yet Bill Rogers made them all back down.

The "victory" of Secretary Rogers and the State Department over the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee was "doubly sweet", the top official stated, because Secretary Rogers had also "managed to maneuver things in a way to have Otepka kicked upstairs to membership on the Subversive Activities Control Board."

"We're all impressed and grateful to Bill Rogers," the source said for his "double victory" over the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. "He's really a professional. What Rusk couldn't do in eight years, he did in less than eight weeks," he concluded.

[From the Manchester Union Leader, Mar. 15, 1969]

**BEAM POST APPROVED DESPITE SPY SCANDALS**

(By Edith K. Roosevelt)

WASHINGTON.—The Senate unanimously approved the appointment of Jacob Beam as ambassador to Moscow despite disclosures by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee of sex and spy scandals involving Beam's subordinates while he was ambassador to Poland.

Sen. J. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) reminded the Senate of the "serious problems" that had developed in Warsaw while Beam was ambassador to Poland but did not oppose Beam's nomination. Thurmond said:

"I want to give the administration the benefit of the doubt."

The action followed a request by Rep. John R. Rarick (D-La.) for remanding Beam's nomination to the Senate Foreign Relations committee so that some serious questions could be answered. Rarick expressed indignation that the committee had refused to allow Michael D. Jaffe, general counsel for Liberty Lobby, to testify. The Louisiana Democrat said:

"Censorship and denial of free speech . . .

can but alarm more and more Americans who must be asking 'What are they trying to hide about Mr. Beam?'

Meanwhile, the administration reported that the ease with which Beam's nomination had breezed through the Senate indicated that there would be no difficulty in burying the Otepka case and bypassing promises made by President Nixon during his political campaign of a State Department cleanup.

The attitude of Sen. Everett Dirksen (R-Ill.) towards the Beam appointment was obviously the key inasmuch as he is credited in the Senate with the formula to appoint Otto F. Otepka to the Subversive Activities Control Board.

Another main proposal sponsored by Sens. Dirksen and Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, is a bill to set up a central security agency to carry out all security checks in the federal government including the State Department. Both senators are members of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee which disclosed in their own publications that Beam's embassy had been bugged with listening devices and that some of his attachés were compromised by mistresses working for Communist intelligence agencies.

Jaffe's statement, which Rarick inserted into the Congressional Record of March 12, said that while Beam was ambassador to Poland, he had asked the State Department to "induce" Radio Free Europe to "cease its Polish broadcasts."

The request was drafted by two foreign officers in Warsaw, Edwards Symans and Thomas A. Donovan. Symans was identified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee as a "double agent" for the United States and the Soviet Union, and Donovan, who was identified as being involved in the Warsaw sex and spy scandals, later made unauthorized telephone calls from Communist East Berlin to top Communist officials in the Polish ministry. When Foreign Service Officer Stephen A. Koczak reported Donovan's authorized telephone calls to superiors in Berlin, Koczak was fired from the Foreign Service.

The transcript of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on Beam, which Rep. Rarick inserted into the Congressional Record on March 11, discloses that no attempt was made to ascertain Beam's qualifications for the post. Many charges which bear directly on his ability to represent the United States in deals with the Kremlin were raised recently in the press by Clark R. Mollenhoff, Pulitzer Prize winning reporter for Cowles Publications, syndicated columnist James J. Kilpatrick; Sidney Goldberg, editor and publisher of Government Employees Exchange, and others.

The perfunctory Senate Foreign Relations hearings consisted mostly of clowning and spoofing between Senators over alleged "monopoly" exercised by eastern states over ambassadorial appointments.

Karl Mundt (R-S.D.) declared "When it has gotten to the point where representatives of eastern states publicly gloat about the monopoly they have, this message should be heard loud and clear in the State Department and in the White House."

By contrast, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee leveled a number of searching questions at Walter H. Annenberg, publisher of the Philadelphia Inquirer, who was nominated by Nixon to the Court of St. James. Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, cast the lone vote against Annenberg's appointment; later on the floor of the Senate, Sen. Stephen M. Young (D-Ohio) became the lone senator to oppose Annenberg's nomination. Sen. Young said that the Philadelphia publisher had "been consistently, al-

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most vehemently faithful to the Grand Old Party" (the Republican Party) and had supported Gov. Ronald Reagan of California at the GOP Convention in Miami Beach.

### EXPLOITATION OF ENDANGERED ANIMALS AND BIRDS MUST BE HALTED

#### HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, February 26, 1969*

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, more than 60 species or subspecies of mammals have become extinct since the beginning of the 20th century. This is about the same number which have vanished in the 1,900 years following the birth of Christ.

This one-a-year trend of our century does not include the species of birds have become extinct.

The need to protect endangered species of wildlife from extinction is becoming an international crisis.

By stopping the illegal commerce, which is the basic cause of this danger, much of this threat of extinction could be overcome.

I introduced a bill today to provide necessary controls against importation of endangered species of wildlife, or products made from their parts. This bill would move America into a leadership role in international conservation.

It recognizes our responsibility to help prohibit the illegal traffic of all wildlife taken in violation of Federal, State, or foreign laws. The enactment of this measure would encourage other nations to reject the disgraceful commerce and exploitation that poses the most serious threat to rare birds, mammals, amphibians, or reptiles in danger of extinction.

The preservation of endangered species which are being trapped, hunted, and crowded out of their natural habitat by man is important to the beauty of the world and to nature's balance. Each species can tell us important things about life and its evolution.

In another 50 years, big cats like tigers and leopards may be exterminated if the demand for their fur is not eased. This means the jaguar and ocelot will vanish from Central and South America, the cheetah from Africa, the tiger from Asia, and the leopard from all over the world.

The International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources estimates that 10,000 leopards are taken out of Africa each year on license, which is the maximum attrition rate the species can bear and still maintain itself.

But 60,000—six times that number—are taken by poachers each year. And, 30,000 of those are females, taken while their unweaned cubs are left to die of starvation.

Many countries of Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America are trying to preserve their treasured species. Yet, these rules are almost impossible to enforce

when in countries like America, with a large consumer market and purchasing capacity, allow the horns and hides of these illegally taken animals to be sold for high prices without regard to legality of their origin.

My bill would eliminate the major American market in "fun furs" and other such products derived from endangered species. This would reduce the illegal traffic in these products in other countries.

Cats and furred animals are not the only species so endangered. The threat extends to any bird or mammal, amphibian or reptile, which is valued because of its scarcity.

Any rare species is caught in a vicious cycle. Increased poaching means fewer animals. Fewer animals means increased prices because of the scarcity. Increased prices mean more incentive for poaching.

Illegal traffic in rare animals is also a domestic problem. The United States does not prohibit transportation through interstate commerce, of animals taken in violation of the laws of one of our States. There are various State laws protecting the native American alligator, for example, but no law to prevent them from being taken out. Once they get out of the State, they are on the open market.

The only way State regulations can be enforced is for the Federal Government to recognize its responsibility. We must take a leadership role in enacting forceful legislation designed to protect our native wildlife.

The number of endangered species native to the United States is now 78—including 14 mammals, 36 birds, six reptiles and amphibians, and 22 fishes.

On this list are the ivory billed wood-pecker, which could possibly be extinct now; the timber wolf, the grizzly bear, the California condor, and the whooping crane.

Let us be reminded of the extermination of the passenger pigeon. This was a tragic example of man's lack of judgment and foresight. If we are to help prevent the wanton destruction and eventual extinction of endangered wildlife species throughout the world, let us move quickly to provide the necessary controls through Federal legislation.

### STATEMENT ON THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN LEGION

#### HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, March 19, 1969*

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, out of the heritage of the American soldiers and sailors who left their homeland in 1917, 1918, and 1919 to fight for freedom has come a great tradition and great organization. These men, and the Americans who followed in their footsteps during World War II and succeeding conflicts, bear the proud title of veteran and through their veterans'

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

organizations have extended their citizenship to improve the quality of the Nation.

We are now celebrating the 50th anniversary of the founding of the American Legion, an organization of 2,600,000 of these citizen veterans, gathered together in 16,200 posts throughout this Nation and throughout the world. Founded on March 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17, 1919, in Paris, the Legion has grown not only in numbers, but in wisdom.

The true strength of the Legion has been not only in the activities in behalf of veterans—great and worthy as those activities have been—but in its efforts to extend the active service of the soldier, sailor, and airman to full participation as a citizen in the vital affairs of Government. Further, the American Legion, through its programs for youth, has helped build a strong and healthy America.

These efforts of the American Legion deserve the greatest of commendation and it is my pleasure to join in saluting the American Legion on its 50th anniversary and to join in its wish that true peace will be found and there will no longer be a need for Americans to die on foreign or domestic soil in the cause of freedom.

## RUMANIA'S PRIDE AND PERIL

## HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, the world is changing. Failure by big powers to realize this could be the opening wedge for a great conflict in the next decade.

It is almost unbelievable that in an era of the United Nations that one of the two great powers should be trying in every way to take over a smaller member of the United Nations by pressure both political and military.

In Eastern Europe there is a great swell of national pride and independence. Czechoslovakia evidenced some of that last year. Rumania and Yugoslavia are doing it this year. For one of the great powers to attempt to intervene in this situation could cause a world crisis. Rumania, the smaller state, has chosen to take its own position and to decide its future upon its own best self-interest. This is a part of all that is contained in the United Nations Charter and any nation that intervenes with this self-determination is violating that charter.

I submit herewith an editorial from the Washington Post of Wednesday, March 19, entitled, "Rumania's Pride and Peril." I am sure that all of my colleagues in both the House and Senate will want to read it with considerable interest. It sets out the problem perfectly.

## RUMANIA'S PRIDE AND PERIL

Rumania has just vetoed, at Budapest, a Soviet proposal to set up a new Moscow-run

organization to control the military units which members contribute to the Communist Warsaw Pact. Rumania also blocked a Soviet effort to condemn China in the wake of the Sino-Soviet border fighting. Earlier this year, Rumania had thwarted a Soviet initiative to create new bodies to exert "supernational" authority over the economies of East Europe. And for months Rumania has been fending off Moscow's attempts to conduct "maneuvers"—"maneuvers" paved the way for the invasion of Czechoslovakia—on Rumanian soil.

These various Soviet proposals are logical extensions of the "limited sovereignty" doctrine which Moscow put forth to justify its occupation of Czechoslovakia. The sovereignty to be limited, of course, is East Europe's, not Moscow's own. These proposals have reflected the hardline Kremlin configuration which produced last summer's armed attack on Prague. The insecure Polish and East German leaderships have supported the Soviet moves. Hungary and Czechoslovakia, proud but weak, have equivocated. Rumania, socialist but independent, has quietly and courageously balked.

The situation is cruelly ironic. Merely by standing firm and asserting its legitimate national rights, Rumania has put itself in extreme danger. No one can predict how the Kremlin will respond. It is hard to think that the handful of men who run Russia have become so entangled in their own frustrations that they can think to break out only by launching a second invasion of a European ally. Yet that prospect cannot be dismissed. Or perhaps there are others in the Kremlin capable of offering an alternative to the brutal Stalinist policy of threat and force.

It would be inconceivable that any American Government could continue seeking even limited agreements with the Soviet Union if the Red Army marched on Rumania.

## IMPORTS AND EXPORTS

## HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, last week, I had occasion to write to the Secretaries of Commerce, Labor, and State, as well as to the Tariff Commission, to urge a collaborative investigation of the pirating of jobs through the overseas operations of American plants.

What concerned me, in particular, was the abuse of an item, No. 807, in the tariff schedule. Through it, American manufactures can be shipped out of the country for assembly abroad. Once assembled, these goods can be returned duty free, except for the value added by the cost of foreign labor or by the inclusion of components of foreign origin.

As I understand it, a number of American firms have been establishing overseas plants in low-wage countries as a means of bypassing the living wages paid workers in this country. This practice is being employed by apparel and electronics firms. And I believe that an investigation is in order to determine whether No. 807 has been working for the best interest of the American people.

I have also discovered that many of the goods shipped under the provisions of

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No. 807, particularly components of foreign origin, are not being credited against our balance of payments. The result is a somewhat misleading and perhaps more favorable picture of our international trade balance. Because I think the following study on this subject, released this month by the research department of the IUE, AFL-CIO-CLC, does an excellent job of describing the distortions in the trade balance picture, under unanimous consent I submit the study for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

## IMPORTS AND EXPORTS

The United States has traditionally enjoyed a favorable international trade balance: our exports have exceeded imports by substantial amounts. Our trade surplus has helped pay for such things as keeping our troops stationed abroad to protect vital American interests and for travel abroad by American citizens. Without a high favorable trade balance, our international payments position would be far worse than it is. The strength of the dollar abroad would be in danger.

In 1968, however, the U.S. trade surplus fell to \$100 million from \$3.5 billion in 1967, a drop of \$3.4 billion. Unless there is a dramatic reversal this year, our trade position will be seriously weakened. Responsible for the sharp 1968 drop in our surplus was a 23.5 percent increase in imports (five times the rate of increase of the preceding year), compared with a 9.4 percent gain in exports (from 5.3 percent in 1967 and an average 1960-67 rise of 6.7 percent). In sum, the rate of gain in imports was substantially higher than the gain in exports.

Figures reported by the U.S. Department of Commerce for Electrical Apparatus show a favorable trade balance in 1968, with exports of about \$2 1/4 billion and imports of \$1 1/2 billion. There were export advances in engines and parts (including nonelectrical powered engines), Telecommunications Apparatus (plus 12 percent), Electric Power Machinery (up 4 percent), Electronic Computers and parts (plus 12 percent) and Cooling Equipment (plus 14 percent).

However, the Commerce Department figures are, to some extent at least, misleading. For example, the bulk of the increase in computer exports went to Hong Kong where assembly operations were expanded and to Great Britain and Germany. American firms, in other words, exported parts to their overseas plants—that is, to themselves. Computers previously manufactured in the U.S. are now being manufactured abroad. Similarly, a one-third advance in exports of transistors and semi-conductors largely reflected greater shipments by U.S. companies to their subsidiaries abroad for assembly. Many of these components are returned to the U.S. in the form of finished electronic products.

There is a growing trend—marked in our industry—for an American firm with overseas plants to export and import to itself. One plant exports parts and, after assembly abroad, the company then imports, finishes and sells the completed product. Or, the company will build a plant abroad, close its domestic plant, transfer the product line to the new foreign plant, import and distribute the assembled and finished items in the U.S. market. What happens is that domestic production is being transferred abroad, with a consequent loss of jobs. For example, employment in the Radio and TV receiving sets industry declined from 135,000 in 1966 to 110,000 in 1968. Employment in Components dropped from 287,000 to 262,000. There was a loss of 50,000 jobs in these two industries during a period of rising employment.

Here are some basic consumer product import statistics:

During the January-September, 1968 period, domestic production of home radios declined by one-fourth ( $1\frac{1}{4}$  million sets as against January-September, 1967). During the same period imports rose by almost 3.2 million sets (to about 20 million sets). Imports of radios by American manufacturers from their overseas plants totaled 4,150,761, a 1.1 million increase from the same 1967 period. Ninety percent of the radios sold in the U.S. are manufactured abroad.

Imports of TV sets were up nearly 60 percent in 1968, reaching a total of 2 million sets. Many corporations like Westinghouse, Ford-Philco, Admiral, Sylvania and others are transferring production of color as well as of black and white TV sets to their own plants in other countries or to plants of foreign companies. In effect, they are becoming importers and distributors in this country of TV sets made abroad but previously manufactured in the U.S.

Imports of phonographs carrying a U.S. brand name have almost doubled within the past year, while domestic production of phonographs registered a decline. Imports of phonographs not carrying a U.S. brand name declined 15 percent in 1968.

For each tape recorder produced in the U.S., over 8 are imported, and as many imports carry a U.S. brand name as are produced in this country. While cartridge and cassette recorders make this industry one of the more promising consumer industries in terms of sales growth, domestic production has declined nearly 25 percent. Plans of American corporations indicate practically all tape recorders carrying a U.S. brand name will be produced abroad within the next two or three years.

In summary, the multinational American-based corporation is importing and exporting to itself, allocating markets to its various domestic and overseas subsidiaries, shifting production in search of the country or territory with the lowest paid workers, seeking all kinds of tax, trade, wage and other advantages without regard to the effects on its employees and the impact on the domestic economy.

#### THE NEW ROLE OF BUSINESS LEADERSHIP IN COMMUNITY AND URBAN AFFAIRS

#### HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, somewhat by chance I recently ran across a speech given by a very prominent member of the country's business community, and, after reading the first few paragraphs, I found it intriguing enough to continue. While I am sure the attitude expressed in this speech is not unique in American business circles, it still does have certain rather special qualities that give it an individuality and a ring of sincerity that catches one up.

I am referring to a speech given by Mr. Roger Lewis, president of the General Dynamics Corp., to the American Management Association on February 4 of this year. General Dynamics is one of the largest manufacturers of defense weapons systems in the world. And I think the fact that this kind of speech by a man almost totally occupied by defense business gives it a special significance.

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Those who people Mr. Lewis' speech are the disadvantaged of this country, those who for no reason other than lack of opportunity for education, economic and social discrimination, or perhaps sheer bad luck, have failed to reach even the outer periphery of our affluent society.

Mr. Lewis, referring to the apathy or prejudice that has permitted this situation to become an unhappy part of our social structure, says—and says with warmth and sincerity:

It is absolutely necessary to get the underprivileged within the large minority groups of our population into the mainstream of American economic life without further delay. Negroes, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans and Indians have equality under law. However, large numbers of each group are denied equal economic opportunity.

We have been called a monolithic managerial society. Perhaps this is so. But I, for one, am encouraged by the flutter of a heartbeat of understanding—and an activism—that I find in such a prominent representative of the industrial part of our Nation currently engaged in a significant and often vital part of our productive effort.

Mr. Speaker, I most strongly recommend the reading of Mr. Lewis' speech to all Members of the House, but I recommend it most particularly to those in the House who worry about the role of defense industries in our society:

#### THE NEW ROLE OF BUSINESS LEADERSHIP IN COMMUNITY AND URBAN AFFAIRS

(By Roger Lewis)

The title of this talk is "The New Role of Business Leadership in Community and Urban Affairs." We selected this as the best of three possibilities last fall when you invited me to appear before this meeting. The three were similarly elegant but, in one way or another, they all came down to our old, old friend—"The Social Responsibility of Business"—1969 Style.

The concept of the social responsibility of business, which developed quite naturally from the settlement of battles of the last century over government regulation of business, has been so often raised and, I am afraid, has become so shopworn, that it has become a cliche—high sounding, but vague—like "turning the other cheek," "doing unto others," or even "be prepared." But it does recognize that life is serious, that the world is a pretty tough place in which to live, and that we must at least try to get along with one another and move in the general direction of truth and light or we won't get along at all. Unfortunately, the phrase is so safe, so general and so long-ranged that it does not carry with it the sense of immediacy vital in 1969.

The theme of this Conference, "The Crisis of Change," and the addition of the phrases "new role" and "community and urban affairs" supply the sense of urgency required. The questions then are—what society are we talking about?—where is it headed?—where does business fit?—what are the peculiar and special responsibilities of business leadership?—how best do we proceed? Before we go any further, it seems to me that business has got to understand both its own nature and its role in society; and to feel and display a healthy self-respect. To many observers, certainly among students and other critics of our society, business has through the years come to mean trading—personal prosperity from an unearned increment—

and the trials and tribulations of businessmen are seen as only the troubles of one horse trader trying to get the better of another.

There is too little appreciation that business really means industry—the science, the technology and the capability to produce a never-ending supply of better things that people need and want to make their lives better. Business, i.e., industry, is the primary creator of the resources from whence our defense, our health, education and welfare services, our highways and improvements to our environment flow. Business is the power station that arms the common defense, lights the hospital and the school, and feeds and clothes us. Business is our great national engine, the importance of which we take for granted until we perceive the social consequences of its fault or failure.

The special virtues of our economic system have in recent years become far more visible to others than they have to us. Perhaps we can learn something by viewing ourselves as others see us. Two years ago, a young French journalist, J. J. Servan-Schreiber, published a book entitled *The American Challenge*, which immediately became a best-seller. Throughout Europe it has provoked a lively and widespread debate on economic policy, and one critic has gone so far as to say that the work of the 44-year-old Frenchman will have the same impact on the revitalization of Europe as Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* had on the American Revolution. The thesis is simple. The third force in the world, after the U.S. and Russia, will be U.S. ownership in Europe—not through investment of U.S. surplus capital, because it is financed in Europe; not by a plan for political domination, for there is none; not by scientific or technological superiority because there are at least as many scientific and technological discoveries in Europe as there are in the U.S.

The basic characteristic of this force, says Servan-Schreiber, is U.S. understanding of the art of organization, the capacity to mobilize intelligence and talent, the release of human energy by the American system of individual initiative, the innovative know-how of teams and the flexibility of business structure; to be more specific, the decentralization of business decision-making in a highly organized system based on large economic units, nourished by an industrial, academic and government complex. Quite simply, says our French critic, American business and industry recognizes that social justice is not the enemy of economic growth, but a necessary condition for growth of an industrial society.

Let us look at an even more remarkable appreciation—one from the Soviet Union. Andrei Sakharov, now 47 years old, is generally considered the father of the Russian H-Bomb—an Edward Teller, Robert Oppenheimer and Hans Bethe all in one. Since 1960 he has been a leader in Russian intellectual life, initially a strong advocate of technological and scientific integrity and, more recently, an observer and critic of Russian institutions and the critical developments in his own and other countries. His paper, entitled "Progress, Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom" has been circulating hand-to-hand in Russia for about a year. While it cannot be bought in Moscow, it has been published in this country by the *New York Times*, and I strongly recommend it to you. Sakharov is an unrepentant Communist. He has high faith in "socialism and the glorification of labor" and he has no use for "the egotistical nature of private ownership and the glorification of private capital."

Nevertheless, insofar as high productivity of labor is concerned, he sees capitalism and socialism as unequal contestants that have played to a tie. For, says he, the relative strength of the two contestants is like that of

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two skiers—one of which went first, picking the course, crossing the ice, breaking the fresh snow; while the other, starting later, was able to follow his track, move more swiftly, and catch up. The USSR, he asserts, is in many areas just catching up with the U.S. and then only in some of the old, traditional industries like coal and steel. In the newer fields such as automation, computers and petrochemicals, she is not only lagging behind, but growing more slowly. Keeping in mind the ski track effect, he concedes that the Soviet Union has adopted the principles of organization and technology previously tested in the U.S.

The great parts of our society are not equal parts. Business and industry is not only the great heart pumping vitality into the whole of our system. It is the greatest such heart the world has even seen, the envy of friend and critic. It is the platform of our present and the launch pad of our future.

Now, what about the crisis of change? What challenges and opportunities does it present? How are business and industry to lead, and where?

Having quoted bold and original minds from France and Russia, it is appropriate to give equal time to an American, and I think we would all acknowledge that John Gardner, now head of the Urban Coalition, former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, and the author of *Excellence* and *Self-Renewal* should be our spokesman. Fully aware of where the United States stands in the world—and that it is no accident—he is more interested in improving the system we have than in doctrine; more aware of the responsibility of the individual than of the system; more inclined to use "we" and less likely to point to "they" when it comes to action. American in style, he knows that ends must have beginnings, and the time to start a worthy crusade is now.

First, says Gardner, we have to dispose of the notion that change is a process that alters the tranquil status quo. There is no tranquility left to alter. The disruption has occurred and the problem of social change is to find new solutions that will preserve old values. Our status quo has been knocked head over heels by revolutions in science and technology, in transportation, in communication and the processing of information, in industry, agriculture, education and biomedical affairs.

Our social institutions, and business and industry is a social institution, must anticipate and adapt to these revolutionary changes. *Adapt* is the critical word.

Some of today's college-age critics have a feeling that if they could tear down existing institutions, better ones would surely rise; but human experience offers no assurance whatsoever on this point, for the great societies and the enduring institutions have been those which subjected themselves to rigorous self-examination to determine those elements which should be preserved and built upon and those which had become obsolete and should be discarded. When the spring dries up, the farmer doesn't abandon the farm—he looks for a new source of water.

All progress, says Gardner, is inevitably accompanied by a decay of human institutions, and we must be sure that our society has within it the mechanism for self-renewal. In the American society, the ultimate source of social self-renewal is the individual. We should have no fears for our society—a free society—if each of us is trying always to be a better person, to do a better job, improve the community in which we live and build a better nation.

What has been said so far has been intentionally general. The problems which face business and industry are complicated, and they are changing rapidly. Business and industry will be much more responsive to the

crisis of change, and we will get much further much faster, if we attack our social problems from a posture of enlightened individual initiative at the local level. For those of us who would like a more specific road map and would like to act in concert, there are three areas, national in scope, where urgent aggressive attention will be beneficial.

First, business has got to start acting like it understood its capabilities and was prepared to assert leadership by making things move. Business, of all our institutions, is best organized to get things done, and it has the greatest stake in seeing that they get done. But the first requisite of credibility is to do, and do well, the job that is peculiarly your own, i.e., efficiency manage your own business.

Second, business must stand up and be counted as good examples of community citizenship. There is no new land, new water, or new air on the face of the earth, and if this planet is to continue habitable and we, the people, to enjoy the pursuits of life, liberty and happiness, business and industry must at least see to it that our air, our water—yes—our towns and our cities are left no worse than we found them.

Third, it is absolutely necessary to get the under-privileged within the large minority groups of our population into the mainstream of American economic life without further delay. Negroes, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans and Indians have equality under law. However, large numbers in each group are denied equal economic opportunity. On the one hand, large numbers in each group are disadvantaged, making it difficult to enter the work force. On the other, apathy or prejudice makes it difficult for individuals to advance. These people who, in total, represent a large part of our population, are a significant and growing burden on our economy and their difficulties generate corrosive effects on American society at large. As more of them move from rural to urban areas, they become the focus of serious problems in our cities.

The percentage of these minority groups to our total population has not markedly changed in this century. The problem is not going to go away. Rather, the consequences of a large underprivileged and frustrated group in our society can be expected to become increasingly troublesome.

What is needed is a nation-wide approach to the central and controlling element of the problem—jobs. It is recognized that the cultural and educational levels of many of these people do not qualify them for jobs in business and industry. It is also recognized that there are vestiges of prejudice or fear which deny individuals from these groups equal opportunity to advance after a job has been secured. These are excuses, not reasons for delay, and the central idea is that the place to start is job opportunity in the private sector, that efforts to match an unemployed individual with a specific job opportunity will set in motion the machinery to upgrade the capacity of the individual prior to entering the labor force and, thereafter, to progressively reduce and finally eliminate the barriers to equal opportunity to advance in accordance with his interest and talent.

The large number of these people will require a commitment from a large number of business leaders to attack these problems in their own businesses. It may not solve the problem, but it will set the solution in motion. It is a unique opportunity for business to demonstrate what it can do without the Government and to evolve a working partnership between Government and business wherein each does what it can do best, in the solution of great national problems.

The historian looking back from the first days of the 21st Century will very likely regard 1969 as a watershed year. He will see

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that the industrial revolution had run its course in developed nations and that the technotronic revolution was well underway in the most advanced.

He would see that the American nation, erected upon concepts of personal freedom and personal responsibility, had proved itself capable of adjusting to change. He could see as a turning point the realization of business and industrial leadership that our racial problems and our environmental problems were not going to go away by themselves, and had decided to assert leadership in their solution. By illuminating qualifications for integration into an industrial society, business had guided government and education in the attack on the real roots of inequality, ignorance and fear.

He will see the United States standing serene, in a world still reeling with change, because it is at peace with itself.

Most of all, perhaps, the man of the 21st Century will look back on 1969 relieved at danger safely passed, for he will understand that though we had started late, we never really had a choice.

## THE ORGANIZATION FOR REHABILITATION THROUGH TRAINING

**HON. LOUIS STOKES**  
OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, I would like to pay tribute to an organization that for some 89 years has given outstanding service to our country in the area of rehabilitation and training. I speak of none other than the Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training. This program has served to uphold human life and dignity by freeing underprivileged, uprooted and persecuted members of the Jewish faith from dependence upon charity and philanthropy of society. The development of talent and ability of individuals has always been a primary objective of democratic thinking and way of life. For too long our society has ignored the importance of vocational training for the welfare and progress of our Nation, and this organization has continued to work diligently toward making man more independent as he strives for the betterment of his life and family.

In view of the applause that we give to the outstanding contributions of our country, I urge all Americans to salute the Women's American ORT for their long lasting contributions to further the development of man.

## FOLK HERO FROM HOUSTON

**HON. BOB CASEY**  
OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, all America thrilled to watch Olympic champion George Foreman stand before the world, and in a simple yet symbolic gesture, show how proud he is to be an American.

It was a wonderful and heartwarming gesture to see this young man then, and in later interviews, express his patriotism and love for our country.

Because I believe my colleagues, and our people, would like to know more about this young man from Houston, I, by unanimous consent, insert the following article from the Office of Economic Opportunity's magazine, *Communities in Action*, at this point in the RECORD:

#### FOLK HERO FROM HOUSTON

(By Betty L. MacNabb)

A rundown four-room duplex on bumpy, unpaved Dan Street in Houston's dilapidated old Fifth Ward seems an unlikely place to find America's newest folk hero.

But it is the home of George Foreman's mother, Nancy, and it was here that the Olympic champion came to spend his leave and ponder his future as a boxing pro. Newspapers, magazines, and television have beaten a path to this door, through dust and sometimes mud.

He is big, black, and beautiful, this 19-year-old junior high school dropout who joined the Job Corps and made the world his oyster with his outsized fists.

George Foreman is also gentle, soft-spoken, good-natured, and polite, and he obviously adores his mother who is all of these things.

How is it, then, that Foreman turns into such a tiger in the ring?

He grins a little sheepishly as he settles back on the couch, his long legs protruding half the width of the small living room. Beside him is a table containing his AAU trophy, other trophies, his prized Job Corps Award of Achievement. Foreman carefully removes the gold Olympic medal from the AAU statue and swings it around his neck on its blue ribbon.

"Well, the way I figure it, we all got some violence in us somewhere, and it's gonna come out some time. I guess we're lucky, us guys that get into athletics . . . we don't have to be violent no other way."

"This violence, it's a funny thing . . . it's kinda scary, the way it gets away from you." Foreman pauses, his face sober.

"I got to admit, I even scare myself sometimes," he says suddenly. "When I see myself hitting a guy who's already going down. . . ."

He talks on, slow and easy and unself-conscious. His face is pensive, thoughtful, grave but it lights up suddenly with a warm smile or a delighted grin.

George Foreman was born in Marshall, a little town in the piney woods of deep East Texas. It is an area more Southern in its outlook and its speech patterns than other parts of Texas, where residents prefer to be called Western. Foreman's soft drawl might have come from across the river, from Louisiana.

George was the fifth of seven children, four boys and three girls. The Foremans were poor, dirt poor, as are most Negro families in East Texas, and jobs were scarce. When George was nine months old, his father gave up the struggle to feed so many hungry mouths in the little town, and they moved to Houston.

There the father found a job as a railroad construction worker. Nancy, the mother hired out as a cook for a white family in another part of the city. George and his brothers grew up in the impoverished Fifth Ward neighborhood where they still live.

"I guess we had some pretty hard times, back along the way. But I don't like to think about them now, I like to think about the good things . . . the good times we had when we were kids," he says earnestly.

He attended the Atherton Elementary School with his brothers and sisters, and then entered E. O. Smith Junior High. He

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got as far as the ninth grade before he decided to quit and get a job to help support his mother and the younger children. By that time, his father and mother had separated and Nancy needed help.

But Foreman couldn't find a job. His limited education outweighed his obvious physical strength where employers were concerned.

"So I just sorta bummed around for awhile . . . but that wasn't no good. I had been hearing these TV commercials about Job Corps, but I wasn't really thinking about that until one day I talked to a counselor at the Employment Commission. He said I oughta get in Job Corps.

"So then I came home here, and talked to my mother. See, we've always been real close, my mother and me, and I always talked to her about what I'm gonna do. She don't pressure me, but she always understands. So when I talked to her about Job Corps, she thought it was a real good idea. She always wanted me to get some more education and be somebody. So I went on down and joined the Job Corps," George explains, smiling warmly at mother Nancy.

The Job Corps sent George Foreman to Fort Vannoy Conservation Center in Oregon for his initial training. George was just 16 years old, and he had never been out of Texas, and only rarely away from Houston. He didn't like Oregon; the grandeur and loneliness of its scenery scared him. He was homesick; he missed his mother and his brothers and sisters.

"I didn't want to stay . . . sometimes I thought I just couldn't stand it up there any more. But I persuaded myself to stay on, to give it a chance, 'cause I knew my mother would want me to stay and get some education."

After six months of outdoor work and basic education, George graduated from the conservation center to the urban Parks Job Corps Center in Pleasanton, California.

"That was much better, and besides by then I had gotten real interested in boxing. I thought maybe if I was any good, I could make it my profession, you know."

What happened after that is by now legendary, a story featured on sports pages all over the country. The tall teenager from Texas took on all the fistswingers the Job Corps had to offer, and slaughtered them all. His coach, Charles "Doc" Broaddus, told him he had a future in boxing, and entered him in the San Francisco Golden Gloves Tournament. Foreman won the tournament.

Meanwhile, he was finishing his Job Corps training. He graduated in June of 1967, and came back to Houston where he took the G.E.D. test for high school equivalency, and passed it. He looked for work again, but found nothing that would allow him to continue his road work and ring training.

Doc Broaddus kept in touch, and when he learned that Foreman couldn't find athletic employment, he asked him to come back to the Parks Job Corps Center as the athletic instructor. Foreman continued training under Doc, who had his eye on the national AAU tourney in Dayton, Ohio, in April, 1968. George Foreman won that one, too.

After that, there loomed the summit—the Olympic Tournament in Mexico City in October. George Foreman scaled that summit, outboxing the Soviet Union's champion for the title and the gold medal.

"That was the proudest day in my whole life . . . that Russian was good, he was very, very good. All I could think about in the ring was that I just had to get around him, that I had to give it all I had."

And when he realized he had done it, he had won the match, there were tears in his eyes and George Foreman impulsively snatched up a small American flag that belonged to his trainer, and waved it to the crowd triumphantly.

"It wasn't a planned thing . . . I just wanted them to know how proud I was that America had the champion, how proud I was to be an American," Foreman recalls.

His unexpected and patriotic gesture made him an instant hero to an America saddened and torn by assassinations and riots; newspapers, commentators, ministers in churches heaped praise upon this youth who unashamedly wanted to show that he loved his country.

Foreman and his mother flew to Washington to receive the Job Corps' first Award of Achievement.

"That was a really great day," he says. "Everything I am, I owe to the Job Corps—my education, my boxing, everything. They really treated me great in Washington, too. They brought my mother up there with me, gave her her first plane ride, and then let her see them giving me honor. She was really proud."

What now for the pride and prize graduate of the Job Corps?

"Well, I'm going on back to Pleasanton to my job at Parks Center for now. And I'm going to enroll in one of the junior colleges out there, to get some more education while I continue my training, my boxing."

"Then, when I think I'm ready, I'm going to turn pro. I'd sure like to shoot for the world's heavyweight title. I'm sure going to try," says George Foreman.

And the interviewer leaves with the strong impression that Job Corps someday may have a proprietary interest in the world's heavyweight boxing crown.

(Note.—Betty L. MacNabb, a former reporter with the Houston Post and the Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier, is an information officer with OEO regional office in Austin, Texas.)

#### BEWARE OF LADIES BEARING GIFTS

#### HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, March 19, 1969*

**Mr. GALLAGHER.** Mr. Speaker, hiding behind the skirts of Welcome Wagon and Welcome Newcomer hostesses in order to gain personal information about the living habits of Americans is a dishonorable and disreputable business. By using the subterfuge of welcoming new people while disguising their true data-gathering purposes, the employers of these ladies are clearly invading the traditional privacy of the American home.

In the March 19, 1969, issue of the Washington Daily News, a story by Jonathan Cottin disclosed that Welcome Wagon financing comes from merchants and other commercial enterprises which receive detailed reports on the homes visited by hostesses. Mr. Cottin's splendid story shows that the people who welcome the newcomers are unaware that intimate facts about their home life would be widely distributed.

Mr. Speaker, I am particularly distressed to learn that the Associated Credit Bureaus, Inc., owns Welcome Newcomer. My Special Subcommittee on Invasion of Privacy, during our investigations of credit bureau procedures and practices, was frequently assured by the ACB that it did not hire inspectors to compile data for credit reports. In spite

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of their flowered hats and sweet smiles, these hostesses do the work of private investigators. I will certainly raise this issue with the top management of the ACB when they return to testify again in the near future.

In Mr. Cottin's story, Washington Credit Bureau Manager Edward Garretson contends that information given his Welcome Newcomer hostesses is "very much akin to what a guy tells the corner bartender." I would comment that when you fall off the wagon, you may tell a bartender, but it stops there. However, when you fall off Mr. Garretson's version of Welcome Wagon, you fall into a fishbowl where any subscriber of the 2,200 ACB member bureaus can learn your family's innermost secrets.

Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to introduce Mr. Cottin's excellent piece of investigative reporting into the RECORD at this point:

A CREDITABLE WELCOME  
(By Jonathan Cottin)

Area greeting services which dispense free gifts and homey chatter to new families earn their money partly by supplying local merchants with personal information about the newcomers.

In many cases, newcomers are unaware that the information they give to welcoming "hostesses" is being turned over to local businessmen.

The two major organizations servicing this area—Welcome Wagon and Welcome Newcomer—offer merchants, for a fee, information on newcomers' lives based on interviews conducted by these firm's "hostesses."

During visits to homes of new residents, these hostesses present the housewife with free gift coupons and samples from local businessmen anxious for their patronage.

The executive vice president of Welcome Wagon refused to answer questions about the company's interviewing policies or to grant The Washington Daily News an interview unless the firm was given the right to read the resulting story before publication. This was denied.

But surveys of area merchants who subscribe to the Welcome Wagon Service, as well as interviews with some housewives visited by these hostesses, show that the nationally-known organization asks and reports on names and ages of family members, address, place of husband's employment, previous family residence, phone number and year and make of the family car or cars.

In addition, merchants say, the report also provides "a sentence or two that gives us information about the family that particularly pertains to our business."

While Welcome Wagon's operation is limited to a middleman status between merchant and prospective new customers, Welcome Newcomer also acts as a clearing house for establishment of credit and charge accounts. It is a member of Associated Credit Bureaus of America, Inc., a national credit reporting service which probes the payment history of individuals and reports the data to subscribers such as department stores.

Edward F. Garretson, spokesman for the Associated Credit Bureau office here, said his Welcome Newcomer hostesses are instructed to ask of new arrivals: All names of family members, address, age of husband and wife, occupation, previous residence, whether home is owned or rented, make and model of car, religion, phone number and what the family says it needs.

Mr. Garretson rejects any speculation that the hostesses violate family privacy by reporting these facts to local merchants and the credit bureau.

"The information we get from Welcome Newcomer is very much akin to what a guy tells the corner bartender," he said.

A principal aim of Welcome Newcomer is to funnel data on the new resident to the parent credit reporting service, which forwards the information to the Credit Bureau office in the region known to be the last residence of the newcomer. At the last place of residence, the past credit history of the newcomer is checked and report returned to Washington.

The system, says Mr. Garretson, allows newly arrived families a fast method of establishing credit.

Mr. Garretson said that housewives are told reports by Welcome Newcomer hostesses will be used to arrange a transfer of credit reports from the family's last residence. He said the hostesses also tell new arrivals that the data will be distributed to sponsoring merchants.

However, housewives visited by hostesses from both services generally indicated no knowledge that the information they provided was going to be sent anywhere.

Mrs. Richard J. Feldman of Derwood, Md., said a Welcome Newcomer hostess asked the family's religion and she objected, but did respond to this as well as other personal questions. (Associated Credit Bureau says the religion information is sent only to churches and synagogues and not made known to merchants.)

Mrs. Feldman said she later "wondered" why she gave the hostess "those personal details."

She refuted the Garretson assertion that hostesses inform newcomers about the reason for the questions.

"What's wrong here is it wasn't stated why they wanted this information," she said. "That reason was to establish a credit rating. If they had been honest with me, perhaps they could have gotten more information."

Mr. Garretson said he couldn't guarantee that every hostess told every new arrival the reason for the questions, but maintained that they were instructed to do so.

HOUSEWIFE TELLS ALL

A Fairfax housewife said she had a very pleasant interview with a Welcome Wagon hostess, but she noticed that her visitor "was making little notes as she went along. She was fairly thorough in her questioning . . . but I didn't know what the information was being requested for."

She said she dropped her guard because she felt at the time: "Here comes a nice lady with nice little gifts. You sit and tell the nice lady these things, thinking she'll probably go home and throw it (the information) away."

Another housewife in Fairfax, Mrs. Richard Neimczyk, visited by Welcome Wagon said her hostess wanted to know her husband's military rank (which could be a short cut to determine family income). When asked the reason for the question, the hostess replied that a top Welcome Wagon official was "a retired military person interested in those things."

Mrs. Bernard J. Davies, of Derwood, said she would have objected if she had been told by her Welcome Newcomer hostess that her answers were going to be distributed to the credit bureau and local merchants. "I remember telling them some things, but I didn't know that it would be given out," she said.

Mrs. James R. Carroll, of Fairfax said her husband was "very annoyed" when a flood of calls and letters began shortly after a Welcome Wagon visit. "We do not like to be besieged by salesmen," said Mrs. Carroll.

But she added she freely provided the hostess with the information requested because the visitor was "so charming that you don't know if she's asking the questions out of curiosity or for business purposes."

Informed that Welcome Wagon gets paid

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for its service, Mrs. Carroll expressed surprise and said: "I thought it was strictly charitable".

OTHER WAYS

In contrast to the operation of the two big services, one of the smaller welcoming companies—Commonwealth Greeting Service, Inc., of Springfield—requires its sponsors to agree not to call, write or send salesmen to homes of newcomers visited by Commonwealth.

One Welcome Wagon sponsor, a Montgomery County businessman, said while he uses the service, he would refuse to cooperate "if somebody came to my house and started asking a lot of questions and started writing things down."

"I would consider it an invasion of privacy and I wouldn't take their goodies or answer their questions—and I hope my wife wouldn't either," he added. He asked that his name be withheld.

In their promotional publications aimed at potential sponsoring businesses, both Welcome Wagon and Welcome Newcomer make no secret of their profit-making motives or the nature of the data they will provide.

In a sales promotion brochure beamed at potential merchant-subscribers, Welcome Wagon explains its daily "Research Program" this way: "It will be continuous, and, in addition, it can (sic) be some special findings of facts wanted by you occasionally. You could learn: How well do the families of Washington know and patronize you? What do they like or dislike? What do they want?"

Welcome Wagon also tells potential merchant-subscribers that it acquaints families with cultural, recreational, educational and religious services in the community while it is making a sales pitch for subscribers' businesses.

Welcome Newcomer, in its memo to merchant-prospects, flatly says it provides:

"First: A newcomer service on the highest level by which a personal call is made in the homes of newcomers to the city."

"Second: An Account Promotion Service. While in the homes, our hostesses personally 'sell' your services and secure a signature for a charge account on your own credit application."

"Third: Credit reporting at its best. You are furnished written up-to-date credit report on all newcomers who have favorable credit records, and at a greatly discounted rate."

Welcome Newcomer says the system helps increase charge sales and gives the merchant "the fastest credit reporting service possible by placing into your files, credit reports prior to a newcomer's request for credit."

Mr. Garretson said a family can ask the Welcome Newcomer hostess not to transfer credit and the service will abide by the request. He said such a request is infrequent and unless it is made, the credit check is done automatically.

Mr. Garretson maintained a housewife "knows why she's being asked questions . . . I don't think any reasonably thinking person could mistake what this is."

Mr. Garretson estimated that the 25-30 hostesses make about 1,000 calls a month in the metropolitan area.

NEW YORK CITY AND ST.  
PATRICK'S DAY

HON. LEONARD FARSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. FARSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, more than 14 centuries ago an old, bearded

man, about whom we know so little, departed from this earth; yet each year his memory is venerated on the 17th day of March. This is his day—St. Patrick's Day. Although associated with the Irish, this day has a special meaning to more than just the Irish in our country. This is especially true of the people of New York City.

The celebration of St. Patrick's Day began in Ireland on the occasion of this great saint's death when thousands of mourners came from long distances to his funeral. So many torches and candles were carried in the funeral procession that night that it was said to be as bright as day. And so began the tradition. Each year, the Irish attend mass in honor of St. Patrick, then parade proudly through the streets, and end the procession and the festivities with an evening of dancing, singing, and toasting.

But the spirit of St. Patrick extends far beyond the geographic boundaries of that small island nation. With the emigration of the Irish to all parts of the globe, the celebration of this feast spread and was enjoyed by men of all nationalities.

There is a strong possibility that the first St. Patrick's Day celebration took place in what is now known as New York City. Thomas Dongan, an Irish Roman Catholic, was Governor of the Province of New York from 1683 to 1688. During his tenure of office, it is possible—but there are no records to substantiate the assumption—that Dongan may have invited a few Irishmen to dinner at the Governor's house to celebrate in honor of St. Patrick.

With the establishment of the Irish Society in New York in 1737, celebration of St. Patrick's Day began on a regular basis. By 1766, the first recorded St. Patrick's Day parade in the United States took place; it was in New York City. Of course, it was nothing comparable to the parades of today. The New York Gazette of March 20, 1766, and the New York Mercury of March 24, 1766, both published accounts of the parade:

Monday last being the Day of St. Patrick, tutelary Saint of Ireland, was ushered in at the Dawn, with Fifes and Drums which produced a very agreeable harmony before the doors of many Gentlemen of that Nation, and others.

Many of them assembled and spent a joyous though orderly Evening at the House of Mr. Bardin in this city where the following healths were drank . . ." (The item then lists twenty different toasts to which the guests drank.)

The celebration is today, in many respects, quite similar, for like then it is not limited to those of Irish ancestry; and the "wearing of the green" is followed by many in New York, whose citizenry includes persons of all nationalities.

The most famous celebration on the holiday is, of course, the parade held annually in New York City. Block after block of famous Fifth Avenue is crowded by a million people, all to see the elaborate process. A hundred thousand people march in the actual parade—bands, pipers, soldiers, and fraternal organiza-

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

tions all play a part. In 1959, Henry O'Meara, the head of Ireland's national police, after seeing this spectacular event, declared:

I never saw a parade like this in my life!

The day that began as a national feast in honor of a special saint has multiplied with a worldwide commemoration, not only to the man St. Patrick; not only to the spirit of the Irish themselves; but also to include the indomitable spirit of all peoples. On this day, it is not surprising to see persons of all nationalities "wearing the green," for this day has become a time for all to reconfirm their belief in the spirit of mankind.

### DEFENSE CRITICS TO EXAMINE MILITARY BUDGET AT CONGRESSIONAL CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON

#### HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, March 19, 1969*

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the growth of the military budget and its effect on the militarization of our society is of ever-deepening concern.

To discuss this problem several Members of Congress have convened a Congressional Conference on the Military Budget and National Priorities on March 28-29 in Washington. We have invited many prominent scholars and scientists to discuss with Members of Congress our concerns over military spending and its effects on the entire society.

At a press conference today the originators of this congressional conference issued a joint statement and press release which describe the origins, procedures and goals of this important meeting. I include below those statements and a list of the participating scholars, with short biographies.

The joint statement was read by Congressman ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER, of Wisconsin, on behalf of himself and Congressmen GEORGE E. BROWN, JR., of California, PHILLIP BURTON, of California, JOHN CONYERS, JR., of Michigan, DON EDWARDS, of California, DONALD M. FRASER, of Minnesota, BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL, of New York, and WILLIAM F. RYAN, of New York. Senator GAYLORD NELSON, of Wisconsin, also associated himself with that statement. These Members of the House and Senate, together with Senator GEORGE S. McGOVERN, of South Dakota, are the originators of this conference and are soliciting other House and Senate Members to co-sponsor the 2-day meeting.

The material mentioned follows:

### DEFENSE CRITICS TO EXAMINE MILITARY BUDGET AT CONGRESSIONAL CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON

Over a dozen leading scholars will participate in a Congressional Conference on the Military Budget and National Priorities on March 28-29. A preliminary conference report will be issued on the second day with final report to follow in several weeks.

Congressional sponsors include: Senators George S. McGovern (S. Dak.), and Gaylord Nelson (Wis.), and Congressmen George E. Brown, Jr. (Calif.), Phillip Burton (Calif.), John Conyers, Jr. (Mich.), Don Edwards (Calif.), Donald M. Fraser (Minn.), Robert W. Kastenmeier (Wis.), Benjamin S. Rosenthal (N.Y.), and William F. Ryan (N.Y.).

In a joint statement issued today, the congressional sponsors said the conference's purposes were:

"(1) To inform Members of Congress more fully on issues of defense policy so that Congress can play a much more active role in opposing escalation of the arms budget.

"(2) To bring together a strong group of scholars and Members of Congress to dramatize for the Administration and the public the concern over these issues;

"(3) To prepare a report that will outline the basic issues of militarism for national citizens' groups and to provide leadership for a movement toward peaceful goals—away from the militarization of our society."

Conference participants include: Richard Barnet, Director, Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C.; Richard Falk, Center for Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences; Richard Goodwin, writer; George Kahin, Cornell University; George Kistiakowsky, Harvard University; Arthur Larson, Duke University; Hans Morgenthau, University of Chicago; Fred Warner Neal, Claremont Graduate School, California; Gerard Piel, Editor, *Scientific American*; Marcus Raskin, Director, Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C.; George Rathjens, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Len Rodberg, University of Maryland; Charles L. Shultz, University of Maryland; Jeremy Stone, Stanford University; Murray Weidenbaum, Washington University; and Herbert York, University of California. Larson will be Conference Chairman.

The two-day conference, to be held in Room 2172 of the Rayburn House Office Building, will cover:

Implications for national security in the 1970s of building new weapons systems (ABM, MIRV, SCAD);

Use and limitations of force (primarily non-nuclear) as an instrument of U.S. foreign policy, with emphasis on the example of Vietnam;

Escalating research and development costs and the possibilities of effective checks on the weapons development process;

Impact of the arms race on U.S. society including the problem of militarization of foreign policy.

Additional congressional sponsors are being solicited in both Houses by the above sponsors.

The following participants have been asked to give short presentations on these principal discussion topics:

Professor Kahin: "The Role of Congress in Ending the War in Vietnam."

Professor Kistiakowsky: "National Security and the New Weapons Systems."

Professor Morgenthau: "The Militarization of Foreign Policy."

Professor Rathjens: "National Security and the Arms Race."

Professor Stone: "Political Implications of Weapons Development."

Dr. York: "Political Controls on Escalating Military Technology."

At the opening session, Chairman Larson will describe the aims of the conference and introduce the participants. In the following sessions, which will be closed to the public and press, the congressional and academic participants will examine both individual issues and their interrelations. This examination will continue through the Friday session.

On Saturday morning the participants will reconvene to formulate the preliminary con-

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

clusions and recommendations of the conference report. The final version of the report will follow several weeks after the conference.

At a press conference at 1:00 pm Saturday Dr. Larson will give a brief summary of the conference proceedings and participants will also discuss conclusions and recommendations.

The opening conference session (9:30-11:00 AM, Friday, March 28) will be open to the press. All other sessions will be limited to participants and congressional sponsors until the press conference at 1:00 PM Saturday.

**JOINT STATEMENT OF PURPOSE BY THE ORIGINATORS OF CONGRESSIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE MILITARY BUDGET AND NATIONAL PRIORITIES**

The Congressional Conference on March 28-29 has its origins in the present great dissatisfaction with the direction of American political and military policy.

Few people believe today that America's vital interests were involved in our decision to spend \$30 billion a year and more than 30,000 American lives in Vietnam. Yet the war increases in fury and brutality.

Few really believe that the United States had to spend \$1,400 billion—\$14 trillion—for defense since World War II. Yet the military budget increases as the appetite grows for fantastically expensive new weapons systems of dubious value.

Our constituents are asking us to explain how national priorities are determined. They want an end to a war which demands even higher human and financial sacrifices. They ask us too what we are going to do about the arms race with Russia and China—about our plans for the peaceful resolution of disputes between nations—about peace abroad and at home.

What is extraordinary is that the war continues despite a political year whose principal theme was ending the war.

To take another case, the ABM system has been criticized by almost every responsible group of scientists, politicians and scholars in the United States. It has been viewed as a massive WPA project for scientists and engineers. The ABM has been debated, discussed, and analyzed. On their merits, the arguments for the ABM have lost, yet the presidential decision was to proceed.

This decision causes those of us intimately concerned with the formulation and execution of public policy grave concern.

Here are some of the basic facts from which the Conference proceeds:

We spent in 1967 some \$100 billion for defense and war related costs.

About two-thirds of all federal tax receipts in 1967 went for defense.

More was spent for defense that year than was spent by all federal, state, and local governments for health, education, old age, and retirement assistance, housing and agriculture.

Defense spending exceeded the profits of all American business.

The Department of Defense alone purchased almost 15% of the finished products of all our industries and over 18% of all industrial durable goods.

Is this the kind of society Americans want? We don't think so.

The discussions during this conference will be aimed at seeking answers to these questions:

(a) How can Congress undertake to make a responsible contribution in ending the Vietnam war? Are there ways to confront the issues of withdrawal directly in the Congress of the United States?

(b) Do proposed additions to the U.S.

arsenal of strategic nuclear weapons such as ABM and MIRV mean more security or less?

(c) Does the U.S. need to maintain large standing armies, military alliances, military installations around the world?

(d) What forces built into our national security system provoke unnecessary or dangerous military spending?

(e) What are the social and political costs of maintaining the present and projected national security institutions?

(f) What political steps should be taken to reallocate national priorities?

Our goals, in seeking answers to these questions, are to:

(1) Inform Members of Congress more fully on issues of defense policy so that Congress can play a much more active role in opposing escalation of the arms budget.

(2) Bring together a strong group of scholars and Members of Congress to dramatize for the Administration and the public the concern over these issues.

(3) Prepare a report that will outline the basic issues of militarism for national citizens' groups and to provide leadership for a movement toward peaceful goals—away from the militarization of our society.

The magnitude and urgency of these problems are obvious. The answers are less obvious. Out of the Conference will emerge, we hope, a more positive and better-defined sense of where we are or should be headed, today and in the 1970's.

**PARTICIPANTS IN CONGRESSIONAL CONFERENCE ON MILITARY BUDGET AND NATIONAL PRIORITIES**

Dr. Richard Barnet: Co-director, Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C. Graduate of Harvard University & Harvard Law School; Fellow of the Harvard Russian Research Center and the Center for International Studies at Princeton; consultant to the Department of Defense. Formerly with the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, State Department. Author: *Intervention and Revolution*.

Dr. Richard Falk: Professor at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford University, Stanford, California. Formerly Professor of International Law at Princeton; Counsel to Senate Foreign Relations Committee; US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; Counsel before the International Court of Justice. Author: *The Strategy of World Order*.

Mr. Richard Goodwin: Writer; Former special assistant to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson; Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs (1961-63). Author: *Triumph or Tragedy: Reflections on Vietnam*.

Dr. George Kahin: Professor of Government, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. Consultant, Rockefeller Foundation (1964-66); Director, Southern Asia Program, Cornell University. Author: *Nationalism & Revolution in Indonesia; Major Governments of Asia*; and co-author (with John Lewis) of *The U.S. in Vietnam*.

Dr. George Kistiakowsky: Professor of Chemistry, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Former Science advisor to President Eisenhower. Special assistant to President for Science and Technology (1959-61). Member of President's Science Advisory Committee (1957-63). Director, Iterk Corporation, The Cabot Corporation.

Dr. Arthur Larson: Director of the World Rule of Law Center at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina; Former Rhodes Scholar (1932-35); Dean of University of Pittsburgh School of Law (1953-54); Under-secretary of Labor (1954-56); Director of USIA (1956-57); Special Assistant to President (1957-58); and Special Consultant to State Department,

HEW (1958-61). Author: *Preventing World War III; Some Proposals; Vietnam and Beyond; Sovereignty Within the Law*.

Dr. Hans Morgenthau: Professor of history, government, and international relations at University of Chicago. Author: *The Purpose of American Politics; Politics in the Twentieth Century*; many articles in philosophy, law, and political science.

Dr. Fred Warner Neal: Professor of international relations and government at Claremont Graduate School, Claremont, California. Former Washington correspondent for United Press and *Wall Street Journal*, 1938-43. Consultant in Russian affairs to Chief of Foreign Research, State Department. Consultant to the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. Author: *Yugoslavia and the New Communism; War and Peace and Germany*.

Mr. Gerard Piel: Publisher and editor of *Scientific American* 1948 to present. Science editor of *Life Magazine* 1939-45; Assistant to Henry Kaiser, 1945-47; Appointed by Mayor Lindsay to chairmanship of Commission on Health Services of New York, 1967-69. Author: *Science in the Cause of Man*.

Dr. Marcus Raskin: Co-director of the Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C. Doctorate in law, University of Chicago, 1957. Legislative Counsel to 12 Democratic Congressmen, 1958-61. Staff editor of *The Liberal Papers*, 1961. National Security Council staff, 1961-62. Education Advisor, Office of the President, 1963. Member of U.S. Disarmament delegation at Geneva, 1963. Author: (w/Bernard Fall) *Vietnam Reader*; (w/Arthur Waskow) *Deterrence and Reality*.

Dr. George Rathjens: Visiting Professor of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Staff weapons systems evaluation team, Department of Defense, 1953-58. Special Assistant to the President for science and technology, 1959-60. Chief scientist, Advanced Projects Agency, Department of Defense, 1961. Deputy Assistant Director, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, 1962-64. Director of Weapons Systems Evaluation Division, Institute for Defense Analysis, 1965-68. Author: *The Future of the Strategic Arms Race: Options of the 1970's*, published in 1969 by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Dr. Leonard Rodberg: Associate Professor of physics and associate chairman of department, University of Maryland. Doctorate in physics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1956. Chief of Policy Research office in Science and Technology Bureau—Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, 1961-66. Author: *Quantum Theory of Scattering* and recent article in Bulletin of Atomic Scientists "ABM—Some Arms Control Issues."

Dr. Charles L. Schultze: Professor of Economics, University of Maryland; Director of the Bureau of the Budget, 1965-68. Assistant Director of Bureau of the Budget, 1962-65. Member of Staff, Council of Economic Advisors, 1952-58. Author: *National Income Analysis*.

Dr. Jeremy Stone: Professor of economics at Stanford University. Member of the Hudson Institute from 1962-64, and a Research Associate at Harvard Center for International Affairs from 1964-66. Author: *Containing the Arms Race: Some Specific Proposals*; and a recent paper, published by the Institute for Strategic Studies in London, "The Case Against Missile Defense."

Dr. Murray L. Weidenbaum: Chairman, Dept. of Economics, Washington University, St. Louis Mo., Corporate Economist, Boeing Co. (1958-63); Consultant on Economic Consequences of Disarmament (1964); Director Economic Research Program, NASA (1964); Publications on economic impact of defense spending.

Dr. Herbert York: Chancellor of Univer-

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sity of California, San Diego, Calif. Member, research and teaching staff, Lawrence Radiation Lab. University of California (1943-58); Director (1952-58). Research Administrator, Institute for Defense Analysis; Trustee of IDA. Director of Research and Development at Department of Defense (1953-61). Member and Vice Chairman, President's Science Advisory Committee, (1965-66).

#### PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

HON. LARRY WINN, JR.

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. WINN. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest dilemmas threatening world peace since the end of World War II has been the dispute between the State of Israel and her Arab neighbors.

Since 1948, when Britain gave up its rule over Palestine in favor of the creation of an independent Israel, we have witnessed no less than three Arab-Israeli wars—1948, 1956, and 1967.

With each passing day, the tension and the potential for yet another all-out conflict seem to increase. We have watched terrorist raids lead to armed reprisals, and we wonder how it has continued for so long. In the Middle East there is a growing belief that a fourth war is inevitable. Some, there, even look forward to it as the most conclusive possible solution.

As Americans, the Middle East situation is particularly frustrating. We are involved in only a secondary manner, and therefore our ability to help solve the problem is restricted. As I will discuss later, the Soviet Union potentially holds the trump card. But even the Russians—assuming they are willing—may be unable to successfully exert their influence, due to the limited number of alternatives presently acceptable to the Arab governments.

I do believe that a fourth Arab-Israel war can, and must, be prevented.

Before we can intelligently discuss the role of the United States and possible solutions to the conflict, we should explore the questions that are at issue generally, and the specific issues resulting from the 4-day war of June 1967.

The central issue is the question of the state of Israel's right to occupy its geographic location. At the turn of the century, the area became a center of the world Zionist movement—the desire for an independent Jewish state. At the end of World War II—influenced by the shock of Nazi atrocities—Britain granted independence partly for this purpose.

The Arab States, however, feel that the territory historically belongs to them. They believe the State of Israel has no right to exist—at least at that location. For this reason, the Arab States are adamant in their refusal to recognize and conduct diplomatic relations with Israel.

The war of 1949 resulted from Arab

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

attempts to stop the creation of Israel. The 1956 war came when Egypt attempted to seize the Suez Canal.

The provocation that started the war of June 1967 is still in question. Mostly, it was the believed threat to the security of each side, and the general distrust of each other. The important point is that it seems to take less and less provocation to start the fighting again.

The outcome of the June 1967 war left a number of specific situations that are key factors in developing a Middle East settlement.

Prior to the war, Egypt and most of the other Arab countries had developed their military strength through assistance from the Soviet Union. This created a condition of Arab dependence upon the Soviets. In the war, Israel almost totally destroyed the Arabs' military machinery. That the Soviets completely rearmed the Arabs after the war, has made the Arab States even more dependent upon them. This, it would seem, increases Russia's influence on the Arab States—an important consideration.

The war placed under Israeli control, several geographic areas previously controlled by the Arabs. These include the Sinai Peninsula; the militarily strategic Heights of Golan; and the west bank of the Jordan River which includes the Arab sector of the city of Jerusalem. Israel continues to hold this territory partly because of its strategic military value, and partly because it will enhance their bargaining position in the event of peace talks.

Another important factor is the existence of approximately one and one-half million Arab refugees. These are the former residents of the now captured territory who fled into nearby Arab countries such as Jordan, Egypt, Syria and Lebanon. Guerrilla units, made up of such refugees, are the source of much of the current anti-Israel terrorist activity. The potential for a fourth war is made greater by the fact that the governments of these countries are either unable or unwilling to keep control of these refugee terrorists.

In looking at the specific issues that would be discussed in Mideast peace negotiations, we see four main points:

First, there is the recognition by the Arab governments, of Israel as a sovereign state. At present, the Arabs do not extend diplomatic relations to Israel. Israel, on the other hand, has continuously pressed for negotiations.

Second, there is the subject of the captured territory. It is possible that Israel would agree to release most of it, but would continue to hold some parts that are militarily strategic.

Third, is the question of compensation for the refugees. The Arabs contend that Israel owes this to them for the loss of their land, and the inconveniences their people have suffered.

The fourth main topic would be the need for an agreement to guarantee the free access of international waterways. This includes the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, and the Straits of Tiran.

These are the main issues. There are

others. The question now is "What can the United States do?" There is no easy answer. In the interest of a lasting peace, it is important to avoid a rigid alignment, or "choosing of sides" in the Middle-East. The United States and Russia should avoid this because of the confrontation it could lead to. It would be wise to remember the words of President Nixon in his inaugural address, "We cannot expect to make everyone our friend, but we can try to make no one our enemy."

There is general agreement between the Arabs and Israelis that a peace imposed by other powers would be clearly unacceptable. In other words, if talks are to lead to a peaceful settlement, they must be direct talks between the two parties concerned. Our greatest role in the conflict can come by helping to bring them to the conference table. But even in that capacity, our opportunities are limited.

France and the Soviet Union have proposed a "Big Four" conference on the Middle-East situation. The four parties include the Soviet Union, France, England, and the United States.

The purpose of the conference would be to discuss the specific issues of the conflict, and to suggest possible agreements. By keeping open lines of communication with the Arabs and Israelis, these talks could provide an opportunity for both sides to know what concessions and demands the other might make in the bilateral talks that would hopefully follow. This, also could provide an opportunity for the Soviets to attempt to use some of their influence to encourage the Arab governments to negotiate with Israel in a reasonable manner. This implies that it is of vital importance that all parties concerned try to better control the terrorist groups.

If the key to Arab participation in peace talks lies with the Soviet Union, then it is logical to ask, "Why should the Russians cooperate?" Do they not enjoy great influence by having the Arabs obligated to them for military aid? The answer is "Yes." But at the same time the Soviets have other points to consider.

First, there is the danger of another Arab-Israeli war leading to a Soviet-American confrontation.

Second, there is the fact that if a fourth war resulted in a crushing defeat for the Arabs, then Russia's prestige would suffer. It would be a thorn in Russia's side.

And, third, the present situation gives them an opportunity to play the role of peacemaker in the Middle East. The Soviets are very conscious of world public opinion. In the aftermath of their invasion of Czechoslovakia they would be glad to get some favorable publicity—both in the free world and among other Communist countries.

The truly discouraging aspect of the entire situation is the fact that so many of the Arab governments give almost no indication of a desire to negotiate. We must be aware of the possibility that even the four-power talks and the Soviet's influence will not be enough to

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

bring Arab cooperation. In spite of the fact that some Arab leaders may want to talk, many Arab citizens and refugees are too emotionally charged to be reasonable. This severely limits the alternative courses of action and increases the danger of war.

The final point I would make is this: Until a peace agreement can be worked out, Israel's military strength is the main reason the Arab governments hesitate to launch a full-scale attack. We must, I feel, try to restore diplomatic relations, cultural exchanges, and trade with the Arab countries. We must not make them our enemies. We must work toward an even-handed Middle East policy. But at the same time, we must continue to recognize the importance of the survival of Israel. We must not abandon our agreement to sell to Israel the materials that are vital to her security. By helping Israel to maintain its strength, we are buying the time that will be necessary to develop a workable peace agreement in the Middle East.

**ARAB TERRORISTS: MILITARY FAILURE—POLITICAL MENACE TO ALL MANKIND**

**HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, of late, some journals in our country have run articles on the terrorists and alley fighters in the Middle East who pose as "commandos." These articles have at times had the effect of glorifying their activities. Yet it is fairly common knowledge that their efforts have been a dismal failure as far as material harm to Israel and her people are concerned. Fortunately, the reality of these murderers by night does not match the bloodcurdling threats and belligerent poses they strike for photographers.

Alfred Friendly has recently done a very penetrating piece on what is really happening on the borders of Israel. It is worthy of note and most informative. I insert it now for the enlightenment of other Members of the House:

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 16, 1969]

**ANTI-ISRAELI GUERRILLAS ARE MOSTLY A NUISANCE**

(By Alfred Friendly)

TEL AVIV.—Palestinian commando activities, the Israelis concede morosely, are a bloody nuisance. Their assaults against life and property are to be expected as certainly as the sunrise. At the same time, the Israelis consider the results of those attacks as the biggest Arab military defeat since the Six-Day War.

On the basis of almost two months of reporting in Israel, Egypt, Lebanon and Jordan, that judgment seems correct. Whether measured against their avowed aims, their practical potential, their financial resources or in terms of the damage caused, the guerrilla activities of the several Palestine liberation organizations have been a grotesque

failure, militarily and psychologically, within Israel.

**SOME 117 KILLED SINCE WAR**

According to Israeli figures, commando attacks since June 15, 1967—including both raids and shelling from across the borders—have killed 47 civilians and 70 soldiers, among them four colonels. They have wounded 320 civilians and 274 soldiers. The Israelis say that the commandos have lost 600 dead and 1500 captured.

The figures of the liberation movements, of course, are very different. Al Fatah, the largest, gives none, but admits to the loss of fewer than 300 men. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the second major commando organization, issues several bulletins a day giving the picture of Israeli soldiers slaughtered like sheep.

Whose figures can one trust? Israel is a small country with a fiercely democratic tradition despite a censored press. A soldier's death is not a casual event; it is known to his neighborhood, his friends, his city in a matter of hours.

I know of no foreign reporter who feels that he has been deceived on Israeli statistics. Israeli reporters, as suspicious of authority as those of any other country and as good sleuths, express few reservations about the truth of what is announced.

Yet Fatah has an estimated 3000 to 5000 men under arms and the Popular Front, 700. Add those of two or three other commando organizations and the total may be as much as 7000. In such a situation, Israelis shudder at the thought of what the commandos—terrorists, in the Israeli term—might have done.

**INCIDENTS ARE WORST**

Most of the commando-inflicted casualties are from the cross-border shelling. Since the completion of Israel's defense fence, casualties inflicted by military infiltrators—as distinct from sabotage groups operating deep inside Israel—have been minor, even though the fence is by no means impenetrable.

The worst aspect of the terrorism is those occasional incidents in the cities, such as the bomb in the Tel Aviv bus terminal and the recent explosion in Jerusalem's largest supermarket.

After that deed, some 70 people were arrested. Officials believe that they caught 90 per cent of all the Israel-based agents of the Popular Front, the group responsible for the supermarket bombing and almost all such previous events.

Even so, there will be more such occurrences. What is remarkable is the minimal effects they have on Israeli fears and firmness. The explanation, Israelis say, is that they have been shot at for so long—ever since about 1936, not counting 2500 years of history before that—that it has become a way of life.

**REVOLT AND TERROR**

The commandos, however, say that something entirely different is happening in Israel. What they say, a weeks-long examination of the Arab press discloses, is that the territories Israel occupied—the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem—are seething with revolt and resistance, that the border settlements are besieged and that the urban population lives in terror.

The evidence for the first is a series of school strikes by children under 18, occasionally joined by teachers, and brief, sporadic strikes of merchants. Israel's response to the school affairs is mainly indifference. If the Arab children don't want to go to school, that's their problem. They are allowed to shout imprecations, display banners or do whatever they like inside the school compounds.

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"I won't say they never had it so good," one official said, "but they never had it so liberal under previous governments"—Ottoman, British mandate or Jordanian (or, for Gaza, Egyptian).

As for the settlements on the borders, in the Jordan and Beisan Valleys, the children in the kibbutzim (collective settlements), who sleep in dormitories apart from their families in any event, have been spending the nights in shelters for the last six months. Those in the moshavim (cooperatives) go to the shelters with their families when there is shelling. No one pretends to like it, but not one family has moved out, and production increases month by month.

In the cities, the population is in a fury as a result of the occasional bombings, but terror is about the last word to come to an observer's mind.

**THE MAO STRATEGY**

From their public statements and from interrogation of prisoners—who the Israelis claim interrogate easier than any other POWs in history—the liberation fighters' objective comes from *The Book*—The Book of Che Guevara or Mao Tse-tung. The aim is a popular revolution preceded by a weakening of the enemy's will to resist, a disruption of his military machine, his means of production and communication and the creation of general chaos.

The strategy indicates a very bad reading of Israel. Nothing of the sort is happening or is likely to. And the tactic of trying to terrorize the civilian population rather than delivering sharp blows at costly installations or military materiel is little short of insane. If nothing else, it is the cement which Israel is chronically worried about losing in an increasingly affluent life.

Furthermore, for organizations as richly financed as everyone agrees they are—the commandos claim that most of the money comes from individual contributions of Palestinians all over the Arab world; the Israelis claim that 80 per cent comes from governments, large institutions and very rich Arabs—the terrorist incidents are few enough. There have been about half a dozen in Jerusalem since the 1967 war, or what Saigon experiences in a few days.

The guerrillas now operate against Israel on four fronts:

In Egypt, there is a paper unit called the Organization for the Liberation of Sinai. It consists, if at all, of some Bedouins whom Egyptian intelligence officers send across the Canal to lay mines. The Israelis believe that its main purpose is to demonstrate to other Arab states that Egypt is in the commando business.

In Syria, the government held commando incursions into Israel at a level of almost zero until a few weeks ago. Then it was decided to unleash an organization called Siaka, 100 per cent under Syrian army control. It made a few raids and Israel's response was to bomb two Fatah camps near Damascus. Israel believes that Syria got the message.

Lebanon, the Israelis believe, is in a dilemma with the commandos. About 500 commandos from Syria are operating on the northern and western slopes of Mt. Hermon. When they push farther west, the Lebanese army arrests them and lets them loose again back in the eastern area. Their incursions have been reduced in the last few weeks and were never very serious, but the Israelis hope that the Lebanese will not let things get worse.

The biggest concentration, of course, is in Jordan, where, as distinct from Egypt and Syria, the government does not control the commandos, mostly Fatah. King Hussein tried, but an agreement he reached with Fatah last November to end shelling across

the river and stop Fatah men from going about in Amman armed and in uniform is now virtually forgotten. The Popular Front, also operating from Jordan, specializes in organizing sabotage and was responsible for the three attacks—the hijacking in Rome and the shooting in Athens and Zurich—against El Al airplanes.

#### WHY THEY FIGHT

The most interesting question about the liberation movements is whether their leaders appreciate their military failure and the absurdity of trying to cause turmoil in Israel. Unless they are very stupid, they must; Fatah's commander, Yasser Arafat, came close to admitting it publicly a few weeks ago.

If so, why do they continue? One answer, the prevalent one in Israel, is the simplest: because there is nothing else they can do. Resolved to regain land from which they were expelled or fled, filled with patriotic fire, burning with humiliation, the young Palestinians take to arms without any concrete strategy, tactics or even goals.

The effort has glamor, endows the participants with status and glory and is sustained so far by opium dream recitations of accomplishment. Furthermore, the commando idea has struck fire in the countries of the Middle East.

The popularity that the fedayeen have won is the more remarkable because it was achieved in the face of hostility from most of the Arab governments. The fact is that where the fedayeen are most powerful and active, in Jordan, the government loathes them and fears them much worse than it fears Israel.

With Palestinians constituting half of Jordan's population, however, King Hussein dares not move frontally against Fatah, or even against the Popular Front, which is nominally illegal in Jordan. So powerful has Fatah become that Hussein was obliged three weeks ago to receive Yasser Arafat in the palace and to sanction a spread of pictorial evidence of the lovefest in the Amman papers.

#### INSURANCE FOR NASSER

In Egypt, President Nasser showers the Palestine liberation organizations with adulation and promises of support—and doubtless delivers no little on his promises. But the consensus in the Arab world as well as in Israel is that he has joined them not only because he can't lick them but because he stands a chance of being licked by them.

King Feisal, in Saudi Arabia, backs Fatah heavily and sincerely, but largely because he sees it as a movement that Nasser does not control and that can be used against him. To a lesser extent, the other petroleum princes of the Persian Gulf follow suit, and for the same reasons.

Syria, which doubtless likes the idea of the fedayeen, is entangled in the splits among the Popular Front that parallel the splits in its own political madhouse. But it keeps a very tight rein on all of them and allows no forays from its borders except those it controls itself.

Algeria is solidly behind the commandos and probably gives them much help. Lebanon despises them, since its goal is protection of its national independence and escape from the morass of pan-Arabism. Its establishment, Christian and Muslim, would like peace with Israel. Yet so powerful is the commandos' popular appeal that no Lebanese leader dare speak against them in anything but the most Aesopian language.

#### A HEADY PROMISE

What has happened, it seems clear, is that 21 months after the Six-Day War, while the Arab states have gotten nowhere in recovering their losses, the fedayeen have come up with a promise. That their promise is chi-

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

merical, their strategy ridiculous and their accomplishments negligible is beside the point. In the Arab world, words are so much more important than facts.

The commandos have, for the moment at least, given the Arab a way to build his self-respect and to lift up his soul. When an oil sheik gives his tens of thousands of pounds to Fatah, or a Palestinian refugee kicks in his few piastres, he feels himself participating in a noble, patriotic venture.

How long can this exhilaration continue? Israeli officials, to whom the wish is surely mother to the thought, feel that is is ephemeral—that as the months pass and it becomes clear that the commando activities are measured by two deaths in a supermarket and one seriously wounded in a university library cafeteria, disillusionment will set in. They are inclined to think that the glamor of the commandos, swollen by a good bit of purple prose in the Western press, is at its peak or already over it.

One cannot be sure. Where the will to believe exists so deeply, there will be men from Bagdad to Algiers who are sure their contributions helped kill Levi Eshkol and are making Israeli soldiers bite the dust like Indians in a cowboy movie.

#### AN INJUSTICE RESURRECTED

But much more importantly, the liberation movements have converted an issue forgotten for 20 years into a reality: Palestine, and the injustice done to the Palestinian refugees. Once aroused, the demand of human dignity has an irrepressible dynamic.

If peace were to be arranged between Israel and the Arab governments, Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban told The Washington Post last week, the commando movement would fade at the negotiating stage and wither at the settlement. Would it? It can be argued that there will be no withering of the commandos until the issue they profess to be fighting for, justice to the Palestinians, is resolved.

It probably will not be resolved as the commandos would resolve it, by the destruction of the Jewish state. But at least the Palestinians, and especially the refugees, may obtain a solution that satisfies them. Then, and probably not until then, will the commandos cease fighting.

## SAVING THE EVERGLADE GATORS

### HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, March 19, 1969*

MR. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to bring to the attention of the House an editorial in the March 11 Washington Post which commends Secretary of the Interior Hickle for his "declaration of war" against the veritable extinction of the alligator in Florida. As the article points out, such an action on the Secretary's part is indicative of a broader attack by the administration against the elimination of species indigenous to our great land, by indiscriminate hunting, or poaching to use the more pejorative term, by individuals who are trying to exploit some of our most valuable resources for commercial purposes.

On March 17 I joined with several of my colleagues in sponsoring a bill to prevent the importation of fish or wildlife

whose species are threatened by worldwide extinction. In 1966, Congress passed legislation to protect our native American endangered species. I hope that we will act now, as did Secretary Hickle with regard to the alligators of Florida, not only to carry out the objective of this act, but also to demonstrate our equally active concern about the indigenous species of nations all over the world.

The editorial follows:

#### SAVING THE EVERGLADE GATORS

Secretary Hickel's "declaration of war" against the poachers who are slaughtering alligators in the Everglades National Park is a salutary straw in the wind. When the former Governor of Alaska was under fire in connection with his confirmation hearing, he promised the Senate Interior Committee that he would give vigorous attention to the conservation problems of the entire country. His interest in gators at the southern tip of mainland U.S.A. does suggest a Nation-wide concept of his job.

The Secretary has acted none too soon. For some years the snatching of alligators right out of a national park has amounted to a scandal against conservation. The Everglades is an enormous wilderness which is extremely difficult to police. It will not be easy for even specially trained park rangers to drive out the thieves who are killing alligators and smuggling their hides to shoe and bag industries in New York. But this despicable traffic will have to be halted if a disappearing species so characteristic of the southern Florida swamps is to survive.

The fight should not be left solely to the rangers. An Administration bill before Congress would help the states protect their wildlife against illicit interstate traffic and enable the Secretary of the Interior to set up additional safeguards for species in danger of extinction. The protection of wildlife is a vital part of the broader movement to retain an environment conducive to human survival. It merits thoughtful consideration on Capitol Hill.

## ALTERNATE AVENUES FOR THE AIRPORT DILEMMA

### HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, March 19, 1969*

MR. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, airport traffic is not an isolated phenomenon, but part of today's total urban transportation problems, the subject of the Fourth International Transportation Conference held in Pittsburgh last week.

While the crisis today is congestion in the air, the major obstacles of the future will be on the ground.

Clearly we must design new ways to transport larger volumes of people in the air, and also determine better ways to get them to and from the airport.

An interesting analysis of the problem, with some novel approaches, appears in the January–February issue of Architectural Forum, which I include herewith for the attention of my colleagues:

#### THE AIRBORNE STAMPEDE

The radarscope view at left of the skies over New York symbolizes (cryptically, for most of us) the traffic that is already jamming our

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

major airports. But the rush that is about to begin will demand total revision of our mechanisms for getting passengers up into the air and onward to their ground destinations after landing.

Behind this coming revolution are several factors, each of which multiplies the effect of the others. To begin with, there is the present steep climb in passenger volume (up 29 per cent in the past year). But soon, radically larger aircraft will be introduced, carrying many more passengers per flight. Passenger traffic will then rise sharply at airports where airplane traffic is already approaching its limit.

By the end of 1969, the Boeing 747 "jumbo jet" is expected to be in service, carrying up to 490 people. Shortly after that will come several versions of the medium-range jet "airbus," with capacities of about 300. In the mid-1970s, the Boeing supersonic transport will arrive, also expected to seat 300. (The Russian and British-French supersonics, scheduled to fly earlier, will have capacities of less than 150.)

By 1980, almost half of the commercial airliners in service are likely to carry more than 200 passengers, roughly the maximum today. Larger passenger loads will lead to reduced fares, further stimulating air travel.

Even greater than the growth in total passenger volume will be the increase in peak volume at major cities. Obviously, the new larger planes will tend to fly over the busiest routes at times of maximum demand. The busiest U.S. airports handle no more than 10,000 passengers in a peak hour; in a few years, this maximum could exceed 25,000.

## BREAKING THE GROUND BARRIER

Today's critical congestion may be in the air, but the major obstacles of the future will be on the ground. The new, larger planes may—at least temporarily—ease pressure on the airways, but they will play havoc with facilities on the ground.

No existing airport is equipped to get 490 passengers off the plane and put 490 others aboard in less than an hour. No existing passenger concourses or baggage facilities could handle the load of two or three jets arriving within minutes at adjacent gates. Existing taxi and bus service would be swamped by peak-hour crowds. (Cargo volume, which is increasing much faster than passenger traffic, will raise further problems for the airport planner.)

One way to beat the problem of congestion at the jet airports and on routes to them is to find alternative ways to travel. For trips of up to 200 miles, fast trains are a possible solution. But a faster, more flexible, and immediately available alternative is the "short takeoff and landing" (STOL) aircraft. Planes already exist that can carry up to 60 passengers, cruise at 285 miles per hour, and take off on a 1,800-ft. landing strip.

## BYPASSING THE JETPORT

About 27 per cent of all air travelers leaving New York are bound for points within 250 miles. Most of these trips could be made in less time, door-to-door, using STOL craft between downtown airstrips than by taking 600-mile-per-hour jets between metropolitan airports.

In New York, where the need to reduce airport congestion is acute, an "emergency air-lift exercise" was carried out in September, 1967, demonstrating that STOL planes could operate from parks, piers, and islands in the harbor.

STOL ports have been proposed for rooftops in the city core, but they would raise problems of approach paths, noise, and safety more severe than those of heliports. More logical sites would be waterfront areas or railroad yards.

Recently Pan American Airways proposed

to build a 2,200, to 2,400-ft. strip on the site of abandoned Hudson River piers in Manhattan, only two blocks from Lincoln Center.

With STOL ports downtown at suburban hubs—or even at the jetport—we could reroute much of the air traffic between New York and, say, Boston, Syracuse, or Washington.

## STOL FOR SHORTER TRIPS

There are equally likely STOL routes all over the country: Miami to Tampa, St. Louis to Kansas City, Seattle to Portland. STOL routes would, of course, have to avoid major airport traffic patterns—and they might eventually generate STOL congestion—but they would add significantly to our air travel capacity.

Although some future air travelers may benefit from convenient STOL service, the vast majority will still have to find their way to a big jet airport, which will be, if anything, farther from their points of origin than present ones.

Today, most passengers make the trip to the airport by private car or taxi. In New York, where a high percentage of traffic originates in the urban core, an airport bus system with check-in facilities at its Midtown terminals attracts only 13 per cent of the New York area's passengers.

Cars, buses, and taxis all have the same critical flaw: they depend on highways. Airport traffic rarely causes jams on the expressways leading to big metropolitan airports—not yet, anyway. The trouble occurs when the vastly larger volume of cars going to and from work (or, as in New York, to and from the beach) grinds to a near standstill.

So far, U.S. cities with extensive transit systems have not built lines to their airports. Boston has long had an "Airport" station in its system, but it is only a stop on a line to somewhere else, separated from the terminal by a ½-mile bus ride. (Nevertheless, it must be a boon to airport workers.)

## SUBWAYS TO THE PLANES

Up to now, the volume of travelers willing to plunge from an airplane into a possibly bewildering transit system has been too small to warrant building airport spurs. There was also the problem of handling baggage in a transit system.

Now, however, the volume of "air commuters"—familiar with the cities they travel between and free of heavy baggage—is rising rapidly. The first subway line that will lead directly into an airport terminal is now under construction in Cleveland. New York has just announced plans to build a subway to Kennedy Airport, which has long had a transit line running along one of the boundaries. Kennedy, unfortunately, has a smaller proportion of "commuters" than the other New York airports.

## NEW WAYS TO REACH THE AIRPORT

Long before a transit line is completed—possibly by the end of this year—a recently unveiled "rall bus" may be shortening the rush-hour bus run to Kennedy Airport (from 90 minutes to 45, for a 13-mile trip!). The plan is to drive these disconcerting hybrids through the Midtown Tunnel to Queens, where they would lower their railroad wheels and take off over some little-used trackage to a point near the airport; then they would rejoin the highway. The rail bus may be makeshift, but anything would be an improvement.

Another way to get to the jet-port, of course, is by air. New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco already have helicopter service linking airports and in-town heliports.

Los Angeles may soon be using the "sky-lounge" to get passengers to the airport. As clumsy-looking at first glance as the rail bus, this device may prove to be a long-range im-

provement. It is made up of an existing "aerial crane" type of helicopter and a 40-passenger "lounge." The lounge can be towed along a passenger pick-up route, then flown to the airport, where it can be towed around to subterminals while the helicopter goes off to pick up another load. The system virtually eliminates on-the-ground loading time for the helicopter itself.

As planes have grown in both numbers and size, the air terminal has had to get bigger. Until recently, the only alternatives to the notorious long walk inside the terminal were the moving sidewalk (strangely underutilized), the decentralized airport (several self-contained subterminals, as at New York's Kennedy), or the bus-to-plane airport (like Washington's Dulles, with its specially designed "mobile lounges"). But decentralization forces transferring passengers to travel between subterminals, and bus systems put all passengers through an additional loading and unloading process.

## TRANSIT WITHIN THE TERMINALS

Another, seemingly obvious, solution is finally being tried—the in-terminal transit system. At Tampa International Airport (Reynolds, Smith & Hills, architects; Leigh Fisher Associates, consultants), all passengers will be carried from "airside" satellites to the central "landside" terminal in a smaller, simpler version of the "Transit Expressway." These vehicles will operate like horizontal elevators, shuttling up to 100 passengers (all standing) between the terminal and the satellites in 40 seconds. Each link will have a capacity of 840 people in a ten-minute period. Two pairs of doors on each side of the vehicle will allow rapid unloading from one side and reloading on the other. At both ends of the line, vehicle doors will be synchronized with doors in the buildings that will look—and work—like typical elevator doors.

Houston International Airport (designed by Architects Golemon & Rolfe and Pierce & Pierce) will have a small-scaled, automated subway. It will run along the axis of the decentralized terminal complex, stopping at unit terminals and at the centers of the parking lots between them. Its modest capacity—200 passengers in a ten-minute period—will probably be adequate at Houston, where only passengers bound for other terminals or distant parking lots will have to use it.

Whatever happens to air travel patterns, several cities with high volumes of air traffic are going to need additional jet airports just as soon as they can build them—or sooner. Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco, and Miami are already seeking sites. New York's search has been going on for seven years. Sites as far as 70 miles from Midtown Manhattan have been considered, but everyone has been rejected by local, state, or Federal authorities. (One is now a National Wildlife Refuge.)

## NOBODY LOVES A JETPORT

Most opposition is based, of course, on the noise of approaches and takeoffs, which will get more annoying as planes grow and traffic increases—especially cargo traffic, which is likely to move by night. (Contrary to popular fears, supersonic jets will not produce any "boom" at the airport, but miles away from it.) Air pollution from planes is likely to become more significant, especially if other sources are controlled.

## NEW SHAPES, NEW SITES

As open land becomes scarcer and opposition stiffer, conventional ideas about airport form and location may be reconsidered. Airports laid out since the advent of jets have already abandoned the earlier network of runways based on shifting winds, relying instead on sets of parallel runways. Auxiliary

cross-runways are often still needed, but they can be relatively short, since the winds that make them necessary also reduce landing and takeoff runs.

Now that runways can be oriented in a single direction, it would be possible to integrate them with highway construction. The airport-over-highway scheme proposed by Robert E. Dudley (of Tracey, Brunstrom & Dudley, Seattle) merges two major land-consuming functions and provides a road to the airport at no additional cost. It also offers the possibility of laying out landing and takeoff runways end-to-end—an ideal way to eliminate time-wasting taxiing. If cross-runways were necessary, the airport could, with coordinated planning, be built over a highway intersection.

Another unconventional source of airport space is water. Chicago is seriously considering an airport island 3½ miles offshore in Lake Michigan. A study of jetport sites for New Orleans by the Gulf South Research Institute proposes an airport in Lake Pontchartrain. Instead of an island, this report suggests a lattice of pier-like structures.

There have also been suggestions that New York build its fourth jetport in the Atlantic, and that Los Angeles put one in the Pacific. These might be drastic solutions, but as hordes of travelers take to the air we may be forced to try them.

—JOHN MORRIS DIXON.

#### DALLAS-FORT WORTH: TWO-MILE TRUNK WITH MANY BRANCHES

Up to now, every major air terminal has had a basically radial layout—a logical arrangement for the center of a taxiway web. Now, all at once, several schemes of a radically different type have appeared in response to changing runway layouts and increased passenger volumes. The new form is linear, with transfer between air and land vehicles occurring all along it.

The largest-scaled linear terminal yet designed for an actual situation is Tippett-Abbott-McCarthy-Stratton's proposal for the new Dallas-Fort Worth airport.

The site selected by TAMS for the collaborative effort of two rival cities (an effort that still needs voter approval) lies between two east-west routes linking the two centers. Major runways will run north-south, with a mile-wide corridor between them (to permit simultaneous landings or takeoffs.)

A road through the middle of this corridor will intersect both routes and form the spine of the two-mile-long terminal. At either end, the road will split into service lanes at apron level and passenger lanes two levels higher. Above will be four parking levels.

Running along the axis at the service level will be a transit system, linking points along the length of the terminal and the long-term parking lots at both ends. Potentially, this line could be part of a regional system.

The ideal linear scheme would have direct transfer to ground transportation at every boarding gate. But actually, stops for cars, buses, and transit must be farther apart than the 200-odd ft. required for docking each plane. Moreover, escalators, passenger counters, baggage facilities, etc., must be shared among several gates to serve any adequately.

At Dallas-Ft. Worth, these facilities are in nodes 800 ft. apart, from which lateral passages lead to boarding gates. These extensions accommodate only a few more planes than could line up along the central structure, but they give each airline tenant a chance to arrange boarding areas to fit changing needs.

#### HYPOTHETICAL AIRPORT: THE LINEAR TERMINAL WITHOUT COMPROMISES

The firm of Harry Weese & Associates has worked out a "universal" linear terminal

scheme to fit a variety of situations. Weese's purely linear plan would bring the planes right up to the central structure, which would take up as little area as possible. All access roads and parking, transit and baggage equipment would be underground.

The key to Weese's scheme is an adjustable boarding "gondola," which would permit the fastest possible unloading and loading of any jet now flying or on the boards. As a first step, Weese and his staff superimposed the plans of all these planes, lining them up at the leading edge of their wings, the outer limit for any structure resting on the apron.

The gondola they developed could be 60, 120, or 180 ft. long, depending on the size and door locations of the planes it served. Since passengers could assemble in it, there would be no need for the usual boarding lounge.

The overhead beams of the gondola would be supported by adjustable frames on the ground and adjustable cables. Tracks on the apron and on the terminal superstructure would allow the device to be moved along the terminal, to meet changes in aircraft or schedules.

In the Weese scheme, the need to share bus and transit stops, baggage facilities, etc. among several gates is met by centering a passenger transfer point in each 960-ft. segment of the terminal. Escalators leading up to the boarding level would be within 240 ft. of any boarding gate.

The full scheme shown here is intended only for major air hubs. At smaller terminals—with smaller planes—car and bus levels could be combined, transit omitted, and parking reduced. If underground construction were restricted, Weese concedes that vehicle traffic and parking could be stacked above the passenger level. And, although the scheme is "linear" in principle, its segments could be readily arranged in a square—or bent around to form a circle.

#### THE LUMBER PRICE CRISIS: ANOTHER ASPECT

#### HON. WENDELL WYATT

OF OREGON

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, March 19, 1969*

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, the current crisis in the lumber and wood products field is a two-horned dilemma. The price squeeze not only has adversely affected the consumer, but the industry as well. In reality, an immediate solution would be to the benefit of all parties concerned.

A recent article by the well-known and respected business editor of the Portland Oregonian points out the deleterious effects of the crisis on all parties, and brings to light the little-known aspect of this problem—the critical pressures it has put on the industry.

I would like to commend this authoritative article to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress. It is another aspect of the crisis which should be brought to their attention.

The article follows:

#### PRICE BUBBLE BREAKS ON LUMBER, PLYWOOD (By Gerry Pratt)

Plywood and lumber prices, soaring along at altitudes where things usually pop, have broken.

Roseburg Lumber Co., one of the major producers of sanded plywood, will be out with a \$132-a-thousand list Monday morning.

"And that is not going to buy any business," says Kenneth W. Ford, the president.

Scanning the company's order files Saturday, Ford admits, "we are out to book business." The move to lower prices, he says, "is just looking at stars to see which way the wind is blowing. We could be at a \$120-a thousand a week from now and two weeks from today it could be \$110."

Only a week ago the list for this sanded, quarter-inch, A-D item was \$142 a thousand, and in the current boom it has been sold at \$144 from the mills. Roseburg is the largest single producer of quarter-inch A-D sanded plywood in the industry.

What happened?

Bob Smith's *Crow's Weekly Plywood Letter* put it cogently. Reporting a list of \$136 a thousand Friday, Crow's said: "It is as though sanded plywood had never been invented." Sales have been that light.

Ford and others like him are looking at order files down to ten days or less, that is just enough business on the books to take care of ten days of manufacturing.

#### TWO PLANTS ALREADY CLOSED

It is not only sanded plywood that is feeling the supply and demand rollback. Two sheathing plants are already shut down, according to industry reports, Rogue Valley Ply and another plant at Myrtle Creek: Both because of a lack of orders at a price where they can operate at a profit.

Veneer, the sheets of peeled log that make up the sandwich layers of plywood, is due to see a \$2 a thousand price cut Monday morning, according to sheathing operators. C-D grade veneer has been going at \$21 a thousand and will come out at \$19 Monday, "and," Charlie Gardiner, Roseburg's sales manager, "I question whether they are selling all their production. With sheathing at \$118 and \$120 a thousand, the lay-up sheathing plants cannot pay that price for veneer and come out with a profit."

Roseburg dropped the price to \$134 a thousand for sanded plywood at the middle of last week. There was still no business to speak of. "It is now a question of walking the price down as gradually as we can, trying not to do anything that would completely destroy confidence," one sales manager said Saturday.

What the industry must do now, according to Gardiner, is "wait for the time or price that will bring buying pressure back into the market. Consumption is good, warehouse sales are good. What is plaguing everybody is a lack of money. The retail yards are tied up in receivables and the same with the distributors. They just don't have the cash to carry the inventories. They are going to stay within a short order file and with short inventories."

Gardiner said Saturday he heard of one government order for sanded plywood that was filled last week at \$128 a thousand and added: "As far as I know the price is now \$130 and up. Prices have already broken."

#### G-P EXPERIENCE RECALLED

The difference between what Roseburg is saying now, and what happened when Georgia-Pacific attempted to get a price roll back going several weeks ago, is that Roseburg and others like them are taking current orders at the rollback prices. G-P, which was extended with a heavy order file, was preaching lower prices but was not in a position to go out and start selling plywood at lower prices. G-P was already committed. Roseburg's new price breaks are not committed and plywood will be there for buying at the lower prices Monday morning.

"We can look for this thing to go on dragging its feet at least until the first of the month (April)," says Gardiner.

But in looking for the "time or the price" to check the slide, there are bullish factors in the way of a total price collapse.

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One is the labor unions. They are rattling their swords as never before, asking for \$2-an-hour over the next three years and they have indicated a strike deadline of June. "Give us a contract by then" they say, "or you are going to see the biggest strike in the history of the industry." Just the prospect of that will have considerable impact on turning this decline around again.

Somewhere, as the price fades in the next week or so, there will come the point when the yards and distributors begin to look down the road to a strike threat, at the building demands predicted for this year, and they will find a price where they can begin to build inventories. Says Gardiner, "Everyone recognizes this things as a bubble. It is going to settle down somewhere." The question is the time and the price.

## MECHANIZATION AND FARM LABOR

## HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, in connection with my interest in improving working conditions for farmworkers, and particularly my efforts to terminate the bracero program, I have watched very closely developments in stoop labor, fruit and vegetable agriculture.

You will remember that dire predictions were made of the difficulties these industries would encounter when the supply of foreign labor for harvesting was curtailed in 1964. These predicted labor shortages have not materialized, and indeed the industries have been most successful in finding an adequate, stable work force and in substituting new mechanical devices for many of their harvesting operations. The Department of Labor reports on these developments in the March issue of the Monthly Labor Review, in an article by Mr. Lawrence J. Fulco.

The productivity of workers, as measured in output per man-hour has increased steadily since 1960, and this should allow farm wages to increase.

Noteworthy as these developments are in increasing the efficiency of fruit and vegetable production, the ensuing reduction in the need for seasonal hired labor reminds us that we should focus again on easing the transition of these workers into farmwork off the field or in other industries. Mr. Fulco's report reminds us:

Migrant workers who now represent an important part of the seasonal labor force for fruit and vegetable crops will find their opportunities for employment reduced as mechanization in these crops becomes more widespread. The migrants and their families will have special problems of adjustment because of a multitude of social and economic factors. These include low income and education, unemployment, underemployment, poor health, and discrimination which sometimes keeps these workers in menial farm jobs.

Modern mechanization methods, while reducing the number of workers, will require workers with greater mechanical skills and specialization, a development

which may help these workers to secure the traditional collective bargaining goals enjoyed by their fellow workers in other industries. We can help this transition to higher skill work through increased training programs and through improved labor-management relations within agricultural industries. In the long run, with increased mechanization of the unskilled, low-paid jobs and with more of the workers earning decent living wages in higher skill jobs, the agricultural employer, the workers, and the consumer public will benefit.

Mr. Speaker, I insert Mr. Fulco's article in the RECORD for the careful review of my colleagues:

## HOW MECHANIZATION OF HARVESTING IS AFFECTING JOBS

(By Lawrence J. Fulco) \*

Mechanization is increasing productivity in fruit and vegetable harvesting, and is being stimulated by a tight domestic labor market, a dwindling supply of foreign farm workers, and the increasing labor costs to growers in many areas of the Nation.

A traditional market for unskilled labor has been the harvesting of fruits and vegetables, one of the least mechanized sectors of agriculture. The production of these crops, including harvesting, made up 13 percent of all farm man-hours in 1967.<sup>1</sup> Harvest mechanization will reduce employment opportunities, especially for those workers who are hired just for the harvesting season, as well as change the nature and content of farm jobs. It will also affect rural manpower development programs.

This article describes technological developments in harvesting of fruits and vegetables, and their implications for productivity, employment, training, and labor-management relations.

## THE SETTING FOR CHANGE

Harvest mechanization is not new. The McCormick reaper was patented more than a century ago. However, mechanization was confined mainly to grain crops, since the sheer size of these dictated the use of all available laborsaving devices. In contrast, the labor needs of the fruit and vegetable harvest could be met using local workers on a temporary basis, together with children and migrants who were not part of the local year-round farm labor force. Until quite recently, these sources of labor provided growers with adequate supplies of suitable labor at the appropriate time. And since they could be hired for short periods, the cost was low.<sup>2</sup> As long as growers' requirements for labor were satisfied, there was little incentive for introducing costly new machines that required changes in traditional growing practices.

Mechanization of fruit and vegetable harvesting has lagged behind mechanization in other branches of agriculture for other reasons as well. Irregular topography and small-scale operations often made the switch to mechanical operations uneconomical. Some crops ripen unevenly and must be gone over several times making harvesting machines impractical. Still another factor which retarded the adoption of machines has been the peculiar nature of the harvest labor market. Migrating harvest workers hold a succession of farm jobs as they follow the harvest across the Nation. Reduction in the need for workers in one crop because of mechanization may thus affect the availability of workers for crops that mature later. Rather than upset the chain of jobs, some growers have employed extra workers in early crops, allowing their mechanical harvesters

to stand idle,<sup>3</sup> in order to insure an adequate work force later.

Crops which are harvested by mechanical means often cannot be processed in the same way as hand-harvested ones. This may require processors to make costly changes in their equipment and may also defer mechanization. Mechanical harvesting subjects the produce to vigorous handling and produces more bruised fruit. Also, some crops may contain more foreign matter when machine-gathered. New capital investment may thus be required for transportation, processing, and storage facilities on and off the farm. For example, since delays are particularly costly when crops have been machine-gathered, processors sometimes need to add more capacity when growers mechanize, since the whole crop is delivered in a short period of time.

On the other hand, some recent developments affecting labor cost have encouraged fruit and vegetable growers to mechanize their harvesting operations. Among these are the dwindling supply of suitable farm labor and rising costs. Better jobs at higher wages in urban industry are drawing many people away from rural areas. Stiffer entry requirements for foreign workers have practically eliminated Mexican workers (braceros) admitted for temporary employment. The spring of 1968 marked the first season in 27 years that no temporary farm workers were admitted anywhere in the United States for employment. However, about 16,000 Mexican "green card" holders crossed the border on a daily basis for steady employment on American farms.<sup>4</sup>

Foreign workers had been employed in the harvest of fruit and vegetable crops since 1850, when the first Chinese workers were brought into California. Mexican farm workers were first admitted to the United States during World War I. However, beginning in the 1950's, Mexicans admitted under Public Law 78 became the backbone of the harvest labor force for some crops until the law was allowed to lapse in 1964. Thus, harvest vacancies opened up after many American workers had migrated to the cities. The tightening of the farm labor market that has resulted because of these factors encouraged fruit and vegetable growers to make the best use of the available labor supply. In many instances, this has included the introduction of harvesting machines.

TABLE I.—FOREIGN WORKERS ADMITTED FOR TEMPORARY EMPLOYMENT IN U.S. AGRICULTURE,<sup>1</sup> 1950 TO 1967

Year	Total foreign workers <sup>2</sup>	Mexicans
1950	76,525	67,500
1951	203,640	\$ 192,100
1952	210,210	\$ 197,100
1953	215,321	\$ 201,380
1954	320,737	\$ 309,033
1955	411,966	\$ 398,650
1956	459,850	\$ 455,197
1957	452,205	\$ 436,049
1958	447,513	\$ 432,857
1959	455,420	\$ 437,643
1960	334,729	\$ 315,846
1961	310,375	\$ 291,420
1962	217,010	\$ 194,978
1963	209,218	\$ 186,865
1964	200,022	\$ 177,736
1965	35,871	20,284
1966	23,524	8,647
1967	23,603	6,125

<sup>1</sup> Data compiled from administrative reports of the Bureau of Employment Security, U.S. Department of Labor.<sup>2</sup> Foreign workers include Mexicans, French Canadians, and British West Indians.<sup>3</sup> Admitted under Public Law 78.

As Mexican workers were denied entry, vacancies in harvesting jobs were created and American workers took their places. As the competition for workers increased, growers were faced with new demands for better sanitary facilities, living quarters, and

Footnotes at end of article.

field conditions which have increased costs. For example, Mexican crews were usually made up of single men who could be housed in barracks, but American workers often travel in family groups which require different living arrangements. Wages have also been rising, adding to operating costs. Nationally, according to the Department of Agriculture, average hourly wage rates for farm workers who did not receive room or board from their employers rose from \$1.08 in 1964 to \$1.33 in 1967.<sup>5</sup> In addition, 1966 amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act extended Federal minimum wage protection to some agricultural workers<sup>6</sup> for the first time and raised the prospect of further increases in labor costs for some growers. The criteria for coverage<sup>7</sup> established by the law, however, currently excludes many low-wage farm workers, particularly in the South.

#### TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Developments in technology have made available a wide variety of equipment for machine harvesting of a number of crops. New mechanical harvesters represent major outlays for research and development. Since the potential market of some machines is too limited to enable manufacturers to recoup their investment, development costs are often underwritten by government agencies, universities, and growers' associations.

These groups are also striving to make future mechanical pickers more economical, and this represents one important area of research. For example, most harvesters currently in use gather everything in the field indiscriminately. When unripe produce is picked, it represents a loss to growers in potential financial return in addition to direct costs for the wages of sorter crews. Harvesters with the capacity to distinguish between ripe and unripe fruit would solve this problem, but there are few such machines currently available and these represent only a first step in the direction of having truly selective harvesters. The use of light-reflectance instruments for sorting ripe and unripe crops represents an important breakthrough in this area and may be introduced shortly. One such instrument separates red tomatoes from green ones; another takes green tomatoes and distinguishes those that will ripen while in storage from those that will never ripen.

Another approach is the development of crop strains which ripen uniformly and lend themselves to mechanical harvesting methods. Important research breakthroughs have already occurred in tailoring crops to

Footnotes at end of article.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

the machines, particularly in the case of tomatoes that are especially grown for good harvesting qualities.

Tree and bush crops present special problems for machine designers, and research and development on a very wide variety of harvesters is underway. Success has already been achieved for some crops. In Oregon, for example, tree-shaking machines are being used to gather prunes, and in the Midwest, tart cherries are picked mechanically, while in Florida research continues on the mechanization of the citrus harvest. A promising harvester for blueberries and other bush crops, a huge over-the-row combine, is currently available. This machine requires a crew of three to do the work of about 125 pickers. However, labor requirements dropped only about 20 percent in areas where it has been introduced because the machine-gathered crops must be carefully sorted to remove foreign matter and substandard berries, a step not necessary when the crop is harvested by hand.

Table 2 presents an overview of the current status and outlook for mechanization of harvesting in several major crops. It illustrates that mechanization of fruit and vegetable harvesting is proceeding very unevenly. Generally, it is most rapid among those crops which are grown for processing rather than for the fresh market. Fruits and vegetables that are processed before they are sold may contain some bruised produce, since processing begins soon enough after picking to prevent spoilage. Fresh market crops, on the other hand, must be in better condition to withstand transportation to market without deterioration. There is likely to be a continuing shift toward processing fruits and vegetables and, according to one expert, most of these crops will be subjected to some degree of mechanical harvesting by 1975. Mechanization of the citrus crop is unlikely by 1975, however, because research in this area is still in the experimental stage.

#### PRODUCTIVITY IN HARVESTING

U.S. Department of Agriculture estimates of changes in output per man-hour indicate that productivity for fruit and nut workers rose at an average annual rate of 1.3 percent between 1950 and 1966, while the productivity of vegetable workers grew by almost three times as much, 3.5 percent, during the same period.<sup>8</sup> (See table 3.) These statistics take into account man-hours expended in all farm operations, including trimming, weeding, planting and other tasks, as well as harvesting. The rate of introduction of mechanical devices for harvesting has an important effect on growth of productivity,

since far more labor is needed for harvest operations than for any other activity during the growing season. This disparity between the rates of growth in productivity for vegetables and fruit and nut crops, which is likely to continue, reflects the slower pace of mechanization due to the greater technical difficulties of developing mechanical harvesters for tree and bush crops. The Department of Agriculture projects that by 1980 total man-hours for fruit and nut workers will have declined about 20 percent below the 1965 levels while man-hour requirements for vegetables will have dropped by 24 percent.<sup>9</sup> These projections for 1980 reflect a continued increase in production of these products.

While these conditions will contribute to a slower rate of growth in output per man-hour for fruits and nuts, continuing basic research in fruit harvesting techniques could soon bring about dramatic increases in worker productivity.

#### EMPLOYMENT AND MANPOWER EFFECTS

One of the best measures of the total number of people involved in harvest operations is the peak employment figure developed by the Bureau of Employment Security for the various fruit and vegetable crops, as shown in the chart. In 1967, the leading fruit crop in terms of peak seasonal employment was strawberries. The leading vegetable crops were tomatoes and beans. Peak employment figures refer to seasonal workers and include migrants (interstate and intrastate) and local people like school children, housewives, unemployed industrial workers, and other casual workers not normally in the farm work force but who usually participate in the harvest. Peak seasonal employment figures, however, do not represent an unduplicated employment count since many workers harvest several different fruit and vegetable crops during the season. Thus, these figures cannot be added together to arrive at the total number of workers. It must also be remembered that some workers employed at the peak season are engaged in tasks not directly related to harvesting, but these are likely to be a small fraction of peak employment.

Mechanization in harvesting fruits and vegetables will, in all likelihood, further reduce the need for seasonal hired labor, particularly those persons whose only farm-related employment is at harvest time. In 1967, such employment averaged 140,000 workers in vegetable crops and 125,000 in fruit production, representing declines of 17 percent, and 7 percent, respectively, below 1960 levels.

TABLE 2.—STATUS AND PROSPECTS OF HARVEST MECHANIZATION IN SELECTED FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

Crop	1967 employment in peak month	Major producing States	The outlook for mechanization
Apples.....	69,924	California, Michigan, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Washington, and West Virginia.	Harvest mechanization growing slowly—may account for 25 percent of the crop grown for processing by early 1970's. Fresh market crops may be hand harvested for some time.
Beans.....	78,410	California, Maryland, Michigan, New York, Washington, and Wisconsin.	Mechanized for some time. Improved combines may replace existing equipment. Complete harvest mechanization is possible by early 1970's; introduction often deferred because of cheap labor available. Some fresh market varieties will continue to be hand harvested.
Bushberries.....	70,517	California, Oregon, and Washington.	Machines and hand-held vibrators widely used in harvesting. In some States 80 percent of the crop will be mechanized by early 1970's.
Cherries.....	43,973	California, Michigan, Oregon, and Washington.	Harvesting mechanization of the crop grown for processing is proceeding rapidly; will be almost complete by the early 1970's.
Citrus fruits.....	45,450	California, Florida, and Texas.	No successful harvesting machine currently available, but research efforts continue.
Cucumbers.....	52,597	California, Delaware, Maryland, Michigan, North Carolina, Texas, and Wisconsin.	Very limited introduction of machines; those available used mainly for final harvesting.
Grapes.....	55,990	California and New York.	Use of machines for harvesting the crop grown for processing is currently limited but may expand. Fresh-market crop will continue to be hand harvested.
Potatoes.....	84,689	Grown in many States. Principal in terms of production are California, Idaho, Maine, Minnesota, North Dakota, Oregon, Washington, and Wisconsin.	Harvest mechanization, where possible, now almost complete.
Strawberries.....	113,563	California, Florida, Louisiana, Michigan, New Jersey, Oregon, Tennessee and Washington.	Dim prospects for harvest mechanization.

Source: Employment, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Employment Security.

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TABLE 3.—OUTPUT PER MAN-HOUR IN VEGETABLES, FRUITS, NUTS, AND RELATED SERIES  
(Average annual percent change, 1950-66)

Year	Output per man-hour		Man-hours		Output	
	Vegetables	Fruits and nuts	Vegetables	Fruits and nuts	Vegetables	Fruits and nuts
1950-66.....	3.5	1.3	-2.6	-0.7	0.8	0.6
1950-58.....	4.7	1.7	-3.8	-1.2	.8	.5
1958-66.....	2.3	.8	-1.4	-.1	.8	.7

Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Migrant workers who now represent an important part of the seasonal labor force for fruit and vegetable crops will find their opportunities for employment reduced as mechanization in these crops becomes more widespread. The migrants and their families will have special problems of adjustment because of multitude of social and economic factors. These include low income and education, unemployment, underemployment, poor health, and discrimination which sometimes keeps these workers in menial farm jobs.<sup>10</sup>

The number of migratory workers, many of whom do harvesting of fruits and vegetables, has averaged about 400,000 for many years, though the turnover in the group is very large. The migratory stream consists of former tenant farmers, unemployed workers, displaced farm workers, Negroes, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and others.

According to the most recent information available (1967) from the U.S. Department of Agriculture, men constituted about three-fourths of all migratory workers. Half the migratory work force were less than 25 years old, and 1 in 4 was a teenager. About one-fifth were nonwhite and many were members of ethnic minority groups such as Spanish-surname Americans and American Indians.

Harvesting machines are reducing the need for hand pickers in many crops, and new openings are being created for sorters, cutters, machine operators, mechanics, and allied workers, as well as food processing and packinghouse workers. Another employment effect of mechanization is the increasing need for shed workers who include sorters, cutters, and packers. Farmers who have mechanized their harvesting operations are finding it advantageous to begin trimming and sorting machine-gathered crops as soon as possible, since they are more likely to spoil than those which are hand-harvested. Field sheds, in which the first processing steps can be performed, may employ a higher proportion of women and young people than traditional field crews, since shed work is physically less demanding. Workers in sheds are not subjected to the weather, so production is generally higher than that of workers doing the same tasks in the open.

Although nationwide employment projections for fruit and vegetable harvest workers are not available, a regional estimate of manpower requirements for fruit and vegetable harvest workers in the States of Kentucky, Michigan, and Ohio illustrates the declining demand for these workers as mechanization advances.<sup>11</sup> In 1965, for example, the total number of jobs in fruit and vegetable crops in these States was 144,000; the estimated number in 1971 is about 100,000 or a decrease of nearly 30 percent. This estimate takes into account differences in requirements for workers in a great variety of crops, some of which may never be successfully harvested mechanically while others are almost completely mechanized today.

## EDUCATION AND TRAINING

The trend toward harvest mechanization creates the need to retrain workers whose

jobs are becoming obsolete. One indicator of the magnitude of the effort required is the generally low level of education of farm workers. For example, in March 1967, all agricultural workers had a median of only 9 years of schooling, while all workers had 12.3 years. Male farm laborers and foremen had 8.2 years on the average while all male workers had 12.2 years. Low educational attainment and lack of formal occupational training has not represented a barrier to farm employment in the past since most farm tasks, including harvesting operations, could be learned quickly.

As mechanization makes greater headway, there will be a growing need for workers with higher levels of skill to operate and repair farm equipment and to work in agriculturally related occupations for which a knowledge of farming is helpful. Those adult farm workers with very low levels of education and few skills will be unable to qualify for most of the new kinds of openings other than at the very lowest levels. Also, because of their poor education, training has only been given for menial and low skilled jobs. In addition, training activities have been hampered because of the lack of information about future employment needs in rural areas.

A major requirement of all recent Federal legislation is that training and retraining must be for jobs in which there are reasonable prospects for employment. A nationwide survey of agricultural job opportunities is being undertaken by the Department of Labor and other interested Federal agencies to bridge the gap in information about future employment needs in rural areas.

## VOCATIONAL PROGRAMS

In too many cases, vocational education in rural areas has been limited to farming and home economics. With the passage of the Vocational Education Act of 1963, however, vocational programs are being designed to qualify students for jobs off the farm as well. Thus, enrollments in courses leading to jobs off the farm in related industries has about tripled since 1964. Enrollment in farm work courses, while still over twice as large, has declined by a fifth over the same period.

Vocational curriculums in agriculture provide training to high school and posthigh school students and to people with special training needs. But it is not likely that the severely disadvantaged adult farm workers will ever benefit from in-school vocational programs. It appears that the main vehicle for retraining rural workers, including displaced harvest workers, will continue to be the Federal Government's Manpower Development and Training Act.

## EMPLOYEE COMPENSATION

The introduction of mechanical harvesters will ease the transition to hourly wage minimums where required under the FLSA. The majority of seasonal farm workers employed by fruit and vegetable growers are now paid on a piecework basis. In this connection, studies for a score of crops in Michigan were undertaken to determine worker

productivity under the current piecework system, so that equitable hourly rates could be established. Similar efforts for crops in other parts of the country will be necessary. The costs of low worker productivity under hourly pay schemes will limit the employment of the least productive workers, since growers will not hire those whose work will not justify the legal hourly minimum.

Under mechanization, calculation of hourly wage rates is facilitated since the pace of work is often determined by the machine and not by the individual workers alone. This calculation, however, is complicated by the fact that there are many other determinants of productivity which are not easily predicted even when mechanization is complete, such as the weather, the condition of the crop, the stage of the harvest, and a host of other factors.

## LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

The mechanization of fruit and vegetable harvests will change the structure of labor-management relations in agriculture. With a few notable exceptions in Wisconsin and California, attempts to unionize farm workers have generally met with failure.<sup>12</sup> Traditional grower resistance to unionization and farm workers' suspicion of unfamiliar organizations are among the major factors that prevented unions from taking hold.<sup>13</sup>

Agricultural workers are often the members of crews that travel as a unit from place to place under the supervision of a crew leader, who alone deals with growers directly. Thus, the employee is insulated from his employer and is under the control of a crew leader. Under such conditions, it is difficult for workers to bring grievances to the employer's attention and, lacking any attachment to a given job or employer, workers could seldom be effectively mobilized for concerted action.

The impetus for union organization may come partly from the mechanization of fruit and vegetable harvests. Just as in the early days of other unions, workers with skill and experience on new machines are in an enhanced bargaining position. Experienced harvester crew members are not as easily replaced as stoop laborers. Farm workers organization may also be stimulated by the growing similarity between farm operations and their opposite numbers in industry. This development may make the attainment of traditional collective bargaining goals such as wages and hours a prime concern of agricultural workers. As fruit and vegetable farms get larger they are more likely to be mechanized; this brightens the prospects of unionization in the Nation's fields and orchards.

## FOOTNOTES

\* Lawrence J. Fulco is an economist in the Division of Technological Studies, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

<sup>1</sup> Changes in Farm Production and Efficiency (U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, 1968). Agricultural Economic Report 233.

<sup>2</sup> Harold F. Stanley, "Mechanization and the Recruitment of Farm Workers," Farm Labor Developments (U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, August 1968), p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Stanley M. Knebel, "Restrictive Admission Standards: Probable Impact on Mexican Alien Commuters," Farm Labor Developments (U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, November 1968), pp. 8-20.

<sup>5</sup> Farm Labor (U.S. Department of Agriculture, Statistical Reporting Service, January issues, 1965, 1966, 1967, and 1968).

<sup>8</sup> In 1968 the Fair Labor Standards Act covered 2 percent of farms with hired workers and 35 percent of such workers.

<sup>9</sup> The law provides that a minimum wage of \$1.15 an hour, effective February 1, 1968, and \$1.30 an hour, effective the following February, must be paid to every worker who is employed in covered employment in agriculture by an employer who used more than 500 man-days of farm labor in any calendar quarter of the preceding calendar year. The minimum wage provisions generally do not cover hand-harvest laborers paid at piece rates in an operation recognized as piece work in the region, if (1) they go each day to the farm from their permanent residence, and (2) they have been employed in agriculture less than 13 weeks in the preceding calendar year.

<sup>10</sup> A statistical series showing changes in productivity of harvest workers alone is not available since man-hour measures include workers engaged in all tasks associated with a given crop, not just those in harvesting.

<sup>11</sup> See *Farm Labor in a Changing Agriculture*, Senate Hearings, 90th Congress, First Session, Department of Agriculture and Related Agencies Appropriations, H.R. 10509, Part 4, 1968.

<sup>12</sup> For a fuller discussion of the characteristics and problems of the migratory worker, see "The Migratory Farm Worker," *Monthly Labor Review*, June 1968, pp. 10-12.

<sup>13</sup> Stanley, op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>14</sup> Agriculture and fishing ranked last by extent of unionization in 1966, in a recent BLS listing of major industry groups. See *Directory of National and International Labor Unions in the United States, 1967* (BLS Bulletin 1596, 1968).

<sup>15</sup> See "The Rural Worker in America," *Monthly Labor Review*, June 1968, pp. 3-31.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### THE SPANISH BASES

This week Spanish Foreign Minister Fernando Castielo Maiz arrives in Washington to conduct the final round of negotiations for the continued American occupancy of four bases in Spain, whose lease expires March 26. These bases—three Air Force, one Navy—have quite a history. They were established in 1953, in the most frigid years of the Cold War as part of the defense system that ringed the Soviet Union, from Spain and Morocco to Turkey. In return for the leased land, the United States pumped \$1.2 billion in economic and military assistance into Spain over the next ten years. In 1963 the lease was renewed for five years in return for \$100 million in military aid. Last Summer the Spanish came back with a demand for \$1 billion for the next five years, a sum that was later scaled down to \$700 million in military aid. There were other Spanish demands as well, among them a commitment that the United States come to Spain's defense in case of attack—presumably, and incredibly, from North Africa. The American Government's position on all this has been far from clear, in part because the Johnson Administration apparently authorized a major general to do its diplomatic business in Spain, and it is not at all certain that his views coincide with the Government's. The notion now is that the United States will settle for a five-year extension at \$100 million.

It is an astonishing business. No one, not even the Air Force, contends that the three air bases in Spain—in this, the age of the ICBM—are essential to American defense. "Desirable" is about the strongest word one can in good conscience extract, and that largely on the basis that the Department of Defense, the bureaucratic proof of the validity of the territorial imperative, never voluntarily gives up its turf, in this case three air bases. The naval base, useful for the servicing of Polaris submarines, is not essential either; it is marginally less expensive to service the subs in Rota, rather than the Eastern United States, and that is about all. So there is little in the way of persuasive military argument for retention of the bases and the 10,000 men who man them, particularly at a \$700 million price tag.

The objections to extension of the lease, however, go way beyond \$100 million or \$1 billion and four obsolete and obsolescent bases. It is that the money in military aid will go to the Franco regime at precisely the time when it is under heaviest fire from its critics—left, right and center, from anarchist to monarchist—for reinstating the repression so characteristic of "the system" in the years immediately following the civil war. To conclude this agreement now would be to place the weight of Washington behind the generals in Madrid, no matter how many explanatory speeches, statements and backgrounders came from the White House. Beyond that, and not very far beyond it, is the inadvertent stake we acquire in a country once we establish bases and staff them with American soldiers. Diplomacy follows the flag. Who rules in Madrid becomes important not for political reasons but for military ones: What will they do to the bases? It would be interesting to know how the Administration is sorting out these questions. Which comes first: politics or military security, in this case—by most of the evidence—a dubious military security.

In short, this agreement appears to have very little to recommend it. It does not appear to be favorable to American interests on any grounds, military, political or economic, and in fact would tend to bring this

country into disrepute with exactly those elements, in Spain and out of it, who should be our allies. A persuasive case for renewal of the leases has yet to be made.

### THE PRESIDIO 27

#### HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 18, 1969

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday Congressman LEGGETT and I joined with several of our colleagues in a special order to call the attention of the House to the serious events and conditions at the San Francisco Presidio stockade.

Today, I would like to add briefly to that discussion by including in the RECORD a copy of the Army's reply to the letter sent by Congressmen WALDIE, EDWARDS, BURTON, and myself asking that the sentences for the men convicted of mutiny be remitted and that further mutiny trials be halted. Writing for the Secretary of the Army, General Counsel Robert Jordan III, explains the official military appellate procedures and concludes by stating:

If at a later time, upon careful review of all the facts and circumstances of the cases, the Secretary concludes that any of the sentences are excessive in relation to the offense committed, he is prepared to exercise his power of clemency.

I would like to say I am pleased to note this willingness on the part of the Secretary, but that willingness to consider clemency does not excuse either the over-reaction of Army officials in bringing these charges nor does it explain what appears to be very poor management of prisoners and stockade personnel. The Secretary has, however, been quite responsive to my personal interest and that of other Members in this matter, and I trust that he will continue to exercise his best efforts to remedy these unsatisfactory conditions in the Presidio and other Army stockades.

I would also like to include in the RECORD at the close of my remarks two articles from today's Washington Post. Mr. Robert C. Jensen, the author of one of these articles, dramatizes quite clearly the apparent failure of the Army to provide adequate care and treatment for psychologically disturbed men. I commend this article to the attention of all of those concerned with this serious situation:

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY,  
OFFICE OF THE GENERAL COUNSEL,  
Washington, D.C., March 17, 1969.  
Hon. JEFFREY COHELAN,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. COHELAN: Secretary Resor has asked me to reply to your letter concerning the recent court-martial trials arising out of an incident which occurred last October at the Presidio of San Francisco.

In order to place the current status of the

### THE SPANISH BASES

#### HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, on March 26, leases expire for U.S. occupancy of four military bases in Spain. Negotiations for an extension of the leases are now in process.

At a time when the extent and character of U.S. commitments abroad is being called into serious question, and moreover, when the imbalance in our present budgetary priorities is clear, I believe it is important that we thoroughly examine the propriety of extending the leases with an eye toward determining both the military need for these bases and the political implications of changing the Franco regime.

I include in the RECORD an editorial from the March 17 Washington Post which discusses several of the issues raised by the negotiations for continued U.S. occupancy of these four Spanish bases. The editorial concludes that renegotiation of the leases "does not appear to be favorable to American interests on any grounds, military, political, or economic."

The editorial follows:

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Presidio cases in proper perspective, it may be helpful to describe the process of post-trial review available to a convicted military defendant. In the military justice system the sentence adjudged by a court-martial, as well as the validity of a finding of guilt, is subject to review at several levels. In this regard, the military justice system differs from the practice of civilian appellate courts, which ordinarily have only the power to affirm or reverse a conviction.

The convictions and sentences in the Presidio cases will be reviewed in the first instance by the Commanding General, Sixth U.S. Army, who convened the court-martial. He will act only after receiving the advice of his Staff Judge Advocate. In addition to the power to approve or disapprove the court's actions in toto, he has the power to reduce the finding of guilty of mutiny to a finding of guilty of a lesser included offense, such as wilful disobedience of a lawful order, which carries a maximum punishment of five years' confinement. He also has the power, even if he approves the findings of guilt, to reduce the sentence or the finding in his discretion, even if he finds no error of law in the court proceedings.

If the sentence approved by the Commanding General, Sixth U.S. Army, includes either a punitive discharge or confinement of one year or more, the cases will then be referred to a Board of Review consisting of three military judges. The Board also has the power to reduce the sentence or the crime for which the accused was convicted.

Following action by the Board of Review, an accused may petition the Court of Military Appeals, composed of three civilian judges, for discretionary review limited to questions of law. The Court of Military Appeals has the power to approve or set aside the findings and sentence or to approve a finding of guilty of a lesser included offense which carries a lesser penalty.

Finally, apart from the process of appellate review I have just described, the Secretary of the Army has the authority, under Article 74 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, to remit or suspend all or part of the unexecuted portion of any sentence. In view of the several levels of review available to the defendants in the Presidio cases, it does not appear appropriate for him to consider exercising this authority at this time. However, if at a later time, upon careful review of all the facts and circumstances of the cases, the Secretary concludes that any of the sentences are excessive in relation to the offense committed, he is prepared to exercise his power of clemency.

I appreciate your concern that the sentences in the first three cases to reach decision appeared excessive in relation to the nature of the offense as reported in the press and elsewhere. It is perhaps significant that the fourth trial, which was transferred to Fort Irwin, resulted in a much lower sentence of four years. I hope that this development, together with the information contained in this letter, will allay some of your concern.

Sincerely,

ROBERT E. JORDAN, III,  
General Counsel.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post,  
Mar. 19, 1969]

MUTINY AT THE PRESIDIO: ORDEAL AND CHALLENGE

(By Robert C. Jensen)

When Pvt. Richard Bunch went absent without leave last spring he told his mother he had died twice, been reincarnated as a

warlock, and had walked through the prison walls at the Army's Presidio in San Francisco to visit her.

At the time she tried to get psychiatric care for her son at a civilian hospital in Dayton, Ohio. But Bunch was turned over to military authorities.

By October, the 19-year-old soldier was dead. His death touched off the stockade demonstration in San Francisco that has led to the mutiny trial of 27 soldiers and focused new attention on Army court martial and prison procedures.

Mrs. Bunch had been promised by the Army that her son would receive psychiatric care. Army psychiatrists examined Bunch at the Presidio and found that he was a manic depressive. But he was sent back to the stockade.

In the stockade Bunch wrote a number of scrawled notes that were found under his mattress—"one click and it's over . . . all right America I'll pay . . . If you can't give me love, at least do me the favor of complete annihilation."

On Oct. 11, while Bunch was on a work detail, he kept asking the armed guard "would you shoot me if I ran?" The guard is reported to have told him, "You'd have to run to find out." Bunch is reported to have replied, "Aim for my head."

HEARD FOOTSTEPS

Then, as a fellow prisoner said in a sworn statement, "I heard footsteps, and the click of the shotgun being cocked, and I turned to see the guard aim and fire, hitting Bunch in the small of the back. There was no command of 'halt' given by the guard and Bunch was 25 to 30 feet from the guard when he was shot."

The guard, who never has been publicly identified, was exonerated and the Army declared the killing "justifiable homicide."

That evening there was a disturbance in the stockade when Bunch's death became known. The next morning, Capt. Robert S. Lamont, the officer in charge of the stockade, assembled the prisoners and read Article 94 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice.

MUTINY PENALTIES

This is the section that deals with mutiny. It says "any person found guilty of attempted mutiny, mutiny, or sedition, or failure to suppress or report a mutiny or sedition, shall be punished by death or such other punishment as a court martial may direct."

Capt. Lamont testified later that he had read Article 94 to the prisoners because he believed the disturbance of the night before could possibly have grown into mutinous action.

Mutiny is about the most serious charge that can be made in the armed forces. It rarely is made, since the charges of mutiny generally imply the willful attempt of a group of men to overthrow military authority—not merely the disobedience of military authority.

On Oct. 14, three days after Pvt. Bunch was killed, the Presidio 27 staged the demonstration that led to the charges of mutiny.

The stockade prisoners were assembled for morning rollcall and detail assignments at 7:30 a.m. When the name of the first man in the group was called they all answered "here" and moved over to a corner of the stockade enclosure where they began to sing "We Shall Overcome" and "America the Beautiful."

When they were confronted by a sergeant they asked to see Capt. Lamont and when he arrived Pvt. Walter Palowski of Columbia, Conn., read to him the list of grievances the prisoners had.

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In addition to their protest of the killing of Pvt. Bunch, the soldiers asked for the elimination of work details that were supervised by guards carrying shotguns, a psychological evaluation of all stockade personnel, and better sanitary conditions.

DEFENDERS' ACCOUNT

Defenders of the Presidio 27 claim that Lamont refused to listen to the prisoners' complaints and that he then tried to read the mutiny article to prisoners again. He testified at a trial of one of the prisoners that he was unable to read Article 94 because the prisoners were chanting "We Shall Overcome" and "We Want the Press."

Lamont brought Army photographers to take pictures of the protesting soldiers. And the pictures showed that the demonstration was nonviolent and that the men offered no resistance when they were ordered carried back to their building.

The entire affair lasted about an hour. And that was the extent of the "mutinous action" that Capt. Lamont had feared when he first had Article 94 read to the men.

Nine days later, on Oct. 23, the base legal office prepared the mutiny charges against the 27 soldiers.

A pre-trial investigation was held by Capt. Richard J. Millard and his recommendations were ignored. Also, five of the first six soldiers to receive psychiatric examinations were recommended for discharge by Army psychiatrists.

The psychiatrists' recommendations also were ignored. It is this aspect of the case that has drawn the most severe criticism from defenders of the Presidio 27.

INCOMPLETE RECORDS

Even on the basis of incomplete medical records for all of the prisoners, it appears that Pvt. Bunch, the manic-depressive who sought his own death, was not much different from his fellow prisoners.

The three men convicted at the first court-martial in February received sentences of 14, 15 and 16 years. Yet the records of all three men raise questions about why they were kept in the Army in the first place.

Pvt. Nesery Sood of Oakland, Calif., who was sentenced to 15 years at hard labor (reduced to two years yesterday), had been in the process of obtaining an administrative discharge. But the veteran of Vietnam went AWOL before it came through because he wanted to see his children who were being neglected by his wife.

A 14-YEAR SENTENCE

Pvt. Lawrence Reidel of Crescent City, Calif., was sentenced to 14 years, with a dishonorable discharge and forfeiture of pay and allowances. Army psychiatrists testified that Reidel was psychiatrically disturbed and should be given an administrative discharge.

Almost identical testimony was given by psychiatrists about Pvt. Louis Oszczynski of Florida, N.Y., who was sentenced to 16 years at hard labor.

As if to confirm this testimony, Oszczynski slashed his wrists during a noon recess at his trial. He was bandaged and returned to the court-martial hearing in the afternoon.

The suicidal pattern is not unusual. The Presidio 27 compiled a list of 21 prisoners who attempted suicide at the stockade since last June. Two of them are on trial for mutiny.

ATTEMPTS RECALLED

One of the stockade guards testified at a pretrial investigation that he could recall 30 suicide attempts by 21 prisoners.

A citizens' group headed by two prominent California clergymen said Maj. Harvey Homel, the post Judge Advocate at the Pre-

sidio, told them the suicide attempts were "gestures."

Col. John C. Ford, the Presidio's Provost Marshal, has acknowledged that there have been numerous apparent suicide attempts at the post. But he said every case was examined by an Army doctor and "not one was classified as a suicide attempt. They were rather suicidal gestures—people scratching themselves with razor blades or drinking something or other, maybe shampoo, knowing full well they were not endangering their lives."

#### CHANCE TO ESCAPE

"Some of these guys just wanted to go to the hospital in the middle of the night because it gave them a chance to try and escape," Ford said. "For many of the others, it's just an attempt to get sympathy and attention and perhaps to try to get out of the Army for psychiatric reasons."

One of the men now on trial who tried to commit suicide is Pvt. Ricky Lee Dodd of Hayward, Calif. He first tried to slash his wrists. After being bandaged at the hospital he was returned to the stockade where he hanged himself with the bandages. He was pronounced dead at Letterman General Hospital, but was resuscitated.

Pvt. Keith Mather of San Bruno, Calif., one of the Presidio 27, has testified that when Dodd was in solitary confinement at the stockade, a guard squirted him with a urine-filled water pistol. He also said that Dodd was offered razor blades and told that if he wanted to kill himself "here you go."

Pvt. Richard Gentile of Hampton, Va., went AWOL on the day after Pvt. Bunch's death to attend the GI and Veterans March for Peace being held in San Francisco to protest the Vietnam war. He drank chrome polish and his stomach was pumped. He was put in solitary confinement at the stockade and later slashed his wrists.

After suffering a complete breakdown, Gentile was taken to the psychiatric ward of Letterman and kept under sedation. But when he heard that he was being returned to the Presidio, he escaped. He is still in hiding.

The factor of mental disturbance and personality disorder is mentioned in the pretrial investigation report made by Capt. Richard J. Millard. He recommended that the 27 soldiers either be discharged for psychiatric reasons or be tried by special court-martial on the lesser charge of willful disobedience. Conviction on this charge would carry a maximum sentence of six months.

Millard's recommendations were disregarded.

#### CAPTAIN'S REPORT

Millard, who is a lawyer, said in his report to Lt. Gen. Stanley Larsen, the Sixth Army Commander:

"The facts of mutiny under Article 94 do not apply to the facts" of the sitdown demonstration of Oct. 14 at the Presidio stockade. "There are three elements to the offense of mutiny, one of which is the intent to override lawful military authority. The element is absent in the present case."

Millard said, "This case has been built up out of all fair proportion. To charge (Pvt. Lawrence) Zaino and the others with mutiny, an offense which has its roots in the harsh admiralty laws of previous centuries, for demonstrating against the conditions which existed in the stockade, is in my opinion, an overreaction by the Army and a misapplication of a statute which could lead to a further miscarriage of justice."

#### SEPARATION URGED

Millard added that in Zaino's case "Dr. Chamberlain feels that Pvt. Lawrence J.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Zaino has a personality disorder which makes it highly unlikely that he will be able to adapt to the Army and therefore recommends that he be separated from the Armed Services as expeditiously as possible . . ."

The Army has said little in public about the case. Reporters are not permitted to see the prisoners. Neither Gen. Larsen nor his subordinates will discuss the case.

But a comment by Army prosecutor Capt. Dean Flippo during one of the trials shed some light on why the Army went ahead with the mutiny charge.

"We must consider the interests of the Government and the Army," he said. "It is the attack on the system that counts."

#### MUTINY TERM CUT FROM 15 TO 2 YEARS

The Army, faced with a growing storm of criticism for its handling of a mutiny trial at the San Francisco Presidio, sharply reduced the prison sentence of one of the soldiers yesterday.

The sentence of Pvt. Nesery D. Sood, 26, of Oakland Calif., was reduced from 15 years at hard labor to two years. The move came in two unusually quick stages.

The first reduction was made by Lt. Gen. Stanley R. Larsen, the commander of the Sixth Army, who had ordered that Sood and 26 other soldiers who took part in a sit-in at the Presidio stockade last fall be tried for mutiny.

Larsen reduced the 15-year sentence to seven. Then the Pentagon announced that Maj. Gen. Kenneth J. Hodson, the Army's Judge Advocate General, had cut Sood's sentence to two years.

A Pentagon spokesman said Gen. Larsen did not know at the time that he reduced Sood's sentence that Gen. Hodson would order a further reduction.

Sood's case now goes to the Army Review Board. The Board can sustain the sentence or reduce it further. It cannot increase it.

Sood was among the first three of 27 Presidio stockade prisoners to be convicted of mutiny by the court-martial in San Francisco. Two others convicted with him were sentenced to 14 years and 16 years.

A fourth prisoner, convicted at a court-martial held at Fort Irwin in Southern California, was sentenced to four years.

Five other Presidio prisoners will go on trial today at a court-martial being convened at Ft. Lewis, Wash.

#### PROJECT WORK AIDS THE ELDERLY

### HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 19, 1969

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, Project WORK is an eminently successful experimental program being conducted in Long Beach, Calif., to take advantage of the training and talents of our senior citizens, which so often go unused.

The New York Sunday News recently featured this program and pointed up the outstanding work it is doing. The success of Project WORK is a tribute to the Long Beach Commission on Economic Opportunities, the city of Long Beach, the American Association of Retired Persons, and the National Retired Teacher's Association.

The text of the Sunday News article follows:

#### MAINLY FOR SENIORS

(By Jack Leahy)

#### RE-EMPLOYING RETIREES

WORK is a four-letter word meaning "Wanted, Older Residents with Know-how." The acronym stands for an experimental job-finding program for senior citizens living in Long Beach, Calif. If it proves successful—and there is ample reason to believe that it will—it could lead to the sponsorship of similar programs in other areas of the country.

Thus far, after roughly four months of existence, project WORK has led to the re-employment of more than 60 retirees. One of them is 66-year-old Stasys Jasutis, who serves as an educational therapy aide in a Veterans Administration Hospital.

"I had been a teacher and a school principal in my native Lithuania," says Jasutis, who came to this country in 1949. "But in America, the only job that I could get was a cloth cutter in a factory in Massachusetts."

"In 1965, I retired and my wife and I decided to escape the cold winters by going to California. Out here, we found our living expenses to be quite high. I was willing to take any kind of a part-time job to supplement our income from Social Security."

"For a while, I made ends meet by mowing other people's lawns. Then I heard about project WORK and I went down and applied for a regular job. On the application form, I listed my background in education, but after 20 years away from the field, I never expected to be given a teaching position."

"When they sent me to the VA hospital to help give instruction in basic algebra, geometry and Russian, I can't tell you how happy it made me. Believe me, this is a lot more satisfying than cutting grass!"

Project WORK was made possible by a federal grant of \$38,184 matched by a \$16,740 contribution from the American Association of Retired Persons and the National Retired Teachers Association (AARP-NRTA) a nonprofit group with more than a million and a half members. Besides helping to fund the operation, AARP-NRTA acts as its administrative agency.

In order to participate in the project, seniors must be 62 years old or older and have annual incomes of less than \$1,600. They can earn \$1.80 an hour for working 12 hours a week in public facilities.

"We hope to attract those seniors who are most in need of immediate employment," explains Samuel K. Bell, director of the program. "These are the people who feel that retirement has left them without a reason to get up in the morning . . . people who have the physical, mental and emotional capacity as well as the economic drive to remain active in the job market."

As it has been set up, project WORK is designed to have a wide-ranging impact on the lives of hundreds of older people other than those it directly employs.

"Each of our participants has a two-fold mission," explains Bell. "First, they are to carry out the duties delegated to them by their employers. Second, they are to serve as information and referral sources for every older person with whom they come in contact."

"As you well know, one of the great needs of our complex modern communities is to make the elderly cognizant of the many social services which are available to them."

"Before project WORK participants go out

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on the job, they are supplied with a store of information about Medicare, Social Security,

family aid, legal assistance, educational and recreational opportunities, and similar sub-

jects. Every day, they are called on to share this information with fellow oldsters."