

Bemis, Al H., XXXXXXXX
 Bowlyow, Ronald G., XXXXXXXX
 Braddock, Richard E., XXXXXXXX
 Brannon, David L., XXXXXXXX
 Bristol William A., XXXXXXXX
 Brooks, Raymond R., XXXXXXXX
 Cook, Thomas E., XXXXXXXX
 Cowan, William L., XXXXXXXX
 Darden, Thomas S., XXXXXXXX
 Dellinger, William R., XXXXXXXX
 Farineau, Paul F., XXXXXXXX
 Gilliam Charles E., XXXXXXXX
 Griswold, Walter W., XXXXXXXX
 Hinson, Robert L., Jr., XXXXXXXX
 Hitchcock, John L., XXXXXXXX
 Hohn, Dennis E., XXXXXXXX
 Huchko, Joseph E., XXXXXXXX
 Hunsaker, George D., XXXXXXXX
 Hunter, Addison A., III, XXXXXXXX
 Johansen, Ralph F., XXXXXXXX
 Kinman, Harry D., XXXXXXXX
 Koop, Gerald L., XXXXXXXX
 Larose, Willard G., Jr., XXXXXXXX
 Moore, William T., XXXXXXXX
 Peterson, Lawrence T., XXXXXXXX
 Pope, Richard L., XXXXXXXX
 Porter, Irvine C., III, XXXXXXXX
 Sale, LaFayette L., XXXXXXXX
 Schwartz, Samuel R., XXXXXXXX
 Sealfon, Michael S., XXXXXXXX
 Seremet, Joseph H., XXXXXXXX

Sinclair, Allen L., XXXXXXXX
 Smaggard, Arthur G., XXXXXXXX
 Stewart, James R., XXXXXXXX
 Thomason, Melvin F., Jr., XXXXXXXX
 Tibbetts, Walter P., XXXXXXXX
 Tyner, James C., Jr., XXXXXXXX
 Utley, Robert C., XXXXXXXX
 Wiener, Michael L., XXXXXXXX
 Zaccagni, Philip J., XXXXXXXX

The following-named scholarship students for appointment in the Regular Army of the United States in the grade of second lieutenant, under provisions of title 10, United States Code, sections 2107, 3283, 3284, 3286, 3287, 3288 and 3290:

Robey, Kenneth W.	Garrett, Robert W., Jr.
Roush, Robert H.	Smith, Leigh W.
Cox, William R., Jr.	Wicker, Russell A.
Davis, William T., Jr.	

The following-named distinguished military students for appointment in the Regular Army of the United States, in the grade of second lieutenant, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, sections 2106, 3283, 3284, 3286, 3287, 3288, and 3290:

Page, Felton
 Noe, Anthony M.
 Palacios, Noe

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 24, 1969, after adjourn-

ment of the Senate, under authority of order of same date:

IN THE ARMY

The following-named officers under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 3066, to be assigned to positions of importance and responsibility designated by the President under subsection (a) of section 3066, in grades as follows:

To be general

Lt. Gen. William Bradford Rosson, XXXXXX, Army of the United States (brigadier general, U.S. Army).

To be lieutenant general

Maj. Gen. Julian Johnson Ewell, XXXXXX, U.S. Army.

U.S. DISTRICT JUDGE

John B. Hannum, of Pennsylvania, to be U.S. district judge for the eastern district of Pennsylvania vice Francis L. Van Dusen, elevated.

U.S. ATTORNEY

John W. Stokes, Jr., to be U.S. attorney for the northern district of Georgia for the term of 4 years vice Charles L. Goodson.

U.S. MARSHAL

Doroteo R. Baca, of New Mexico, to be U.S. marshal for the district of New Mexico for the term of 4 years vice Emilio Naranjo.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

CONGRESSMAN FALLON URGES CONTINUING CONSTRUCTION OF THE NATION

HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the chairman of the Public Works Committee, the Honorable GEORGE H. FALLON, issued a stirring challenge in an address to the Associated General Contractors of America meeting in their 50th annual convention in Washington March 19.

With the skill and knowledge for which he is noted as a great legislator, Chairman FALLON outlined the building activities and programs which better serve the public interest.

Because he was intimately involved in the conception and realization of the legislation which gives life to the dreams of the people for a better America, Chairman FALLON's remarks should be of interest to each of us.

His timely challenge to continue building this Nation has a direct message for every Member of this House, and I place it in my remarks at this point:

REMARKS OF HON. GEORGE H. FALLON, OF MARYLAND, TO ASSOCIATED GENERAL CONTRACTORS, MARCH 18, 1969

It is, as always, a pleasure to join you for your annual meeting. Our association spans many years, and the cooperative effort of that association has contributed substantially to the nation's progress through public works. I hope the association has been as pleasant for you as it has been for me.

As Chairman of the Public Works Committee, I am very much aware of a sometimes painful paradox in our national personality. Virtually every area of our legislative responsibility is periodically attacked, with varying degrees, as "big government, boondoggle, pork barrel, federal bulldozer"—and worse,

I suppose. But it is the productive exercise of those responsibilities, beginning with a lighthouse at the entrance to the Chesapeake Bay in 1789 and expanding down through 180 years as our nation has expanded, our population has grown, and our needs have become increasingly complex, that has provided so much of the foundation upon which our national well being rests.

Public buildings house government activities, not so much to serve the individual government activities as to make it better serve the public interest.

Rivers are developed and maintained as waterways to serve economic growth. They are also held in harness to provide water supply, electric power, and playgrounds, and to prevent their wayward destruction of people and property.

Small watersheds are reclaimed and revitalized, that the erosion forces of neither nature nor man shall do cumulative damage to the rural face of the land.

Highways spread a network of unfettered mobility from ocean to ocean, border to border, state to state, village to city, and back. Without them and the flexibility they afford us, little of the abundant and prosperous life we enjoy today would have been possible for a nation that embraces such vast reaches on the continent.

With growth and abundance have come problems. Waters have been defiled and must be reclaimed and protected. In the forward stride, some areas have been left behind and the multiple public works avenues can be and are being used to bring them abreast of their sister regions.

No public works program or project is an entity in itself. Everyone of them creates an ever-widening sweep of opportunity—for employment, for further development, for greater opportunity, for a better life.

It is a fundamental of our form of government that each of us sacrifices absolute freedom that all of us may be held safe in a common freedom. The ethic applies to public works as well as to other aspects of our national life.

To provide the dam that will hold hundreds of people safe from flood, some people must give up land. Elsewhere, to provide a highway that will afford access and oppor-

tunity for hundreds, some other people must do the same.

Views in terms of the ethic, it balances—locally, regionally, and nationally. If it did not, our system would not have survived and we would not be, as we are, for all our problems, the most fortunate of men.

You have been active participants in these accomplishments. Let me briefly recite to you the relevant statistics and recount the landmark statutes through which they have been achieved.

The landmark Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956 and the subsequent amendments thereto that have been adopted over the years set into being the greatest single public works program in the history of the world. It tied together in the final and definitive bind all sections of this great nation. It opened the door to all of our citizens to traverse freely and unimpeded over highways, and it not only led to better job opportunities and greater economic growth for our nation, but also to a greater understanding and better knowledge of our country for all of our citizens. One of the great problems we face today is the pressing need for clean water. This affects all of us—large or small—in industry and in our homes. It affects the survival, not only of our generation, but of generations still unborn. The Committee on Public Works has been in the forefront in this field. It recognized its importance at an early stage and has moved consistently in an impressive and meaningful legislative manner to preserve the pristine purity of our nation's lakes, rivers and streams to provide, not only good clean water, but that water that is so essential for our industrial growth.

The Public Buildings Act of 1959 gave a real meaning and a real purpose to federal growth by giving to our citizens, and not only those who work for the government, but the hundreds of thousands others it provided a fit and proper place to carry on their essential duties.

Lately, the Committee on Public Works has moved into a field that requires the attention of all of us, the need to bring those citizens who, through no fault of their own, have fallen behind a majority of our people who live in gainful prosperity. The Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965 and the Economic Development Act of the

same year are clear examples of the effort—and more than an effort, I might say, to bring all of our citizens up to a standard of living we ask for every American. Economic progress has been tied in with proper public works development in the field of the Appalachian Regions and the economic development program affecting the entire nation. The committee and the Congress has endorsed programs that will give to those people who need it most an opportunity to advance with the rest of the nation.

I have just touched very briefly on a few of the major programs that are covered by the Committee on Public Works. We have, I think, met the challenges that have existed in the past, but let me say this: The challenge is to meet the demands of today and tomorrow with enough hindsight to prevent more old mistakes and enough foresight to anticipate the possible new ones. It is upon that course that we are embarked. This country cannot live without effective and flexible transportation, clean and abundant water, recreational facilities and access to them, and the economic development that waterways and harbors, and assistance to areas like Appalachia, afford, to cite but a few of our tasks.

The critics of public works are, in large part, the advocates of the narrow view. Their battleground is always yesterday or today; ours is tomorrow. Theirs is the status quo; ours is progress and change. Our critics have always been with us, and I suppose they always will be.

They are, so to speak, one of the hazards of the game. But the hazards have not yet prevented either your industry or our committee from striving—even at some risk—to meet the public resource development needs of this country.

I have every confidence you are prepared to continue on that forward course and I assure you that the Public Works Committee certainly is determined to do so. Ours is a commitment to the continuing construction of a nation, still young and still growing. Building of any kind has always been an adventure. Building the nation is the most exciting and challenging adventure of all.

REFLECTIONS ON APOLLO

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the successful Apollo missions have brought national pride to new heights. What was once considered science fiction is now a very real part of our everyday lives. But once the euphoria subsides, we find we are still faced with another very real aspect of our lives; domestic needs which are, as yet, unmet.

Tom Wicker, of the New York Times, has written a column which brings perspective to this issue. He believes that the fantastic success of our space program can stand as a symbol of America's tremendous capacity to excel in all areas of life. He believes that we may now be entering a new era; one that may see our Nation achieve the greatness that potentially is ours.

Because I believe it will be of interest to others, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Wicker's March 18, 1969, column, entitled "In the Nation: Reflections on Apollo," be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the column

was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Mar. 18, 1969]

IN THE NATION: REFLECTIONS ON APOLLO

(By Tom Wicker)

WASHINGTON, March 17.—One guest who received deferential attention at the annual Gridiron Club dinner was Frank Borman, the astronaut who captained the recent circumnavigation of the moon. Colonel Borman, despite having led one of man's greatest feats of science and exploration, by no means resembled Superman; if anything, Senators, Cabinet officers, Justices, and generals, jostling each other to shake his hand, found him as unexceptional as any other earnest young fellow trying to live and get his work done.

Since the Christmas-time triumph of Borman, Lovell and Anders has now been followed spectacularly by that of Apollo 9, manned by much the same sort of men, it may be useful to recall that even so remarkable a venture as the conquest of space is, after all, the work of human beings—and not necessarily the most extraordinary of the breed.

TECHNICIANS, NOT POETS

No spaceman, for example, has yet produced any memorable words—either in action or in retrospect—and both the men who fly the missions and those who manage them from earth appear to be first-class technicians, planners, mathematicians, artisans, administrators and the like, largely content to leave the poetry of the thing to others. They are, in short, much the kind of men who man and manage any number of other highly technological, complex, widespread, often dangerous enterprises in the late twentieth century.

This gives rise to some questions not easily answered. One of these is why is it that men who can organize themselves and their knowledge and resources to get to the moon apparently cannot do a great many other things of equal worth and greater urgency.

IF IN SPACE, WHY NOT ON EARTH?

In fact, the vision, skill, courage and intelligence that have gone into the space program ought to shame mankind—and Americans in particular. Because if men can do what the astronauts and their earthbound colleagues—human beings all—have done, why cannot we build the houses we need? Why must our cities be choked in traffic and the polluted air it produces?

Why are our lakes and rivers so fouled by mankind that, as Bob Kennedy once said, if you fall in you don't drown, you dissolve? Why is virtually every major city without clean, safe and comfortable public transportation? Why are our airways and airports overcrowded to the point of scandal? Why does every effort to remove slums and rebuild cities bog down in red tape and red ink?

When a nation can train and organize the skilled manpower needed to launch and recover Apollo, why can't it train and employ the unskilled manpower standing hopeless and embittered on the ghetto streets? Why are the transient workers on both coasts, Indians in the West, blacks in the South and unfortunates in every state going hungry in the richest nation in the world? Is it not obscene for a nation that conquered polio to permit pellagra and rickets?

To raise such questions is not necessarily to suggest that the space program should be halted and its resources diverted to other purposes. When that question was discussed in this space after the moon flight, David P. Bloch of the University of Texas wrote in response:

"This may be an appropriate occasion to take an Olympian view of ourselves. Life is one of the properties of matter. Its evolution has given rise to consciousness. Someone once said that man is the mind by which

the universe contemplates itself. Now he is on the threshold of space. Some day it will matter little to what extent our individual or collective interests in space were motivated by curiosity, adventure (not vicarious), acquisitiveness, quest for security, competitiveness, or what have you . . . What will matter will be the consequences, and few of us would take seriously any guess as to what they would be even two generations from now. For all we know, a very practical result of man's colonization of space may be his survival.

MAN'S REACH

"Our reaching out into space is akin to our first clutch at a tool, or to the poor fish's straining to be an amphibian, or to the development of the first nervous system. In its portent, it is of a different order of magnitude than Columbus's discovery. Except for some immediate practical considerations, our reasons for reaching out are inconsequential."

That may be the only answer possible, not just to the question of the space program, but to the riddle of man's failures on earth. Perhaps that mind by which the universe contemplates itself does not yet truly see its own works; but perhaps, too, the consciousness that distinguishes man is entering a further evolution, a new flowering beyond the earth, perhaps.

MEMORIAL TO DR. ENRICO FERMI

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Enrico Fermi will long be remembered as one of the world's greatest atomic physicists, whose experiments resulted in the first self-sustaining nuclear chain reaction ever to take place. I can think of no recognition more appropriate than to name the giant nuclear accelerator at Weston, Ill., the Enrico Fermi Nuclear Accelerator for the late Italian scientific genius. I deem it an honor to sponsor legislation that will add to man's knowledge in his name. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following tribute to Dr. Fermi:

SOME THOUGHTS OF ENRICO FERMI AND PARTICLE PHYSICS

From his early days in Italy as an experimental physicist, Enrico Fermi was fascinated with the minute particles of modern physics. Neutrons, electrons, protons and, later, the heavier particles provided him with means to ask questions of nature, and his observation of his experiments gave him many answers which he could record for posterity. Some of these particles he obtained from electrical apparatus. Some from a piece of radium that flung off speeding particles that he could use for his experiments. As an experimenter with these nuclear particles, he naturally was interested in design and use of sources for them. His interest in accelerators, then, and his success in using them to probe for the secrets of nature alone would be ample reason to dedicate the Weston accelerator to his name.

The Nation's more immediate reason to commemorate Enrico Fermi is, as many high school students now learn, his

achievement in leading the team of scientists and engineers who built and brought into operation the first nuclear reactor which demonstrated a controlled nuclear chain reaction. While the story of this remarkable achievement, which took place at the University of Chicago, has been well recorded for history, it is pertinent to recall briefly its highlights for, without proof that the chain reaction among uranium atoms could occur, there would have been no atom bomb, and no Manhattan project.

The principal fact of science which underlies use of atomic energy, whether it be for peace or for war, as a continuing source of energy or as an explosive, is the fact that under certain conditions atoms of uranium and plutonium will fission, or split apart, with the release of energy. The physical mechanism for practical release of this fission energy is the chain reaction which Fermi demonstrated. With hindsight, his demonstration may seem simple, even primitive in comparison with the sophisticated and elegant devices of this day that employ the chain reaction. But at that time the outcome was far from sure for many practical unknowns could have prevented attainment of what in theory was possible.

I would like to begin the story of Fermi's part in the conclusive demonstration of the nuclear chain reaction with the year 1939. In January 1939, the famous nuclear physicist Niels Bohr visited the United States, only a few days after Fermi had fled from Italy. Fermi already had established himself at Columbia University. The cyclotron there promised to be a powerful new tool for new experiments in nuclear physics. At the time, Fermi was without doubt the greatest expert on neutrons.

Fermi had hardly arrived in the United States when the discovery of fission of uranium took place. The famous Bohr brought the news with him. Upon arriving in New York, Bohr hurried to Columbia University to discuss the new discovery with Fermi.

Fermi saw directly that in so violent a nuclear reaction, neutrons might be released too. If the arrangement were such that the emitted neutrons could produce further fissions, the process might become multiplicative. If circumstances were favorable enough, a chain reaction might be obtained. This was shortly before Bohr and Fermi were to open the Fifth Washington Conference on Theoretical Physics. In that brief time Fermi and a graduate student quickly modified experimental apparatus to confirm Bohr's news. At the conference the next day Fermi was able to speak of the fission process with the conviction of personal experience.

By the time Fermi returned to Columbia the next day, Fermi knew what questions he wanted to answer. Were neutrons emitted in the fission of uranium? If so, in what numbers? How could these neutrons be brought to produce further fissions? What other processes might compete for these neutrons? Could a chain reaction be developed? Fermi began to answer these questions in a letter of February 19, 1939, to Physical Review on the fission of uranium. That spring he gathered together his research group in-

cluding Walter H. Zinn, Leo Szilard—a Hungarian scientist who had come without benefit of a faculty appointment to work with Fermi, and Herbert L. Anderson, his gifted graduate student and future associate.

Fermi and his group continued their neutron work at Columbia until the summer of 1942 when they moved to the University of Chicago to work more closely with the new Manhattan project. In May of that year the decision was made to build one or more full scale nuclear reactors to produce the artificial element of atomic number 94 at a cost of \$25 million. This decision was made in anticipation that Fermi would successfully demonstrate a chain reaction in Chicago.

During the summer of 1942 Fermi planned the construction of a small reactor capable of a chain reaction of a few hundred watts energy output. As his plans evolved, he realized that such a novel and possibly dangerous experiment should not be carried out in the heart of one of the Nation's cities. That September it was decided to move Fermi's reactor—or pile—from the squash court of the university's Stagg Field to the Argonne Forest Preserve. But this move was plagued with troubles. Labor disputes delayed the completion of a building at Argonne. Rather than lose time, Fermi thought that he could assemble his pile at Stagg Field before space would be ready in Argonne. He convinced Arthur Compton of the University of Chicago that the experiment was safe.

Not daring to seek approval from either the Army, which by then had taken over administration of the atom bomb project, or from the university administration, Compton took it upon himself to authorize Fermi to go ahead.

Time was short. General Groves had appointed a special committee to review Compton's entire project at Chicago, which included Fermi's work. The situation was critical. Unless the review committee could be convinced to share Compton and Fermi's optimism, the work of the reactor might be wasted. By recruiting all available help, Fermi and his team set about the arduous task of machining 40,000 blocks of graphite, and assembling them with blocks of uranium metal and oxide into the necessary form.

The review committee arrived on Thanksgiving, 1942. Fermi was not ready. The committee returned to Chicago on December 2. The pile was finished the night before. At 9:45 on the morning of December 2, Fermi began to withdraw the first of the control rods that governed the pile. Before noon he was able to invite Compton and a committee representative to witness the final phases of the experiment. Finally, at 3:20 p.m., Fermi's instruments indicated a self-sustaining nuclear chain reaction had been attained.

The review committee was convinced. Based on its recommendations, the Manhattan project decided to build with the utmost speed and highest priority the plutonium production reactors that were to cost \$100 million.

Writing of this experiment some 20 years later, Eugene Wigner, one of the participants, said:

Do we then exaggerate the importance of Fermi's famous experiment? I may have thought so sometime in the past, but do not believe it now. The experiment was the culmination of the last doubts in the information on which our further work had to depend. It had a decisive influence on our effectiveness in tackling the second problem of the Chicago project: the design and realization of a large-scale reactor to produce the nuclear explosive plutonium. This objective could now be pursued with all the energy and imagination which the project could muster.

Fermi stayed at Chicago until the next spring when his group moved out to what is now the Argonne National Laboratory. He continued on with his work. Within 2 years of the Stagg Field demonstration, the initial power run of the first plutonium production reactor began. The time was a few minutes after midnight on September 27, 1944. The place was the Manhattan District's Hanford Works in the State of Washington. Fermi was there to supervise and check the operation.

Fermi's work with the Manhattan District did not stop here. Leaving the scenes of his monumental accomplishments, he went to Los Alamos where he turned his powerful mind to the question of a thermonuclear bomb. Someday I hope the history of his contribution to that mighty item in our Nation's armory can be adequately acknowledged.

In August 1945, Japan surrendered and thus ended the Second World War. The scientists at Los Alamos, Fermi included, began thinking of peacetime research. Fermi was still on leave of absence from Columbia University, but just at that time the University of Chicago began to organize its Institute for Nuclear Studies, which later was to become the Fermi Institute for Nuclear Studies. The university repeatedly offered Fermi the directorship, but he was interested in research, not administration. He resolutely refused. Fortunately Prof. S. K. Allison, a distinguished and a very able administrator and a good friend of Fermi, was appointed director of the institute and Fermi then joined as a research scientist. And at the new institute would be a large and powerful synchrocyclotron, which was being built across the street from the old squash court at Stagg Field. This machine was built with the idea that Fermi would be the principal user.

Fermi returned to Chicago on January 2, 1946. While waiting for the synchrocyclotron to be finished, he again worked with neutrons at the Argonne Laboratory, using its reactor as a source. This period at Argonne marked the end of his investigations on neutrons which traced back to his initial work in Rome.

Fermi formed a new group of young pupils, many of them returning from Los Alamos. At Chicago he was active in all seminars and in many discussions. Often, with a single remark, he sowed the seeds of further discovery. For instance, Maria Mayer in reporting an experiment inspired by Fermi generously acknowledged his assistance.

Meanwhile the stage was readying for the last period of Fermi's research. Meson physics was opening and Fermi immediately recognized its importance. Since the new Chicago synchrocyclotron

promised a powerful artificial source of mesons, Fermi's experimental talents turned in this direction.

The new machine began operations in the spring of 1951, and he and his group soon were publishing new discoveries. He did his last experiment in 1953, and his paper on "Scattering of Negative Pions by Hydrogen" of that year concluded his experimental work. Thereafter, Fermi spent more and more time helping his students by discussion and frequently lending a hand in their experiments, but never again to the extent that would allow him to admit that the work was his own.

Thus freed from the demands of experimental work, he could consider the possibility of working together with the Indian scientist Chandrasekhar on problems of astrophysical interest related to his longstanding interest in cosmic rays. His new colleague was later to write of Fermi's intuitive insight into nuclear physics:

During all my discussions with Fermi, I never failed to marvel at the ease and clarity with which he analyzed novel situations in fields in which, one might have supposed, he was not familiar and, indeed, was often not familiar prior to the discussion. In the manner in which he reacted to a new problem, he always gave me the impression of a musician who, when presented with a new piece of music, at once plays it with a perception and a discernment which one would normally associate only with long practice and study.

Chandrasekhar also gives us this further insight into Fermi's magnificent feel for nuclear physics and the psychology of his inventive genius. Fermi had described to him how he came to make the discovery which Fermi thought was the most important one he had made, when he was working with neutrons in his early days in Italy. This is Fermi's account:

One day, as I came to the laboratory, it occurred to me that I should examine the effect of placing a piece of lead before the incident neutrons. And instead of my usual custom, I took great pains to have the piece of lead precisely machined. I was clearly dissatisfied with something: I tried every 'excuse' to postpone putting the piece of lead in its place. When finally, with some reluctance, I was going to put it in its place, I said to myself, 'No! I do not want this piece of lead here; what I want is a piece of paraffin.' It was just like that: with no advance warning, no conscious, prior, reasoning. I immediately took some odd piece of paraffin I could put my hands on and placed it where the piece of lead was to have been.

Mr. Speaker, these few but telling insights into Fermi's work, these evidences of his genius, when coupled with the lasting and vital significance of what he accomplished for this country constitute the necessary and sufficient reasons, as our mathematical friends would say, to dedicate the Weston machine to the memory of Enrico Fermi.

THE PURPOSE OF THE 200-BEV ACCELERATORS

Consider the purpose of the new accelerator and the questions that our scientists can put to nature with its energetic particles. Dr. Robert R. Wilson, director of the project, looks at the many particles discovered through use of less energetic particles. That nature thereby re-

vealed is more complex than first expected, he reminds us, is a challenge rather than a disappointment. In building higher energy machines to study these complexities, all kinds of exciting and fundamental discoveries have been made. Not only have various new particles been observed, but also new physical laws have been discovered while old ones have been observed to be violated. In previous studies of the nucleus—where Fermi was a masterful leader—physicists were able to understand why the stars shine and how matter is made.

Dr. Wilson eloquently reminds us that pure science, the search for understanding, is as important for its effect on the minds of men as it is for eventual contributions to his standard of living:

Man's effort to achieve a better comprehension of the world in which he lives will continue to have a profound effect not only on his philosophy, not only on his well-being, but also on his whole social organization.

What are some of the questions that scientists can put to nature with the new machine when it is finished? These fortunate men will be in the same happy situation as was Fermi when the Chicago synchrocyclotron came on-line in 1951. Dr. Wilson lists some of these questions:

Which, if any, of the particles that have so far been discovered, is, in fact, elementary, and is there any validity in the concept of the elementary particles?

What new particles can be made at energies that have not yet been reached? Is there some set of building blocks that is still more fundamental than the neutron and the proton?

Do the laws of electromagnetic radiation, which are now known to hold over an enormous range of lengths and frequencies, continue to hold in the wave length domain characteristic of subnuclear particles?

These are some of the questions that scientists in nuclear physics would explore. There is good reason to believe that they can be clarified by experiments. Although these are questions that appear to be the "right" ones to investigate, the best questions have undoubtedly not yet been asked. Only further experiment with the Batavia machine will give us the insight to ask them. Nature in the past has always surprised us. It is probable, as our scientists take the step up to the 200-Bev machine, that more surprises await.

Enrico Fermi were he with us today would be chaffing impatiently to ask these questions of nature and to interpret her answer.

Enrico Fermi was a great experimentalist. He had a deep and intuitive insight into nature. Working with the Weston machine will demand the greatest insight and ability to see in the experimental returns new relations, new facts that can escape the comprehension of the less gifted. Above all, Fermi was a great teacher. The full return on the Nation's pending investment in the Weston accelerator will be realized only as its scientists can emulate. Fermi in his ability to teach, to simplify, to lay out for their students and associates the strange beauties of the worlds of the atoms.

Mr. Speaker, I have laid out my reasons why the new 200-Bev accelerator

should be dedicated to Enrico Fermi and I hope that you and our fellow Members of Congress will give it your support.

TRIBUTE TO THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the Washington Post Sunday supplement, Potomac, of March 16, 1969, contains an article entitled "The League of Women Voters—They've Come a Long Way," authored by Julius Duscha. It is well written and researched and commemorates one of our Nation's outstanding women's organizations.

The League of Women Voters has been in the forefront of social change in our country. Their careful study and consideration of vital political issues has repeatedly resulted in the passage and approval of vital legislation at all levels of our Government, from the city council to the Oval Room of the White House.

The league serves a unique function in the education of its membership. Its nonpartisan nature allows it to take positions unaffected by considerations of party loyalty or political advantage. Its services to the community, the States, and the Nation are outstandingly deserving of recognition and support.

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

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

THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS—THEY'VE COME A LONG, LONG WAY (By Julius Duscha)

On a gray winter morning 15 women gathered in the comfortable family room of the Herman P. McNatt residence at 14620 Melinda Lane in Rockville to have coffee, exchange neighborhood gossip and talk about poverty in Montgomery County. Three of the women were knitting and another was turning worn-out collars on some shirts as Mrs. George McRory led a discussion complete with hand-drawn charts, on the county's poverty problems and the inadequate community efforts to help its 1600 poor families.

A male reporter felt like an interloper as he sat in the back of the room listening to Peg McRory, who is a great-great granddaughter of Julia Ward Howe, author of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic." When you are the only man in a family room full of women it is of course impossible to be inconspicuous. I was there because I had been told I could never understand the League until I had seen one of its unit meetings.

I became interested in the League of Women Voters when I learned earlier in the winter that the ladies were beginning a year-long celebration to mark the 50th anniversary of their organization and of the ratification of the constitutional amendment which gave women the right to vote. "Yes, we're celebrating for a whole year," Mrs. A. P. Guyol, national public relations director for the League, said rather defensively, "but the Girl Scouts spent three years celebrating their 50th anniversary."

For 50 years now women like those who gathered in Mrs. McNatt's family room out in Rockville the other day have been meeting in small groups and earnestly discussing such problems as poverty. Not only are League

members earnest; they are purposeful, tenacious and often frighteningly well-informed. And they can be effective. No less a political realist than Sargent Shriver wrote the national president of the League last spring when he was still directing the war on poverty to praise the League for its support of the antipoverty program and to say that the organization "surely helped to make the difference between passage and outright rejection or dismantling of a highly controversial and effective poverty program."

Men of course are always tempted to kid women's organizations. There is the club-woman image of the Helen Hokinson cartoons in the *New Yorker* which showed the befuddled lady chairmen entangled in Robert's Rules of Order. And there is the further feeling among men that despite women's demands for equality the ladies are always prepared to fall back on appeals to motherhood or on their own feminine winks and wiles even to get poverty legislation through a stubborn Congress where the pervading atmosphere all too often is still that of a men's smoker.

But what about the League of Women Voters at the decidedly matronly if not grandmotherly age of 50? To find out I went not only to a League unit meeting to sample its participatory democracy; I also spent some time at its national headquarters on the fifth floor of the American Psychological Association Building up on 17th st. and Rhode Island ave. nw, as well as on Capitol Hill. There, among other things, I found the remnants of the rival Woman's Party and its proud leader Alice Paul, who organized the woman's suffrage march down Pennsylvania Avenue 56 years ago—broken up by the police on the eve of Woodrow Wilson's first Inaugural on March 4, 1913.

The League of Women Voters is the daughter of the National American Woman Suffrage Association which along with the Woman's Party and some other organizations carried on for more than 60 years their fight for women's suffrage. The battle ended in 1920 when the 19th amendment to the U.S. Constitution was ratified. The amendment was adopted by the Senate and the House just 50 years ago, in 1919. Early in 1920, before the suffrage amendment had been ratified by the necessary three-fourths of the states but when it was already obvious that the amendment would become part of the Constitution, the National American Suffrage Association held its victory convention in Chicago. It was followed by the first national Congress of the League of Women Voters.

Carrie Chapman Catt, last president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and first president of the League of Women Voters, explained the League's purpose to the founding congress in these words: "We are going to be a semi-political organization. We want to do political things. We want legislation. We are going to educate for citizenship. Be a partisan, but be an honest and independent one. Important and compelling as is the power of the party, the power of principle is even greater. Those who have struggled in a 60 years old battle for political freedom should not voluntarily surrender to political slavery—and one kind of partisanship is little more than that. It is possible, even though unusual, to be a partisan and an independent."

"To sail between the Scylla of narrow-minded partisanship on the left and the Charybdis of ultra-conservation on the right," declared Mrs. Catt in her peroration, "is the appointed task of the League of Women Voters; through that narrow and uncomfortable passage it must sail to wreck upon the rocks or to glorious victory."

In the nearly half a century since Mrs. Catt spread out her vision of the League of Women Voters, the organization has been

on some shoals and has had some glorious victories. The tiny, gray-haired and persevering Miss Paul still directs the Woman's Party from the early 19th century Alva Belmont House at 144 Constitution ave. ne. across from the U.S. Supreme Court building, continuing its 46-year-old campaign for an amendment to the Constitution guaranteeing women equal rights in all matters of law. But the League of Women Voters, now under the direction of the fortyish, stylish Mrs. Bruce B. Benson of Amherst, Mass., is involved in all matter of issues ranging from foreign trade to the poverty program. The League now takes a neutral stand on the equal rights amendment, which it opposed for 30 years on the ground that it would take away from women protective labor regulations and other laws designed to help them.

"I'm not a feminist really," said Mrs. Benson, a blonde, attractive woman of 41 who favors gold jewelry, as we talked about the League of her modest, vaguely academic and New England office on 17th Street.

"A feminist," she continued, "is really someone who thinks women are better than men. I find myself very irritated with people who treat me as a woman rather than as an individual. If that young thing wants to be a jockey, let her be a jockey, not because she's a woman but if she's able to do it." (Mrs. Benson was referring to Diane Crump, the 20-year-old woman who has had such a difficult time trying to establish herself as a jockey in the face of opposition from male jockeys and from the men who control horse racing.)

Lucy Benson is fairly typical of the 150,000 members of the League of Women Voters. She is the wife of a physics professor at Amherst College. She joined the League in 1950 when the wife of the chairman of her husband's department asked her to. That's the kind of an invitation you don't turn down. But however reluctant, Mrs. Benson may have been in the beginning she soon became a highly interested member. Like most other League members, Mrs. Benson is middle-middle to upper-middle class, well-educated (bachelor's and master's degrees in political science from Smith College and a master's thesis on the decline of the British Liberal party) and intensely concerned about the world around her.

Before becoming national president of the League last year, Mrs. Benson was head of the Massachusetts League. She led such a successful drive to end the excessive powers held by the Governor's Council that an infuriated legislator once referred to her group as the "League of Women Vultures." Commenting on Mrs. Benson's work as president of the Massachusetts League, a Boston newspaper noted: "She has dared to lead the League's 12,375 members far deeper into the thicket of politics than ever before. Today, as a result, the League of Women Voters of Massachusetts is unquestionably the most powerful political action group in the state."

In recalling her experiences in Massachusetts politics, Mrs. Benson said as she sat in her Washington office smoking a cigarette and occasionally sipping coffee from a paper cup: "Probably, most politicians do not attack the League because they are afraid it will boomerang on them as an attack on motherhood. Politicians have very mixed feelings about the League. Many wish the amount of energy we put into the League could be channeled into the political parties. Others want us to be barefoot, pregnant and in the kitchen."

Over the years the League has generally been allied with liberal causes. In the 1920's Mrs. Catt, an internationalist, got the League to sponsor a conference on ways to keep the peace and prevent war. The League has long advocated the removal of most restrictions on world trade. Domestically, the League in recent years has supported civil rights legis-

lation and electoral college reform as well as the antipoverty program. But the League's program, which is supposed to percolate up from hundreds and even thousands of unit meetings to its biennial conventions (and does for the most part), has some curious blank spots. It has never taken a stand on the war in Vietnam and it has not become involved in the current surge of concern over consumer problems, an area that would seem to be made to order for a liberal-minded women's organization.

One reason the League often does not quickly become involved in controversial issues is its tradition of study, study and more study. Its units, for example, are supposed to have been talking about Communist China for four years now. Open housing has been on the agenda while Federal legislation has been passed and gone into effect. Another problem which confronts the League is the feeling among some of its leaders and a lot of its members that they only influence themselves.

"Are we just talking to ourselves?" Mrs. Benson asked in the course of our conversation. "Sometimes I think this is true, but it is not because League members want to talk just to themselves. It's because we lack financial resources to get our information out."

Throughout the country last year, the League spent almost \$2.7 million, but only \$447,000 of that made up the budget of the national office in Washington. As part of its 50th anniversary the League is seeking to raise its national budget by one-third. Funds for its national office come about equally from members' dues, which are around \$10 a year and which are divided among local, state and national offices, and from contributions which members seek annually from businessmen. The League doesn't even pay all of Mrs. Benson's expenses as president. She spends three days a week in Washington and travels a great deal. "We have been and still are extremely poor," Mrs. Benson said, "and that's the honest-to-God truth. We still depend on voluntary contributions and that old sort of Lady Bountiful business."

Mrs. Benson and other League leaders think that the organization is probably more effective on the local and state levels than in national affairs. Local Leagues like to submit questions on key issues to candidates for public office, and these questionnaires often succeed in getting would-be fence-sitters to take positions on issues. Leagues have also helped to organize many successful campaigns for amendments to state constitutions and for reform of city charters.

But when it comes to influencing Congress or the executive departments in Washington, the League's role is much harder to assay. On a major issue before Congress there are so many pressures on both sides that it is difficult to know who is genuinely persuasive.

"Knowledge and tenacity are what we have," said Dorothy Sortor, a wide-eyed, attractive brunette who is congressional secretary—or chief lobbyist—for the League, when I asked her about the League's clout on Capitol Hill.

"League girls," Miss Sortor added, "like to read and they like to write. They know what's happening in the community, and congressmen are responsive to that. Members of Congress appreciate the quality of the letters that come in from the girls."

Senators and Representatives also appreciate the quality of the husbands of League members. Miss Sortor acknowledged that League members whose husbands are important men in a community are not above reminding Members of Congress of such not incidental facts. Sometimes the Senators and Representatives need no reminding because they quickly recognize the name of the League member who may be the wife of the president of the biggest bank back home.

As Miss Sortor makes the rounds of congressional offices she says that she still finds "a lot of men in government with a 19th century mentality."

"They say to you," Miss Sortor continued, "Oh, isn't it nice that you're interested in government?"

"Women," Miss Sortor added, "are still at a disadvantage intellectually, and the League is a place where a woman can shine on her own merits. There are no strictly 'woman' issues left anymore. But the League is a place for women who are committed, who have tenacity and who have ability and the time to stick with something. You can't be involved in the world and then just go home to raise babies."

The League also has served as a training ground for women who enter public life. Esther Peterson, a former Assistant Secretary of Labor, got her start by going to League unit meetings for coffee, gossip and serious discussion of issues, as did Mary Keyserling, who until recently was director of the Women's Bureau in the Labor Department. Other League members who made good in public life in the Washington area include Joy Simonson, chairman of the District of Columbia's Alcoholic Beverage Control Board; Kathryn Stone, a former member of the Virginia House of Delegates, and Margaret Schweinhaut, a Maryland State Senator.

Being serious-minded, the members of the League not only are always examining the world about them but are also always looking inward, too. Among other things, this means (in these days when it sometimes is easy to mistake a man for a woman on the street) that the League members are reexamining the need for a woman's organization a half century after women won the vote.

"The question is," League President Lucy Benson said as we talked about the League's future, "whether a women's organization *per se* continues to have any validity. Or is it anachronistic? There have been suggestions that we change our name simply to the League of Voters. Even bastions of female education like Vassar are going co-educational. There is all this student activism and interest in public affairs. Maybe we should make it possible for all young people and not just young women to get involved in the democratic process through an organization like the League."

Maybe. But it is hard to visualize men in a Rockville family room with clipboards at the ready, earnestly discussing poverty, seriously trying to understand its causes and laboriously trying to think, as one woman put it that morning in the McNatt home, "about what really we should be focussing on."

There is something about the slow, educational process of the League of Women Voters that seems to be peculiarly suited to the legendary patience of woman. Besides, man still needs a conscience, and in matters political the League of Women Voters is often as good a conscience today as the suffrage movement was 50 years ago.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED

The movement in the United States to obtain equal rights for women began at a small meeting in Seneca Falls, N.Y. on July 19, 1848. The women at this meeting demanded the vote and adopted the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That such laws as conflict, in any way, with the true and substantial happiness of woman, are contrary to the great precept of nature and of no validity, for this is 'superior in obligation to any other.'

"Resolved, That all laws which prevent woman from occupying such a station in society as her conscience shall dictate, or which place her in a position inferior to that of man, are contrary to the great precept of nature, and therefore of no force or authority.

"Resolved, That woman is man's equal—was intended to be so by the Creator, and the

highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such.

"Resolved, That the women of this country ought to be enlightened in regard to the laws under which they live, that they may no longer publish their degradation by declaring themselves satisfied with their present position, nor their ignorance, by asserting that they have all the rights that they want.

"Resolved, That inasmuch as man while claiming for himself intellectual superiority, does accord to woman moral superiority, it is preeminently his duty to encourage her to speak and teach, as she has an opportunity, in all religious assemblies.

"Resolved, That the same amount of virtue, delicacy, and refinement of behaviour that is required of women in the social state, should also be required of man, and the same transgressions should be visited with equal severity on both man and woman.

"Resolved, That the objection of indelicacy and impropriety, which is so often brought against woman when she addresses a public audience, comes with a very ill-grace from those who encourage, by their attendance, her presence on the stage, in the concert, or in feats of the circus.

"Resolved, That woman has too long rested satisfied in the circumscribed limits which corrupt customs and a perverted application of the Scriptures have marked out for her, and that it is time she should move in the enlarged sphere which her great Creator has assigned her.

"Resolved, That it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise.

"Resolved, That the equality of human rights results necessarily from the fact of the identity of the race in capabilities and responsibilities.

"Resolved, therefore, That, being invested by the Creator with the same capabilities, and the same consciousness of responsibility for their exercise, it is demonstrably the right and duty of woman, equally with man, to promote every righteous cause by every righteous means; and especially in regard to the great subjects of morals and religion, it is self-evidently her right to participate with her brother in teaching them, both in private and in public, by writing and by speaking, by any instrumentalities proper to be used, and in any assemblies proper to be held; and this being a self-evident truth growing out of the divinely implanted principles of human nature, any custom or authority adverse to it, whether modern or wearing the hoary sanction of antiquity, is to be regarded as a self-evident falsehood, and at war with mankind.

"Resolved, That the speedy success of our cause depends upon the zealous and untiring efforts of both men and women, for the overthrow of the monopoly of the pulpit, and for the securing to woman an equal participation with men in the various trades, professions, and commerce.

tion and movement within Canal Zone waters.

One of the ablest pilots in canal history was Capt. A. T. Luther of the Pacific terminal, whose service extended from the time of Chief Engineer John F. Stevens—1905-07—until his retirement in 1943.

A newsstory in the Panama Canal Spillway of February 20, 1969, gives an account of a recent visit by Captain Luther to the Canal Zone. The story records some of his early experiences, including a conversation with Chief Engineer Stevens who encouraged young Luther when he first sought canal employment. The article is illustrated by a picture showing Paul M. Runnestrand, executive secretary of the Canal Zone, greeting Captain Luther who, despite his advanced years, shows good health and vigor.

When inquiring about further details of Captain Luther's canal service, I learned that when the time came for him to retire, he called on his superior, Comdr. Miles P. DuVal, Jr., U.S. Navy, then in charge of marine operations of the Pacific sector of the canal, who persuaded him to remain for another year for special piloting assignments and to pass on in written form to those who followed some of the valuable lessons that he had learned from a vast experience as a tugmaster and pilot.

The result was a brochure by Captain Luther, in the preparation of which Commander DuVal collaborated, on "Handling of Tugs in the Panama Canal" issued in May 1942. This work proved to be the first such work in English since a booklet on towboat handling on the Mississippi River published in 1868 and it won wide acclaim for its wealth of knowledge on the act of efficient tug handling.

The indicated newsstory follows as part of my remarks:

[From the Panama Canal Spillway, Feb. 20, 1969]

EARLY CANAL PILOT RETURNS FOR VISIT

Capt. Arthur Taylor Luther, 88, known to the old family of Canal pilots as the "speed merchant" for his expediency in putting ships through the waterway, recently visited the Canal Zone where he had spent 40 years in the service of the Panama Canal organization.

Back in 1905, the young graduate of the Massachusetts Nautical Academy and crew member of the Panama Railroad Steamship Line *Alliance*, often expressed his desire to work on the Big Ditch as he watched the Stateside employees debark at the anchorage in Colon. On one such occasion, John F. Stevens, Chief Engineer for the Canal Commission, heard the young man say he had no fear of the fever, mud, and other hardships which had been enumerated to him. "That's the kind of men we want," remarked Stevens as he told him where to go to be hired.

Due to a mix-up in the paperwork and a return trip to the States, his work record dates back to 1906, when he was made master of a 16 inch French suction dredge. His first job was to dredge the French Canal from the entrance of the drydock to Gatun.

A most memorable experience in Luther's early career was recovering an old French ladder dredge which had been lying in the Chagres River for 19 years. It was full of water and jungle growth covered the dredge almost completely. Working in the torrential downpours of the rainy season, the jungle was cut away from the waterlogged dredge with machetes. Luther and his coworkers

CAPT. A. T. LUTHER: ABLE PANAMA CANAL PILOT HONORED IN CANAL ZONE

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, in the operation of the Panama Canal where there is compulsory pilotage, no professional group plays a more dramatic or vital part than canal pilots. Under Executive order and canal regulations, the pilots assigned to vessels have control of their naviga-

subsisted on whatever food the jungle yielded and drank muddy Chagres water. It took them 2 weeks to free the dredge which was later repaired and put to work on the Canal. As a result of this ordeal he contracted black water fever and spent some time in the Colon Hospital.

After 9 years in the construction operations of the Canal, Luther was made a pilot but shortly after came the disastrous slides that blocked the Canal from September 1915 to April 1916. Luther went back to work for the Dredging Division. With the dredges working night and day, the Canal was again opened to commercial traffic and Luther returned to piloting. He remained a pilot for 30 years until his retirement in 1943.

As a lock pilot at Miraflores Locks before World War I, Luther joined the U.S. Navy. Because his work was vital to the Canal, he served in the dual capacity of mine field pilot and canal pilot while wearing the uniform of a Navy Lieutenant. It was at this time that Luther was dubbed "speed merchant" when he handled as many as three battleships in Balboa Harbor in one afternoon.

After the Pearl Harbor attack, Luther piloted the aircraft carrier U.S.S. *Yorktown* through Gaillard Cut at night and in heavy fog. Following the Dredging Division tug *Chagres*, he sneaked through on what he calls his "secret" channel in the Cut. Luther recalls this feat as the highlight of his career on the Canal.

Canal Zone residents may remember his daughters, Mary, wife of James A. Driscoll, former assistant superintendent of the Dredging Division who left in 1955, and Martha, wife of Frank H. Lerchen, who retired in 1964 as assistant Engineering and Construction Director.

Captain Luther, who is a Roosevelt Medal holder, attended the Roosevelt Memorial ceremonies here in 1955.

During this visit he was given extensive tours on both sides of the Isthmus and kept a busy schedule since the moment he arrived on the *Cristobal* January 28.

Captain Luther originally planned to return to the States on the *Cristobal* trip last week but postponed his departure for 2 days to attend a luncheon-meeting in his honor hosted by the Canal Pilots' Association.

He returned to his home in St. Petersburg, Fla., February 15.

TRIBUTE TO THE AMERICAN LEGION

HON. WALTER S. BARING

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, a great bulwark of our American way of life is seen in the dedicated service by the American Legion which this year is observing its 50th anniversary. This is a fraternity of service. The American Legion has a membership that encompasses four generations and the veterans of five wars.

I take this time, Mr. Speaker, to commend the Legion for its continued achievements and devotion to veterans over the years of service to God and country. And, for helping to maintain the security of this Nation.

The American Legion in the years to come, I am sure, will pursue the fine goals established 50 years ago in Paris at the cessation of hostilities in Europe. One great effort of the American Legion to especially note is the worthwhile pro-

gram with America's youth as the Legion instills courage, understanding, devotion, leadership, patriotism, and good citizenship into the youth of today.

The Legion's work is found throughout the world and the accomplishments derived are surely a strengthening brace on which our American democracy and society rests safely.

HARASSING OF BUSINESSMEN BY EQUAL EMPLOYMENT PERSONNEL

HON. PAUL J. FANNIN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I have often referred to the confusion created by the number of agencies involved in policing equal employment rights. I have pointed out that many companies have been besieged by personnel from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, and other individual agencies, all determined to see that their own versions of equal employment programs are maintained.

So far as I have been able to determine from many sources, the personnel of these agencies are not concerned with seeing that the law is complied with; rather, they see their duty as one to belittle, embarrass, bully, and abuse American industry for failure to make up for alleged past misdeeds. As time goes on, these people are becoming increasingly arrogant and insulting. I think that it is high time that the personnel of these agencies learn that there are limitations on their power. Judging from recent reports, they might also learn simple manners.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD a letter and enclosures which I recently received illustrating only a part of what employers must put up with under the guise of equal employment. It is hard enough on employers to comply with the many regulations and to accomplish the many forms and questionnaires issued today without being subjected to fishing expeditions conducted by misguided zealots. I often wonder whether the objectives of these persons are intended to coincide with the best interests of the United States.

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

SOUTHWEST FOREST INDUSTRIES,
Phoenix, Ariz., March 3, 1969.

HON. PAUL A. FANNIN,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR FANNIN: I applaud and support your efforts to create some order and consistency out of the present confusion created by the multiplicity of agencies involved in policing the Civil Rights Legislation and Equal Employment Regulations issuing from Executive Order 11246.

In addition to being thoroughly investigated by the EEOC, Southwest Forest Industries has been investigated by compliance review teams from the Agriculture

Department, Post Office Department and Small Business Administration. We have just received word that next month the Defense Department will have their turn at one of our operations.

The time taken up by the representatives of the various agencies is not inconsiderable, and each agency has a somewhat different idea as to what actions a company should take to demonstrate its affirmative action in providing equal employment opportunities. Southwest Forest Industries employs approximately 3,000 men and women. Over 35 per cent of the employees come under one or another of the Government classifications of minority races. These minority race employees are laborers, operators, clerks, salesmen, skilled craftsmen and supervisors. With the large amount of discrimination which is allegedly occurring across this nation, we are hard pressed to understand how all of these agencies are able to find time in their schedules to investigate us separately.

Your efforts to correct this situation are appreciated.

Sincerely,

D. H. BROKAW.

P.S.—Take a look at the enclosed copy of a just received Defense Department letter and request for information they want. Consider how many man hours of work will be required to collect and prepare the data requested.

DEFENSE SUPPLY AGENCY,
11099 South La Cienega Boulevard,
Los Angeles, Calif., February 26, 1969.

Mr. ROBERT SCHILLING,
Southwest Forest Industries,
Santa Fe Springs, Calif.

DEAR Mr. SCHILLING: Confirming our conversation of 25 February 1969, I will visit your facility at 9:30 a.m. on 18 March 1969 for the purpose of conducting a review of your Equal Employment Opportunity program.

In preparation for the review, it is requested that certain information be made available during the visit. A check list of the information desired is enclosed along with a blank SF-100 which should reflect current employment statistics.

I look forward to our visit and wish to express my appreciation for your cooperation. If you have any questions concerning the review you can reach me at (213) 643-2246.

Sincerely,

JAMES A. GARFIELD,
Contractor Relations Specialist,
Office of Contracts Compliance.

LIST OF MATERIAL THAT SHOULD BE PREPARED IN ADVANCE OF THE REVIEW—ONE COPY OF EACH ITEM CHECKED WILL BE NEEDED

- ✓ 1. One copy of your last previous Standard Form 100, EEO-1 Report.
- ✓ 2. Current employment statistics entered on a Standard Form 100.
- ✓ 3. List of all departments by name, indicating the total employment and total minority employment in each. For those departments having minority employees, identification of each minority person by name, race, sex, date of hire, current job classification, and rate of pay.
- ✓ 4. A list of all recruitment sources (employment agencies, schools, colleges, Federal and civic organizations, and so forth) showing job categories for which each is used, and sample copies of job orders.
- ✓ 5. Copies of recruitment advertising, including college recruitment brochures, if any.
- ✓ 6. Statistics denoting the total number of applicants during the last 3 months showing, separately applicants for white collar and blue collar positions by sex, indicating the number of minority group persons by race in each category.
- ✓ 7. List of new hires during the last 3 months, or the last 100 hires, still on the

payroll, showing name, race, job into which hired, pay rate, and date of hire.

✓ 8. List of all significant changes in classifications by promotions and transfers of employees involved, and showing the classifications and departments losing and gaining the employees. (3 months)

✓ 9. List of company-sponsored or supported educational and training programs and activities showing current employee participation in each, with minority group participation shown for each.

✓ 10. List of all terminations during past 3 months, or the last 100, by name, race, sex, job classification, and rate of pay.

✓ 11. Copies of all collective bargaining agreements and the seniority lists and progression charts provided for therein.

✓ 12. Evidence of notification to collective bargaining agent(s) of Federal contractor status. (Posting EEO posters suffices—60-1.42b)

✓ 13. Current seniority list, identifying minority group employees. In the event a seniority list is not applicable, a list of all employees, identifying minorities by race, and showing date of hire and current job title.

✓ 14. An estimate of manpower needs, by department or job category, for the next 12 months.

✓ 15. Copy of the Company Equal Employment Opportunity Policy, and copies of material indicating management follow-up to monitor awareness of the policy by supervision.

✓ 16. List of affirmative actions taken to implement the EEO program in the past 6 months.

✓ 17. A copy of a Certificate of Nonsegregated Facilities as prescribed by ASPR Section 2-201(a) (xii).

✓ 18. A copy of your written affirmative action program as directed by OFCC's Rules and Regulations 60-1.40.

ADDRESS BY SENATOR EDWARD KENNEDY BEFORE THE NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, last week the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association held its 27th annual meeting at Atlantic City, N.J. On Tuesday, March 18, I had the pleasure, along with the distinguished senior Senator from Massachusetts, Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY, of addressing the delegates of this convention.

Senator KENNEDY's speech recognized the crucial need for this Nation to stem the tide of migration from rural to urban areas. He also spoke of the critical electric power problems facing America today.

Mr. Speaker, I insert at this point in the RECORD the text of Senator KENNEDY's forward-looking speech proposing an eight-point program for guaranteeing the advance of low-cost, reliable power consistent with the capabilities of our society:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY BEFORE THE NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION, ATLANTIC CITY, N.J.

It is a pleasure for me to be here today, with the leaders of our nation's rural electric cooperatives. Cooperatives have a long

and distinguished record—not only of supplying low-cost power, but also of advancing the public interest; not only of bettering the lives of rural Americans, but also of building a balanced economy for our country as a whole.

HISTORY OF RURAL COOPERATIVES

In the depression years of the 1930s, this nation recognized the priority of rural development. We recognized that low-cost electricity was the cornerstone of economic progress. And we recognized that cooperatives are an effective framework to achieve that goal. We moved forward with an REA program which has been an outstanding and resounding success.

When I say "we," however, I certainly do not mean that every American back in the 1930s recognized the potential of rural electric cooperatives. One utility spokesman at the time was rather confident about the subject. In 1935 he observed:

"Only in the imagination of the farmer's champion does there exist any widespread demand for electric services on the farm, or any general willingness, or ability to pay for it. With the present low average of farm income, the electrification of all farms, desirable as this may be from a social viewpoint, is clearly an economic impossibility."

In the face of opposition like that, you cooperative leaders have certainly come a long way.

And there is a lesson from your success. You have shown that when determined rural Americans get together, you can handle the most difficult tasks. You have demonstrated that with a strong REA program, the goal of rural development is anything but an economic impossibility.

Your record is an impressive one. When the REA Act was signed by President Roosevelt in 1936, only 10 per cent of America's farms were served with electric power. Today, over 98 per cent are served.

You have nearly 1000 consumer-owned cooperatives in 46 states. You supply electricity to over 20 million Americans. You bring its benefits to over 150,000 new consumers every year.

Even though I come from an urban state in the Northeast, I am well aware of the significance of this growth. Let me give you an example of what rural electric development—and the dedication of the members of the NRECA—has meant in one specific case.

A decade ago, in the Blue Ridge Mountains of North Carolina, the economy was dying; jobs were scarce; people were moving with increasing rapidity to the cities.

Then the Blue Ridge Electric Membership Corporation, a consumer-owned electric cooperative, came into the picture, and its members went to work. They recognized the potential of rural areas. They worked closely with community leaders. They sparked a broad economic development drive. They achieved spectacular results.

Today, in the five Appalachian counties served by Blue Ridge, there are 8,000 more jobs than in 1962. Five thousand new homes have been built in the last four years. Ten new high schools have been constructed since 1960. A technical institute and a community college have been built. The tourist and recreation business is booming.

You at the NRECA, however, can accomplish this kind of progress only if the REA is responsive to your needs. And this can happen only if the Administration and the Congress of the United States respond with determination to the budget requirements of the REA.

President Kennedy recognized this only too well. In Billings, Montana, on September 22, 1960, he pledged of his Administration: "... we will restore REA to its former role of preeminence, bringing it from costly concern over political interference, higher rates of interest and budgetary starvation, and en-

abling that remarkable American institution to get on with its work of providing low-cost electricity and telephones for every American farm family."

Shortly after he took office in 1961, President Kennedy asked Congress for a \$50 million increase in REA 2 per cent loans. Congress approved.

The next year he sought an additional \$100 million, over and above the initial \$50 million. Congress again approved.

In the first two years of his Administration, the budget for REA loans to "rural electric" was doubled. Congress supported the Administration requests.

This is the kind of action in the Executive and in Congress which is so important to the cooperative movement. And now is the time, at the start of a new Administration, when we must be alert to your concerns.

NEED FOR RURAL-URBAN BALANCE

We are constantly confronted with the unmet problems of our cities. Yet you, who live in our rural areas, know that a large part of these problems can be met by paying greater attention to developing an even stronger rural economy.

You must continue your leadership in developing job opportunities in our rural areas. Only then will there be the balance between urban and rural America which will slow the rural-urban migration. In recent years, nearly 600,000 people a year have left the countryside and journeyed to the cities in search of jobs and shelter and medical care. In the cities, they have found that their hopes are not fulfilled.

Unless we halt the tide of migration from the country to the city, a migration which puts more and more people into less and less space, we have little hope of making our cities livable. You and your organization and its work can restore promise to the countryside—the promise of jobs, of good schools, of modern medical facilities, and of all the other elements so important to raising the quality of life. This is perhaps the most critical aspect of the tasks which lie ahead for you and your friends.

EIGHT-POINT PROGRAM FOR RELIABLE POWER

In light of your responsible approach to electric power development, this NRECA annual convention is a particularly suitable forum for a broad look at the electric power problems and issues which confront us today. I think we must view them as part of a more general program to enhance our social and natural environment.

I would like to present what I think is an effective program of guaranteeing the advance of low-cost, reliable power consistent with the enhancement of the quality of our environment.

I would like to discuss this eight-point program with you today.

RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVES

First, rural electric cooperatives. Recently, Congress has failed to appropriate enough REA loan funds to meet your needs. It has rejected legislation to provide supplemental funds.

As a result, there are at present almost \$400 million in applications pending in the REA—but there is less than \$100 million available to meet these needs.

I know that the NRECA is considering the idea of a self-help financing institution. I know further that you are alert to the danger of supplemental financing. You are aware that opponents might try to use it to weaken the REA loan program.

If you decide to adopt supplemental financing, I urge you to keep up the fight for REA loans as well. You will have my support and cooperation on both fronts. I will support full funding. I will support needed loans at 2 per cent interest. I will support loans to distribution co-ops. And I will support loans to necessary G and T's.

PLANNING AND COORDINATION

Second, planning and coordination, no longer can we afford the overlap and the inefficiency of building facilities on an ad hoc basis. Rather, all systems in each region of the country must work together to look 10, 20, 30 years down the road.

The benefits of coordination have been recognized by most members of the industry. Many have made attempts at regional planning. But the industry on its own has not moved far enough or fast enough.

And far too often, emerging councils have been overly restrictive. They have failed to follow a critical planning principle. I know you endorse that principle, and I stress it here today: all utility systems in a region must have equal access to participate in planning and coordination on fair and equitable terms.

In particular, all systems—large or small, public or private, cooperative or privately-owned—must be offered reasonable opportunity to share in the output of large new plants.

I supported the Kennedy-Alken bill last year. I will continue to support similar legislation in this session of Congress.

Effective planning also requires better research and development. For both utilities and the Federal Government have neglected their responsibilities.

Manufacturers, rather than utilities, have borne most of the R. & D. expense in the field of electric power. The result, predictably, has been an over-emphasis on efficiency of equipment.

It is a distortion of priorities that an industry which received \$15 billion in operating revenues last year spent only \$37 million—less than 1/4 of one per cent—on research and development. Surely this figure can be doubled or tripled, and I urge all utilities to make the effort.

When appropriations and power legislation are considered in the Senate, I will stress the need for a more balanced R. & D. program in the electric power field. The Federal Government has spent over \$2 billion to develop the technology for nuclear generating plants. Surely a small fraction of that sum can now be spent on environmental and social protections.

SITING OF POWER PLANTS

Third, siting of power plants. With demand for electricity doubling every decade, an estimated 250 huge new generating plants must be built by 1990. Each will require a site containing several hundred acres. These plants will bring light and power to our people. But they can bring dangers as well—to the environment, to the residents of surrounding areas and to the structure of the whole electric utility industry. Only planning beforehand can ensure that these plants are safe, efficient, reliable and consistent environmental protection.

For the past several weeks I have been revising the Electric Power Plant Siting Act which I sponsored last year. I intend to introduce it shortly in the Senate. Today, for the first time, I would like to discuss some of its features.

Under my bill:

The Federal Power Commission would study all considerations affected by the decision of where to build a power plant: air and water pollution, effect on ecological balance, scenic beauty and recreation possibilities, geological feasibility, and economic efficiency.

The FPC would develop siting criteria and prepare an inventory of sites for all regions of the country.

The FPC would update the siting plan every year. Thus changing technology would be taken into account—for example, changes which may someday make it safe to locate plants in cities.

The FPC would consult with all govern-

ment agencies experienced in specific aspects of the problem.

At every stage, the FPC would consult with concerned citizens, local planning agencies and the utilities.

During the initial two-year period of the study, certain restrictions would be placed on the construction of new plants. Utilities would be required to comply with existing pollution standards, and to give assurance that serious harm to the environment would not occur.

When this legislation is introduced I would appreciate the suggestions—and hopefully the support—of the NRECA.

RELIABILITY

Fourth, reliability. Blackouts are a clear and present danger, and the situation will continue to get worse unless we plan now to prepare for the future.

The northeast blackout of 1965 and the P-J-M failure of 1967—these and other disasters have dramatized for all Americans that blackouts are inconvenient, costly and dangerous to public health and safety.

We have had in my own state of Massachusetts four outages in the last three months. These have emphasized and re-emphasized the disruption and frustration which accompany any loss of electricity. And scores of blackouts throughout the country have highlighted the need for remedial action at the Federal, state and local levels.

Last month I introduced the Electric Power Reliability Act of 1969, a revision of legislation I sponsored last year. Let me summarize that bill:

The FPC would oversee the formation of effective regional planning councils throughout the country.

Full participation and influence in the council would be given to every utility or group of utilities in the region.

Each council would develop a coordination plan for its region, providing inter-ties, backup facilities, and other measures to minimize the effects of failure in one part of the system.

The FPC would establish minimum standards of reliability.

Construction of extra-high-voltage generating and transmission facilities would have to conform to the overall plan and meet the reliability standards.

The FPC would have power to compel steps necessary for reliability and efficiency.

Hearings on an identical House bill are starting next week. I hope that the Senate will give equal consideration. And I hope that the NRECA, which endorsed quite similar legislation last year, will continue its responsible interest.

Most blackouts are preventable. When they are not, their effects can be minimized. There is no good reason why the deficiencies of the past must be tolerated in the future.

EFFECTIVE TECHNIQUES FOR POWER PRODUCTION

Fifth, At this very moment, controversies over power facilities are raging from Chesapeake Bay and Long Island Sound in the East to the Columbia River in the West. Everywhere the challenge is the same: to preserve our environment while seeking reliable and low-cost power.

The problem is complex. Fossil-fueled plants cause far more air pollution than nuclear plants. But nuclear plants produce dangerous radioactive waste.

And nuclear plants threaten far more serious thermal pollution than their fossil-fueled counterparts. While overheating of our waterways can be avoided by cooling towers, these may become unsightly blights on the landscape. For the most part, however, nuclear plants can be blended more skillfully than others into surrounding areas.

Let me emphasize the positive as well as the negative. Thermal effects need not pollute; they can also enrich. Superheated water

might be used for example, to cultivate fish cultures, to heat buildings, and to prevent ports from freezing over. Other benefits from power facilities should be explored.

With some variation, both the siting bill and the reliability bill which I mentioned provide for councils on the environment. These councils, composed of conservation experts, would advise and work with the FCC on environmental aspects of its decisions. The bills contain other environmental safeguards, and would go a long way toward assuring balanced growth—with full consideration of the conservation interest.

Finally, I look forward to the day when unsightly overhead wires will be gone from our scenic landscapes. The industry itself has shown commendable interest in putting transmission and distribution lines underground. What is needed now is further research to develop effective and economically feasible techniques. All must contribute. As a start, I urge funding of the Department of Interior's industry-government research program on undergrounding.

All of us must recognize the urgent demand for electric power and the necessity for new facilities. We cannot simply say "don't build here." Rather, interested parties must work together toward solutions which accommodate both the need for additional electric power and the need for environmental preservation.

CONSUMER PROTECTION

Sixth, consumer protection. Consumers of electric power are a captive market. Utilities are granted exclusive privileges by the states. In return, utilities have an obligation—to inform and consult with those so vitally affected by what they do.

Cooperatives have always operated on the principle of consumer participation. It is the basis of your success. And the lesson is clear: All utilities must develop greater public contact with a priority on the public's interest.

Consumers deserve courteous and efficient service. They deserve swift repair when breakdowns occur. They deserve to be informed of what utilities are doing. Unfortunately, this attention is often lacking.

I am disturbed, for example, by complaints that during recent blackouts consumers were unable to phone their utility company to report that the power was off. It sometimes took hours to get through. And when calls were finally connected, customers received an unresponsive recorded message.

In addition to service, vigorous maintenance of the lowest possible rates is perhaps the most important form of consumer protection. As a New Englander, I am especially sensitive to the problem. For we pay nearly the highest rates in the country for our electric power.

Frequent and thorough investigation of rate structures is absolutely critical. Only with full knowledge, gathered by objective bodies, can we determine whether rates should be raised or reduced.

Far too many states have failed to protect their people in this regard. Regulatory commissions have been weak, understaffed, and dependent for information on the very utilities they were set up to regulate.

To meet some of these problems, I have cosponsored Senator Lee Metcalf's bill to promote utility consumers' councils. The bill would create a Federal agency to act as an ombudsman on utility matters. It would provide support to similar state agencies.

Consumer councils would appear before state and Federal regulatory bodies. They would publicize relevant information about utilities. And they would firmly assert the consumer interest at all times. I join the NRECA in supporting this bill.

DICKEY-LINCOLN DAM

Seventh, the Dickey-Lincoln dam. When a utility receives a government-granted mo-

nopoly, there is no pressure of competition to ensure efficiency and consequent low rates. We have no standard by which to judge its performance.

In New England, I will continue to fight for the Dickey-Lincoln Dam project. It would serve as a source of low-cost power, and a yardstick for judging other rates in the area. And it would serve as a backup during black-outs, as well as during peak periods.

The feasibility of Dickey-Lincoln has been confirmed time after time. Congress has authorized the project. It must now vote funds to move ahead at last. I pledge to continue the fight.

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

Eighth, social responsibility. These are turbulent times. Unrest and dissatisfaction plague our rural communities and our crowded cities. We are the richest nation on earth. But we have failed so far to meet our most pressing domestic problem.

Electric power utilities constitute one of the largest industries in the United States. They have the opportunity and the responsibility to help improve the lot of every American.

Cooperatives have a solid record on this score. You have advanced the broad economic development of rural America. You have supported important measures for the cities. You have worked to promote the rural-urban balance so necessary for a prosperous nation.

The utility industry as a whole, however, still employs only a very low percentage of Negroes, Mexican-Americans, American Indians, and other members of minorities.

Again, cooperatives have made substantial contributions—especially in setting up co-ops in areas where a majority of the benefiting members have been from minority races.

I would urge all segments of the industry to continue to make a strong effort toward equal opportunity. The industry can eliminate racial discrimination in its hiring practices. And it can actively seek out minorities in its membership, its leadership and its staffs.

The electric power industry, with over half a million employees, is uniquely capable of developing programs for the unemployed and underemployed. Some progressive utilities have already initiated on-the-job training. Many have an opportunity to provide manpower development activities for the less advantaged in our society. All can learn from the attention to jobs given by rural cooperatives.

I know that you are constantly exploring ways in which you can assist the people you serve. I sincerely hope that the whole utility industry will follow your lead, and will capture the opportunity to meet public needs.

You are important to the future of this nation—no only because you daily strengthen rural America; not only because you bring better lives to millions; and not only because you plan to be aggressive in continuing your impressive work. You are important to America because whatever work you do in the countryside makes lives in our cities better; makes economic development greater; makes our nation as a whole stronger.

This is the challenge which the NRECA has recognized since its founding, and the challenge which remains with us today.

Because of you, millions of Americans are participating in our economy and society in a meaningful way.

As we applaud the past efforts of the thousands who are gathered here today, let us rededicate ourselves to the unfinished agenda of effort that remains.

This is the spirit of the men and women you represent in rural America.

And it is in the spirit of this splendid organization which I am pleased to have addressed today.

DEATH IN VIETNAM

HON. ERNEST F. HOLLINGS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, recently the St. Louis Post-Dispatch published an article entitled "We Died in Vietnam." The subject of the article was the awesome responsibility carried by those who have the task of negotiating a peace in Vietnam while the death toll continues. The article, written by R. J. Henle, S.J., academic vice president of St. Louis University, was brought to my attention by William I. Bouton, of Greenville, S.C., whose son recently was killed in Vietnam while serving as a first lieutenant in the U.S. Army.

I believe that the thought expressed in the article will be of interest to Senators. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

"WE DIED IN VIETNAM"

THOSE WHO STALL NEGOTIATIONS CARRY HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY FOR CONTINUED TOLL

(By R. J. Henle, S.J.)

Gulliver reported, on his return from one of the "remote nations" of the world, that the Lilliputians were in violent disagreement with their neighbors over whether eggs should be eaten by breaking the small end or the large end first.

Deep theological and political passions surged between the large-enders and the small-enders; invective and counter-invective resulted in bloody violence.

Would that some Jonathan Swift could transpose the tragic comedy of the Parisian talks to the context of a "remote nation" of the world, so as to display to all the absurdity of the round-tablers and the long-tablers of the protocol, propaganda, and face-saving of Paris.

All this would be comedy, were it not bitter tragedy in that, for every hour of delay, human beings are being burned and blasted and blown to pieces in Vietnam. Whatever one thinks of the justice, of the rightness of the Vietnam war, the spectacle of delays while men die is sickening.

In Henry V, Act IV, King Henry, incognito at the campfire, says: "Methinks I could not die anywhere so contented as in the King's company, his cause being just and his quarrel honourable." Young Williams, not knowing that he spoke to the King, replied: "That's more than we know." And Bates: "Ay, or more than we should seek after; for we know enough if we know that we are the King's subjects. If his cause be wrong, our obedience to the King wipes the crime of it out of us."

And, finally, Williams: "But if the cause be not good, the King himself hath a heavy reckoning to make when all those legs and arms and heads, chopped off in a battle, shall join together at the latter day and cry all 'We died at such a place'; some swearing, some crying for a surgeon, some upon their wives left poor behind them, some upon the debts they owe, and some upon their children rawly left, I am afraid there are few die well that die in a battle, for how can they charitably dispose of anything when blood is their argument? Now if these men do not die well, it will be a black matter for the King that led them to it . . ."

And it will be a black matter for those responsible for the continuance of the Vietnam tragedy and a black day when those

shredded bodies stand before God at their resurrection crying all, "We died in Vietnam."

There should be an arrangement by which, for each established death in Vietnam, black-bordered telegrams be delivered to the head of each delegation in Paris naming the deceased, his age, the place of his death and its hour, and surviving relatives. As these telegrams pile up, they may be a memento of the hours of futility in Paris. Or a great sign, such as we use to proclaim traffic fatalities, might be erected across from the front door of each delegation in Paris and each casualty in Vietnam be registered in large numerals with the striking of a dismal death knell.

How can men pause or take their ease, when this chopping off of heads and arms continues because of their failure to negotiate sincerely for peace?

FRANK W. BOYKIN

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the Mobile Register newspaper published on March 13 an excellent tribute to a remarkable man. In order that it be shared with more Americans I place it here, as follows:

FRANK W. BOYKIN

From rural obscurity as a 35 cents a day water boy to the national spotlight both in public and private life is a rare career.

So rare, indeed, that Frank W. Boykin will be remembered as one of few to experience it in the fullness of reality which he lived to do.

His achievements in influence and wealth after he left his native Bladon Springs in Choctaw County for Mobile and Washington in search of greater opportunities for ambition, and greater outlets for energy, gained prominence for Mr. Boykin.

He was indefatigable in this search. But no more indefatigable than he was enthusiastic and optimistic.

He once quoted the late Gov. Bibb Graves of Alabama, "I will just keep on keeping on," and adopted the phrase as also a motto for himself.

He had the privilege of pursuing that motto longer than most men and he remained steadfast in the pursuit until at last death intervened to end his career at the age of 84 years.

But Frank W. Boykin will live in memory and in history not first of all for achievements in business and politics, not first of all because he grew wealthy in multiple holdings in private enterprise or because he became known literally to multitudes of his fellow Americans as a colorful congressional figure of influence and distinguished appearance.

Nor will he live in memory and in history first of all for public service as a long-time member of the U.S. House of Representatives from the First Alabama District. Much as this service may be appreciated and should be appreciated, it is not the prime reason for which he will be remembered.

His exuberant, spontaneous friendliness toward his fellowmen exceeded all else in assuring that Frank W. Boykin will not soon be forgotten.

Those whom he knew long and well, those whom he knew only casually and those whom he knew not at all—all of these knew the warmth of his greeting, the cordiality of his smile, wherever he and they met.

He translated his exhilarating, unflinching friendliness into a household term—"Everything is made for love"—and wherever he went and whomever he saw he demonstrated his esteem for others, whatever their walk or station in life.

It truly may be said that Frank W. Boykin was blessed with much of which there is too little in this world: Uninhibited friendliness.

This quality of his personality lives after him as an example in need of wider and more frequent practice by men who travel this way but once.

PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT OF RETIRED PERSONS

HON. WALTER F. MONDALE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, as a member of the Special Committee on Aging and as chairman of the Subcommittee on Retirement and the Individual, I have long been interested in the problem retired persons face with respect to part-time employment. Too often retirees are confined, long before they are incapacitated, to lives devoid of the stimulation and enjoyment work can bring. I have been convinced that retired persons are a wasted manpower resource, but that it takes imagination and resourcefulness on the part of employers to make effective use of the skills older persons may possess.

The John Deere Co., Waterloo Tractor Works has pioneered in using retired employees in its plant, and recently has created a program that ought to be examined throughout this country. Matching the need for persons familiar with the plant to the need of retired persons for jobs, the company now is using its former employees as tour guides for the 14,000 persons who visit their plant annually.

An article published recently in the Bulletin of the Institute of Gerontology at the University of Iowa describes this imaginative program.

I ask unanimous consent that the story of this pioneering venture be printed in the RECORD.

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

JOHN DEERE'S USE OF RETIREES MAY SET NATIONAL PATTERN

An idea born at the John Deere Waterloo Tractor Works may spread to other large industries throughout the United States, and even become world-wide, setting a new pattern for the effective use of retirees. Innovator of the plan is Bush Dodd of Cedar Falls, member of the Deere sales department in charge of plant visitations. Before the "idea" employees were selected daily from production and sales departments to conduct plant tours. Production suffered as men were drawn from assembly lines and machine shops. "Foremen hated to see us coming," states sales manager Lyle Cherry.

Then came the idea. The plant is visited annually by some 14,000 persons. Why not use retirees who knew the plant's layout, tractor-building processes, and the job skills involved. These former employees not only possessed great loyalty to Deere, but cared

deeply about Deere's "image." Why not employ this heretofore unused highly skilled, knowledgeable labor group as tour guides? Many were still active and still very much interested in the plant where they had spent most of their working life. Also, retirement incomes would be supplemented. Thus, the program appeared to have many mutual advantages.

Dodd's idea was a welcome solution to a problem, but no sooner had it become operative when another problem appeared. Putting retirees back on the payroll would involve tremendous paper work—pension adjustments, accident and insurance coverage, income tax withholding—and might also affect their Social Security benefits. The problem seemed insurmountable until an outside agency engaged in the business of supplying part-time personnel agreed to handle the hiring, payroll, and other paper work.

After final details were worked out, the retiree-guide system was initiated in the fall of 1966 and at present has about fifty guides. "We try to have enough so the tours won't become a burden on the retirees. Nothing is compulsory. If a retiree has scheduled other activity on a day we call him to take a tour, he is not pressured. A man who is retired should be able to call his time his own."

Qualifications for the tour guides include capacity to walk four or five miles a day, knowledge of the plant, and "he must like people. It's hard work—talking and walking." Mr. Cherry states that "Enough retirees are used to handle the tours without the Social Security \$1,630 limit on earnings being affected."

Mr. Dodd, in an appraisal of the program, said, "I would certainly recommend this procedure when part-time help is needed. We have found these gentlemen sharp and eager, having a deep desire to improve themselves in the knowledge of the product; and they have become skillful and tactful in the handling of our people. Their vast knowledge of our operation has been helpful, and from the standpoint of good public relations, the program has been outstanding. These people feel they still have a value and that John Deere still has an interest in them, so it has been a successful venture."

HOW CAN WE BEST GET LAW AND ORDER?

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, in the February issue of Nation's Business, readers were given the opportunity to sound off to the editor on the question: "How Can We Best Get Law and Order?" It is my understanding that the response to this question brought the largest number of replies any "Sound Off" question has in a long time. These responses are a good cross section of the mood of the Nation in dealing with this problem and should provide a reliable guide to legislators and law enforcement officers. Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to place in the RECORD the "Sound Off" question, the explanation of the question, and a sampling of responses to the question:

SOUND OFF RESPONSE: HOW CAN WE BEST GET LAW AND ORDER?

The nation's soaring crime rate is one of the gravest problems that confront Americans. Latest FBI statistics show a crime increase of 19 per cent for the first nine months

of 1968, with robberies up 32 per cent and murder, rape, assaults all jumping sharply. Together with crime is a widespread disdain for authority.

Law and order was a major issue in the Presidential campaign. President Richard M. Nixon, Democratic nominee Hubert H. Humphrey and Independent George Wallace all cried out for a curb on crime.

The need for law and order is a fact with which no one can quarrel. How best to attain it is another matter.

Many contend the nation will never solve its crime problem until the "root causes" for it are cured. Crime commissions, sociologists and others say that among these are a lack of jobs for the disadvantaged, slum housing, an unrealistic welfare program, and sham rehabilitation programs for juvenile delinquents and convicted criminals.

Just as many brand as "hogwash" the contention that poverty alone is responsible for crime. They decry poverty, but claim that this can't excuse criminals, that what is needed to stop crime is a tougher attitude by courts toward those who rob, rape, murder and mug, along with beefed up police forces. They also call for less permissiveness and more respect for our established institutions.

Slums may well be a breeding place for crime. But FBI statistics show increases of crime in affluent suburbs and rural areas as well.

How can we best attain law and order? What do you think?

Get tough with the lawbreakers.

That's the opinion of a majority of Nation's Business readers responding to February's "Sound Off" question, "How can we best get law and order?"

An outpouring of responses shows many definite opinions.

Many feel poverty and unemployment must be eliminated. But they stress this alone is not enough. For an immediate cut-back on crime, Nation's Business readers look to the judicial system and the law enforcement agencies.

The most common criticism—that courts are too lenient—was coupled with the protest that policemen are not given enough power to carry out their functions and are not backed by the courts.

"There is only one way to have and maintain law and order. Quit coddling the lawbreaker!" writes C. L. Thayre, president of the Farmers and Merchants Bank in Cherry Tree, Pa. "Let's give our police some backing. You don't hear the law-abiding citizens crying 'police brutality!'"

"We seem to have come so far in protecting the rights of the individual that we are forgetting that society has a right to protect itself from lawlessness. We need speedier trial procedures and courts that will support rather than hamper law enforcement," Keith Brown, secretary and treasurer of Sealrite Manufacturing Co., Kansas City, Mo., says.

R. T. Ball, administrative supervisor of West Virginia Pulp and Paper in Charleston, S.C., advises, "Reverse the recent findings of the Supreme Court which have handcuffed law enforcement personnel in favor of the criminal."

"The problem lies with the inefficiency of the courts," James S. Jackson, president of The Boston, Inc., New Philadelphia, Ohio, says. "We will have no better conditions in this country until we have judges who have the guts to serve a penalty to lawbreakers."

"The judicial process takes too long," says W. Clarence Kimbrell, chairman and president of Kimbrell's, Inc., a chain of furniture stores in North and South Carolina. "Interminable delays and appeals must be eliminated. Appeals should be fast and decision quick. The men and facilities to apprehend and prosecute should be beefed up."

"The overcrowded conditions of the courts and the leniency of these courts have created our biggest problem," says Philip R. Hoffman, president of Hoffman-Marquard Machinery

Co., St. Louis, Mo., and, the American Machine Tool Distributors Association, Washington, D.C. "Many crimes are committed by men who are currently out on bond awaiting trial. As long as the judges extend freedom on bond, change of venue and delays offered by defense attorneys, these unemployed lawbreakers will pursue crime. The problem is not with the police."

S. Whitney Downer III, regional manager of Bell & Howell Co., in Westfield, N.J., says, "Police should have power to search 'suspicious' persons or dwellings. Where trial is required, it should be as soon as possible after the indictment. Guilt should be established on the facts, not the procedure of the arrest and jurisprudence surrounding the crime. Improper procedure should give cause for a new trial, not freedom to a heinous criminal."

"A liberal sickness permeates our judicial system," Logan Young, president of Forristal-Young Sales Co., St. Louis, Mo., says. "Recent Supreme Court decisions leave little hope for any foreseeable improvement."

"Slums may be a breeding ground for the crime germ, but the courts could be penicillin instead of just aspirin. It stands to reason that the tougher the consequences, the fewer people would take the risk of committing crimes," writes Frank Latham Jr., president of Texas Security Systems, Inc., Austin, Tex.

"Courts should hand out penalties and make them stick," says E. M. Everson, manager of J. C. Penney Co., Inc., in Beaver Dam, Wisc. "Speed up court actions by eliminating silly technicalities and eliminate retrials except in obviously necessary situations. Elevate the police to the position of respect formerly held and forget about so-called police brutality."

"Swift, sure justice to offenders is the best deterrent to crime and violence," Paul McHenry, vice president of Macmillan Ring-Free Oil Co., Inc., of El Dorado, Ark. says.

Readers were particularly firm in their views toward crime repeaters.

Vernon Miller, president of Alvern Boat Shop, Inc., Northport, N.Y., calls for "no bail and stiff prison sentences for second offenses," and "fewer criminals released on technicalities."

F. A. Bendix, president of Bendix Mouldings, Inc., Bronx, N.Y., suggests refusing bail "in all cases involving defendants with any record."

"Release on bail is one of the rights guaranteed by our Constitution, but I believe that, if a criminal has been given advantage of one release on bail, if he is re-arrested, further release on bail should not be permitted," Albert A. Beste, vice president of fuel sales with Koenig Fuel and Supply Co., Detroit, Mich., says.

Donald H. Burton Jr., supervisor of systems evaluation for Hercules, Inc., Wilmington, Del., says, "As one of the first steps, I would suggest a minimum mandatory jail sentence for repeat violators of the law."

"Make it a federal law that commission of any crime with a gun or knife, upon conviction carries a mandatory minimum jail sentence. Much crime of all kinds is committed by people who are only big and brave enough when they have the advantage of a lethal weapon," contends R. A. Niles, manager of design and engineering for American Oil Co., Chicago, Ill.

W. J. Sagstetter, sales promotion director for Gulf Publishing Co., Houston, Tex., says, "To those who use force as a weapon, the return use of force against them is the only language they understand. Let's quit tolerating the mobs who occupy public places and destroy public property."

John Clements, field products specialist with American Standard Corp., Detroit, says we will achieve order "by making clear to everyone the law and just what it means. This is the guideline for all, with no excep-

tions. All must know and realize that to go beyond the law for whatever reason, you must pay the penalty."

"Only by strict enforcement of the law is order possible," A. Bruce Durkee, president of Durkee-Mower, Inc., Lynn, Mass., says. "A law unenforced is worse than no law because all laws then become candidates for breaking and all authority ceases to exist."

E. K. Goodson, vice president of Belk Brothers Co., Charlotte, N.C., says, "Let's restore in the minds of the criminally inclined fear of punishment."

Howard G. Mikeleit, a Buffalo, N.Y., dentist, expresses the views of many readers when he says, "Restore the death penalty. In 1968, there were no executions in the U.S., but thousands of decent, law-abiding citizens were killed."

William H. Henneberg Jr., general agent for Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Co., New Orleans, calls for a "mandatory death penalty for premeditated murder and the sale of narcotics to minors."

Others attribute the breakdown of law and order to outside influences.

"Riots and defiance of authority are stated methods of the communists to gain control of this and other countries through chaos and revolution. Why not deal with the communists in this country as the criminals they are?" asks Fred A. Rose, president of Corbett-Rose Music Co., of Alcoa, Tenn.

Many readers say crime and violence in television and movies and excessive news coverage of criminals have led to the increase in crime.

O. P. Johnson, manager of Union Carbide Corp.'s Greenville, S.C., plant, feels "the vast increase in filth, obscenity and pornography in literature, movies, etc., contributes to the permissive attitudes in our lives."

R. C. Boyd, customer service manager with Westinghouse Electric Corp., suggests, "Change the national mores." He calls for a "broad-gauge, concerted effort in all areas of public communication, TV, radio, press, advertising, government at all levels—to influence society's attitudes. Simultaneously, it requires recognition of criminal tendencies early in life and treatment as a disease, with congruent research effort."

To preserve and maintain law and order with permanence, readers call for a return to morality, respect for others and their property, and respect for the nation's laws. They look to the family unit, the educational system and our land's highest leaders to instill discipline and a respect for authority.

"Moral decline, not poverty, is the main reason for the crime increase," Estel R. Borden, owner of Borden's Motel, Mexico, Mo., says. "The percentage of crimes was lowest during the depression years of the '30's."

"Law and order will never be realized until a majority of our people really want it badly enough to live better, more honest lives and insist on exemplary lives from our leaders and elected officials," Richard A. Seggel, president of Dodge-Newark Supply Co., Inc., Newark, N.J., says.

"Our youth are not disciplined any more," Rudolf Abrams, vice president of Great American Knitting Mills, Inc., Bally, Pa., says. "A disrespect for parents breeds disrespect for the authorities in education and law enforcement."

"The nurturing of respect for authority has to begin in the home during the child's earliest years and should be reinforced by his school and religious training as he matures. Until we seriously concern ourselves with the cause of home breakdowns, the downgrading of basic religious and moral principles, other efforts to attain law and order will be futile," H. E. Roethe, an assistant manager with Oxford Paper Co., New York City, says.

A. Amarillos, president of Omega Service Parts Corp., also in New York City, suggests, "Hire school teachers with strict moral prin-

ciples who respect the law and are willing to instill respect for the law in their pupils."

T. E. Henderso, superintendent of United Cotton Goods Co., Inc., Griffin, Ga., says, "Permissiveness within the home, school, college and courts has destroyed character-building principles in many of our young and we are paying for this. To restore law and order, reinstate discipline, enforce the law and make criminals pay for crime."

RESOLUTION IN SUPPORT OF JONES AMENDMENT

HON. THEODORE F. STEVENS

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, the National Association of Regulatory Utility Commissioners passed a resolution late last year which pertains to legislation designed to permit my State to operate a ferry-type vessel of foreign construction in U.S. coastwise service.

The resolution recognizes the problem confronting Alaska and delineates the reasons such legislation is desirable.

I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

RESOLUTION RELATING TO PROPOSED LEGISLATION SUBMITTED TO CONGRESS BY THE STATE OF ALASKA IN 1968, DESIGNED TO PERMIT THE STATE OF ALASKA TO OPERATE A FERRY-TYPE VESSEL OF FOREIGN CONSTRUCTION IN U.S. COASTWISE SERVICE

Whereas, The major cities of Southeast Alaska including the state capitol, City of Juneau, are isolated, in that they cannot feasibly be interconnected with each other by overland highways nor can they feasibly be interconnected with other cities of the United States or Canada by overland highways; and

Whereas, The State of Alaska, in 1963, constructed the Alaska Marine Highway and through its Division of Marine Transportation, owns and operates large, ferry-type vessels between Seattle, Washington, and the isolated cities of Southeast Alaska and between the City of Prince Rupert, British Columbia, Canada and such cities of Southeast Alaska and between the several isolated cities of Southeast Alaska; and

Whereas, The Alaska Marine Highway is essential to the people of these Southeast Alaska cities as the only means of connection with continental highway systems; as a means of access and egress to this vast region of some 46,000 square miles; and as a tool for economic and industrial development particularly with relation to the tourist industry; and

Whereas, The entire cost of construction of the Alaska Marine Highway including the purchase of ferry vessels has been financed by the people of Alaska through the sale of State general obligation bonds; and

Whereas, The Alaska Marine Highway is an essential highway link to the trucking industry in intrastate, interstate and foreign commerce movement of cargo; and

Whereas, The Alaska Marine Highway is not a common carrier engaged in commerce within the usual sense of these terms but is in fact maintained and operated as a toll highway; nor is it operated in competition with privately owned common carriers but is only providing a means by which private

common carriers may transport cargo and passengers between points in Southeast Alaska, Prince Rupert, British Columbia, and Seattle, Washington; and

Whereas, The growth of traffic over the *Alaska Marine Highway* since its inception in 1963 has been phenomenal resulting in a critical shortage of ferry vessel capacity in August, 1967, and an annual 20 percent increase in tourist traffic was projected for 1968, 1969 and 1970, which projection is now believed to be conservative; and

Whereas, It was essential for the State of Alaska to augment its ferry fleet by the addition of at least one large ferry vessel by June, 1968; and

Whereas, No suitable ferry vessel of U.S. construction was available nor could one be constructed and available before 1970; and

Whereas, In order to remedy the emergency and adequately serve the traveling public, the State of Alaska purchased a large ferry-type vessel, the M/V Wickersham, which vessel was built in Norway, construction having been completed in December, 1967; and

Whereas, the State of Alaska cannot utilize the M/V Wickersham to the fullest of its capabilities as a ferry because of the existence of the so-called Jones Act (46 U.S.C. 289, 883) which prohibits the utilization of foreign-constructed vessels in American coastwise service, that is, picking up passengers or merchandise at one United States port and discharging the same passengers or merchandise at another United States port, but instead must limit the M/V Wickersham's operations to interconnection between Canada and the United States, which is a foreign service; and

Whereas, The restrictions of the Jones Act are causing American tourists to spend American dollars in Canada which would be spent in the United States, because tourists travel through Canada to Central Alaska, whereas, the M/V Wickersham would permit these tourists to choose to travel the *Alaska Marine Highway* for a considerable portion of this route, rather than over Canadian roads; and

Whereas, The restrictions of the Jones Act discourage tourist traffic to Southeast Alaska because tourists may not go from one Alaska community to another by means of the M/V Wickersham; and

Whereas, The Congress has from time to time passed special legislation to permit Canadian vessels to carry passengers and merchandise between United States ports, more particularly between ports in Alaska; and

Whereas, Certain of the legislation permitting Canadian vessels to engage in United States coastwise trades is still in force and effect; and

Whereas, The State of Alaska has proposed legislation, such being H.R. 17815 and H.R. 17814, 90th Congress, 2d session, the purpose of which is to enable the State to utilize the M/V Wickersham in coastwise service as a ferry, by granting special permission to the M/V Wickersham and exemption thereby or waiver from the provisions of the Jones Act.

Now, Therefore, Be It Resolved, That with respect to HR 17815 and HR 17814, 90th Congress, 2d session, and any similar legislation which will be introduced by the State of Alaska in the session of Congress which will convene in January of 1969, the National Association of Regulatory Utility Commissioners assembled in its Eighteenth Annual Convention recommends the following:

1. The Jones Act has placed an undue burden upon the *Alaska Marine Highway* demanding relief, in that, unlike other states, the State of Alaska may not freely and fully develop its highway system without restrictions, nor is the State of Alaska free to use foreign material in construction of its highway systems, as are other states, these disabilities being based upon a statute passed by Congress to remedy a condition in no way

resembling the *Alaska Marine Highway* and its problems.

2. The Jones Act (46 U.S.C. 289, 883) by restricting coastwise service to vessels built in the United States has imposed an insupportable burden upon the people of the State of Alaska in developing their highway system.

3. The Jones Act was never intended to prevent one of the states of the United States from developing its highway system, and had there existed such as the *Alaska Marine Highway* in 1920, when the Jones Act was enacted, the Congress would have very likely excluded state-owned marine highway operations from its coverage.

4. The State of Alaska should be granted an exemption, exception, waiver, special permission, temporary permission, or some other special legislation should be enacted by Congress enabling the State of Alaska to utilize the M/V Wickersham for the purpose for which it was purchased, a coastwise ferry service, all of which is in the best interests of the State of Alaska, the national defense of the United States, the United States balance of payments, and in the overall long term best interests of the American shipbuilding industry, shipbuilding workers and American merchant seamen.

Adopted November 14, 1968.

A STUDENT LEADER SPEAKS OUT

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, the voices of responsible student leaders are beginning to be heard across this country. An example of their thinking is the following editorial by Mr. John Heerlein in the *Breeze*, which is the Madison, Va., College newspaper. Mr. Heerlein's excellent article on Dr. S. I. Hayakawa, the president of San Francisco State College, is recommended to my colleagues:

EDUCATOR FIGHTS BACK

Congratulations are in order for one faithful educator in California who has taken a firm stand against the ever-increasing number of agitators attempting to disrupt campuses throughout the U.S.

Dr. S. I. Hayakawa, noted educator and semanticist, and Acting President of San Francisco State College, stated before a House subcommittee meeting on February 3, that "an alliance of militant students and alienated faculty, using tactics that helped the Nazis rise to power in Germany, is dedicated to destroying society, starting with San Francisco State College."

The militant students, on strike since November 6, 1968, have demanded that the administration set up a school of ethnic studies, with absolute autonomy from the California state college system. The student demand for autonomy has certain requests, all of which are non-negotiable. They apparently want all or nothing.

Another demand of the militants is that all black students wishing admission in the fall of 1969 be accepted. However, this would do away with the present acceptance system and could be against the Civil Rights Act, resulting in a type of reverse discrimination.

The strike itself started when black students attacked the campus newspaper (6-8 Negroes were arrested during the attack for beating up the Editor). Since that time, planned violence has overtaken the campus. It was first directed toward the classrooms when students were terrorized and furniture was turned over. This was soon followed by a

series of minor bombings and arson (mostly trashcan fires to disrupt classes). Finally, the violence spread to guerrilla fighting and outright student beatings.

It appears that most of the students were against mob rule and were simply seeking an education. However, those students attempting to attend classes were severely beaten by the militants.

Hayakawa has taken a firm stand, and has said he is prepared to keep the college going, even if he must continue to rely on squads of policemen every day to prevent strikers from disrupting classes. He estimated that the actual cost incurred for the use of police to be approximately \$100,000 per day.

What are the students' reasons for this alleged takeover attempt? He says "the Students for Democratic Society has said it wants to destroy our society. However, they are not going to begin here."

When commenting on the news media coverage, he states: "It is very interesting to attend a noon rally and get home in time to see yourself on the six o'clock news." Although he feels that there are presently revolutionaries on campuses through the U.S. attempting to cause trouble, he says that his problems differ from those of other college campuses throughout the U.S. as each has its own unique problems.

Let us be truly thankful for such a man as Dr. Hayakawa and that we do not have the problems on our campus that he is presently facing.

EIGHTEEN-YEAR-OLDS READY TO VOTE

HON. RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. President, several weeks ago I introduced a resolution calling for a constitutional amendment to lower the voting age to 18. In my remarks at that time, I commented that I thought most Senators had come away from high schools or colleges being impressed with the high quality and intelligence of the students they met.

On Wednesday, March 12, I held a collegiate news conference, and answered questions from editors and reporters representing newspapers and radio stations at a dozen colleges in Pennsylvania and the District, and I should like to say that my observation about the high quality of our young people today was fully supported.

In a wide-ranging discussion of foreign, domestic, and military affairs, the students showed a deep concern over the problems we are facing today, and also a good understanding of what the important issues are today.

The questions they asked were every bit as intelligent and mature as any I received from adults last fall while I was campaigning throughout Pennsylvania for the Senate.

Too often, the unruly and disruptive element on campuses gets all the publicity, and it is easy to forget that these irresponsible elements are in the minority. The majority of our students today not only have considerable intellectual and moral concern about the directions our country is moving, but they are interested in bettering, not destroying

our institutions, as some of the dissidents do.

I consider it a privilege to be able to stand up and report that the responsible students have said something, such as at this collegiate news conference.

This experience is further evidence that now is the time to lower the voting age to 18, to give these responsible young people an active voice in the affairs of their country.

WATER NEEDS OUTLINED BY CONGRESSMAN JONES OF ALABAMA

HON. GEORGE H. FALLON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, the alarming downward trends in the rate of water resource development were outlined to members of the Associated General Contractors of America March 19 by our distinguished colleague from Alabama, the Honorable ROBERT E. JONES, JR.

He is widely hailed as a great authority on water resources, and he puts his knowledge to valuable use as chairman of the Subcommittee on Flood Control for the House Public Works Committee. In addition, he serves as chairman of the ad hoc Committee on Appalachia and has served as chairman of the Subcommittee on Buildings and Grounds.

His contributions to the direction and accomplishments of the Public Works Committee, and the contributions of the other subcommittee chairmen, have made my job as chairman easier and have advanced the improvement of this Nation for all the people.

His comments to the contractors, particularly in regard to the need for better evaluation of the total benefits of water developments, have great significance, and I include them in my remarks at this point:

REMARKS OF REPRESENTATIVE BOB JONES BEFORE THE ASSOCIATED GENERAL CONTRACTORS OF AMERICA HEAVY AND UTILITIES DIVISION, MARCH 19, 1969

I appreciate the opportunity to visit with you today and discuss the outlook for construction of public works facilities.

Forecasting is always dangerous. The rapidly changing economic situation of the past year emphasizes the difficulty.

There is one aspect of the outlook for new public works to which I can testify without question. That is, the outlook is not nearly so good as it should be. When compared to the present and anticipated needs, our national investment in public works facilities, especially water resource development, is woefully short.

To be specific, we have authorized 450 Corps of Engineer projects on which there has been no construction. Planning is completed in 160 of these projects, but there has been no funding.

The 1970 budget submitted by the former administration called for only 11 new construction starts and 15 new planning starts—mere peanuts compared to the backlog.

Those of you engaged in construction of Corps of Engineers projects already know of the starvation funding which seems to be coming a way of life. Budgetary restrictions

have meant delays and stretch-outs for about 70 per cent of the ongoing Corps projects. The very tight federal expenditures ceiling has also prevented transfer of savings from one project to another where schedules could be advanced.

The same tight-belt situation applies in other public works areas—reclamation, building construction, highways, small watersheds.

These delays and restrictions have not promoted efficiency in pursuit of public projects.

I don't have to tell you that construction costs are rising each year. Each year a water resource project is delayed adds to the ultimate cost of that project.

In addition, the later completion dates for projects have been costly in delaying the availability of project benefits, including flood control, water supply, navigation, recreation, power, and general economic advancement. The loss in benefits due to delays in funding was estimated a year ago to amount to approximately \$200 million. In addition, the delay of power on line at 12 multiple-purpose projects results in a loss estimated at \$52 million in power benefits.

The level of public works activity is all the more alarming when you pause and take a look at the general trends in this country. Population is increasing, trade and commerce are up, and the gross national product is rising. During the past 10 years, federal government receipts and expenditures have doubled.

But in the public works area, direct federal outlays for civil projects have remained about constant in dollars. In view of the annually increasing costs, those dollars are buying fewer dams and reservoirs, fewer miles of roads, and fewer public benefits.

As a share of the total budget outlays, our nation's investment for the future through public works has actually declined.

While the present situation is distressing enough, the years ahead have more problems.

The very limited number of new starts funded in recent years means that the construction pipeline of the Corps is rapidly drying up as the current projects are being completed.

During the past three years, the Corps completed projects with a total cost of more than twice the value expected of new projects started in the same period.

It is estimated that without a significant increase in the number of new starts in the immediate future, the construction pipeline of the Corps will require an annual level of funding of only about \$500 Million by fiscal year 1974. This compares to a current annual funding requirement of about \$900 Million and represents a decrease of about 45 per cent.

The pressure to hold down new starts is felt from two flanks. We have already mentioned the budgetary limitations. The second flank involves the double-barrel issue of the interest rate used for computing the benefit-cost ratio and the criteria used in evaluating a project's benefits.

It is perfectly clear that, at this moment, interest costs for government money are up. But our water resources developments are being constructed, not for the moment, but for the future, and will be delivering benefits 50 and 100 years from now. Any attempt to chart the course of interest rates over the next 100 years would be fool-hardy, but we can look to history and see that the cost of money has changed several times during such a time period.

Also changing is the value of water and the benefits of water resource projects to the people and to the economy of the nation. This change in value is more predictable.

Until about 50 years ago, water resource development accrued benefits primarily through improvement of navigation and the increased prosperity this fostered through growth of trade and commerce.

But our nation changed. Population increased. People accumulated in the cities.

New products, industry, and technology were developed. Increased population and greater consumption resulted in greater accumulations of wastes.

More people meant greater emphasis on the need for economic growth and industrial expansion to broaden employment opportunities, particularly in depressed rural areas.

Increased production and prosperity made recreation and leisure possible for more people.

The requirements for industrial and residential sites increased the value of land and marginal flood plains came into use.

Likewise, the need to feed and clothe the larger population made transportation of water to arid lands economic.

These changes multiply the importance of water resource development for water supply to cities and industry, for low-flow augmentation, for economic stimulation, for recreation, for flood control and alleviation of human misery, for agriculture and for navigation.

As the population continues to increase, these benefits of water resource projects become more significant to the people, and we must give them proper credit in evaluating projects.

Experience indicates that estimates of benefits from water resource developments in the past have been far too conservative, particularly the total benefits of a project.

We place unfair restrictions on future generations in evaluating resource projects without due regard to the increasing values which will accrue from growing population and higher levels of prosperity.

Those who delay this necessary work in the belief that it can be accomplished at less cost in some future period delude themselves.

Thus, the budgetary and criteria restrictions which hamper these direct federally financed projects are doubly dangerous. They delay the appreciation of the benefits, and they increase the ultimate cost.

The one area of federal public works endeavor which has shown substantial increase during the past 10 years has been the assistance grants to States and local governments to help construct facilities such as roads, schools, hospitals, water supply systems, and waste disposal facilities.

Here, too, problems are ahead.

As borrowing costs for States and municipalities in the past six months have soared to the highest levels in a generation, more than half a billion dollars in tax-exempt bond issues have been postponed or canceled altogether.

Statutory interest-rate ceilings have cut some States and localities out of bond revenue sources. The unusually high cost of money has caused others to re-evaluate, postpone, or cancel projects where local participation is involved.

There is no indication that credit conditions will ease this year.

The difficulty in securing local matching funds for participating programs will have adverse effect on many projects—hospitals and health facilities, school and college construction, waste treatment facilities and water supply projects, streets, and highways.

Meaningful increases in Federal assistance in this area are no where in sight.

Instead, we hear today the same arguments which have been used to oppose public works projects throughout our nation's history.

You may remember the forecasts of doom concerning the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway in the 1950's. Listen to the opposition of Rep. Cleveland Bailey of West Virginia: "The cost of the proposed St. Lawrence Waterway will be added to the United States' national debt now near the legal ceiling."

A Pennsylvania Member believed: "There is no genuine merit in this proposal. It is not

justified from a navigational standpoint; it is not justified from the standpoint of national defense."

Rep. Thomas J. Lane of Massachusetts imagined other problems: "The proposed St. Lawrence Seaway would detour business away from our ports and our railroads with side effects that would compound our present difficulties. It is estimated that 30 per cent of Boston's foreign trade would be lost to the Seaway.

"Similar losses would be suffered by all other Atlantic and Gulf Ports and traffic along the Mississippi will diminish."

Similar arguments were used before that, when the Rivers and Harbors bill was amended to provide for development of the Bonneville Dam on the mighty Columbia River in the northwest. Listen to what then Rep. Frank Carlson of Kansas said: "It is a power project to put water on this arid land. There is no sale nor need for additional power in this section."

Referring to the new land which would be opened to farming in the northwest: "How can the farmers of the middle west compete with this kind of proposition?"

Earlier, do you know what they were saying in opposition to the construction of the Tennessee Valley Authority Project in 1933? Here are some quotes from the Congressional debates:

"How far can the government run into public debt without impairing its credit and bringing about a great crash? Extraordinary borrowing would be at this time a calamity.

"If you pass this bill . . . you will destroy the Commonwealth & Southern Company, which is a holding company, and make it impossible to ever pay dividends to thousands that own stock in that and allied companies.

"The existing power company in that part of the country is able to produce more power than can be consumed by any business development in the next 10 years." That was Rep. Harry Clay Ransley of Pennsylvania.

Consider the concern of Rep. Joe Martin of Massachusetts: "The trusting people of Tennessee and Alabama hope that out of this government venture in the realm of business will rise a new industrial empire. A magnificent mirage. Lost sight of is the fact that industrial expansion in the United States is over for a few years at least . . . I think I can accurately predict and no one in this generation will see materialize the industrial empire dream of the Tennessee Valley."

Rep. Carl Edgar Mapes of Michigan said: "This is no time to start expenditures of this kind when we are trying to reduce the expenses of the country, when everybody is in such distress. It is not a sound investment. It is economically unsound from the standpoint of both navigation and the development of power."

Rep. Daniel Reed of New York believed: "This is not retrenchment. It is wild, unrestrained and inexcusable extravagance."

A former House Member now in the Senate said: "I cite to you that nothing definite or conclusive has been offered to show that there is any particular need at this time . . . The development of power in that particular locality of the nation, or of fertilizer, for that matter, can be of no general good, as I see it."

If we listen to the opponents of public works, the time to start will always be in the future; whether depression or prosperity, the economic conditions will never be auspicious; the public debt will never be low enough to justify an increase; taxes will always be too high to merit investment; other needs will always be too pressing and demanding; the facilities will never be justifiable; the imaginary and false fears of local economic disaster will always lurk ahead.

I submit that our nation's entire experi-

ence with public works improvements proves these opponents wrong.

Our nation's investment in development of resources has paid dividends to the people many times over in greater general prosperity, growth, and enjoyment. This investment has been the very keystone of our unequalled level of economic achievement.

Other problems—the cities, poverty, unemployment, education, and training—cry out for immediate attention. These are real and must be serviced.

But direction of our efforts toward these problems will be marked with frustration, and the problems themselves will be compounded in the future unless adequate attention is given to the basic needs for resource development and construction of needed public facilities.

In fact, many of the problems which seem so urgent today are related to our past neglect of resource development.

I have confidence in our country, our great economic strength and our ability to move forward.

We cannot defer vital public improvements and hope to move forward at an acceptable pace for future growth, security, and well-being.

Most of these projects require years of planning before they become a reality. When some crisis makes the need apparent to all, it is generally too late.

If we don't start making plans and move forward making those plans a reality, this nation is going to be impoverished in such areas as water resources shortly after the year 2000 when our population has doubled to more than 400 million.

That's 30 years from now—a short span. Yet at the present rate, we are not even keeping up with the backlog of public works needs. We are certainly not building for future needs.

Present plans accommodate only present requirements and that, in a most meager fashion.

This meager servicing of resource development in the sacred name of economy is going to prove very costly in the long run.

Repairs for lack of proper planning have been our most expensive endeavors in public projects. Repairs cannot be made without extraordinary expense, and inconvenience.

Repairs or rehabilitations will not give us the comprehensive and total beneficial use of our water and other resources.

As an example, the Ohio River was initially developed under the Flood Control Act of 1909 with a principal aim for the navigation potentials.

The Act ignored all other aspects of water resources development and today we are trying to rehabilitate this enormous and valuable stream. But due to the industrialization and urbanization in the flood plains of the river, no scheme can now be developed to give us all the benefits of the resources of this stream.

This primary lesson should be so impressive that we dare not continue these gross mistakes and miscalculations in our future planning.

Failure to plan and develop for all the total aspects of water use penalizes future generations and forecloses options which should remain viable.

Our nation will respond to the need for development of such resources as water.

If that response is delayed until a crisis provokes action, the solution will be expensive if it is obtainable at that late date.

As a group which has a strong interest in seeing America progress, I urge you to join in helping awaken the people to the needs for a national goal of proper, orderly, and adequate development for the future.

We must hasten to do this work. We lose distance each day this work remains undone.

OPPOSITION TO NOMINATION OF DR. JAMES E. ALLEN

HON. JAMES B. ALLEN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, strong objections have been voiced in Alabama and from throughout the South to the choice of Dr. James E. Allen to fill two powerful positions in the present administration. Dr. Allen is scheduled to assume the duties of the Office of U.S. Commissioner of Education and also the Office of Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. The reasons for opposition by responsible leadership in the South are clearly shown in an article published recently in *Human Events*, and reproduced on the editorial page of the highly respected and influential *Dothan Eagle*, *Dothan, Ala.*

Mr. President, I believe that the facts, inferences, and conclusions expressed in the article are highly relevant to the appointment of Dr. Allen. Accordingly, I commend the article to the thoughtful consideration of Members of the Senate and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the *RECORD* as an extension of my remarks.

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

"MR. BUSING" COMES TO WASHINGTON

Republican politicians were intensely unhappy last week with the naming of the controversial Dr. James E. Allen—a zealous school integrationist—to two powerful positions in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The startling selection of New York state's commissioner of education, who will assume both the jobs of assistant secretary of HEW and U.S. Commissioner of Education in the Nixon Administration, is considered a stunning setback by GOP strategists who realize the party must move southward to forge a permanent Republican majority. Yet the strange choice of Allen—made by Nixon's supposedly good friend Robert Finch—promises to wreak havoc with that plan.

"If anything can regitalize the Wallace movement," noted one Southern Republican last week, "it is the appointment of such persons as Allen." But Allen's policies—if implemented on a national level—are bound to trigger an adverse reaction to the Nixon Administration not only in the South but in almost all other sections of the country as well.

The czar of New York's primary and secondary education system for 14 years, Allen has become the champion in inflexible and irresponsible integrationist policies, policies which Nixon repeatedly—and vigorously—opposed during the campaign. He is, in fact, "Mr. Busing" himself. Moreover, in New York's decentralization struggle, Allen allied himself with the racial militants, both black and white.

What Allen will probably choose to accomplish in his new post can be gauged from his New York performance in the past six years. On June 14, 1963, he issued a directive to every school district in New York demanding the elimination of "racially imbalanced" school as "one having 50 per cent or more Negroes enrolled." Since this incredible edict, Allen has been disrupting the state's local system by energetically trying

to end de facto segregation, closing down perfectly good schools if they are "racially imbalanced" and instituting a massive busing program . . .

Upon being formally nominated to his new position last week, Allen did nothing to suggest a softening of his previous positions. He even went so far as to stress that he was "fundamentally" in agreement with the past Commissioner of Education, Harold Howe II, whose plans to achieve compulsory racial and economic integration in the nation's schools included massive busing, educational parks and the virtual elimination of neighborhood schools.

Allen's love for Howe was not exactly a surprise, however. Indeed, Allen's chief aide in implementing his own compulsory integrationist policies was one Theron Johnson, who became a special assistant to Howe in 1966. Also an advocate of busing and educational parks, Johnson plans to stay in his \$25,000-a-year job to serve Allen once again.

Yet Allen's attitude on integration is not all that is disturbing. In the late 1950s, Allen put pressure on the city board of education to help eliminate an investigation into Communist teachers headed by assistant corporation counsel Saul Moskoff. Allen, further, is considered almost as responsible as John Lindsay for permitting racial militants to take over the schools in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville area.

The Allen selection, then, bodes ill for the Nixon Administration. Unless Allen can be hamstrung, HEW will be a far more activist department than Nixon—or its new secretary Robert Finch—had led many to believe.

HON. GEORGE W. ANDREWS' 25 YEARS OF SERVICE

HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join in the tribute to the dean of the Alabama delegation, the Honorable GEORGE W. ANDREWS, who has completed 25 years of service in this House.

Our distinguished colleague has the unusual honor of having been elected to the Congress with a minimum of personal effort on his part. At the time of his election, he was serving as an officer in the U.S. Navy during World War II. He was released from active duty to take his seat in Congress on March 14, 1944, and has served continuously since that time.

The relative ease of his initial election was a credit to his reputation as a hard worker. He earned this reputation while serving as circuit solicitor for the Third Judicial Circuit of Alabama from 1931 to 1943 when he entered the Navy.

He has maintained this reputation for hard work during the past 25 years as a Member of this House.

The Honorable GEORGE W. ANDREWS is noted for his conscientious and dedicated service to the people of his district and of this Nation. The people of every section of this land should be grateful to him for his attention to the problems of national defense as a member of the Appropriations Committee.

We, in the Congress, owe him a special debt of gratitude for his skills and adeptness in handling appropriations for the

Congress as chairman of the Legislative Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee.

As a reflection of his longtime interest in the building of this great Nation, he has recently assumed responsibilities on the Public Works Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee. From this important assignment he will be able to continue to exercise his great interest in the public endeavors which form the very backbone of our economy.

Our colleague's reputation for close attention to the needs of the people of the district he represents is evidenced by his unusually handsome victories in those few occasions when he has had opposition.

I am confident that the people of the Third District of Alabama will return GEORGE ANDREWS to this House for many years to come.

As I join in commemorating his 25th year of service, I wish him and his lovely wife, Elizabeth, continued good health and happiness in the many years of service which lie ahead.

A PROPER MEMORIAL

HON. PAUL J. FANNIN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, it has disturbed me to hear of the recent statements of Rev. Ralph Abernathy, mayor of the problem city set up on the Mall in Washington last year. Mr. Abernathy is reported to have said that he expects to see demonstrations and disruptions when Negroes observe the first anniversary of the death of Martin Luther King.

It appears to me that this is entirely the wrong approach. I cannot see that constructive results can be accomplished if the negative actions are followed.

The Phoenix Gazette has published an excellent editorial which sets forth a positive plan of action for those who would properly memorialize Dr. King. To my mind it is a completely appropriate and fitting tribute to a man who was a leader to so many. I quote the last two sentences from the editorial:

The Negro has no monopoly on the dreams of Dr. Martin Luther King; all men of conscience share his hopes.

But dreams soon mock a man, and hopes become hollow, if he stands and complains when he could be moving and creating.

Mr. President, the title of the editorial is: "Don't Dream on April 4—Do." I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

DON'T DREAM ON APRIL 4—DO

Dr. Martin Luther King's dreams for his race will suffer a setback on April 4, the first anniversary of his death, if Negroes observe the day as the Rev. Ralph Abernathy thinks they should.

"I expect to see boycotts, school walkouts, work stoppages, peace demonstrations, student protests, rent strikes, marches against

hunger and many other forms of non-violent action," the leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference said.

And what will any of those negative actions bring other than a negative response?

If you are a Negro who wants to honor the memory of Dr. King on April 4—don't dream—do.

Don't stage a school walkout. Walk in. And wring every new drop of knowledge out of that day that your brain can absorb.

Instead of a work stoppage, work to your limit. Show your fellowman what your mind and hands are capable of performing.

Rather than holding a peace demonstration, demonstrate that you are a man of peace.

Don't march against hunger—feed someone.

Instead of a rent strike, strike out for that day when you can burn the mortgage on your home.

The Negro has no monopoly on the dreams of Dr. Martin Luther King; all men of conscience share his hopes.

But dreams soon mock a man, and hopes become hollow, if he stands and complains when he could be moving and creating.

JUST WHO RUNS THE OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF CHAPLAINS?

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, at the time of the U.S. Supreme Court's school prayer decision, the point was made that one of several possible logical extensions of such a ruling would be banning or at the very least sharply restricting activities of Armed Forces chaplains.

The Supreme Court has not moved in this direction, but a private, nongovernmental organization has. It has come to my attention that the American Civil Liberties Union, finding fault with certain phrases in instruction manuals for the military's character guidance program, has pressured the Pentagon to make the manuals conform to what the ACLU deems fitting and proper.

The character guidance program, for all enlisted military personnel, is customarily conducted by chaplains who use material prepared by the Office of the Chief of Chaplains. Materials issued to those who conduct the course states, in part, that aim of the program is "to instill into all the members of the Army a sense of individual moral responsibility and moral principles that sustain the philosophy of American freedom. That philosophy regards man as a creature of God. As such, every soldier is responsible and accountable to his Creator for the way he performs his civic and military duty."

I cannot remotely understand what anyone finds offensive in this concept. The term "Creator" means many things to many people, and all but a very tiny minority, no matter what their faith, do acknowledge a "Creator" in some form. And, I might add, I was also under the impression that practically everyone, believer or atheist, admitted existence of individual moral responsibility in varying degrees.

I understand the ACLU's original complaint was made about a year ago, and that recently the ACLU has been assured by the Pentagon that "we are revising all the materials in question to eliminate passages with religious connotations."

It should be noted here that Postmaster General Winton M. Blount takes a somewhat different view about the worth of "passages with religious connotations." It was announced in late February that he had ordered revision of the Apollo 8 commemorative stamp to include the words "In the beginning God . . ." which were spoken by Lt. Col. William A. Anders when he read from the Book of Genesis during the historic flight orbiting the moon. The Postmaster General stated that it seemed eminently appropriate that this introductory phrase should appear on the stamp that commemorates one of the most significant and dramatic events of our time.

I imagine the ACLU will protest this, as well, but the ACLU is not the Supreme Court. Furthermore, I do not think the ACLU or any other organization, for that matter, is especially qualified to arbitrarily prescribe what goes into military troop guidance courses. It seems this incident is a prime example of outright minority dictation, and if the ACLU can do it today, another organization can do it somewhere else tomorrow.

I am making an official request for an explanation of this incident. Aside from the fact that I see no reason for the Office of the Chief of Chaplains to knuckle under to what seems is little more than unjustified meddling on the part of the ACLU, I believe it set an extremely poor precedent and I would like to know just what factors were taken into consideration in the Pentagon's eventual decision.

THE TRAGEDY COME HOME

HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, it was with deep sorrow that I recently read in the Blackfoot News, one of Idaho's finest newspapers, an editorial account of the death in Vietnam of a young Idahoan, Pvt. Douglas Rowe.

Written by the News' publisher, Drury R. Brown, the editorial speaks for itself. It is a striking indictment of the folly we pursue in Vietnam. Because it places the tragedy there in the perspective of one soldier and his family, this account deserves to be widely read. Accordingly, Mr. President, I ask that the editorial be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

PVT. DOUGLAS ROWE DIES

Word was received by his parents yesterday that on March 9, 1969, Private First Class Douglas Noel Rowe died in battle in Vietnam. The notification did not reveal the place of his death. Neither was it revealed when his body may be returned to Idaho.

Private Rowe was born Nov. 13, 1946 in Rupert, Idaho. He was the son of Mr. and

Mrs. Noel F. Rowe, 706 South Fourth Avenue, Pocatello, Idaho. He is survived by his parents; by two brothers; Alvin Rowe, Washington, D.C., and Airman First Class Steven Rowe, now stationed in Thailand, and by a sister, Elaine, Pocatello.

Private Rowe attended school in Blackfoot, graduating from Blackfoot High School with the Class of 1965, and thereafter attended Idaho State University, Pocatello, for two years.

He was a member of The First Baptist Church of Blackfoot. Time of funeral services cannot be established until the family has been notified by the Army when his body will be returned. But it is announced by his parents that the funeral will be held in The First Baptist Church of Pocatello and burial in the Blackfoot City Cemetery.

This is the sort of simple war statistic that has appeared thousands of times in American newspapers since the beginning of our involvement in the undeclared war in Vietnam.

But Doug Rowe is much more than a war statistic. Doug is the little boy grown to man. He is the son and brother who, through his entire lifetime, was a source of extreme pride to his family. He was intelligent and fun-loving yet always unassuming. He was clean-cut and fastidious. He was the thoughtful and dependable boy that carried a newspaper route. In so doing, he won the affection and esteem of the people to whom he delivered the newspaper. He was the young man who for four years worked part time in the office of the Blackfoot News and who was mature and competent enough in his last summer of employment to act as its circulation manager.

He was the talented guitar player who with Nancy Edison, Julie Hutchings and Joe Evans, made up one of the most entertaining and delightful singing groups ever formed in Blackfoot High School.

Doug Rowe became one of the group of young American men who were unable to plan their careers because conscription to military service was hanging over their heads. Doug thought the war in Vietnam was wrong—that it was a waste of the nation's energy and resources—he believed that most of the people in the little nation of Vietnam wished that we had not come there and that we would leave—that it was immoral for us to be fighting there.

With such thoughts in mind, perhaps it was natural that Doug found it impossible to finish his college work while waiting for the draft to reach him. He dropped out of school and, while waiting, he took a job selling encyclopedias in Torrance, Calif. He reported to his family that he had met with startling success in the field of selling—that such would be the career he would pursue when his service to his country was completed.

He received his draft call in August, 1968.

In one of the last letters received by his family from Doug in Vietnam, he wrote that he had just returned from a 10-day military operation in the jungle. During that period there had been no time to bathe, shave nor change clothing.

Doug's family had every reason to be proud of him in life. They may find little solace in the assurance of military authorities that their son and brother died in Vietnam as a hero, nor in the flying of the flag over Blackfoot High School at halfmast the day that he will be buried. We can grieve with them as we remember there was every reason to think he could have made a very real contribution to his world.

There are many of us who knew Doug Rowe who believe, as he did, that the war in Vietnam is a tragic mistake into which the nation was dragged by an ill-conceived foreign policy.

Perhaps the greatest tribute such of us could pay to his memory is to demand without ceasing that the old men who make wars in which young men fight and die shall cease dragging their feet in the pursuit of the peace to which they say they are committed, and

that saving the lives of both American and Asian boys has a much higher priority than saving the faces of political and military leaders.

A STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF TVA

HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, my attention has recently been drawn to a series of articles which appeared in the Ford Lauderdale, Fla., News and criticized many aspects of the Tennessee Valley Authority program. One of the basic complaints in the article is that TVA owns 4,800 acres of land in Florida. The article complains that this land is held for phosphate reserves although "the TVA was created in 1933 to provide electricity to the valley."

This statement, which alludes to TVA's important assignment of supplying electric power to the Tennessee Valley area, shows a complete lack of understanding by the author of the purposes for which Congress created TVA. The author's additional statements indicating that TVA somehow intruded itself into the fertilizer field clearly show the author's ignorance of the origins of TVA. It must be remembered that part of the reason for establishing TVA was to utilize an idle nitrate plant that had been started during World War I. If the author had taken time to read President Roosevelt's message to Congress asking that TVA be created he would have found:

It is clear that the Muscle Shoals development is but a small part of the potential public usefulness of the entire Tennessee River. Such use, if envisioned in its entirety, transcends mere power development: it enters the wide fields of flood control, soil erosion, afforestation, elimination from agricultural use of marginal lands, and distribution and diversification of industry. In short, this power development of war days leads logically to national planning for a complete river watershed involving many States and the future lives and welfare of millions. It touches and gives life to all forms of human concerns.

If the author had taken the time to read the TVA Act he would have found that section 5, which contains 14 subsections, is mainly devoted to explaining TVA's role in fertilizer development and research. In the face of references how can anyone honestly imply that TVA's role in fertilizer development and research was not one of the primary reasons for which it was formed?

Before I go on to show what TVA has accomplished in this area, let me point out that Congress understood that the same plants that could aid American farmers in time of peace, through fertilizer research and development, could aid its soldiers in time of war by producing munitions. Thus, section 5(j) and section 20 of the TVA Act provide for the use of these facilities for war purposes when needed.

How has TVA used these powers given to it? Aside from the tremendous job done in the Tennessee Valley area, it has worked to aid American agriculture with

farmers, colleges, and fertilizer distributors and manufacturers in all parts of the United States. Its impact on the fertilizer industry is shown by the fact that 514 licenses, issued on a nonexclusive royalty-free basis, have been granted to 300 companies for use in plants in 39 States. These licenses make the technology represented by TVA patents freely available to the fertilizer industry in order to promote low fertilizer costs for the farmer.

Just as TVA's licensing takes its technology to industry, its test-demonstration program takes its research to the farmer through demonstration programs conducted in cooperation with State universities. Last year, thousands of farmers in 35 States gained knowledge and found solutions to problems through these programs.

To round out its approach to the farmer TVA reaches the fertilizer dealer by the distributor-demonstration program which was active in 41 States last year. Through this program the fertilizer dealer, often a small businessman, is given access to knowledge of new products to enable him to serve better the farmers in his area.

This, in brief, outlines the importance of the TVA fertilizer program. But, before I return to those 4,800 acres that the Fort Lauderdale News is worried about I would like to mention the role of TVA in national defense. I have seen favorable comments in the past on TVA's ability to supply munitions during World War II and the Korean war. But few realize that throughout the Vietnam war TVA has been the sole supplier of phosphorus to the Army.

Now for the 4,800 acres of land. In developing new process and fertilizer products that can be patented and licensed to industry—TVA needs phosphate. In producing fertilizers for use in fertilizer and distributor demonstration programs—TVA needs phosphate. And in producing phosphorus for the Army—TVA needs phosphate.

Because of this need TVA acquired those 4,800 acres in Florida as a phosphate reserve. The reserve will assure TVA the future supplies of the high-grade Florida phosphate it needs for the nationally important programs it conducts. Until phosphate is needed or until it appears that other arrangements should be made to assure phosphate for the TVA program, the mineral should not be mined and the land should remain in TVA's custody. In the meantime what should TVA do with the property?

The Fort Lauderdale News complains about the 3,000-acre timber management program and the forest tree fertilization program being conducted on this land. I wonder if the University of Florida, which assisted TVA in the timber management program and joined in a forest fertilization symposium with TVA and the U.S. Forest Service, would complain about these activities. I also wonder if the residents of Florida who use the 4,800 acres in TVA's custody for hunting and fishing and other recreational activities complain about TVA's management of this land.

Such uses are not a cause for complaint but for congratulations. Instead

of letting this asset lie fallow until such time as it is needed, TVA chose to put it to interim uses that serve the public. This is the essence of good stewardship.

Furthermore, if changed circumstances indicate the reserves should be disposed of, these interim uses will have enhanced the value of the land for other purposes.

I could point out other areas where the Fort Lauderdale News exhibits ignorance of TVA, but I think just one more point is sufficient. The Fort Lauderdale News article states, with disapproval, that TVA's fertilizer research, development, and production plant at Muscle Shoals, Ala., operates at a \$10 million-a-year loss. First, it should be pointed out that Congress did not intend this program, which is heavily involved in research, to finance itself. Second, the \$10 million mentioned result in benefits far exceeding costs to the taxpayer.

The processes and equipment that are being used to produce most of the granular mixed fertilizers made in the United States today were developed by this program. This program has been a leading factor in a one-third reduction since 1950 of the costs of fertilizer to the American farmer. This program also has provided capacity to produce needed defense material so that private industry can continue following peaceful pursuits.

With such results, these funds do not represent a net loss, but are of the truly foresighted investments this country has made.

BICENTENNIAL OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

HON. ERNEST F. HOLLINGS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, as we approach the bicentennial of the American Revolution, it is important that we understand the causes of that event and the foundations of American independence. A significant contribution to that objective is being made in my home State of South Carolina.

Volume 1 of a 12-volume series of "The Papers of Henry Laurens" has just been published. This series will contain pertinent material about a crucial period in our history. Through the life of Henry Laurens—wealthy colonial merchant and planter, vice president of the State of South Carolina, Member and President of the Continental Congress—succeeding John Hancock—for 15 months prisoner of the British in the Tower of London charged with high treason, and one of the peace commissioners who negotiated the Treaty of Paris of 1783 in which Great Britain recognized the independence of the United States—we are able to gain great insight of the colonial period of American history.

Joint sponsors of this project are the South Carolina Historical Society of Charleston, and the National Historical Publications Commission with the cooperation of the University of South Carolina. Two native South Carolinians are

editing the papers: Philip M. Hamer, editor, retired Executive Director of the U.S. National Historical Publications Commission and George C. Rogers, Jr., associate editor, professor of history at the University of South Carolina.

SUPPORT OF LEGISLATION DESIGNED TO HELP PREVENT THE DISTRIBUTION OF PORNOGRAPHIC LITERATURE AND ADVERTISEMENTS TO MINORS

HON. CHARLOTTE T. REID

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mrs. REID of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, last year alone the Post Office Department received over 165,000 formal complaints from recipients of unsolicited offensive mailings to both adults and minors, and the volume seems to be growing each month. A number of my constituents have sent me samples of objectionable advertisements they have received, and people everywhere express concern that Congress must act.

Today, I am introducing two bills which, if passed by the Congress, will provide postal authorities with decisive powers to crack down on dealers in pornography—particularly those who increasingly are using the mails as a pipeline for the unconscionable flow of smut and obscenity to minors.

The first bill would prohibit mail order sales of obscene materials to school-age children, and it would also make the unsolicited mailing of "hard core" pornography—or offers to sell "hard core" pornography—to any family with children under the age of 16, a Federal crime punishable by a fine and jail sentence.

The second bill would require the written consent of each person whose name appears on a list sold or exchanged by mailing list brokers. This is aimed at those persons who gather lists of names from high school annuals and similar sources and sell them to distributors of obscene material.

The Supreme Court held just last year that the sale of pornography to minors may be much more restricted than to adults. In *Ginsberg v. New York* (390 U.S. 629), the Court held that a New York statute which prohibited the sale of pornographic materials to persons under 17 years of age was constitutional. In this decision, the Court recognized the special responsibility of parents in rearing their children.

I realize that Public Law 90-206 enacted by the last Congress has provided parents with some degree of protection. Under this statute any post office patron receiving material which he considers objectionable can request the post office to order his name to be taken off the sender's mailing list. This is but a small step, however, and does not really meet the problem since the material must be in the home before the recipient can object. Apart from the substantial possibility that the mailing will have found its way into children's hands, the act provides

no deterrent to unsolicited mailings by smut merchants. Furthermore, it places the considerable burden of enforcement on the innocent recipients and post office authorities.

Under my bill, if a person is convicted of sending offensive material to minors he would be subject to a sentence of \$5,000 fine and 5 years imprisonment for the first offense, and \$10,000 fine and 10 years imprisonment for subsequent offenses. While this may seem a rather severe penalty, we need to have a clear deterrent to assure that our youth are protected from degenerate matter. The Supreme Court has very specifically set out an area in which legislation is valid, and, in my opinion, necessary. I would urge the House to move swiftly in considering this legislation.

HISTORY OF ZION EVANGELICAL AND REFORMED CHURCH OF NANTICOKE, PA.

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, the Zion Evangelical and Reformed Church in the city of Nanticoke, Pa., will observe its 80th anniversary next month. Arrangements are being made for the congregation to duly note the anniversary with appropriate ceremonies. The committee in charge of the anniversary program has brought together a detailed and informative history of the church and as part of my remarks today, Mr. Speaker, I herewith submit the aforementioned history which I am sure many people will find most interesting:

HISTORY OF ZION CHURCH

According to the minutes Zion's Reformed Church of Nanticoke was organized as a separate congregation on the 10th of April 1889. Previous to this, the people who went into this organization and the people comprising St. John's Lutheran Church worship in the church on State St. which they jointly built and owned. They were served by Dr. Levan from Wilkes-Barre under the care of Classis. This amicable relation, however, did not exist very long. A Lutheran minister came upon the scene and caused a disturbance in the congregation. As a result of this, the church was closed against Rev. Levan and his people. Litigation was entered into by the classis to secure the property but thru mistakes and misunderstanding they failed. Having thus secured permanent possession of the church property, the Lutheran faction in the congregation called a Lutheran minister and organized St. John's Lutheran Church. Those who differed and did not wish to enter into this compact withdrew and organized themselves into a separate congregation calling themselves "The Evangelical Zion Reformed Church of Nanticoke."

They sacrificed their interest in the church property and were forced to begin empty handed but this did not discourage them. They rented a hall in which they worshipped for some time until they could arrange either to build or buy a church of their own. In the course of time this was accomplished thru the indefatigable labors of Rev. Glantz who became the first pastor, and his little flock of faithful men and women. They se-

cured the present property and church home from the Welsh Congregation which was then splitting into different and differing sections and was abandoning the old site for new ones. There seemed to be a difference of opinion in those days as to the best course to pursue: to build new in some other sections of the city or to buy the present church with all its improvements and its splendid location at a figure which would seem now ridiculously low. This question is now no longer debated but is considered settled. In convenience, in beauty of location, and the increase in the value of the property, nothing better could have been secured. The property was bought for three thousand dollars, eleven hundred of which was paid during the ministry of Mr. Glantz. This brother was permitted to labor but a short time, less than four years but during this brief period of his ministry much was done in foundation work for future success. After this short period of successful toil and patient endurance this brother was called up higher to enjoy the rest of the saints. Rev. S. C. Hechel, who had previously given a helping hand now took care of the congregation until Rev. Ruloff was called to become its pastor. Rev. Ruloff's pastorate extended over a period of about ten years. Many things were adjusted and strengthened during this period. Seven hundred (700) dollars of debt was paid and some minor repairs made to the property. In him the congregation had a strong and fearless preacher and a guide of many good qualities. His pastorate came to an end in 1903 and he was immediately succeeded by the present pastor. The congregation at this time had a mortgage against its property of \$1300. The peoples energy in the good work had slackened and the church needed repairs badly. But the people revived in interest and by united effort much has been accomplished during the last six or seven years. The mortgage on the property was paid. Repairs to the church and its surrounding such as shingling, painting, sewerage connections, and paving were made costing a total of about 600 dollars and the present inside improvements costing somewhat over a thousand dollars. The grand total raised for debt and improvements alone amounts to more than 3000 dollars. This money has come out of the pockets of our own people and has been secured not by a process of begging or by a constant round of socials or by questionable means of any kind but mostly by systematic giving and receiving. While this amount might be considered small if paid by a large and wealthy congregation it means sacrifice where given by a small congregation of comparatively poor people.

If giving as some one has said is a true index of the spirituality of a people we believe there has been improvements along this line also. "A good tree" the master says, "bringeth forth good fruit" and the reverse. We doubt not but that the life of Jesus and his power and mission to save as presented by the ministers who have served this charge has come to fruition in the acts, and deeds of the people.

We hope at least that these improvements are the outcome of a genuine Christian spirit.

The painting and papering has been paid for by the congregation. The carpet was paid for by the Frau Fraun and the magnificent lights by the young people of the church. One of the hopeful signs of the future progress is the interest our young people have taken of late in the good cause.

We hope that these lights in which they have taken such an interest may be to them an emblem of the light of God's truth. We hope and pray, also that what has been accomplished in the past may be but a prelude of larger and better things to come and that wiser minds and purer hands join in chronicling the future history of this church and that still nobler things may crown its pages.

(The above is an extract from an address delivered by the Rev. W. H. Herbert at the reopening services of Zion's Church, November 27, 1910.)

After extensive repairing and improvements of both interior and exterior of Zion's Reformed Church, which cost over Three Thousand Dollars (\$3000). It was rededicated to the Tribune God on Sunday, Dec. 5th, 1920 by the pastor, Rev. W. H. Warner, in the presence of an interesting audience. The repairs of the interior consisted of the seats being repainted and varnished. Memorial windows were put in, a new ceiling of metal, which was painted. Also a new door to the auditorium. The improvements to the exterior consisted of having the church painted, new spouting all around the church, plumbing, and other minor repairs. The Ladies Aid Society paid one fourth of the entire expenses of the church all of which was done cheerfully.

It is now a beautiful house of worship practically a new church, equal to any Protestant church in the town.

One of which its members should feel proud. While the improvements were being made to the auditorium of the Church, services were held in the basement.

In the spring of 1921 A.D. the church property was further beautified by a nice stone wall extending over 300 feet in front of the church along the street at a cost of over \$800.

On October 15th, 1921, one of the latest improved International furnaces was placed in the basement of the church which was paid by the Ladies Aid Society, and has given much comfort and service.

Later in the season of 1921 a railing was placed on either side of the stone steps leading up to the church, to assist the old people in going up and down. And in the early spring of 1922 the Young Peoples' Society presented the church with collection plates, also an individual Communion Service, also a filler and they were dedicated on Easter Sunday. The insurance has also been paid for 3 years until April 1925.

In May 1922 the basement was thoroughly renovated: painted, papered, and repaired. These are the improvements made during the Pastorate of the Rev. W. H. Warner. Near the close of his pastorate, Wyoming Classics of the Eastern Synod met in the 35 annual session in Zion Reformed Church on Monday, May 22nd to 24 inclusive.

In a response to a unanimous call from Zion Reformed Church, the undersigned began his pastorate, Nov. 1, 1922 and terminated it June 1, 1926.

Although not all our hopes were realized, in some things we were sadly disappointed, yet it is gratifying to know that in no other period of the same length of time in the history of the congregation were so many telling things achieved and so much money raised for various purposes.

The outstanding achievement was the building and paying for a much needed parsonage. The contract price of the parsonage was seven thousand five hundred dollars.

The final payment of the parsonage was celebrated March 13, 1925, and was largely attended, the Sunday school, Young Peoples Society, and Ladies Aid Society, uniting with the congregation in making the occasion a great success.

First religious service was conducted in the main auditorium of the church. At this service the paid notes were burned.

After this service a banquet was given in the basement of the church. Representatives of the congregation and the auxiliaries of the church delivered addresses.

In the arrangement of the program for the happy occasion committees of the Young Peoples Society and the Ladies Aid Society assisted. Other improvements were putting a new roof on the church and rebuilding the chimneys, and leveling and improving the rear yard.

Following are some of the things purchased by the congregation or auxiliaries of the church: pulpit light, new church hymnals, new song books for the Sunday school, chairs for primary department of Sunday school, piano for basement of the church, english pulpit Bible, etc. Also a range, window shades, light fixtures, and linoleum for the parsonage. We regret, however, that we cannot report so favorably concerning things spiritual. During the present pastorate, a Woman's Missionary Society was organized, but due to a lack of interest, and opposition the Society ceased to exist. During the latter part of the present pastorate, weekly prayer services were conducted, which were the means of blessing and spiritual strengthening for those who attended. We believe that the great need of this congregation is the stressing of the importance of the spiritual aide—real, true, christian living.

As we conclude our pastorate it is gratifying to know that we have endeavored to lead believers to the attainment of a higher standard of christian living and to point sinners into the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. Some heeded and were helped.

The writer, Rev. Robert W. Huccke, came to the Nanticoke Church, the Sunday before Thanksgiving, 1926, and served this congregation as student pastor until the following June 2, 1927, at which time he was ordained and installed as Pastor.

Upon our arrival in the parish, we found that the membership had dwindled until there were but fifty who were regarded as members. The congregation was in a most critical situation and even some of the older members of Wyoming Classis felt that the church was ready to disband, because of the few people who remained and the fact that there were so many divisions, animosities and heartaches among the people.

However, we set to work with prayerful zeal and devotion to the task before us. By the Grace of God alone, we were able to create a new environment and started the people working. We found, that with few exceptions they responded in a very fine manner, and as a result of this response and cooperation we have been able to make considerable progress.

The first task with which we were confronted was that of the basement. They were a few small dusty moldy rooms. Considerably one half of the church stood on rock. What a beautiful sight it was, and a memory I am sure, that will never be forgotten, of a large group of men working with pick and shovel by electric light to excavate the entire basement of the church. Much credit must also be given to the fine ladies of the congregation who served free lunches to the men every night. In a short time the work of excavating was finished and then we started to "build" our fine basement which we have today. It is as large as the church, very spacious and suitable to our needs, both for Church School purposes, Religious Education and social functions. In it we have a splendid and well equipped kitchen, in which gas stoves were placed. We also provided a ladies rest room completely furnished with lamps, rugs and the usual furniture.

And so we went from one task to the next accomplishing the following:

After the basement, which including labor, cost around \$8000 we put in a new heating system so that we would not need to wear overcoats at the church services. This system cost us close to \$2000.

An electric bulletin board was purchased by the Royal Daughters Bible Class, and it was a great aid in reaching the unchurched.

Cement walks were then placed around the church and between the church and parsonage. Previous to this there were no walks.

The church had very poor music facilities and so we purchased a new pipe organ and

set of Haegen Chimes. The organ being one of the finest makes, costing about \$3100.

We continued to beautify the church by papering it. The three chancel chairs were re-upholstered, as also was the pulpit, and new draperies were hung around the choir loft and choir assembly room. A cork bulletin board was placed in the vestibule and a new hymn board hung in front of the church. Several dozen of new church hymnals and Sunday School books were purchased.

Beautiful green altar hangings were purchased for the Trinity season. New collection plates were also furnished, and a much needed piano was purchased for the basement.

The street in the front of the parsonage and the church was paved, previous to this, it was covered with big cobble stones.

Copper spouting was then placed around the church. A new electric sweeper was purchased for use both in the church and the parsonage.

A gas heater for the water tank in the parsonage was purchased and a splendid gas range was placed in the parsonage.

This brings us to our last big forward act in a material way, namely, the brick veneering of our entire church. Previous to this, the church was almost like a sieve when the winter winds would blow, but now since we have it brick veneered, it is a most beautiful as well as comfortable church.

In addition to all this, we issued an inspirational church bulletin each Sunday.

Surely these various events of progress show that we have moved forward and we are glad to mention not only these works at the home base, but also our work of benevolence. We have seen the time when our benevolence to Classis was paid in full. Other times it was not, but it always was done according to the ability of the people in these latter days of economic depression.

The Pastoral and spiritual work of the congregation was greatly strengthened. Teacher Training Classes were organized and graduated for the first time. A Junior and Senior Choir was organized under the leadership of the organist, Mrs. Robert Huccke. We also introduced the greatly needed habit of having Holy Communion four times a year instead of the ordinary two times. Classes in German were also organized for the young people of the church.

A Dally Vacation Bible School was organized, the first of its kind to be held in the city. We had such a school each summer.

The pastor also was chosen in the county as the one to broadcast over the radio, which helped greatly to bring our church forward.

The pastor was also County Superintendent of Expert Endeavor causing the influence of our church to reach out way beyond the cities' ends.

Large numbers of new members were added to the church from time to time which gives us now over 225 communicant members. Our church has grown from a little obscure church to one of the cities most outstanding and influential pulpits.

We also introduced the idea of having early dawn services at Christmas and Easter.

Our order of worship was gradually improved.

The Sunday School has grown splendidly and has been graded and departmentalized.

The organizations of the church are to be commended for their faithful labors—The Ladies Aid Society and the Royal Daughters Bible Class, giving us not only most of the financial support but also that valuable but intangible support—namely the moral support.

We also tried to work with the boys, organizing them into a Cadet troop and the men into a Bible class and a Reformed Church man's league. The men however, do not have near the sense of feeling that they must be loyal and true to their responsibili-

ties as compared with the loyalty of the women.

The relation of Pastor and people was most pleasant and we shall treasure many sacred memories of this, our first charge. We shall also treasure the set of resolutions drawn up by the Consistory when our resignation was presented. Our resignation went into effect September 30, 1931. We are grateful to our Heavenly Father for all the blessings we enjoyed, both material and spiritual, as we labored here in His vineyard and we hope and pray that greater blessings may still be in store for this whole hearted people. May the Lord grant it and bless them abundantly.

The writer came to Zion Reformed Church Dec. 31, 1931 and served this congregation as student pastor until May 26, 1932 at which time he was ordained and installed as pastor. There was always a cordial relationship existing between pastor and people. Many material things were accomplished and altogether we were quite happy as we labored here in our Master's Vineyard.

JANUARY 30, 1934—REV. HARVEY GOODLING

The next pastor of Zion Church, Rev. F. Nelson Schlegel, began his pastorate on May 1, 1934 and terminated it on May 20, 1937. During Rev. Schlegel's pastorate, a gift was made to the Zion Congregation of \$1,500 by Mr. Charles Kurzawsky. The gift came without solicitation, and represented, in a very beautiful way, the affection of one of our elderly members for the blessed things for which the Church of Christ stands. In receiving this splendid gift the Consistory voted to use part of it as a payment toward the church's debt. Another part of it was used, in accord with a request made by the donor thru the pastor, for the improvement of the church's educational equipment. At the same time Mr. Kurzawsky made this gift to the congregation, he declared his interest in the wider work of the church by sending a check for \$500 to the Board of Foreign Missions. On September 23, 1934, the congregation changed its name to Zion Evangelical and Reformed Church after the Reformed Church in the United States merged with the Evangelical Synod of North America. Rev. Schlegel's pastorate was a very pleasant one during which there was always a cordial and friendly relation between pastor and people.

The next pastor to come on the scene was Rev. Henry Jerome Leinbach who began his pastorate November 1, 1937 and ended it on July 23, 1961 when he died of injuries sustained in an automobile accident on July 16. Rev. Leinbach, a well learned man and active in civic as well as church affairs served the congregation for nearly a quarter of a century. Soon after Rev. Leinbach came to Nanticoke, he changed the order of worship to the one we use today. Many things were accomplished during his pastorate and many new additions to the church sanctuary were made. One of these was the presentation of the illuminated cross by Mrs. Kathryn Graboske (Ann Kate in memory of her husband). Also a steam table was purchased for the kitchen of the church. On March 22, 1940 the Three Hour Good Friday Devotional Service was held in Zion Church. In 1941, Rev. Leinbach made the following report to the congregation following the death of his wife.

This report would not be complete if I did not take this occasion to record my high and grateful appreciation of the kindness, consideration, and help, on the part of the congregation as a unit, of the various organizations and their members and officials, and of the members as individual friends which was made manifested during my pastorate. To give recognition of all the acts of kindness and courtesy is impossible. Your kindness was overwhelming to me personally and to my family. Nothing was left undone that could be done to make the burdens lighter and to show both your appreciation of me and Mr.

Leinbach. May the Good Lord abundantly bless all and everyone of you. Realizing that the years past and present have and will present vexing and difficult problems, we nevertheless cast ourselves upon the strength of our Heavenly Father and upon our Faithful Savior Jesus Christ, with the full assurance that as we place our trust in Him we shall not be confounded, and we shall be able to perform every task before us successfully.

Then after a few years, the congregation formed the Plymouth Nanticoke Charge with the First Reformed Church of Plymouth, Pa.

A youth fellowship, organized under the leadership of Mr. & Mrs. Elmer Lohman, contributed much to the advancement of the work of Christ in the Church.

In 1954, the Nanticoke-Plymouth Charge held an open house to celebrate the 50th anniversary of Rev. Leinbach's ordination into the Christian ministry. The congregation placed a new automatic stoker in the parsonage in 1956.

The church again changed its name. This time to the Zion United Church of Christ when the Evangelical and Reformed Church merged with the Christian Congregational Church in 1957.

One of the most outstanding events that took place during Rev. Leinbach's pastorate was the sending of a helper to a deserving family in Europe thru the Board of World Ministries of United Church of Christ, by the Nanticoke-Plymouth Charge.

In October 1960, Elder Chester R. Lytle left the Zion Church in order to enter Lancaster Theological Seminary. He graduated from Seminary and was ordained into the Christian Ministry in 1964. He was able to serve His Lord but 4 short years when he was called to his eternal rest.

Following the tragic death of Rev. Leinbach, Rev. A. Ward Campbell, close friend of the deceased pastor, served the church for the next 3 years as supply pastor. Some of the things added to the church during Rev. Campbell's pastorate was the heavy oil base portrait of Rev. Leinbach which hangs in the vestibule. This portrait was done by Pawlowski and presented to the church by Earl W. Lohman Funeral Home. The candle-labra were dedicated in memory of Pastor Leinbach by the Senior Choir and Congregation; new carpet was bought for the church; new drapery was placed around the choir loft and new hymnals were purchased for the church.

On October 11, 1964, Zion Church terminated its relationship with First Church of Plymouth in order to form a charge with Bethel Congregational Church.

After forming this Charge, it was decided that Zion Church would be supplied by Senior Seminary students. They supplied the church for about a year. When in 1965, Prof. Dr. Bashore (lay minister of the United Church of Christ) came and served the church as supply. During his stay the organ in the church was completely overhauled.

Finally on July 15, 1966, Rev. James W. Leamon was called to be the pastor of the Nanticoke Charge of the United Church of Christ (Zion and Bethel Churches). He accepted the call and was ordained at St. Mark's Church, Easton, Pa., in June 1966 and installed in Bethel Church in September 1966. Some of the things done so far during Rev. Leamon's pastorate are: the presentation and dedication of a communion chalice and paton; a new roof for the church. The Home Department presented the church with a new lecturn Bible in memory of Mrs. Martha Eckerd. A new oil furnace was installed in the parsonage and the latest improvement is the remodeling of the bathroom in the parsonage.

All in all the 80 years existence of Zion Church have been filled with both material and spiritual achievements which will remain in the hearts and minds of members and pastors for many years to come.

BETTER HOUSING

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, the National Housing Conference recently met in Washington, D.C., for their 38th annual convention. At the convention the conference adopted a series of resolutions emphasizing their commitment to the goals of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968. They recognize that we must increase our production of low- and moderate-income housing if Americans are to be adequately sheltered. They recognize that we must remove the obstacles to replacement of substandard housing if we are to meet the problems of our cities. They are to be commended for their concern about these problems.

Mr. Nathaniel S. Keith, president of the National Housing Conference, delivered the keynote statement at the start of the convention. I include his remarks for the information of my colleagues:

KEYNOTE STATEMENT BY NATHANIEL S. KEITH, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL HOUSING CONFERENCE, AT THE 38TH ANNUAL CONVENTION, WASHINGTON, D.C., MARCH 10, 1969

It is a great pleasure to welcome Secretary Romney and his top staff in the Department of Housing and Urban Development to this 38th annual convention of the National Housing Conference. I know that our members and friends assembled here this afternoon are eager to hear from the Secretary and his colleagues; consequently my remarks will be brief.

Over the years, the National Housing Conference has worked in close concert with the Department of Housing and Urban Development and its predecessor agencies. This is not to say that we have always seen eye to eye with the Federal housing leadership on the specifics and details of programs. But on the broad issues and goals for housing and community development, our support and cooperation have been consistent and steadfast. This certainly continues to be the policy of this Conference.

It has also been our privilege and obligation to act in closest cooperation with the legislative leaders on housing and community development in the Congress. We have communicated to them our recommendations and goals, based on the broad experience and expertise of our membership. And we have acted as a channel of information on legislative proposals for the many national organizations which look to NHC as their principal clearing house in this field.

I believe it is also a basic role of the National Housing Conference to respond to the dynamic nature of national and local housing and development needs and to identify essential objectives, even if extended periods of education are required to achieve them. For example, the NHC was the first national organization to advocate the consolidation of principal Federal housing functions in a cabinet table status, many years before the achievement of that objective in 1965 with the establishment of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Likewise, in addition to our traditional commitment to an effective and expanded public housing program for low income families, beginning in the early 1950's NHC identified the urgent need for special programs to meet the housing needs of moderate and low income families, just above the public housing level. This was reflected in legislative proposals which were partially achieved in the Housing Act of 1961 and which were greatly advanced

by the interest assistance provisions of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968.

The NHC also advocated for many years a concerted approach by Federal, State and local programs on the problems of concentrated areas of blight and slums, based on the primary thrust of urban renewal and federally-assisted housing and community development activities. This approach was recognized by Congress in the model cities legislation of 1966 which we strongly supported and continue to support.

The resolutions adopted by the members of the National Housing Conference yesterday afternoon reflect our continuing response to the dynamics of housing and community development problems in the United States. They reflect equally our recognition of the inescapable tie between these problems and the urban crisis.

Our emphasis is on the essential importance of greatly increased production if the goals laid out by the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 are to be achieved. The first step obviously is to fund fully the programs authorized by the 1968 Act, which were drastically reduced by Congressional appropriations prior to the adjournment of the 90th Congress last fall.

There also must be expedition of Federal procession of the local programs which can be financed; we are encouraged by the progress which has been made but much more needs to be done. Also, there must be imaginative but achievable approaches to enlarging the resources—private and public—which will be essential if the production goals of the 1968 Act are to be meaningful.

The NHC resolutions also reflect our deep concern with the impact of the unprecedented tight money market on expanded housing production for moderate and lower income families, as contemplated by the 1968 Act. They present positive recommendations for administrative and legislative action to relieve this problem, with limited effect on the Federal budget.

Our resolution likewise reflect our recognition of the implications of the continuing massive population growth already in process and the need for establishing a realistic national urban growth policy, with responsive provisions for necessary Federal aid.

The conviction of the National Housing Conference is that the national goals reiterated by the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 must be fulfilled over the coming years and not be stigmatized as paper promises. We pledge our support to help make these goals a reality.

WYATT SENDS QUESTIONNAIRE

HON. WENDELL WYATT

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, for the fifth straight year I am sending the residents of Oregon's First Congressional District a questionnaire, seeking their views on the pressing problems facing Congress and the Nation.

The replies to this annual query have been invaluable to me in formulating my legislative judgment on the important issues in the past, and I am sure the answers to this year's questionnaire will prove likewise useful.

I would like to present my fifth annual questionnaire at this time:

WASHINGTON SPOTLIGHT: CONGRESSMAN
WENDELL WYATT REPORTS

APRIL 1969.

DEAR FRIEND: A great variety of complex problems, both at home and abroad, face a new Congress and a new Administration this

year. The Paris peace talks, tax reform proposals, and the great upsurge in crime are but a few of the matters now demanding immediate attention and action.

For the fifth year in a row I am sending out a list of questions so you may have the opportunity of expressing to me your views on the crucial issues before Congress. Never have your opinions been of greater importance. While the final responsibility for my voting record rests with me alone, the excellent response to my previous questionnaires has been very helpful to me in formulating my legislative judgments.

A simple Yes or No answer may not fully express your feelings. In such case, your further comments are welcomed.

To return this questionnaire, simply fold it over and affix a six cent stamp. Please do not seal it with staples or tape. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

WENDELL WYATT,
First District, Oregon.

1. If the Paris talks drag on with no apparent progress toward a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam conflict, would you favor a resumption of the bombing of North Vietnam?

- Yes.
- No.
- No opinion.

2. Should the President be required to secure the approval of Congress before taking any action involving the commitment of American forces to hostile actions abroad?

- Yes.
- No.
- No opinion.

3. Should the United States extend diplomatic recognition to Red China?

- Yes.
- No.
- No opinion.

4. Do you favor President Nixon's recommendation for a limited anti-ballistic missile program?

- Yes.
- No.
- No opinion.

5. Foreign Aid:

a. Should the United States continue to extend military assistance to other nations?

- Yes.
- No.
- No opinion.

b. Should the United States continue to extend economic assistance to other nations?

- Yes.
- No.
- No opinion.

6. Once the Vietnam conflict has been resolved, would you favor replacement of the present draft system with an all-volunteer army?

- Yes.
- No.
- No opinion.

7. Tax Reform: Do you feel that there are substantial inequities and loopholes in the Federal Income Tax laws which require change?

- Yes.
- No.
- No opinion.

8. Do you favor the banning of cigarette advertising on television?

- Yes.
- No.
- No opinion.

9. Should Congress enact a statute to require the licensing and registration of all firearms?

- Yes.
- No.
- No opinion.

10. Should the Congress create a Cabinet-level Department of Consumer Affairs?

- Yes.
- No.
- No opinion.

11. Do you favor President Nixon's proposal to create a National Law Enforcement Academy to up-grade the competence of state and local police?

- Yes.
- No.
- No opinion.

12. Should the National Labor Relations Act be amended to require that farmers recognize and bargain with unions representing their workers?

- Yes.
- No.
- No opinion.

13. Should Congress place a ceiling on the total amount of Federal farm subsidy payments which one person may receive in any one year?

- Yes.
- No.
- No opinion.

14. Do you favor President Nixon's proposal for automatic cost-of-living adjustments in social security benefit payments?

- Yes.
- No.
- No opinion.

15. Should Congress propose a Constitutional Amendment to set the minimum voting age at 18 in all states?

- Yes.
- No.
- No opinion.

16. Should Congress propose a Constitutional Amendment to permit voluntary non-denominational prayer in public schools?

- Yes.
- No.
- No opinion.

17. Electoral College reform is being advocated. Which of the following choices do you prefer? (Please check one only.)

- Abolish the Electoral College system and provide for the direct popular election of the President.
- Provide for the election of presidential electors by districts within each state, rather than the present "winner-take-all" system of state at-large election.
- Provide for the proportional division of each state's electoral votes among the various presidential candidates in accord with the share of the popular vote each receives in the state.
- No change in the present system.

DECENCY RALLY IN FLORIDA
DRAWS 30,000

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, a short editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer and a news story by the Associated Press appearing in the Chicago Tribune, both dated today, March 24, provide a marked contrast between the long established, wholesome values which have been part and parcel of our heritage and the sick, disruptive policies of those who seek to tear down our society. The Inquirer editorial follows:

HATEFUL AND DISGUSTING

District Attorney Specter and Police Commissioner Rizzo should have full community support—and, especially, the cooperation of college and university authorities—in their investigation of a crudely worded pamphlet, circulating on the campuses of educational institutions in the Philadelphia area, which details methods of conducting violent demonstrations.

The manual features phrases right out of the gutter in referring to policemen. It instructs in the manufacture of weapons. It tells how to set fire to buildings.

Participants in the preparation and distribution of this foul and filthy tract should be brought to the bar of public accountability and prosecuted to the maximum extent the law will allow.

Although these attempts to encourage violence are distressing, it is encouraging to see American youth opt for positive and constructive programs such as the Decency Rally held in Miami, Fla., yesterday. The rally, attended by approximately 30,000 youths and adults, was supported by a number of organizations including the American Legion and major religious denominations. Short talks were delivered by teenage speakers on "God, Parents, Patriotism, Sexuality, and Brotherhood," to quote the AP release. Entertainers including Jackie Gleason, Anita Bryant, and the Lettermen helped make the rally a success by their appearances.

The original organizer of the rally, Mike Levesque, a 17-year-old senior at Miami Springs High School and Miss Julie James and other members of the Rally for Decency executive committee are to be commended for their efforts in organizing the rally. I certainly hope this is the forerunner of many such events throughout the land.

I include the article "Decency Rally in Florida Draws 30,000," in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Tribune, Mar. 24, 1969]

DECENCY RALLY IN FLORIDA DRAWS 30,000

MIAMI, March 23 (AP)—Thirty thousand hand-clapping persons, some waving signs saying "Down With Obscenity," rallied in the Orange bowl today to support a teen-agers' crusade for decency in entertainment.

Teen-agers organized the rally after Jim Morrison, lead singer of The Doors, was charged with indecent exposure during a Miami concert on March 1. Six warrants have been issued for Morrison's arrest.

"This is not a protest rally," said Julie James, 18, a member of the teen-age Rally for Decency executive committee. "We're not against something. We're for something."

THREE-MINUTE TALKS

Teen-age speakers gave three minute talks on God, parents, patriotism, sexuality, and brotherhood. There also were appearances by professional entertainers who donated their services.

"Sex is definitely being exploited and it is because society has been losing its reverence for one's sexuality," Miss James said.

The shirt-sleeved crowd basking in a warm sun cheered for entertainers such as Jackie Gleason, Anita Bryant, and the Lettermen who appeared to applaud the rally.

COMMENT BY GLEASON

"I believe this kind of movement will snowball across the United States and perhaps around the world," Gleason said.

"I think it's great; there should be more things like that," said Tony Butala of The Lettermen.

The original organizer of the rally, Mike Levesque, 17, a senior at Miami Springs High school, said the idea grew out of a Catholic youth group discussion two days after the controversial Doors concert.

RAPID GROWTH CITED

Levesque said he was impressed by the rapid growth of the decency movement and the support it gained from adults.

The crowd was about evenly split between teen-agers and adults.

Numerous organizations, including major religious denominations, contributed to the rally. American Legion members passed out 10,000 small American flags.

BUDGET REQUESTS FOR NASA PROGRAMS

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD my correspondence with Dr. Thomas O. Paine, newly confirmed Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration—NASA—with regard to NASA's original budget requests from the Bureau of the Budget for fiscal year 1970:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., March 19, 1969.

Dr. THOMAS O. PAINE,
Administrator, National Aeronautics and
Space Administration, Washington, D.C.

DEAR DR. PAINE: Will you kindly arrange to obtain for me the presentation of NASA to the Bureau of the Budget for the fiscal year 1970 authorization of appropriation.

I would like to have the presentation in the same categories and in similar form to the presentation which NASA has made to the Committee on Science & Astronautics.

I understand that there have been two presentations made by NASA to the Bureau of the Budget: one at the level of \$4.7 billion; another at the level of \$4.2 billion. I am also interested in any revisions proposed by NASA since the inauguration of the Nixon Administration.

My purpose is to obtain a comparison of where the Bureau of the Budget has made reductions in line items of the NASA request. As the Subcommittees are now finishing their hearings, it becomes timely that a reply be prompt.

Sincerely,

JIM FULTON.

P.S.—As I have stated in the hearings of the Science & Astronautics Committee as well as to various NASA officials and personnel, it is my intention to go over the budget for fiscal year 1970 carefully to see that there are no crippling reductions in the budget and to find the optimum rate of expenditures.

My opinion is that this will result in a substantial restoration of funds to NASA, during fiscal year 1970.

NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE

ADMINISTRATION,

Washington, D.C., March 21, 1969.

HON. JAMES G. FULTON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. FULTON: This is in response to your letter of March 19 concerning NASA's presentations to the Bureau of the Budget with regard to the FY 1970 budget request. The attached table indicates, for each line item, the budget request submitted by President Johnson, and the respective amounts included in NASA's earlier estimates at the \$4.2 and \$4.7 billion levels.

As you know, the new Administration has requested the head of each agency and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget to review the budget requests of the previous Administration in the light of the policies of the

New Administration and the overall fiscal situation of the Nation at this point in time. The reviews are now under way, and, under specific directions from the Budget Director, until such time as this process is completed and the President has made his decision, we are not at liberty to discuss the recommendations which we have made.

As we have indicated in testimony before the Committee on Science and Astronautics this year, the three areas of principal concern under President Johnson's request are the areas of continued, and extended, lunar exploration, manned orbital operations after the Apollo Applications Program, and the production of large space boosters. It is my hope that as we move forward with our considerations with President Nixon's Task Group on the space program we will be able to focus attention both on these problems and other areas of long range concern in the Nation's aeronautics and space programs.

Sincerely yours,

T. O. PAINE,
Acting Administrator.

NASA BUDGET LEVEL COMPARISONS

The budget guidelines from the previous Administration were, in effect, that NASA should submit estimates for a minimum program for continuing on-going programs, include only new starts or extensions considered absolutely essential, and wherever possible, defer new programs and leave the decisions to the new Administration. The amount we requested under these guidelines was \$4.2 billion. In addition we did present to the Bureau our estimates of what we felt would be necessary to move this nation toward a position of world leadership in space and aeronautics. These estimates totalled about \$4.7 billion. The table below reflects NASA's request in comparison with that allowed in President Johnson's FY 1970 Budget after his consideration of all the needs of the Federal Government and the revenues available to meet such needs.

BUDGET LEVEL COMPARISONS

(In millions)

	Fiscal year 1970 budget estimates	\$4.2 billion level	\$4.7 billion level
Apollo 1.....	\$1,651.1	\$1,777.5	\$1,950.3
Space flight operations ¹	354.1	403.1	473.1
Advanced missions.....	2.5	7.5	10.0
Physics and astronomy.....	119.6	149.5	156.5
Lunar and planetary.....	146.8	138.8	202.2
Bioscience.....	32.4	47.1	64.4
Space applications.....	135.8	161.8	199.8
Launch vehicle procurement.....	124.2	128.0	132.0
Sustaining university pro- gram.....	9.0	39.0	57.0
Basic research.....	21.4	20.6	24.8
Space vehicle systems.....	30.0	30.9	37.7
Electronic systems.....	35.0	38.2	52.6
Human factors systems.....	23.6	24.2	32.3
Space power and electronic propellant systems.....	39.9	41.0	44.5
Nuclear rockets.....	36.5	36.5	50.0
Chemical propulsion.....	25.1	35.6	44.1
Aeronautical vehicles.....	78.9	100.5	100.5
Tracking and data acquisi- tion.....	298.0	310.3	310.3
Technology utilization.....	5.0	5.0	7.2
Total, R. & D.....	3,168.9	3,495.1	3,949.3
Research and program management.....	650.9	644.1	665.0
Construction of facilities.....	58.2	79.2	83.2
Total, NASA.....	3,878.0	4,218.4	4,697.5

¹ Includes lunar exploration.

² Includes AAP, space station and shuttle, and operations.

³ Includes \$117,473,000 from fiscal year 1969 which has been reserved from appropriation by BOB (Revenue and Expenditure Control Act reductions).

⁴ Not adjusted for conversion of certain support service contract operations at the Goddard Space Flight Center which amounts to \$7,300,000.

ACID MINE DRAINAGE

HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, acid mine drainage pollution is a serious problem in many areas of the country. Two engineers at Ohio State University are engaged in research that shows promise of alleviating this blight on the watersheds and streams in mining districts. A report on their progress was published in the March 22, 1969, edition of the Lancaster, Ohio, Eagle-Gazette. I include this article in the RECORD:

SOUTHEAST OHIO PILOT PLANT FIGHTS TO
END DREAD DISEASE
(By Charles E. Platt)

Acid mine drainage is the number one disease of Appalachia, and efforts to make the mountains healthy again have amounted to an unequalled reclamation project.

In the past 6 months, a team of Ohio State University research engineers headed by Drs. Edwin E. Smith and Kenesaw S. Shumate has taken what they call a giant step toward the solution of acid-mine drainage.

Working in a laboratory on the Columbus main campus and a complex of small mines 70 miles south in Ohio's hilly coal country, Smith's group has decided the sulfuric acid is produced by vapor phase oxidation of iron pyrite deep in the mines.

Most experts have blamed the oxygen in water, draining from overburden through a coal seam, and subsequently out the mouth of a mine, for feeding the reaction which produces sulfuric acid and an iron ("yellow-boy") precipitate.

Smith's theory, being proved weekly when he collects samples from 8 small mines, opens up a whole new set of possibilities for ending acid mine drainage at the source.

It also punches holes in existing abatement procedures.

Smith has found that sulfuric acid is being manufactured wherever oxygen in the air is in contact with iron pyrite.

While oxygen flow was always thought to end at a mine's coal face, sometimes deep in a mine, Smith has shown that air, containing oxygen, flows easily through porous sandstone and shale above the coal seam to react with pyrite beyond the coal face.

Waterflooding of mines below drainage (below the water table) is fine, acknowledged Smith, but for the mines which have drained their overburden of a water table, thus allowing free air passage to the seam, flooding and sealing is to no avail.

The researchers, working on a \$79,000 project for the Federal Water Pollution Control Agency, Department of Interior, and satisfied that vapor phase oxygen is their biggest problem, are now trying some novel methods of removing or nullifying the effect of the oxygen in a mine.

Increasing the atmospheric pressure of a mine with something other than air, an inert gas, has halted the acid-forming pyrite reaction during early research at the Ohio State mine site.

Smith's gas-flood principle would be used in conjunction with a partial seal. Co-worker Shumate is considering the use of a bladder, or rubber inflatable seal, which would reduce the size of the opening and facilitate gas pumping.

Smith says water seepage from gas-pumped mines would occur but be no problem.

Investigation of the vapor-phase oxygen has set this team's work apart from the hundreds of researchers and millions of dollars at work on acid mine drainage.

Smith, who is willing to stake his professional reputation on vapor-phase oxygen as the problem in acid drainage, says that in three to five years the acid drainage pattern could start to turn.

"Legislation has helped stop new sources of the tainted drainage," says Smith, "and with the money now being spent on schemes that won't work, we could start restoring watersheds by systematically deoxygenating individual mines."

Smith's plot is a hollow in southeastern Ohio, about 4 miles north of Lake Hope in Vinton County and about 70 miles from Ohio State's Columbus campus, with a small drift mine on one side and an exposed coal seam on the other.

The drift mine has been "worked" by the university since 1956.

On the other side of the hollow, the hill was scraped to expose a coal seam and a mining machine brought in to drill seven 36-inch diameter auger holes in the seam.

Auger drilling, commonly used to recover coal from thin seams, provided the site with seven individual research mines.

The auger holes extend from 120 to 200 feet into the hill and are spaced about 100 feet apart.

THE HIGH COST OF KIDNEY CARE

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, a front-page article in a recent edition of the Wall Street Journal was titled with the disturbing headline: "The Cost of Living: Some Kidney Patients Die for Lack of Funds for Machine Treatment."

Because I believe this article contains an accurate description of the prohibitive costs of comprehensive kidney treatment in America today—as well as the urgent need to find a better way to provide such life-giving health care to aid victims of chronic kidney disease—I would like to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point the full text of the Wall Street Journal article:

THE COST OF LIVING: SOME KIDNEY PATIENTS DIE FOR LACK OF FUNDS FOR MACHINE TREATMENT—ARTIFICIAL ORGAN WORKS WELL, BUT USE IS COSTLY—FEDERAL GRANTS, DONATIONS DWINDLE—INSURANCE DOESN'T MEET BILLS

(By Jim Hyatt)

The effort to treat sufferers from chronic kidney disease by machine, which once promised to save thousands of lives a year, is foundering for lack of financial support.

High costs have plagued the so-called artificial kidney program from the outset. Hospital bills for the twice-weekly machine blood "washings" that take over the kidneys' vital function of removing blood wastes and adjusting body chemistry now run from \$10,000 to \$20,000 annually per patient. That's the main reason only about 1,700 Americans currently receive the treatments, while an estimated 8,000 people will die this year for lack of them.

But even this far from adequate situation is deteriorating. Federal grants have been running out at the 14 hospitals designated

by the U.S. Public Health Service about three years ago as demonstration centers for the process; without Government help, some of them have had to reduce the number of cases they handle.

Some private hospitals have been forced into similar cutbacks because of difficulties in attracting donations to support patients who can't pay the cost themselves. Indeed, private support of any kind has been slow in coming.

COMING OUT SECOND BEST

"The cost per capita of the treatment is an overwhelming drawback when we approach organizations for help," says Dr. Frederic B. Westervelt, director of the kidney care demonstration center at the University of Virginia School of Medicine in Charlottesville. "They say, 'Look what we can do for \$10,000 a year—we can give 20 people an artificial leg.' When they measure what they think is the greatest good for the greatest number, we come out second best."

As a result of this lack of funds, hospital committees that once spent weeks agonizing over which artificial kidney candidates would receive the life-giving treatments, called hemodialysis or simply dialysis, now find that the decision has been taken out of their hands. "Who gets the care here now is determined purely by ability to pay—we don't like it, but that's the way it is," says Dr. Daniel Leb of the Louisville (Ky.) General Hospital's kidney center, run by the University of Louisville School of Medicine.

Physicians' chagrin over the financial obstacles to the treatment is heightened by the highly advanced state of artificial kidney technology. The prototype of the present artificial kidney machine, which resembles a squat old-fashioned washing machine, was developed in 1943 in Holland by Dr. Willem J. Kolff, who now is a resident of the U.S. The patient is connected to the machine, and his blood is pumped through a series of tubes, coils and filters.

The key element of the device is a thin cellophane membrane immersed in a saline solution. Through the process of osmosis, wastes in the blood that otherwise would accumulate and cause death pass through the membrane into the solution. At the same time, vital chemicals normally added to the blood by healthy kidneys pass from the solution into the blood. The "cleansed" blood then is returned to the body.

A SURGICAL BREAKTHROUGH

For a number of years, the machine could be used only when a few treatments would suffice—such as in cases of acute infections—because the surgery required to connect the patient with the machine was difficult and dangerous. In 1960, however, a team of specialists from the University of Washington devised a system that made the artificial kidney available to individuals who had suffered irreparable kidney damage and needed frequent blood washings. In minor surgery, they permanently inserted small plastic tubes in an artery and vein in a patient's arm or leg. During dialysis, the machine is easily connected to the body through those tubes; when the treatment is finished, the tubes are plugged and covered with a small bandage.

Recently, some doctors have improved on this method. By increasing the flow of blood through an artery and a vein, they enlarge them to the point where they can be easily punctured with large needles for connection to the kidney machine. This makes the mechanics of dialysis about as simple as giving blood.

Dialysis is time consuming; the twice-weekly treatments take from six to 13 hours each, depending on the patient and model of machine used. But it is painless, and patients

undergoing the life-long treatment can lead a nearly normal life. Clyde Shields of Seattle, who nine years ago received vein and artery implants from the University of Washington team and became the first person to start regular dialysis by machine, still is regularly employed as a mechanic. He is 49 years old.

THE ROLE OF TRANSPLANTS

Treatment by kidney machine isn't the only alternative open to victims of kidney failure. Kidney transplant operations have been performed since 1954 with a high and growing rate of success. Up to last year, three-fourths of the transplant patients who received a kidney from a blood relative had survived for at least one year after the operation (people have two kidneys but can live with just one). The one-year survival rate for a person who received a kidney from a cadaver was 45%.

The utility of this operation is limited, however. Many kidney patients might not survive a transplant operation because of poor general physical condition, and not nearly enough suitable organs are available for those who could benefit. Only about 2,000 kidney transplants have been made in the past 14 years, an average of less than 150 a year.

Moreover, transplant candidates often require dialysis. They usually must undergo the treatment while awaiting an organ, and they must fall back on the machine if the operation fails.

Amid the general gloom over the outlook for artificial kidney treatment, some see a hopeful sign in the recent trend for more patients to receive machine dialysis at home instead of in a hospital. The savings from such a move can be substantial. The first-year bill for home dialysis, including \$3,000 to \$4,000 to purchase the artificial kidney machine itself and fees for training a family member to run it, usually total about \$10,000. After that, it costs \$3,000 to \$5,000 a year to maintain the machine and buy the various components and chemicals that must be changed after every use.

About 200 of the 1,700 Americans on machine dialysis currently are treated at home, and some kidney specialists say they have high hopes that the number will rise sharply in the next few years. In 1967, the U.S. Public Health Service moved to accelerate the trend by setting up 12 home treatment training centers around the country and promising them \$4 million over a five-year period.

But many experts in the field strongly doubt that home care will assume the majority of the treatment burden in the near future. They point out that some patients don't have a relative who can assume the job of operating the complex artificial kidney, others don't have homes where the treatments can be safely carried out and still more have strong fears about entrusting themselves to the care of a family member when a mistake could prove fatal. Moreover, even patients who intend to purchase their own artificial kidney must receive hospital dialysis for several months while a relative is being trained to run the machine.

THE FINANCIAL SQUEEZE

To date, the financial squeeze has been hardest on the hospitals picked by the Federal Government in 1965 and 1966 to demonstrate the feasibility of the widespread use of artificial kidneys. The Federal grants—which totaled \$2.5 million—paid the operational costs of the kidney centers and permitted them to admit patients who couldn't pay for their own treatments. Federal funds for medical projects go only for research or treatment-demonstration purposes, not for daily general patient care, so the centers knew the funds might not be renewed when

the grants expired. But many of them felt that the Government wouldn't cut them off after having made a commitment.

Since it became clear that the grants would stop in the wake of the Government economy drive caused by the war in Vietnam, the centers have moved to pare their rolls. None have summarily cut off any patients, but when a patient receives a transplant or moves to home care, he isn't replaced.

The center at Cleveland's Mt. Sinai Hospital, for instance, now has only 17 patients on dialysis, down from 30 in 1967; its Federal grant expired Dec. 31. The unit at the University of Alabama Medical Center in Birmingham now only accepts patients likely to receive transplants fairly quickly; if new funds can't be obtained, it plans to phase out its artificial kidney program as soon as other facilities can be found for its 15 present patients.

PAY IN ADVANCE

The center at Hennepin County General Hospital in Minneapolis, whose Federal grant expired Dec. 31, now requires some prospective patients to put \$12,000—funds for at least one year's care—in an escrow account before they can begin dialysis. "A couple of people have felt they'd rather die than spend the amount of money involved," says one doctor at the hospital.

A bill now pending in Congress would commit new Federal money for artificial kidney programs, but its prospects for passage aren't clear now. A similar bill made little headway last year.

The outlook for developing other sources of funds is even less bright. Only a half dozen states support dialysis patients, and few others show signs of following. New York has the largest state program; according to Dr. Ira Greifer, medical director for the National Kidney Foundation, Medicaid in New York helps pay dialysis bills for more than half of the state's 400 dialysis patients and the state has set up a Kidney Disease Institute to coordinate the various public and private kidney treatment projects. But state officials say that about 900 New Yorkers a year need the treatments, and their efforts help only a fraction of those who need financial help.

Ordinary types of health insurance often pay some costs of dialysis but typically fall short of meeting the actual expenses. The average maximum major medical policy benefit of \$10,000 "just about covers the preliminary steps to start a patient on dialysis," says L. A. Orsini, an official of the Health Insurance Association, a New York-based trade group.

INSURERS ARE HESITANT

A few companies now offer kidney treatment policies. Western States Life Insurance Co. in Sacramento, Calif., for instance, sells a \$50,000 maximum benefit group policy for an organ transplant or dialysis. However, most private insurers have been reluctant to enter the field.

Persons covered by the Federal Medicare program for the elderly receive little aid for dialysis. Medicaid, the Federally assisted program adopted by some states to help low-income people pay medical expenses, provides more aid—\$25 for each in-hospital dialysis treatment—but still leaves substantial bills.

What's left for some kidney disease sufferers, then, is charity. While organized support for kidney care has been slow in coming, instances abound of local largesse in individual cases. Last Christmas, for example, residents of Whitesville, Ky., a town of fewer than 1,000, raised \$26,000 in four days for Roscoe French, a 33-year-old carpenter for whom machine dialysis represented the only chance at life.

Even well-off victims may end up needing charity. "If you aren't indigent when you start dialysis, you soon will be," says one physician.

REDS GROW BOLDER ON CAMPUSES

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, as college campus riots spread so does the Communist role in the disturbances.

British historian, Lord MacCaulay, once told an American friend:

Your Republic will be fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the 20th Century as the Roman empire was in the 5th, with this difference—that the Huns and Vandals will have been engendered within your own country, by your own institutions.

A news article written by Robert Betts, a reporter for Copley News Service tells how the Reds work and the tools they use to disrupt and destroy. I place his article at this point in the RECORD:

ACTIONS REVEAL REDS

(By Robert Betts)

Americans do not have to look for Reds under the bed.

They can be seen almost any night on television—leading a college riot or mingling in the melee like extras in a movie crowd scene.

They are not all card-carrying members of the Communist party. They are defined not by whether they pay party dues, but by their actions, their vocabulary and the way they always manage to be where trouble is.

Those who keep close, continuing watch on the unfolding pattern of subversion in this country can pick them out easily.

The average American sees only turmoil and shakes his head over the "impetuousness of youth."

Educators tell him—between frequent fires, bombings and other acts of sabotage and terrorism—that the young people have many legitimate grievances and that they need "patience and understanding."

Others oversimplify the problem, and play into the hands of those who ridicule "Red-baiters," by attributing all criticism and protest to "the Communist conspiracy."

A bewildering assortment of youth protest movements adds to the confusion—the Third World Liberation Front, Progressive Labor Movement, New Left Forum, W.E.B. DuBois clubs, Students for a Democratic Society, Young Socialist Alliance, Young People's Socialist League, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and dozens of others.

Communist activity inside such groups is so subtle and diversified that it is not always easy to distinguish between real enemies and well-meaning, misguided, would-be reformers.

Whatever the radicals call themselves, democratic-socialist or Marxist-Leninist, progressive-laborite or Trotskyite, Stalinist or Maoist, white Castroite and black militant, so far as the Federal Bureau of Investigation is concerned, they are all the same color underneath—Red.

Distinction between such labels is irrelevant, Director J. Edgar Hoover of the Federal Bureau of Investigation points out, "because the basic objective of both New Left and oldline Communist and their adherents in our society is to completely destroy our form of government."

The leaders of campus violence make no secret of it. They travel from campus to campus making speeches and distributing literature calling for the overthrow of "bourgeois America."

Peter Camejo, 29-year-old nonstudent leader of the Socialist Workers party, who has loomed large at every demonstration of

consequence over the last four years, recently told the Third World Liberation Front in San Francisco: "Yours is but part of a world struggle against the ruling class of the United States. Your victory will be the victory of oppressed peoples around the world."

Camejo, who faces a conspiracy trial for his part in the seizure of Moses Hall, Berkeley, last October, was writing from Cuba. Police list him as a "Trotskyite-Communist professional agitator."

Another familiar face is that of Tom Hayden of the Students for a Democratic Society, whose members call themselves "professional revolutionaries" committed to the destruction of imperialism and capitalism by organized sedition and guerrilla force.

Hayden, 29, helped found the SDS in 1961 when he was a University of Michigan student. Today he is SDS tactical chieftain. He visited Hanoi in 1965 with top U.S. Red strategist Herbert Aptheker. He also has consorted with Red bigwigs in Moscow, Peking and Havana.

Last year he went to Paris to confer with North Vietnamese delegates, then came home to lead a student crusade against the draft.

He was also at Columbia last May, helping local SDS man Mark Rudd, another delegate to Cuba, to organize the assault on the university buildings.

Two months later Hayden, disguised this time with dark glasses, pulled-down hat and bandana mask, was among the 8,000 Chicago demonstrators during their confrontation with the police. Still later, he showed up for the troubles at San Francisco State College.

The task, says Hayden, is to "create more 'Chicagos' in our cities, more 'Columbias' on our campuses."

Also on the picket line recently at San Francisco State was Arthur Goldberg, one of the organizers of the Free Speech Movement which in 1964 put the blight on Berkeley.

Other FSM instigators who have been busy before and since include:

Steve Weissman, who graduated from Berkeley and went on to Stanford to be a ringleader in the troubles there.

Bettina Aptheker, Communist daughter of Herbert. Having at the tender age of 16 suffered three broken ribs during a rowdy "peace" demonstration in New York, Bettina is not such an ardent advocate of the violent method. She prefers the strategy of "going limp," a fashion she set during the Berkeley riots.

Mike Myerson, former chairman of the early Berkeley radical group SLATE, delegate to the Eighth World Communist Youth Festival in Helsinki, who went on to found, with Bettina and others, the DuBois clubs for bringing together Communist youth. On a visit to Hanoi in 1965, Myerson was proclaimed an "honorary nephew" of Communist leader Ho Chi Minh. He has participated in demonstrations in this country wearing a Viet Cong cap and a ring he claims was made from the wreckage of an American plane.

Karen Wald, or Lieberman, who reportedly went from Berkeley to Cuba, on to Moscow, back to New York in time for the Columbia uprising, then back to Berkeley for the latest disturbance there.

Jerry Rubin, now in prison for his part in the Chicago disorders. In a letter to friends asking for contributions to the "Rubin Defense Committee," Rubin wrote: "To challenge the courts is to attack American society at its roots. In campus rebellions, the most revolutionary demand, the demand that can never be granted by the administration, is the demand for amnesty . . . An offensive against the courts and jails—including direct action and direct legal and financial aid to the victims of the system—would be the most immediate link that a white movement could possibly make with blacks and poor whites . . . As a beginning let's organize massive mobilizations for the spring, nationally coordinated and very theatrical, taking place near courts, jails and military stockades."

Others who will not be appearing on television for a while are Eldridge Cleaver, 33, in hiding after a parole violation in connection with charges stemming from a gun battle with police, and Huey Newton, 26, Black Panther "minister of defense," now serving 2 to 15 years for manslaughter of an Oakland policeman.

Both men were defended by Charles Garry, a San Francisco lawyer identified as a Communist by a former fellow member in testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1957.

A member of the Communist-organized National Lawyers Guild which, it is said, forms the "legal bulwark of the Communist party," Garry is one of several called on to defend Communists in court, as well as to play a leading role as public speakers and lobbyists against federal and local government security programs.

Garry is also one of the defense attorneys in the trial of the seven Oakland radicals arrested during "Stop the Draft" week in October, 1967.

Among the seven is Terry Cannon, who recently met comrades of the National Liberation Front in Budapest.

"The NLF could not understand why we did not have a single revolutionary organization like them in this country, one organization with a strategy for the liberation of America," he recently told fellow students. "We tried to explain that we were new at this business, we were experimenting, we were still trying to find the revolutionary tactic that would bring this country down."

When it does come down, Cannon thinks, it will be through "some massive combination of leaflets, sit-downs, strikes and fighting in the streets—all of them together."

Another one of the seven is Steve Hamilton, a well known Berkeley troublemaker, listed on file in the dean of students' office as chairman of Campus Progressive Labor, president of the May 2 Movement, chairman of the Medical Aid Committee (formed to give aid to wounded demonstrators).

Hamilton told the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1966: "I joined with other people who are fighting for a just and socialist society and I became a member of the Progressive Labor party and became a Marxist-Leninist."

Some Negro groups have steered clear of the Communists. Their leaders are experienced, sincere men concerned only to right the wrongs that Negroes have undeniably suffered down the years. They are conducting a responsible, worthwhile campaign for better facilities for their people and, in schools, more courses tailored to what they regard as their own needs. Above all, they want recognition for the black people as people with pride in their own heroes, history and culture.

Some black groups, however, have fallen under the Communist spell. For all the venomous anti-white invective, it is never anti-Red. The Red line is followed. The same language is used. Communists provide the causes, the propaganda and much of the funds. To calls for "Negro rights" have been added slogans like "imperialist warmongers," "capitalist scum" and others supplied by the Reds.

Nor is the campaign confined to hate words and obscenities. The threat of physical violence—beating, knifing, shooting—is also used to deter opposition.

Black Panther "minister of education" George Murray, former Oakland elementary schoolteacher, education coordinator for San Francisco State's Summer Youth Work program and lately part-time English teacher at the college has told students: "America represents slavery, America represents hell."

He calls the American flag "a piece of toilet paper" and says it should be "flushed down the toilet and burned in the sewers."

Murray claims he was victimized by suspension from the college for urging the stu-

dents to "carry guns to protect themselves." His actual words at the campus rally left little doubt what he meant. "What we want to do," he said, "is use guns and force to liberate black people, as our brothers all over the world are doing against American imperialism."

Murray is an old-time Marxist. The Communist party publication in Cuba, which he also has visited, gave him 2½ pages. He was quoted as saying: "Every time a guerrilla knocks out a U.S. soldier this means one aggressor less against those who fight for freedom in the United States." The Detroit riot, he said, kept National Guardsmen busy so they could not even be considered for duty in Vietnam.

Many student demonstrators, both black and white, deride suggestions of Communist connection with their movements.

"Marx? Lenin? Those old fuddy-duddies," one young Berkeley demonstrator chuckled through his beard. "Communists are square, man. They wear collars and ties—just like you!"

Square or not, the Communists are past masters in the art of mob manipulation. They have had 60 years experience of organizing peasant and worker uprisings around the world.

II

"Fronts are things of the past—we don't need them," said Gus Hall, secretary of the Communist party, U.S.A.

He was right. No operation of subversive forces in this country has been more bold, direct or blatant than the Communist takeover of the youth protest movement.

"We've got the DuBois Clubs, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the Students for a Democratic Society," Hall boasted. "We have them going for us and they are not fronts in the usual sense of the word."

He could have listed several more.

The Communists have made great headway since 1961 when they started their plan to capitalize on the energies, resourcefulness, idealism and inexperience of young American hotheads.

On Jan. 20, 1961, Hall told his national committee: "The party must give much higher priority for the work among youth in all fields of endeavor."

A national organizing committee was set up to form a national network of dissident youth groups, tying in the Marxist and socialist-oriented groups that already were springing up.

Contact was made with groups that were not, like SLATE and Advance, already Communist fronts. The idea was to give them every encouragement and help to feed them with propaganda and, where they showed promise, to supply them with more funds.

Where local leaders were not considered active or militant enough, trained leaders were dispatched to the area. Their job was to build up the group by recruitment among the rootless intellectuals and loudmouthed malcontents, to make more impact on the community and stir up more resentment.

Liberal movements, calling themselves non-Communist or even anti-Communist, were also marked for infiltration. While concealing his Communist connections, the agent was to exploit existing grievances, arouse members to protest other "wrongs," and use his own persuasive personality either to be elected or eventually to take over as spokesman for the group. Activities thereafter were to be directed along channels that served the ends of the party.

College campuses were particularly fertile soil. Fidel Castro's victory in Cuba in 1959 had shown what could be achieved by a small group of young, dedicated followers.

Castro's deeds had stirred the imagination of American students already touched with revolutionary fever. They were ripe for indoctrination by Communist, pro-Communist

and liberal professors. There were plenty of these around ready to talk about the "evils" and "Injustices" of imperialism, capitalism and the American system, and the plight of oppressed peoples around the world.

Back-up was provided from outside by Communist party functionaries, including Hall himself, making speaking tours of the campuses.

Other vehicles of indoctrination were open forums, rallies and teach-ins. The teach-ins were a technique developed from the earlier Communist front "study group" to reach larger audiences.

Dressed up to look like fair debate, the "teach-in" was in fact carefully planned, timed and supervised by specially picked "discussion leaders" to give the organizers the advantage over the invited opposing speakers. Planted strategically about the hall were hecklers armed with prepared questions and statements, versed in the art of stifling the opposition and swaying an audience.

It also was no longer necessary to confine activities to the old secret Communist "cells." Radical students and non-student radicals were enlisted to organize college chapters of new national organizations formed under various banners—civil rights, "fair play for Cuba," "end the war in Vietnam," "stop the draft," "academic freedom"—everything from free speech to free sex.

One of the first, and most radical, was the Progressive Labor Movement, formed in 1962 by two long-time Communists who wanted action according to the teachings of Red Chinese leader Mao Tse-tung.

This movement organized student trips to Cuba, arranged karate classes and established arms caches in the New York area. Mortimer Scheer, a former member of the New York State Committee of the Communist party, later founded Progressive Labor's West Coast chapter in San Francisco. He was active in the Free Speech Movement and the Vietnam Day Committee at the University of California campus at Berkeley and since has been busy at most of the big Berkeley demonstrations.

West Coast organizer for the Progressive Labor group today is Steve Cherkoss, who was assigned by the VDC to head the anti-draft committee. He also led anti-draft demonstrations at Berkeley High School and at Garfield Junior High in Berkeley, where he recruited 12- and 13-year-olds for a Junior Vietnam Day Committee.

The Students for a Democratic Society was the new name given to the student affiliate of the socialist League for Industrial Democracy. Although SDS originally repudiated communism as an authoritarian system and excluded Communists from its membership, Communist agents sat in on meetings and coached organizers almost from the start.

As a result, the 1965 SDS convention repealed a constitutional stipulation barring Communists from membership. Subsequently, Communist party leaders quietly told members they "could work through SDS." Today they control several chapters.

By mid-1968, SDS claimed to have 6,300 dues-paying members with another 35,000 unregistered participants in 250 chapters across the country, all under the direction of SDS headquarters in Chicago.

SDS members now openly embrace the Red cause, wave Viet Cong flags, display portraits of Marx and Mao, denounce "capitalist exploiters" and "the Al Capones who run this country" and shout slogans like, "Lenin won, Castro won, and we will win too!" They have been in the thick of the disruption and violence that has exploded on campuses from Berkeley to Columbia.

The latest SDS statement, appearing in one of the underground student papers which serve as organs of Communist propaganda, says: "The notion that we must remain simply 'an anti-imperialist student organization' is no longer viable. The nature of our

struggle is such that it necessitates an organization that is made up of youth and not just students, and that these youth become class conscious. This means that our struggle must be integrated into the struggles of the working people."

SDS organizers are told that they should "direct the focus of their energies to organizing on campuses of working-class colleges, community schools, trade schools and technical schools as well as high schools and junior colleges."

Following SDS came the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, named for the founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. DuBois joined the Communist party at the age of 93. He died in Ghana.

The first club was established at the University of Wisconsin in 1964. One of the founders was Eugene Dennis Jr., son of a former national secretary of the party. Another was Bettina Aptheker, daughter of Herbert Aptheker, the party's leading theoretician.

Other chapters quickly sprang up across the country. The UC Berkeley chapter was one of the prime movers behind the 1964 Berkeley riots.

By May, 1965, the Communists were boasting openly in their party newspaper, of other DuBois achievements. They said: "The DuBois Club of New York, a socialist youth organization, is proud to say that, along with hundreds of others on campuses and in communities throughout the country, have sponsored teach-ins, sit-ins, rallies, marches and the huge demonstration of over 25,000 Americans in Washington, D.C., last April 17 to protest the war in Vietnam."

Some party members originally had suggested that a major effort should be made to bring all student radicals together inside a single national organization. The wily, more experienced leaders knew this would not work.

"The kids are too erratic to sustain any popular front," they said. "They're unpredictable and they go from one cause to another. Better to let them choose their own labels, while we do the prompting from behind the scenes."

Local organizers—dedicated volunteers as well as paid, full-time agents—worked to build up cooperation between those students supporting different causes. They arranged for the distribution and exchange of literature appropriately sympathetic to the other's complaints, suggested they share meeting places and other facilities as well as some of the functions such as handbill distribution and fund-collecting.

Thus, students who originally were interested mainly in civil rights, or a greater say in domestic university matters, were conned into demonstrating, marching and rioting in common cause with others protesting everything from "capitalistic exploitation" to the draft.

Said Inspector Tom Fitzpatrick, director of the San Francisco Police Department's intelligence unit:

"It is no mere coincidence that most of the leaders in recent demonstrations either are or were members of the Communist party or some revolutionary organization.

"Nor is it without significance that the pattern of agitation and action neatly conforms to procedures carried out by Communists or revolutionaries elsewhere and at other times."

III

For all that has been said about the impetuosity of youth and the so-called "generation revolt," few campus riots are spontaneous. Most are the result of careful planning and organization.

Communists call it "mob manipulation." They have had long practice at it. About the only new method they have introduced is the use of the two-way radio for the ringleaders to keep in touch with each other.

The operation is carried out in six stages: Stage 1: Infiltration of any group already protesting some grievance. Agents also are moved into strategic position where they can aggravate some real or imagined wrong and form a new protest group.

Stage 2: Meetings are arranged, on or off campus, to discuss an issue and what should be done about it. Small contributions are sought to help the cause. Attention is drawn to some article in one of the underground student newspapers that carry Red propaganda which "happens to deal with this very subject." Volunteers are enlisted to distribute leaflets and posters.

Stage 3: Bigger, public meetings are organized; rallies and forums are held to call wider attention to the grievance. Other "injustices" are aired and the charge made that they are all the result of "exploitation and oppression."

Supporting speakers are invited from outside. Their Communist connections are not advertised. The word "Communist" is generally avoided.

Allusions are made rather to such universal aspirations as "freedom," "peace," "civil liberties" or—a sure winner on campuses—"students' rights."

Neither is it made apparent, at least not in the early stages, that there is any connection or cooperation with other radical groups parading under different banners but using similar slogans.

The aim is to draw sympathy, break down trust in this society's established traditions and ways of keeping order, appeal to malcontents and restive youths eager to join in any defiance of authority.

If such agitation succeeds in recruiting more adherents to the cause and building up the hard-core membership, so much the better. The main intention, however, is to stir up as much discontent as possible and win enough sympathizers to stage an impressive demonstration.

It is also at this stage that support is enlisted from liberal faculty members. Some professors already are party members. A lucid professor who is popular with students can be of enormous help to the cause and add dignity to the proceedings.

Stage 4: Matters are forced to a head by getting members and sympathizers to agree on a list of demands to be presented to the university authorities. They may be demands for changes in campus rules, better cafeteria food, more black admissions or a stop to on-campus recruiting by industrial firms contributing to the war effort. It does not really matter, so long as it has the support of several dissident groups and discomfits the authorities.

If the authorities yield, the organizers prepare new demands. The strategy is to keep adding issues until the authorities call a demand impossible and refuse to yield.

Stage 5: The issue is dramatized by calling a mass meeting or demonstration and appealing for active support from other groups.

A ringleader climbs on the stand and makes an impassioned but well-prepared speech about "our just rights" and "the hidebound bullies who are trying to deny them."

The stand is yielded to others who back up the main speaker. They also introduce wider issues like "civil liberties" and the "unjust war in Vietnam" to convey the impression that these are all connected and all due to the same hateful cause—"capitalist exploitation."

University authorities are represented as "hired lackeys of the system," "stooges of the military-industrial complex," upholders of racism and the real enemies of truth and justice.

Anyone who tries to speak in opposition is lumped with them.

An emotional frenzy is worked up by contrasting hate words with rousing slogans like "freedom now," "we shall overcome," "let's show 'em," and "let's march."

Chanted repeatedly to the accompaniment of waving banners, these have an effect similar to the repeated suggestions at a hypnosis session.

Stage 6: This is the direct confrontation. It calls for violation of campus rules or civil laws to "force the issue" and to challenge the authorities to take disciplinary action.

Students who sympathize with the dissidents but who don't go along with violence by now have been drowned out. Anyone who has the courage to stand up and call for "further negotiations" is ridiculed and shouted down.

Faced with incidents which escalate from strikes and sit-ins to outright assault on college buildings, the authorities finally must choose between yielding to "student power" or calling in the police.

The riot organizers prefer the latter. The appearance of police on campus—even to many who have not swallowed all the incessant Communist propaganda—is seen as the ultimate crime that a university administration can commit. It stirs up a heady feeling of revulsion against these ultimate symbols of authority and of sympathy for the demonstrators.

"Police brutality" and "pigs" are terms that have been used by Communists in other riots long before police ever appeared on U.S. campuses. It is taken up by other students as policemen, goaded by obscene insults and flying bricks and challenges to use their nightsticks, try to quell what has by now become a full-scale riot.

The riot organizers also welcome television cameras, especially if one can give a close-up of a policeman standing over a student with a bloodied head. It is good propaganda and costs nothing.

The ringleaders are not necessarily the riot manipulators. These are less obtrusive. They direct operations, keeping in touch with each other by means of hand signals, runners and two-way radio.

"The ability to manipulate people through violence and the mass media has never been greater, the potential for us radicals never more exciting than now," proclaimed a speaker at a meeting of the Students for a Democratic Society, a Communist-backed organization which has been behind many college riots.

The SDS and other radical groups under Communist direction have worked up demonstrations and riots at San Francisco State College, at the Universities of California, Texas, Georgia, Chicago, Wisconsin, Princeton, Brandeis, Howard and many other colleges. They also have organized many riots off campus.

In the name of defending such issues as "free speech," "better cafeteria food," allowing girls in men's dormitories, draft deferment, no on-campus recruiting, more black studies, etc., they have launched rampages of looting, brawling and arson. Carrying the red flag of Communist revolution and the black flag of anarchy, they have stormed buildings, held people captive, beaten up opponents, erected barricades and fought pitched battles with the police, deploying radio-directed students as shock troops.

The Columbia riot was directed by an SDS "high command" which set up headquarters in one of the occupied college buildings, and coordinated activities through a network of 40 walkie-talkies, telephones and runners. The same kind of organization has been observed at Berkeley and elsewhere.

IV

"University reform can only be a means to revolution, never a revolutionary end in itself. Once you secure the campus you have just begun."

So asserts Lee Felsenstein, who calls himself "military editor" of the Berkeley Barb.

The Barb is one of nearly 50 underground newspapers circulating in the United States and sold on many campuses. They are joined

in a syndicate, which includes others in Canada, Latin America and Europe.

They freely use each other's material. Much of it is virtually indistinguishable in tone from the anti-American outpourings from Moscow, Peking and Havana.

Such publications serve not only as organs of Red propaganda; they also are used to transmit directives to party members and others working for the same cause. Detailed subversive tactics are worked out locally at secret meetings, but there is no secrecy about the over-all mission and the objectives.

Under the heading "Commune-ism Can Win" the Barb piece outlines a plan for setting up "revolutionary communes, each consisting of from 10 to 30 people who live near each other."

Such communes, Felsenstein says could form a "decentralized revolutionary organization which is so vital for sustained militancy. It would be a substantial and yet invisible organization, capable of explosive activity of dormancy as the situation demanded.

Since several groups of this nature are already known—at least by the Federal Bureau of Investigation—to be in existence, such articles can only have the purpose of building up the network.

"Some of us should move into factories and shops as well as into working class communities," the Communist-backed Students for a Democratic Society proclaims through the underground press. "We should move into the liberation struggle now being fought inside the armed forces and take an active part."

Educators used to shrug off the SDS as just an unruly bunch of impetuous youngsters until a congressional report last year charged it with having given "open support to guerrilla warfare in the United States."

The SDS makes no bones about it. "We're working to build a guerrilla force in an urban environment," it states. "We're actively organizing sedition," boasted national secretary Greg Calvert.

Recruiting for revolution reaches down to high schools, junior high and even lower.

One SDS pamphlet urges young school radicals to exploit tensions and potentialities existing in the American high school setup. Suggested ways for creating disorder at the junior level include starting trash can fires, setting off false fire alarms, organizing mass protests on such issues as dress regulations, attendance, even education itself.

"We have much to learn from SLATE, the Berkeley campus political movement," the SDS lectures its up-and-coming agitators. SLATE, an early Communist front organization, helped structure the Free Speech Movement which disrupted Berkeley in 1964.

At San Francisco State College, student rebels were given specific instructions on how to make bigger and better Molotov cocktails and how to make use of sodium, potassium or white phosphorus, which could be obtained from the college's chemistry department.

Another statement put out by the SDS during the San Francisco State trouble was headed, "The Need to Fight the Cops." It exhorted:

"The weapon that the rulers always fall back on when others fail is their armed might. In this case it was the police forces from San Francisco and surrounding counties. (President S. I.) Hayakawa thought if he used enough police terror we would quit and give up the strike, but instead of rolling over and playing dead we fought back. We met their clubs with Mace and rocks and bottles. Several plainclothesmen were beaten up when they were discovered. This was a big step forward for many of the white students. They overcame their awe and fear of the pigs and helped defeat every attempt to smash the strike."

How are radicals who help the Reds financed?

Said Inspector Tom Fitzpatrick, director of San Francisco Police Department's intelligence unit: "We know they take up collections, charge dues or solicit contributions from well-heeled fellow travelers, of whom there are many. But all these sources put together couldn't come up with the money it takes to run their operations.

"Some of them, for instance, have been able to commute between Havana, Hanoi and even Moscow, like well-to-do globetrotters, not to speak of frequent transcontinental trips."

Proceeds from the sales of underground publications, plus profits from the salacious commercial ads and personal "want" columns, make up only a small part of the revenue to finance the youth subversion program.

Membership dues to various radical groups are used to subsidize the propaganda campaign. For every paid, full-time worker there are dozens of volunteers—canvassing, fund-raising or busy in makeshift offices near the campus, cranking out mimeographed sheets, letters and notices of forthcoming meetings.

In some cases where radicals control the student body, part of the student body fees are channeled off to leftist causes. The California Education Code specifically prohibits grants of students funds (which are compulsory college fees) to racist organizations. This may keep out Ku-Kluxers all right but not their opposite numbers.

Outraged students at San Francisco State College sent Gov. Reagan and Atty. Gen. Thomas Lynch a letter showing how these fees had provided money for a number of radical groups including the Third World Liberation Front (\$15,339) and the Black Students Union (\$22,073). The attorney general's investigation of the San Francisco State budget revealed that one speaker had quietly returned a \$400 student government speaking fee to the Black Students Union and that an officer of the Black Students Union had bought a sniper rifle with a telescopic sight with a \$150 student government check.

Public money also is misdirected into Communist causes by New Left students and others who have worked their way into influential positions on various off-campus projects financed under the War on Poverty. Local office facilities have been used for printing and distributing propaganda.

An investigation by an Office of Economic Opportunity auditing team showed that over \$6,000 of federal funds had been expended in promoting various rallies and demonstrations in San Francisco, events having nothing whatsoever to do with the War on Poverty.

Summer youth camps have also been occasions for Red indoctrination. A San Francisco mother complained that her son returned from one weekend outing laden with Communist propaganda literature. He told of having lectures on Marxism and Maoism.

Investigators found that chartered buses were taking 60 to 70 youngsters at a time from around that area to a camp owned and operated by Willie and Else Beltran, long-time functionaries of the Communist Party. Manager was Virginia Proctor, wife of Roscoe Proctor, righthand man of Mickie Lima, who heads the Northern California branch of the Communist Party U.S.A. Buses, lodging and other costs were paid for out of War on Poverty funds.

Other so-called "youth leaders," some carrying the title of "reverend" but identified as working for Communists, have participated in similar projects.

Other big money raisers are admission fees to private pornographic plays and movies which have lately been making the rounds of more and more campuses. The proceeds from sales of pornographic books and drugs, as well as from organized looting and robbery, are documented according to cases on file with the FBI.

Also on file is evidence of funds supplied from Communist sources abroad. The Progressive Labor Party obtained \$43,000 in Peking, money that had been changed into U.S. currency. It was picked up at the Mexican City National Bank in Mexico City by a girl University of California student, who brought it to Berkeley and, according to House Committee investigation, delivered it to PLP leaders Mortimer Scheer and Lee Coe.

Testimony was given in Washington a few months ago by breakaway members of the PLP and Trotskyite Social Workers Party.

They told how activity had been financed by money sent from Peking by way of Havana. It was brought into the United States in the diplomatic pouches of the United Nations Mission from Cuba. Agents picked up the briefcases in New York.

The nationwide network of subversion is made up of oldtime "cells"—groups meeting in private houses or "clubs"—front establishments like private schools, summer camps and hotels which are really training and indoctrinating schools—plus many groups openly calling themselves Communist, pro-Communist, leftist or New Left.

The main "knots" in the network are New York in the East, Chicago in the interior and San Francisco in the West.

One of San Francisco's earliest Communist front establishments was the California Labor School. After the U.S. Justice Department put it on the subversive list as a Communist indoctrination center and closed it down, organizers moved out into other subversive activities, where they are still busy today, some of them on college campuses.

West Coast source of much Red propaganda material is 55 Colton Street, one of a shabby, broken-down block of buildings with closed doors and shuttered windows off San Francisco's Market Street. It is headquarters for the Third World Liberation Front and the Vietnam Day Committee, and command post of Asher Harar, reportedly the No. 3 Trotskyite in the United States and No. 1 man west of the Mississippi River. It also is the hangout of the Black Panthers and other revolutionary groups.

There the office mimeograph machines run late turning out anti-police, anti-establishment, pro-revolutionary propaganda.

One of the directives that went out coast to coast said: "If you are working for a defense plant engaged in making munitions, you want to see that that munition proves to be a dud when it gets there. If you are working for a food plant making K ration, do whatever you can to contaminate that food so it will be nonedible when it gets there."

San Francisco was chosen as the launching place for subversion in the West because of its cosmopolitan population, the climate of liberalism that already existed, and, chiefly, because it was also the home of one of the greatest, most influential centers of learning in the world—the Berkeley campus of the University of California.

v

The wave of disorder and violence that has swept U.S. universities and colleges was set in motion at the Berkeley campus of the University of California in 1964.

Few people are aware of the full significance of the "Battle of Berkeley." It was no spontaneous student uprising. It was planned and organized by Communists, with the help of the so-called "New Left" and others committed to the destruction of this country's system of government.

They won an historic victory. Berkeley became the beachhead from which to try to launch a revolution across the nation's campuses.

Today's Communists or pro-Communists control some of the positions of authority within the faculty and administrative offices. They dominate at least 10 important departments of the university.

The result is "a great and continuous barrage of propaganda at Berkeley denouncing this nation and its foreign policies. It has nothing to do with a youth movement. It is the effect of the subversion of youth."

The words are those of a Berkeley professor concerned enough to utter public warning of what has happened and is happening there. He is Dr. Hardin B. Jones, no wild-eyed Red-baiting fanatic.

Professor of medical physics, assistant director of the Donner Laboratory and an internationally respected scientist, he is a tall, dignified, quiet-mannered man with more than 30 years' close contact with Berkeley, beginning when he was a student.

"No one any longer speaks out effectively in the faculty or administration at Berkeley for the important concepts basic to our free society or to retain the excellences of our past social achievements, even though such identified excellences are usually regarded as the core material for an education," said Jones.

Several professors, including some who had considered themselves liberal, have left Berkeley in disgust.

Sociology Prof. William Peterson, who left to become research professor at the Institute of Human Sciences, Boston College, said:

"The University of California, still the nation's greatest public institution of higher learning, is in rapid disintegration. The university has a dark prospect; and the reason is that there has been no one with the will, intelligence and courage to administer it."

Dr. Lewis S. Feuer, who moved on to become sociology professor at the University of Toronto, said:

"Berkeley has become a symbol for the world. To many Americans, it stands for studentism in senseless rebellion; to the Communist government of North Vietnam it is a faithful ally whose demonstrations against the United States government are the most valued propaganda."

The greater political awareness of the modern generation is widely acknowledged. Its members feel critical of society, condemning poverty, racism and war as weaknesses which they are impatient to correct. Many are ready to protest and demonstrate without Communist coaxing.

A small but determined group had been working to undermine the university's academic structure and "politicize" it long before the 1964 outburst over "free speech."

In 1957, a small student coalition called SLATE sought to gain the political advantage of claiming to utter their extremist political views in the name of the 20,000 registered students.

Its platform was that the student government "should take stands on national and international issues," contrary to the principle embodied in the university's charter that the university and its subdivisions should be "free from political influences."

SLATE was defeated. After repeated defiance of authority it became an off-campus organization, continuing to press radical demands. Communists held leading positions.

In the summer of 1964, SLATE issued a manifesto calling for revolution on the campus to match and support political revolution in the world. It urged students "to begin an open, fierce and thoroughgoing rebellion on this campus . . . start a program of agitation, petitioning, rallies, etc., in which the final resort will be to civil disobedience."

It exhorted them to "organize and split this campus wide open! If such a revolt were conducted with unrelenting toughness and courage, it could spread to other campuses across the country."

The SLATE slogans became the battle cry of the Free Speech Movement, whose organizers included the Red Functionaries of SLATE.

For all the Free Speech Movement protesting, free speech was never a real issue. As a Berkeley professor, Nathan Glazer, put it:

"Berkeley was one of the few places in the country, I imagine, where in 1964 (pre-FSM) one could hear a public debate between the supporters of Nikita Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung on the Sino-Soviet dispute. There were organized student groups behind both positions."

It was not free speech, but freedom to organize political action and collect funds on campus that was the immediate issue in the dispute that broke out two weeks after the SLATE manifesto was distributed to students.

FSM victory depended upon a hard core of about 200 members of the faculty who were in sympathy with the movement from the beginning and whose leaders were in touch with FSM leaders.

Some radical professors abused their position of academic authority to help the FSM leaders. They called off classes to make the student strike more effective and spoke in support of the strikers.

"I am aware," said Jones, "that activists on the faculty at Berkeley regard the Free Speech Movement and its political offspring as the greatest event ever in American education. With no de facto restraints on speech, the major characteristic of Berkeley became that of a political war, including violence, against American and Western society."

Though most university students might try to ignore or reject indoctrination aimed at the unqualified denial of the established principles of American society, there are few who could spend four or more years on campus without being affected by the deluge of propaganda.

Gradually the smaller political cliques that had been given freedom to campaign on campus formed themselves into larger, more cohesive groups which organized and led a series of activities on and off campus—stopping troop trains, encouraging defiance of the Selective Service system, handing out pamphlets on "How to Beat the Draft," upholding "filthy speech" and "free sex."

Warnings by alarmed professors and other concerned citizens that the Berkeley situation would be the precursor of other university eruptions were soon justified.

According to Prof. John R. Searle, who supported the FSM at Berkeley, "Many college administrations in America don't yet seem to perceive that they are all in this together."

"Like buffaloes being shot, they look on with interest when another of their number goes down, without seriously thinking that they may be next."

VI

Beneath the flood of revolutionary propaganda and exhortations to violence aimed at today's youth is an undercurrent of filth which goes far deeper than most Americans realize.

For parents to be shocked at youthful pranks is nothing new.

What is sinister, however, about the present student preoccupation with sex, drugs and perversion is that, unlike "panty raids" and other student frolics, it is largely the result of planning and organization.

It is the most sinister aspect of the Red youth subversion program—one part of the East-West psychological warfare which is practically one-sided, because little is being done on this side to combat it.

The discovery of the "conditioned reflex" by the Russian physiologist Ivan Pavlov had an important influence on all of Russian biological and social sciences. Few Westerners are aware of how widely Communists have used the principle to condition political behavior.

"American scientists have tended to neglect this area of study," said Dr. Hardin B. Jones, professor of medical physics and physiology and assistant director of the Donner Laboratory at the University of California at Berkeley. "American politicians have made comparatively little use of its capabilities because, until now, the politics of this country were very stable."

On the other hand, Jones said, "the leaders of world communism have relied heavily on the social methodology developed from Pavlov's principle of conditioning."

"It is a way in which satisfaction of animalistic human needs such as food, affection, discipline and sexual activities can be controlled so as to condition a person to actions and beliefs without intellectual evaluation."

Communists and radical Socialists used the principle for political purposes by seeking to subvert German youth movements in the 1930s. The animalistic mob culture they helped develop was taken over by Adolf Hitler. Through mass meetings, social activities and organized sexual contacts, the Hitler Youth was turned into a political army—unthinking, obedient, conditioned to give prompt reflex responses such as Pavlov studied. Elite members of the Nazi SS were introduced to abnormal sexual activities as part of the conditioning process to break down their attachment to traditional moral values.

Indoctrination through perversion came later to the United States as a weapon in the cold war. Young people, particularly university students, were the main targets. This came at the same time the universities were marked for political subversion and revolution.

The Vietnam Day Committee, also directed by Communists, followed by sponsoring on-campus plays which mixed politics with pornography. These and other indecent shows and activities to which students were invited helped as fund raisers for antiwar, antidraft demonstrations, civil rights marches and related projects.

Four-letter vulgarities have become the stock-in-trade of campus radicals.

So have the obscene badges and open encitements of "sex" clubs and "sexual freedom" groups. So have the lurid language in the "underground" and many student newspapers which mix anti-American propaganda with titillating articles and pictures about drug-taking, sex and sex perversion. There also are columns of personal ads which leave nobody in doubt as to the prurient interests of the advertisers. These are but surface signs of the poison to which young minds today are being exposed.

Portraits of Lenin, Mao, Castro or Che Guevara, "Pig Brutality" and other "anti-imperialist" wall posters are an important part of the "scene." So are psychedelic art containing pornographic symbols, and "way out" music with its frenzied rhythmic beat, shrieking, hysterical voices and frequently lewd lyrics.

Veteran investigators into the underworld of dope and vice have a hard time holding onto their stomachs, as well as their sanity, when they look into some of the practices to which novices of the so-called New Left are introduced.

It goes far beyond "making love, not war." The narcotics in use today make the old dope dens look like dreary joss houses.

Neither are obscenity and pornography confined to the backroom "pads" of bearded, long-haired dirty-toed boys and their radical girl and boy-girl friends.

They are introduced into the theater and made part of student courses of instruction.

Performances for which "sick" might be considered too mild a description, have made the rounds of campuses. Either they are condoned by the "liberal" section of the faculty or are not objected to for fear of infringing rights of free speech. Some professors have even helped in publicizing and promoting them.

The "heroes" of these "dramas" are usually depicted as Socialist "revolutionaries." The villains are "capitalist pigs." Actors, sometimes naked or near-naked, portray characters in lustful, sadistic, brutish attitudes.

The coupling with political propaganda of blasphemous, sacrilegious and vulgar sexual terms used with regard to religious themes

and family relationships is a deadly weapon, blatantly used to demoralize and destroy.

Another part of the same weapon is "sensitivity training," now being promoted on a massive scale in the United States, including on some campuses, notably the University of California.

The training consists of creating physical awareness of other persons. It is highly related to such physical contacts as between mother and infant and sexual feelings between persons. The idea is to become aware of the other person through touch and other forms of direct contact. Classes often are conducted in the nude.

"Sensitivity training," Jones said "is a powerful form of Pavlovian conditioning by which sexual-emotional types of response can be substituted for intellectual consideration of any proposition common to the group, developing a surge of animalistic mob response."

This conditioning, he stresses, has been developed "by the Communoid forces, who apply these techniques to control of group behavior."

Many of those interested in sensitivity training and its "group dynamics" are well-intentioned. They believe these emotional responses can be applied to increase a feeling of brotherly love in the antiwar movement and to generate similar feelings of affection and admiration between whites and blacks.

Jones warns, however: "To the extent we begin to be influenced by animalistic tendencies and mob psychology, we certainly lose the structure of a society based on solving its problems rationally."

FAMILY PLANNING CLINICS IN LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, one of the major problems facing our poor today is their inability to control the size of their families. This results in inflicting not only further financial burden but often inadequate care for the children.

There are, however, projects underway to assist mothers in family planning. An example of this was brought to my attention in an article written in the Los Angeles Times on February 7, 1969. Several family planning clinics, funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity, are operating in the poverty areas of Los Angeles. These clinics provide advice and free medical attention to the women in the area. They succeed in educating the residents in birth control methods and hygienic practices. Further, they aid in curing and preventing disease and abortions which are both costly and dangerous.

This is one step in the road to releasing the bondages of poverty for the poor and uneducated of this country, and I would like to insert the article in the RECORD at this time for the information of my colleagues.

The place looks kind of old. But for the women who go there it offers a new future and just maybe a chance to step out of the poverty pocket or at least eliminate some of its rushing blows.

It is the newly opened, freshly funded Family Planning Clinic at Harbor General Hospital.

Funded by the Federal Office of Economic Opportunity, it is operated by the Los Angeles Regional Family Planning Council, which runs several other clinics in the Los Angeles area.

And to its doors come women of all ages, usually in their late 20s or early 30s, a cultural mix of brown, black and white. Many have as many as seven or eight children, all looking for the same thing, knowledge and help.

Many are desperate. Take the case of Rosa, a Mexican-American, mother of eight, who didn't know there was such a thing as family planning. On learning she was pregnant for the ninth time, she resorted to a \$350 abortion she could ill afford under primitive medical conditions. Then she ended up in a county hospital when complications set in.

Or the case of Norma, a Negro from Compton with five children who experienced complications from a birth control pill. Not knowing where to go for help, she ended up alone and bleeding all night in an emergency room because she couldn't reach a doctor for medical care and advice.

At the Family Planning Clinic, the only prerequisite is that the service is limited to people who can't afford a private physician.

Otherwise, the most complete care of its type for any free clinic in Southern California is provided.

The clinic operates 65 hours a week, making its services available to almost any woman under any special circumstances.

Hours are 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. Mondays through Fridays and 10 a.m. to 3 p.m. on Saturdays.

No appointment is necessary, there are no lengthy waits, no tedious financial screenings.

Instead they accept a statement of need. Then the patient is whisked into a pleasant decorated pale blue consulting room, where all methods of contraception—intra-uterine devices ("the loop"), the pill, foam, diaphragms, etc.—are explained by a doctor or nurse.

The woman and her husband are then free to make their choice. If it is for a vasectomy or tubaligation, the case is referred to the hospital, thus giving a full range of care.

In addition, women are given a gynecological examination and a complete cancer screening—breast check, pap smear and culposcopy, a visual scan with a microscope of the cervix and vaginal areas to check for cell changes. If a cell looks bad, they do an instant biopsy.

CONTINUING CARE

And the care is continuing—revisits, consultations to see how the birth control device is working, pelvic examinations a minimum of once a year by a team of doctors headed by Dr. Daniel R. Mishell, head of the hospital's Ob-Gyn department, and including Drs. Duane E. Townsend, Sidney Wechsler and Jim Gardner.

For its task, the hospital is well located, placed in the middle of some of the worst poverty areas in the Southland—parts of Harbor City, Wilmington, Lawndale, Lomita, Compton, Carson and Artesia.

Many of the residents have less than eighth-grade education.

The facts speak for themselves.

Fact: Nine out of 10 poor women in Los Angeles had no access to birth control services until very recently.

Fact: Women in poverty have between two and seven or more children.

Fact: Educated middle-class women want and bear between two and four children.

Fact: The local infant mortality rate is as low as 10 per 1,000 in wealthier sections of the city. It is as high as 38 per 1,000 in extreme poverty pockets. The highest acceptable rate determined by the World Health Organization is 17 per 1,000.

Until now, the alternatives for expectant mothers from these areas have been limited. The abortion rates are alarmingly high. One

out of five pregnancies, with the poor hazzarding poor health care and high costs, is aborted.

MORE CLINICS

A partial answer is the founding of family planning clinics (more will open under the auspices of the Los Angeles Regional Family Planning Council), offering efficient, hygienic and total health service to a portion of the population long neglected.

The problems underlying such an undertaking are enormous. But the clinic hopes to overcome them in part through the services of Peggy Golden, educator and social worker.

She is dedicated to her cause and believes that, next to the issue of peace, overpopulation is the most significant problem of our time.

She goes to schools, to community agencies, to welfare agencies, to poverty agencies, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Department of Public Social Service—anyone and everyone directly connected to poverty—to tell about their service.

She also works with six specially trained women—two from Compton, two from the Long Beach Pact, two from the Parent Child Center in Harbor City—who go into neighborhoods and explain birth control.

EX-PROBATION OFFICER

She comes by her interest not only as the wife of an assistant dean of the UCLA School of Medicine, Dr. Joshua Golden, but as a former probation officer for Los Angeles and San Bernardino counties.

"That's when I saw first-hand what happens to children people don't want," she said.

"People in poverty are rightly incensed because they are weak and voiceless and feel they are being singled out because other people don't control their progeny.

"This is exactly what we're trying not to do. We're trying to offer them a complete medical service they've previously had no access to. We try to do everything for these women.

"They have to have faith they won't be harmed, or embarrassed or that their fertility won't be interfered with.

"Many women don't know they have certain medical problems," she adds. "You live with a great deal more disease if you live in poverty.

"But when people are in stress, it doesn't matter what their ideologies are, they want the help."

Slowly and uncertainly women began to trickle into the clinic after it opened Nov. 4. Since then, the caseloads have doubled to 40 or more patients a week. But the facilities can service 10 times that many. That is the clinic's goal.

IN THE NATION: THE OLD MERRY-GO-ROUND

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, the war in Vietnam continues with new ferocity. American deaths from this war will soon surpass the total number of U.S. servicemen killed in the Korean conflict. The hopes for an end to the killing fostered by our bombing halt and the Paris negotiations have faded. The time for bold new initiatives from a new administration has all but passed. Instead of new voices and policies, we are hearing more of the same Vietnam rhetoric. I strongly recommend for my col-

leagues' consideration the following analysis by Tom Wicker in the New York Times of the factors contributing to the present administration's failure to take any meaningful action at this time to end the war.

IN THE NATION: THE OLD MERRY-GO-ROUND
(By Tom Wicker)

WASHINGTON, March 19—President Nixon has elaborated a sort of chicken-or-egg argument that, for a number of months past, American forces have not been conducting an offensive in Vietnam—just spoiling operations to blunt a Communist offensive they knew was coming. The Communist offensive came anyway, and now the allies have mounted a counter-offensive. This is the same old game of lethal leap-frog.

Mr. Nixon has also said that "in view of the current offensive on the part of the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong," there was no prospect of a reduction of American forces in South Vietnam. Secretary Laird, testifying before Congress, said that more money was necessary to prepare South Vietnamese to take over the fighting from Americans so that Americans could come home. This is the same old merry-go-round.

As for the Paris negotiations, the best information available here is that the kind of private talks that might produce substantive progress are not yet going on, although such talks may soon begin, and Mr. Nixon said Friday that "significant progress" was being made toward such a beginning.

This is a familiar and melancholy story; it is almost as if nothing had happened—no elections had been held last year, no change of Administrations had taken place, no profound public decision had been registered to take this country out of a dispiriting and divisive war that can neither be won nor justified—no more today than in November.

LIKE GRAVEN COMMITMENTS

So, it seems, the fighting must go on—although, to his credit, Mr. Nixon has not made the slightest move to renew the attack on North Vietnam itself. There is no prospect of withdrawing American troops; there has been on political initiative, and apparently none is being prepared; and the new Administration like the old stands by the Saigon Government and all the past American "commitments" as if they had been carved in stone and handed down from Mount Sinai.

Where are the fresh ideas and the new start—let alone any "plan" to end the war—so many Americans believed they were voting for? What has happened to the opportunities and maneuverability of new men unshuffled by the conflicts and policies of the past? The answer from the high councils of this Administration is that it does not wish to give away the game. It is "locked in" to many positions. It has "commitments."

The reasons for this are not entirely ideological and geopolitical—although Mr. Nixon's fifteen-year record on Indo-China clearly shows him to be intellectually comfortable with the current stance of his Administration; nor are they all to be found in the pressures of the military-diplomatic bureaucracy which has so great a vested interest in vindicating its long, fruitless prosecution of this war.

THE PRESSURE IS OFF

In fact, these influences and whatever others are at work within the Administration are having their effect only because Mr. Nixon and his associates have decided that they are under no domestic political pressure to settle the war swiftly. They believe that President Johnson's withdrawal, the opening of the Paris talks, the suspension of the bombing of the North, the change of Administrations—that all of these pacified the great outpouring of public unrest and dissent that was the most striking phenomenon of 1968.

Mr. Nixon and other high officials are known to believe that not before the end of summer or perhaps even longer will domestic peace pressures become significant; and that in the interim they are free of any political necessity to take unilateral action to end the war, or to launch major new initiatives to that end.

So far, this estimate has no doubt been accurate. How long it will remain so is another question. Congressional doves are already restive. But whether it is next week or next autumn before the rallies and the demonstrations begin all over, before the picket lines form again wherever the President goes, before the whole angry and dangerous business of public confrontation is renewed, the Administration will wait that long only at great cost.

And that cost will include not only the lives, money and energies cruelly wasted in Vietnam; it will include also another corrosive demonstration of how dubiously if at all, the American "democratic" process works on questions of high policy. Even after voting twice in four years for Presidents who promised peace, must Americans once again go into the streets to get it?

**THE EXCEEDINGLY THIRSTY
COLORADO RIVER**

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, copies of U.S. News & World Report currently being received—dated March 31, 1969—contain an article datelined Yuma, Ariz., detailing the plight of the overworked Colorado River. It is a pity that with all the excess water in areas surrounding the Colorado River Basin, Congress was forced last year by the contumacy of the water heavy Pacific Northwest to ban for a period of 10 years any studies of importations into this water deficit basin from water surplus basins. This prohibition is both cruel and unnecessary, as even its perpetrators could admit. The article I have referred to substantiates what I have said. It follows:

**AS FLOODS THREATEN IN UNITED STATES, THE
COLORADO RUNS LOW**

(NOTE.—Spring floods predicted for the Northern U.S. would be welcome in the Colorado River, the country's most overworked stream. Troubles are piling up along this waterway for the fast-growing Southwest, and there is little relief in sight.)

YUMA, ARIZ.—While people along the Mississippi and Missouri rivers are bracing for spring floods that may reach record proportions, people of the Southwest U.S. are pleading for more water in their river—the once-mighty Colorado.

The Colorado is the world's most overworked river. So completely does man control this stream that it leaves the U.S. here at Yuma as little more than a trickle.

Unless more water can be brought into the Southwest, this booming region that is a mainspring of the U.S. economy faces drastic change in the foreseeable future.

The heavy winter snows that now may melt to produce floods along some stretches of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers also promise more water for the Colorado River. Predicted spring runoff will be 6 per cent more than normal.

STILL NOT ENOUGH

But the Colorado could easily use double its normal flow to serve the future needs of seven Western States: California, Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming and Utah.

The mouth of the Colorado River is at the Gulf of California, 110 miles downstream from Yuma. Its headwaters are 1,400 miles away in snow-covered mountains. Between these points, there are dams that enable man to turn the river off and on like a faucet.

These same dams so curb the river that it cannot flush itself of silt along lower reaches.

Use and reuse of the Colorado's waters as it flows to the sea have pushed its salt content above federal standards for drinking. Salt also is damaging crops grown on land irrigated by the Colorado in California and Arizona.

Finding water for new works authorized by Congress in 1968 will be a matter of robbing Peter to pay Paul.

More water for Arizona through the Central Arizona Project, authorized at a cost of more than 800 million dollars, will mean less for the teeming population of southern California. It may result, too, in shortages for projects approved for the Upper Basin States of Utah, Colorado and Wyoming.

OVERCONTROL?

Just how did the Colorado River, and the Southwest economy which it sustains in a major way, get into this predicament? The answer is in the story of how man, seeking to control the river for his use, appears to have succeeded too well.

It was Hoover Dam, completed in 1935, that first gave man a measure of control over the Colorado. Water stored in Lake Mead behind this dam in flood years could then be rationed out in dry years for downstream irrigation projects.

Today, as shown on the accompanying map, there are eight major dams on the Colorado and its tributaries. From these dams flow billions of kilowatt hours of electricity to sustain the Southwest's desert boom. That boom, without water and power from the Colorado River would collapse overnight.

DEPENDENT MILLIONS

In southern California, 10 million people depend on the Colorado for 80 per cent of their water supply. Upward of 10 million more are expected in this area by the turn of the century.

The Colorado also supplies irrigation water to more than 600,000 acres in southern California and another 170,000 acres on the Arizona side near Yuma.

Projects now under construction are to carry water from Colorado Basin reservoirs to the last-growing cities of Las Vegas, Salt Lake City and Albuquerque.

Denver and a string of smaller cities on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains draw water through the continental divide from headwaters of the Colorado. In this area, 720,000 acres of land are irrigated from the same source.

Hoover Dam and those farther upstream relieve the river of a heavy load of sediment. But when it leaves Davis Dam downstream from Hoover, the river picks up silt which plugs lower reaches and creates vast marshes. Dredging, begun in the early 1960s to clear the river channel, was stopped in 1968 when conservation and wildlife groups said draining of the marshes was destroying fish and wildlife.

Farther downstream, silt is threatening to overwhelm the diversion works at Imperial Dam, where water is drawn from the Colorado to irrigate the Imperial and Coachella valley projects.

BRACKISH FLOW

These irrigated lands also suffer from the increasing concentration of salt in the Colo-

rado's water, which is the result of overworking the river.

At its headwaters in the Rocky Mountains, the Colorado's water is clear and pure. But much of this high-quality water is diverted to the east slope of the Rockies. The rest courses on downstream, picking up salt and other minerals along the way.

Vast quantities of pure water are lost through evaporation in reservoirs. From Lake Mead, behind Hoover Dam, an average of 830,000 acre-feet of water is lost each year. From all reservoirs combined, according to the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation, evaporation loss in the years ahead will average 1.9 million acre-feet a year. That is more than 13 per cent of the river's average annual runoff of close to 14 million acre-feet.

An acre-foot of water, which is the amount that will cover one acre to a depth of 1 foot, will support five people for a year. Thus, the 1.9 million acre-feet lost to the air would supply the needs of 9.5 million people.

"WATER, WATER EVERYWHERE"

By the time the Colorado leaves Hoover Dam, its salt content is around 700 parts per million. At Lake Havasu, where water is drawn by aqueduct for the Los Angeles-San Diego areas, salt level is 800 parts per million. The limit for drinking water, set by the U.S. Public Health Service, is 500 parts per million. So the water has to be diluted with supplies from other sources.

At Imperial Dam, the salt level rises to 900 parts per million, high enough to damage some irrigated crops. Says Matt LaBrucherie, who farms 4,000 acres near El Centro, Calif:

"This salt is getting worse all the time. It's hard on vegetable crops, especially lettuce, carrots and onions. It's getting tougher to establish a stand of sugar beets. Alfalfa seems to be hurt by the salt, too."

On the Arizona side of the river, fields in the Wellton-Mohawk Irrigation District, northeast of Yuma, were in danger of becoming saturated with saline water. Pumps were installed to draw the water out and send it back to the Colorado River for delivery to Mexico. U.S. is committed by treaty to give Mexico 1.5 million acre-feet of water in the Colorado each year.

Then Mexican farmers became angry. They said water from diversion works at Morelos Dam was ruining their soil. Now much of the saline water pumped from Wellton-Mohawk fields has to be carried by drainage canal around Morelos Dam. This is virtually the only water that escapes man's use to trickle on down the Colorado River to the Gulf of California.

"LAY ANOTHER RIVER"

The way to rescue the overworked Colorado, says Arleigh B. West, regional director of the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation, is to "lay another river the same size down on top of it."

From headquarters in Boulder City, Nev., Mr. West directs the battle to keep silt and salt under control along the river from Hoover Dam to the Mexican border. He points out that reservoirs behind the eight major dams in the Colorado Basin could hold more than four times the rivers' average annual runoff of about 14 million acre-feet.

Doubling the Colorado's flow, says Mr. West, would bring its salt content down to a manageable level, deliver good-quality water to Mexico, permit dredging for silt control and enhance wildlife habitats.

It would also assure ample water for the Central Arizona Project, which otherwise will depend heavily on water salvaged from the marshes and from other sources. Some water experts say that unless a way is found to augment the Colorado's flow, the Arizona Project may not get enough water to pay its cost.

THE COLUMBIA NEXT?

The best way to "lay another river down" in the Colorado Basin, in the view of Southwestern Congressmen, would be to divert water from the Columbia River. But Congress has ruled that such a plan cannot even be studied for the next 10 years. Experience has shown that 30 years can elapse between the start of planning and the completion of major water projects.

Plans for desalting sea water and pumping it across California to Lake Mead have been studied. But without a major technological breakthrough, cost would be prohibitive. Cloud-seeding to increase snow and rainfall over the Colorado Basin is another possibility. Some water experts say it may be the solution to the Southwest's water crisis. Substantial success in a similar area of Iran, in the Mideast, has been reported.

A recent report, "Water and Choice in the Colorado Basin," by a committee of the National Academy of Sciences suggests that one way to handle the Southwestern water problem would be to take water from irrigation for municipal and industrial use.

Southwest officials say this not only would cause severe dislocations, but would require changing Western water law based on "first in use, first in right." This is seen as taking years of legislation and testing in courts.

So, as spring floods in the Northern U.S. roll to the sea, people of the Southwest will be watching and wishing that some of the water could be used to fill Colorado River reservoirs.

THE 96TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN PUERTO RICO

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, on March 22, the Puerto Ricans celebrated the 96th anniversary of the abolition of slavery in their country. It is my privilege today to congratulate them on their great achievement and to rejoice with them for throwing off the yoke of slavery and establishing a democratic government of the highest caliber—the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

Of all the evil traditions in the history of man, few exceed the degradation of chattel slavery, reducing human beings to the level of beasts. And of all the evil traditions none has done so much to impede the progress of civilization.

When Christopher Columbus discovered Puerto Rico, in 1493, the way was open to great and wonderful developments for all mankind. But only two decades later, slave traders began doing business with the Spanish authorities, stealing Africans from their homes, transporting them to Puerto Rico, and selling them, like so many oxen, to be used in behalf of the Spanish economy. The practice was continued for almost three centuries, to the detriment of millions who suffered from it and millions more who witnessed their suffering and did not act to stop it.

No less villainous nor more virtuous than the Spanish, the British and the Dutch authorities established the same terrible custom in North America, and the New World of such glowing promise became, overnight, a great, giant slave-

pen, festering with broken hearts and broken dreams.

Meanwhile, however, abolitionist sentiment began to grow. The first abolitionist committee was formed in England in 1789, and the slave trade was suppressed by Denmark, Sweden, and Holland. Toussaint L'Overture outlawed slavery in Santo Domingo, in 1801, and when Napoleon sent an army to reverse that development, Toussaint destroyed the Army. In 1815, Portugal suppressed the slave trade in the north of Ecuador, and this action was rapidly followed by similar acts of other nations until slavery was made illegal in the British dominions in 1838. France declared against slavery in 1849, Holland in 1863, and the United States in 1865.

The common people of the world rejoiced at these developments. They recognized that slavery, by its very nature, was aristocratic, and greatly at odds with democratic institutions. They thrilled to the announcement of each new convert to the cause of human freedom. Yet they were puzzled and disturbed at the realization that in Puerto Rico the curse of human slavery lived on.

Finally succumbing to mass protests and entreaties on the part of people the world over, the Spanish authorities in 1893 abolished slavery in Puerto Rico, to the great delight and satisfaction of freedom-loving people everywhere.

I am particularly proud of the Puerto Ricans, for many of them reside in the Seventh Illinois Congressional District, which I have the privilege to represent, and consequently, I know firsthand of their many valuable contributions, both in Puerto Rico and in the United States, to the advancement of our mutual objectives.

Mr. Speaker, there are today in the free world no greater advocates of democratic traditions than the people of Puerto Rico. I take this occasion to express my best wishes for continuing prosperity to the people of that noble island community, which has risen from its chains to stand erect among the peoples of the Western World.

BRADY WILLIAM HERRING—A COURAGEOUS YOUNG MAN

HON. ALBERT W. WATSON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, it has often been said of the Vietnam war that the only people in this country who really understand its greatest impact are those whose loved ones are stationed there. While this by no means is valid, it does seem to many that Vietnam is something to live with and, therefore, can be thrust from the mind much as a bad dream.

I know that people care about our men in Vietnam, and on numerous occasions in my State of South Carolina, it has been my privilege to witness spontaneous support for these great defenders of freedom. Often the outpouring is not in the

form of parades or speeches. Tragically, it can be the grief felt by an entire community when one of its own marches to war only never to return.

This was the case several months ago in West Columbia, S.C., which is located in my congressional district. The entire community was shocked to learn that one of its most outstanding young citizens, Brady William Herring, age 21, was killed in Vietnam.

Brady, the son of Mrs. Letha W. Herring, died in the same manner that he had lived—with unrelenting courage and devotion to others. In fact, this magnificent young American soldier was awarded the Air Medal, National Defense Service Medal, Vietnam Campaign Ribbon, and the Aircraft Crewman Badge before his death. Only recently, his dear mother received posthumous medals for Brady which included the Distinguished Flying Cross for heroism, Air Medal—first through 14th Oak Leaf Cluster, Purple Heart, and Good Conduct Medal.

Because Brady represented youth at its finest and because he dedicated his life so that others might live, I would like to include as a part of my remarks, the notice of his death which contains a beautiful and moving final letter to his mother, an article on the awarding of the posthumous medals, and a poem by Archibald MacLeish which I think very appropriate, as follows:

BRADY HERRING KILLED IN VIETNAM

Spec. 4 Brady William Herring, 21, son of Mrs. Letha W. Herring, 1235 Guignard Ave., West Columbia, was killed September 16 in action in Vietnam, during his last week of service. He was scheduled to be separated from the army October 1.

Young Herring went overseas January 23 of this year following training at Fort Knox and Fort Hood. At Hood he was with the First Armored Division (Old Ironside).

On September 15, the day before his death, Spec. Herring wrote the following letter to his mother:

"DEAR MAMA: How is everyone back in South Carolina? All is well over here. I was down today to try and send some of my baggage home but the air force was closed. So, I will try again tomorrow.

"The one thing to do is not to expect me home in September. I hope to be there the first part of October. There is going to be a lot of personnel leaving around the same time, so, I plan for a delay at Travis for my clearance out of the army. There is already a hold up on the guys leaving Bien Hoa Air Base.

"I told you when I first came in that I would not stay in the army and I don't plan to. I came pretty close to it this past week, though. After you see what the Viet Cong have done to these little kids, and the kids still have faith in the United States and can smile, you know there is no way of pulling out.

"Everyone back home keeps yelling to pull out and let the Vietnamese fight for themselves. Well, they don't know what it is like over here, and probably never will, after you have seen a little kid with a grenade scar on his face, a young boy with a bullet hole through his wrist, or the unlucky one with a hand missing, or maybe the little baby with a .30 caliber bullet crease on his head. Just by doing the traveling I do, I can see the Vietnamese are thankful and in return are showing their gratitude. Maybe one of these days someone will wake up and realize just how necessary our being over here is, I could go on but I guess all this means very little to you.

"I was down at Vung Tau yesterday, I tried to look up Duane Johnson, but ran out of time just as I found his company. I doubt that I will ever be that way or have a chance again.

"I just got back from operations. Do you remember the Air Medal I received some time ago? Well, I have multiplied the time by sixteen. Instead of medals, I will just receive clusters to put on the original Air Medal. I have put in better than 500 hours of flying with 416 of them credited to combat hours of operation. That sure seems like a lot of hours for the last 4½ months.

"Well, I guess I will close for now. Be sure and say hello to everyone and send good news this way.

"Love,

"BRADY."

Funeral services were conducted for Spec. Herring September 30 from the Lutheran Church of the Transfiguration by the Rev. C. P. Fisher. Burial was in the Bethlehem Lutheran Churchyard at Irmo.

Survivors include his mother, the widow of Francis A. Herring; one brother, F. A. Herring, Jr., of West Columbia; the paternal grandmother, Mrs. W. L. Herring of Columbia; the maternal grandmother, Mrs. Eva L. Weed of Irmo; and the maternal great-grandfather, J. W. Lever of Irmo.

Spec. Herring was a lifelong resident of West Columbia and was graduated from Brookland-Cayce High School in 1965. He also completed a diesel mechanic's course at the Area Trade School in West Columbia.

HERRING HONORED POSTHUMOUSLY

Mrs. Letha Weed Herring recently received posthumous awards for her son Brady who was killed in action in Viet Nam in September 1968.

The awards included the Distinguished Flying Cross for heroism, Air Medal (First through Fourteenth Oak Leaf Clusters), Purple Heart and Good Conduct Medal.

Prior to his death, Brady had been awarded the Air Medal, National Defense Service Medal, Vietnam Service Medal, Vietnam Campaign Ribbon and the Aircraft Crewman Badge.

The official reasons for his receiving the Distinguished Flying Cross are as follows: For heroism while participating in aerial flight evidenced by voluntary actions above and beyond the call of duty; Specialist Four Herring distinguished himself by exceptionally valorous actions while flying as a door gunner on a UH-1D helicopter involved in an operation near Dau Tieng.

During the day, several elements of an allied airborne brigade had been inserted and one of the units made contact resulting in an American advisor being wounded. After inserting a replacement, his aircraft received enemy fire on departure. Every crew member was wounded and the radios and intercom were inoperable.

Although seriously wounded, Specialist Four Herring defended his side of the helicopter. While on final approach to Dau Tieng, the engine failed and a forced landing was executed. Due to the crew members serious wounds and the condition of the aircraft, complete control of the aircraft could not be maintained and the ship crashed and exploded on impact with the ground.

His heroism and willingness to risk his own life for his comrades was truly above and beyond the call of duty. His actions were in keeping with the highest traditions of the military service and reflect great credit upon himself, his unit, and the United States Army.

The Citation for the Air Medal (First through Fourteenth Oak Leaf Clusters) reads as follows: For distinguishing himself by meritorious achievement while participating in sustained aerial flight in support of combat ground forces of the Republic of Vietnam during the period May 8, 1968 to August 27, 1968.

During this time he actively participated in more than 25 aerial missions over hostile territory in support of counter-insurgency operations.

During all of these missions he displayed the highest order of air discipline and acted in accordance with the best traditions of the service. By his determination to accomplish his mission in spite of the hazards inherent in repeated aerial flights over hostile territory and by his outstanding degree of professionalism and devotion to duty, he has brought credit upon himself, his organization, and the military service.

Brady's father was the late Francis A. Herring.

THE YOUNG DEAD SOLDIERS

(By Archibald MacLeish)

The young dead soldiers do not speak. Nevertheless they are heard in the still houses.

(Who has not heard them?)

They have a silence that speaks for them at night

And when the clock counts.

They say,

We were young. We have died. Remember us.

They say,

We have done what we could

But until it is finished it is not done.

They say,

We have given our lives

But until it is finished no one can know what our lives gave.

They say,

Our deaths are not ours,

They are yours,

They will mean what you make them.

They say,

Whether our lives and our deaths were for peace and a new hope

Or for nothing

We cannot say.

It is you who must say this.

They say,

We leave you our deaths.

Give them their meaning.

Give them an end to the war and a true peace.

Give them a victory that ends the war and a peace afterwards.

Give them their meaning.

We were young, they say.

We have died.

Remember us.

GRANT APTHORP: EAST CLEVELAND DYNAMO

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, it has just come to my attention that Mr. Grant Apthorp, the city manager of the city of East Cleveland in my congressional district, has announced his retirement. Mr. Apthorp has been among the very finest public officials I have ever known. Highly competent in city management, he has demonstrated a high degree of understanding and compassion for problems of the city.

During Mr. Apthorp's long and distinguished career of service, he has become known as Mr. East Cleveland. He provided exemplary leadership during a period of dynamic change. He has endeavored to provide plans for the decades ahead.

As a culmination of his great career, the city of East Cleveland recently unveiled a \$50 million program for physi-

cal, organizational, and social change. After having witnessed the great successes already to his credit, I am sure that East Cleveland can show the Nation how to get results from imaginative planning.

I wish to extend to Mr. and Mrs. Apthorp a very happy and healthy future together in whatever endeavors they plan to undertake. My pledge goes to Bill Gaskill, executive assistant to Grant Apthorp, who will become city manager. The city of East Cleveland remains in very capable and creative hands. I will continue to offer every possible assistance to assure the continued revitalization of East Cleveland.

I wish to insert at this point a very fine editorial which appeared in the Cleveland Plain Dealer on Thursday, March 20, on the retirement of Grant Apthorp. The editorial is as follows:

APTHORP AN ASSET

It is fortunate for East Cleveland that City Manager Grant T. Apthorp will remain in the community and serve as a consultant-without-pay to the administration after he retires June 1.

We hope the East Cleveland City Commission will continue to profit from Apthorp's complete knowledge of municipal affairs, his special talent for fiscal management and his long experience in dealing with the state legislature on matters of interest to his own and other cities.

Apthorp has given of his skills and know-how to East Cleveland's government for nearly 46 of his 68 years. In the county and in the state he is recognized as an authority on city problems and an effective spokesman for municipal rights.

East Cleveland is fortunate to retain the valuable resource it has so long possessed.

ST. PATRICK'S DAY: THIS DAY WE CELEBRATE

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, we all realize that the Irish have been among us for a long time, but I wonder if we realize just how long. The Hibernian Society of Baltimore last Monday observed its 166th anniversary, an indication of the long time the Irish have been in Baltimore. Their influence has been felt throughout all levels of our city and State.

There were about 800 persons present at the banquet, including many city, State and Federal officials, high-ranking military personnel, and representatives of the St. Andrew's Society, the St. George's Society, and the German Society.

In addition to the fine entertainment always a part of these banquets, we had the privilege and pleasure of hearing an address by our colleague, the gentleman from California, JEROME R. WALDIE. Knowing that his remarks will be of interest to all of you, I include them herewith for your perusal:

THIS DAY WE CELEBRATE

(By Congressman JEROME R. WALDIE, Hibernian Society of Baltimore, March 17, 1969)

Mr. Chairman, Senator Tydings, Most Reverend Clergy, Judge Finan, Mr. Mayor, and Gentlemen: I am most pleased and honored to be with this noble and highly respected Society of Hibernians on this most auspicious occasion, and I am particularly pleased and honored to be in the presence of my colleagues in the House of Representatives, the entire Baltimore congressional delegation: The Honorable George Fallon, my former chairman, as I was for two years a member of his Public Works Committee; the Honorable Edward A. Garmatz, chairman of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, and the Honorable Samuel Friedel, chairman of the House Administration Committee. I don't know if many of you here are fully aware of the tremendous power that the city of Baltimore has by virtue of this triumvirate of highly respected and capable committee chairman. I know of no city in America that is as blessed in that respect as is Baltimore, and unless you are a member of the House of Representatives and thereby aware of the tremendous power of committee chairmen in that body, you perhaps would not be cognizant of the power that is yours through these three men.

And, finally, let me similarly pay my deep and sincere respects to my very good friend and personal host this evening, Senator Joe Tydings. Were he of a mind he could be elected overwhelmingly in the State of California where he made a tremendous number of friends at every appearance that he made on behalf of the late Senator Robert Kennedy. I am among those Californians who became ardent fans of his during that campaign.

Although the Irish blood in me may be slight, being slightly thinned by that of several other nationalities, on St. Patrick's Day, I, like any politician worth his salt, whose grandmother is named Annie Sweeney, am totally Irish—and most proud of it.

The timing of this day, one of the few bright spots in the otherwise dreary month of March, is one of the finest things about it. Finley Peter Dunne's fabled Irish pub keeper, Mr. Dooley, summed it up properly when he said, "If there's wan thing that St. Patrick did for Ireland that I like better than anything else, tis the day he fixed for his birthday . . . being an ingenious man as well as holy and well read in the Calendar, he named a day that was sure to fall somewhere in the middle of Lent."

Philosopher Dooley also had words to say of March 16th—which he called "the longest day in the year." Heathen astronomers say it ain't—but I know better," he said, "An the 17th is the shortest, it's like a dream. It don't last more than a minute, but a million things can happen in it."

The Irish in the United States are much like Mr. Dooley's description—they haven't been here in great numbers for very long—but a million things have happened to them because of them in that short time.

But to me, the most obvious mark left by the Irish in America is in my own profession—politics. To the Irish, politics was an attractive profession in those early years. Since newly naturalized voters were usually more willing to give their votes to another son of the old country than to a native born candidate, politics was one of the few professions in which it was an asset rather than a drawback to be an immigrant.

It was said that the Irish didn't enter politics—they erupted—and the many election day riots attested to that.

The Irish had a real advantage over other groups of immigrants in that they came with a live political tradition. They had learned some understanding of the use of politics and of the discipline a successful political organization required. They had a

common language and shared the culture of the new land. They had gifts of charm and eloquence.

The Irish antagonism of England offended some leaders, but it did not upset most Americans since in the 19th Century twisting the lion's tail was the national sport.

It was the English, in fact, who helped align the Irish with the Jeffersonian tradition and the Democratic Party in the United States. The old Federalist Party sided with England against revolutionary France in the 1790's. This meant that the Federalists were also against Ireland which had hoped to win its independence with French aid as had the United States.

This tradition of an alliance with, and affection for the Democratic Party, was very strong among the Irish. The story has been told by John Danaher of Connecticut, who in 1938 became the first Irish Republican ever elected to the U.S. Senate.

It seems it was Danaher's father who switched allegiance to the GOP, an occasion that prompted an old Irish Catholic lady to say to her friend, "have you heard the news? John Danaher has become a Republican!"

"It can't be true," her friend replied, "I saw him at mass just last Sunday."

Teddy Roosevelt encountered some of the same feeling on one of his whistlestop campaign trips.

During one of his orations an Irishman evidently fresh from a nearby saloon kept interrupting the candidate with shouts of "I'm a Democrat, I'm a Democrat." Finally, Teddy asked the Irishman why he was a Democrat. "My grandfather was a Democrat, my father was a Democrat and I am a Democrat," the Irishman replied.

With no small amount of sarcasm Teddy added, "My friend, suppose your grandfather had been a jackass and your father had been a jackass? What would you be?"

Instantly the Irishman replied, "A Republican, sir—a Republican."

The Irish made their big move into American politics at the time when both the theory and practice of politics were at a particularly low ebb. And there are those who will tell you that the Irish entry didn't necessarily result in a marked improvement. But if any there be of such a mind, I would strongly recommend they not give voice to such traitorous sentiments on this day of days!

The Irish took over the political party at the local level and converted it into virtually a parallel system of government. When the machine became strong enough and came into power it could provide that most precious of all commodities—for an immigrant—a job. When the machine was in power it expanded construction, building courthouses and schoolhouses and paving more streets, digging more subways and erecting new bridges. When the reform governments were in office public construction work was cut back—and Irish jobs!

It was quite true that at times the morality of Irish early politics did not bear the closest of scrutinies. Thus an old-time Irish district leader was once investigated by city officials on a charge of accepting bribes for favors rendered. When the Irishman, who was on the city payroll for \$7,000 per year, was asked how on his salary he was able to bank \$40,000 annually, he replied innocently and simply "thrift."

This period was the time of Tammany Hall's greatest influence in New York City. During that era there was a notable ward boss by the name of "Big Tim" Sullivan. On one election, prior to granting women the vote, Big Tim carried his district with a majority of 8,571 votes to two votes for the Republican opposition, and naturally his friends thought that Big Tim would be very happy with the results. But instead, Big Tim the next day was quite glum and nasty of disposition. When asked why, Tim explained, "Last week Joe Doyle come to me and said that the fellow running on the Republican ticket was

a relative of his wife's and the women in his family were at him to vote for him. So I told Joe to go ahead and vote for him."

"What I want to know now is—who was the other S.O.B. who voted Republican without my permission?"

It was a mark of their skill, that many Irish politicians achieved power at an early age. Alfred E. Smith and Jimmy Walker were floor leaders in the New York Legislature while still in their thirties and James Michael Curley of Boston was a Congressman at 36 and mayor of Boston at 39.

All three had charm, boldness, energy, and a quick mind. This coupled with a fluent tongue brought these young politicians to the top rapidly.

It was Walker, you may recall, who was questioned by Franklin Delano Roosevelt, "Why do you Irish always answer a question with a question?"

"Do we now?" answered Walker.

Alfred Emanuel Smith, the happy warrior, was a natural actor, as were most politicians of the time. He learned his lines quickly and remembered them. He could ad lib a speech for an hour and a half or two hours and his loud voice carried in the largest hall.

He knocked around in politics in the blood and guts nineties and the turn of the century days when politics was a lusty man's trade carried on in saloons and at torch-lit parades and street corner rallies.

During his heyday Al would cite the story of the lady temperance orator who concluded her vibrant pleading with, "I would rather commit adultery than take a glass of beer." And a voice came from the back of the hall, thick with Irish accent, "Who wouldn't?"

After a brilliant record as legislator and Governor in New York Al Smith was selected as the nominee of the Democratic Party in the election of 1928.

It wasn't the best time for an Irish-Catholic Democrat. The country was in a time of prosperity and Smith was ill-prepared for the national issues and unfamiliar with the West and Midwest.

Will Rogers told him, "You can't lick this prosperity thing. Even the fellow that hasn't any is all excited over the idea."

But the final analysis of the 1928 election showed what really had happened. A man qualified by integrity, talent and achievement had been denied the Presidency in a campaign that was marred by religious hatred and snobbery towards a self-made man. It seems that the country had rejected Smith because of his family origin, and his religion and paid little or no attention to his vision of the country as he thought it ought to be.

Many an Irishman bowed his head and wept after the election of 1928 and despaired of the workings of the democracy.

It was during the time of Al Smith that another Irishman came to prominence in Boston. He was James Michael Curley, a man with more ups and downs than a mug of beer at Hooligan's.

James Michael Curley was elected four times to Congress and four times mayor of Boston and held other offices ranging from alderman to Governor in his nearly fifty years of service to the people of Massachusetts. Yet he was defeated once for the House of Representatives, once for the Senate, twice for the governorship and no less than six times for mayor of Boston.

His was a career of turbulence never completely free of an aura of aggression and violence.

At one time in his career he unloaded an uppercut at his Republican foe on the day he was sworn in as Governor and he once threatened to throw a high city official through a window to the street below if the official carried out a threat of removing Curley from his alderman's post because of a "minor" infraction of the law which sent Curley to the city jail for only 60 days.

Curley made little pretense to sincerity in his political campaigns. He said, "there are times, when, if you want to win an election, you must do unto others as they wish to do unto you, but you must do it first. It's all a part of the great game of politics, where the epithets are not to be taken too seriously."

Once when confronted with a fellow Irishman for an opponent, Curley took note of the fact that the man, although a Catholic, had moved near a Protestant church. Curley charged his opponent, a man named Murphy, had done it so as not to have so far to walk to church. And while Murphy spent several days denying it, Curley went to work on another attack saying that the counterman at Thompson's saloon had seen Murphy ordering a roast beef sandwich on a Friday. "While I," said the outraged Curley, "was at St. Mary's walking the stations of the Cross." Despite it all—or because of it—Curley won again.

Early in his career Curley had forced out of office a more conventional Boston Irishman who had served two terms as mayor. He was Honey "Fitz" Fitzgerald, the father-in-law of Joseph P. Kennedy, and grandfather of John F. Kennedy.

Joe Kennedy was among the number of men of his age who had lowered their heads at the defeat of Al Smith but were quick to respond to the challenge of a new leader in 1932, and the leader's new deal. They included Thomas G. Corcoran, the most gifted and versatile of the new deal brain trusters; John McCormack, who was one of Roosevelt's most effective and dependable lieutenants in the House of Representatives and who is now Speaker of the House, and James Farley, who became the ablest party manager of his day. Joseph P. Kennedy made real an old Irish American dream by becoming Ambassador to Great Britain. He later presided over the fulfillment of an even more splendid dream in 1960—the election of his son, John Fitzgerald Kennedy to the presidency!

For these men, and for the Irish American community as a whole, the economic breakdown that was the depression afforded the occasion for a major breakthrough from the old confines of city and State politics. None of this group became a real presidential possibility, but as a group they made possible the transition from Al Smith, (who had lost, to John Kennedy, who in 1960 did what had been the impossible for the Irish-Catholic, he became President of the United States.

Jack Kennedy knew he had more against him than being an Irish-Catholic. He also had the political liability of being rich as well. But he never tried to hide the fact from the people.

During the 1960 campaign he told the annual gridiron dinner at the National Press Club in Washington that his father had just sent him a telegram.

Opening the alleged wire he read, "Buy all the votes you can, but remember I am not paying for a landslide."

The late Senator Robert Kennedy was also of quick wit. Once noting that there were two Rockefellers running for Governor, he said, "If there is anything I hate in politics, it's someone who runs on a famous name."

John Fitzgerald Kennedy's winning of the presidency in 1960 was the fitting capstone for a century of Irish-American political activity. It swept away the disappointments and bitterness of Al Smith's 1928 disaster. The Kennedy victory was an accomplishment in which all Irishmen could take rightful pride and pleasure.

John Kennedy was their man—a man of words, a scholarly reader and writer, an orator of great ability and power and a man of taste and sensitivity. He was a man from a people who have produced so many poets, singers, actors, writers and good talkers. These people deserve to have as their greatest political leader a man who loved the language and could use it.

Jack Kennedy was such a man.

But the tragedy that took him away from his people—all of us—has not ended what he started. Electing the first Irish-Catholic was like the first man in space, the first seven-foot high jumper or the four-minute mile. After a time the memory of how difficult the first task was will grow dim. It will happen again—and who knows how soon? Perhaps 4 years from now.

So on this St. Patrick's day that we celebrate with such grand company, let us toast the man in public office. From the old Irishman who congratulated himself by saying, "Half the lies told about me are not true." To the men who serve our country now—and to those who will lead it in the future—may many of them be Irish—and if they are not—may they be as grand as an Irishman.

SIECUS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the concerned parents of America are speaking out to keep their schools free for education and independent of unwanted dogma.

In recent years, far too many parents, misled by glowing promises of the effectiveness of "modern" and "progressive" education, have delegated the responsibility for moral instruction as well as the three R's to the public schools.

Now they, the parents, are demanding parental voice in school matters and the curriculum offered their children.

I think there is no better proof of this than news in the past several days which indicates that SIECUS-sponsored programs of so-called "sex education" have been rejected in two instances in Texas, banned at young ages by the House of Representatives of Oklahoma, and refused in Tangipahoa Parish, La.

So that we might have a national investigation of the operations and tax-exempt status of SIECUS, and similar organizations I have introduced House Resolution 329 for this purpose.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to have various news articles on SIECUS, a letter, and the text of my bill, follow my remarks for the benefit of our colleagues:

[From the Oklahoma Journal, Mar. 20, 1969]
HOUSE VOTES BAN ON SEX EDUCATION—58 TO
23 TALLY ENDS FIERY DISCUSSION

(By Paul English)

The Oklahoma House voted 58-23 Wednesday to ban sex education in all public schools.

The vote climaxed a torrid campaign by supporters of Sanity on Sex (SOS), a group opposed to sex education in schools and especially to material recommended by Sex Information and Education Council of the United States (SIECUS), a national organization.

The bill provides that local school boards could hold a hearing and fire any teacher accused of violating any section of the bill.

Sponsor of the measure, Rep. Lonnie Abbott, D-Ada, said the SOS group had shown him "filthy, lewd material" which allegedly was being used in some schools in the nation.

[From the Amarillo, (Tex.) Daily News,
Mar. 20, 1969]

SIECUS GETS TWO TURNDOWS

SIECUS is becoming a controversial term in some communities across the Southwest,

although the SIECUS-sponsored program of sex education in the schools has not been adopted in one Texas community that we know of.

Some communities are taking the initiative by acting against it before it has a chance to infiltrate the schools.

Last week the El Paso school board voted disapproval of SIECUS.

And yesterday the Borger school board unanimously rejected it.

"Now it's a closed subject in Borger," said Stewart Dunaway, board president.

SIECUS stands for Sex Information and Education Council of the U.S.

Its headquarters are in New York.

It is described as a voluntary "health agency" dedicated to helping communities and schools set up sex education programs. It enjoys a certain degree of official and institutional support.

It operates largely on foundation grants. Executive director of SIECUS is Dr. Mary Calderone.

Three of its board members are also staff or board members of a publishing company that puts out the sensational "Sexology" magazine, readily available among the more lurid publications on newsstands.

Its treasurer, Isadore Rubin, has a long history of left wing political activity, and has been involved in Un-American Activities Committee investigations.

SIECUS believes in starting sex education in the schools from the earliest grades—and apparently with little left to the imagination of the pupils.

It doesn't seem to be the sort of program Texans will take to, and we trust that communities throughout the Southwest will follow the example of Borger and El Paso and turn thumbs down before SIECUS gets a hold on any of our schools.

THE PRENTICE-HALL CORP. SYSTEM,
INC.,

Dover, Del., March 11, 1969.

Re SIECUS (Sex Information and Education Council of the United States).

Mrs. _____,

DEAR MRS. _____: Reference is made to your letter of March 8 concerning the above-named Delaware corporation, for which we act as registered agent. In the capacity just noted, we have no complete knowledge of the activities of the corporation. According to the latest annual report filed with the Secretary of State of Delaware, the nature of the corporations business is "health and education, non-profit, tax exempt agency". Its place of business outside of Delaware is listed as 1855 Broadway, New York City 10023. May I respectfully suggest that you communicate with the corporation at the above address for a more complete answer to your inquiry.

Very truly yours,

Z. A. POOL, III,
Assistant Vice-President.

H. RES. 329

Resolved, That there is hereby created a select committee to be composed of ten Members of the House of Representatives to be appointed by the Speaker, one of whom he shall designate as chairman. Not more than five members of the committee shall be members of the same political party. Any vacancy occurring in the membership of the committee shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

The committee is authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete investigation into the operations and tax-exempt status of the Sex Information and Education Council of the United States, Incorporated (S.I.E.C.U.S.), and any other organization instructing, indoctrinating, or training minor children in those subjects traditionally the responsibility of the home, including but not

by way of limitation, sex, religion, and morals without express consent of their parents.

For the purpose of carrying out this resolution the committee, or any subcommittee thereof authorized by the committee to hold hearings, is authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within the United States, including any Commonwealth or possession thereof, whether the House is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, and to require, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memorandums, papers, and documents, as it deems necessary; except that neither the committee nor any subcommittee thereof may sit while the House is meeting unless special leave to sit shall have been obtained from the House. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any member of the committee designated by such chairman or member.

The committee shall report to the House as soon as practicable during the present Congress the results of its investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable. Any such report which is made when the House is not in session shall be filed with the Clerk of the House.

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE
JOEL T. BROYHILL, OF VIRGINIA,
IN SUPPORT OF THREE BILLS FOR
THE BENEFIT OF RETIRED FED-
ERAL EMPLOYEES AND THEIR
SURVIVORS, MONDAY, MARCH 24,
1969

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing three bills supported by the National Association of Retired Civil Employees (NARCE), an organization founded in 1921. The objectives of NARCE are to serve civil service annuitants and their survivors, and potential annuitants and their survivors under retirement laws, and to sponsor and support beneficial legislation.

I feel strongly that the legislation, represented by the three bills I will introduce, should be carefully considered and studied.

The first bill I am introducing will not bring all low-income retirees above the poverty level, but will give them a substantial increase in their annuities with the largest increases going to those with the smallest annuities. It would give an increase to all Federal retirees and their survivors as follows: \$26 per month if now less than \$200 per month; 13 percent if now at least \$200 but less than \$300 per month; 9 percent if now at least \$300 but less than \$400 per month; 7 percent if now at least \$400 but less than \$500 per month, or 5 percent if now at least \$500 per month.

Of an approximate 800,000 retired civil employees and their survivors, some 279,000 receive a monthly annuity of less than \$100, and 513,000 receive less than \$200 per month. Using a poverty level income of \$3,000 per year, 611,000 plus former employees and their survivors are now living in poverty. The only way we

can correct this great injustice is to grant these former Federal employees a substantial increase.

Mr. Speaker, the second bill I am introducing would correct one glaring inequity which is providing a special hardship on a number of retirees. The present retirement law provides that a retiree at time of retirement may elect to take a reduced annuity to provide a survivor annuity for his spouse.

Some annuitants who retired many years ago were forced, under law, to take as much as a 25-percent reduction in their annuities to provide for a survivor's annuity. Over the years, liberalizing amendments have been adopted and those retiring today take a reduction of 2½ percent on the first \$3,600 of annuity and 10 percent on the remainder. The law also states that only one election can be made, and that at time of retirement.

When a retiree is predeceased by the named spouse he must continue to pay for a survivor's annuity through his reduced annuity as long as he lives, although there never will be anyone who can receive the survivor annuity. Also, if the retiree remarries he cannot name the second spouse as beneficiary. This bill which I have introduced provides for the restoration of the full annuity, or permits the retiree to name a new spouse as survivor when the originally named spouse predeceases the retiree, and the new spouse has attained age 60.

I believe the present law is not fair or just. The retiree has reduced his own annuity to provide for his spouse. If this spouse predeceases him and he remarries, even though he still must take a reduced annuity each month, he cannot provide any security for the second spouse. One can change a beneficiary on an insurance policy, why not on a survivor annuity, which is in itself a form of insurance an employee elects by taking a reduction in his monthly annuity?

Mr. Speaker, the third bill I am introducing is to increase the credit against tax for retirement income. This bill is to correct an injustice which has come to my attention.

The credit against retirement income was intended to provide equal treatment under the law for those who receive social security payments, which are totally tax exempt, and those who receive an annuity from some other public retirement system. When increases were provided for social security recipients we did not follow through and increase the tax credit in proportion. This bill will correct that oversight.

Mr. Speaker, I realize this is not the perfect answer to the complex problem of equalizing tax treatment but it is a step in the right direction. We may possibly have to approach this problem from a different angle and consider a flat exemption of some part of the retirement income.

I need not remind my colleagues that the rising cost of living has steadily reduced the buying power of those living on fixed incomes. When we consider this factor, along with the realization that many of these retirees retired years ago, when salaries were low and produced small annuities which are now inad-

quate to maintain an acceptable standard of living, the great problem our retirees face becomes increasingly evident.

It would seem to me that we have a responsibility to correct such injustices and give these former Federal employees a life of dignity.

THE LATE HONORABLE HENRY O. TALLE

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I was saddened last week to learn of the recent passing of the Honorable Henry O. Talle who for 20 years represented the people of Iowa's Second Congressional District. I had the pleasure of intimately knowing Henry for many of those 20 years and while we may have disagreed on some things from time to time, it was a distinct privilege to serve with him as well as to travel abroad with him. Henry Talle was a well respected and diligent Member of the House of Representatives and those of us who knew him will miss him greatly. To his dear wife and family I extend my deepest sympathy on their great loss.

MILITARY SHOULD SPEAK OUT ON SST

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, recent statements by Treasury Secretary David Kennedy on the SST in which he called for a "delay" in the program appear to be very shortsighted to me. It looks as though the Secretary is concerning himself more with "outgo" than "income."

In suggesting a deferral in America's supersonic transport program, the Secretary apparently overlooked the hundreds of millions of dollars in benefits to our balance of payments as well as the tax income that will come from the many thousands of jobs this project will create.

But, aside from the economic advantages to be derived from the SST program, there is the military consideration. Defense Secretary Laird is an open champion of the multibillion-dollar Sentinel ABM system, yet he has not stated his support of this aircraft which has decided and vital military capabilities.

The Seattle Times recently editorialized on this military aspect, and for the information of my colleagues I include this editorial in the RECORD:

MILITARY SHOULD SPEAK OUT ON SST

The Times suggests the time has come for military officials at the highest uniformed level to end their silence regarding the military value of the proposed supersonic transport.

The SST is, of course, planned as a commercial product—a futuristic craft that will carry more passengers for longer distances at higher speeds than foreign-built competitors, and thus maintain Uncle Sam's international sales supremacy in commercial aviation.

Yet the SST would have indisputable military value as a means of whisking troops and equipment to trouble points anywhere on earth in a matter of hours.

In this respect, it should be kept in mind that all aircraft operated by United States commercial airlines are part of a "reserve fleet" that can be converted to military use in an emergency.

The Soviet Union already is testing its first SST, and one can be sure the high priority assigned that project, despite the strains in the Soviet economy, is due in large measure to the craft's military value.

In addition to the SST's potential as a military carrier, which is unquestioned, there is great likelihood that some of the technical knowledge gained in developing the commercial transport would be useful in building an Advanced Manned Strategic Aircraft, a new Air Force bomber that Defense Secretary Laird reportedly will ask Congress to support at a high funding level.

Yet the SST apparently is being subjected to serious challenge within the 11-man commission that President Nixon has appointed to study the project.

The commission has been divided into four subcommittees, each of whose reports is said to be "weighted on the negative side."

What is most disturbing, though, are reports noting that the military has not spilled out its views.

Transportation Secretary John A. Volpe (who reportedly favors the SST) says he will forward the commission's report to the President by April 1.

Thus not many days remain in which the military can get its views on the commission record. It is time to do so.

THE LATE HONORABLE HENRY O. TALLE

HON. NEAL SMITH

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 17, 1969

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the former Congressman from Iowa, Henry O. Talle, who passed away last Friday, March 14, 1969. Henry Talle spent his entire life serving the people of Iowa and the Nation. During the First World War, he served his country as an officer in the Navy. After the war, he embarked upon a long and successful career as an educator, serving as professor of economics at Luther College in Decorah, Iowa, from 1921-38. He was also the treasurer of Luther College from 1932 to 1938. In 1938 Henry Talle was elected to Congress from the Fourth District of Iowa, and was reelected in 1940. After redistricting, he was elected from the newly formed Second District in 1942, and was returned every election until 1958.

During his 20 years in Congress, Mr. Talle served as the ranking minority member of the Banking and Currency Committee, the Joint Economic Committee, the Joint Committee on Defense Production, and the House District Committee. In 1959 he was appointed as Assistant Administrator for Program Policy with the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Although I came to the Congress from a different district of Iowa on the same day he left and therefore did not have the pleasure of serving with Mr. Talle, I know he enjoyed the reputation of a courageous and devoted public servant. He is held in the highest esteem by those who knew him, worked with him, and were so faithfully represented by him for so many years.

Mrs. Smith and I extend our deepest sympathies to Mrs. Talle and the members of his family.

CHARLES A. SPRAGUE

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the State of Oregon has lost one of its most valued citizens and one of its greatest statesmen with the passing of former Gov. Charles A. Sprague.

He was an independent man, advisor to Governors, legislators and private citizens, sharing his wealth of knowledge and his keen sense of what was right in public affairs. He will be greatly missed, for he was one of a kind.

As the Portland Oregonian said in tribute:

Oregon is much, much poorer today because of the departure of Charlie Sprague. But his example should inspire Oregon leadership for a long time to come.

His friend, and competitor in both politics and publishing, Dewey Rand, wrote in final tribute:

You were a very nice, a very good guy, Charlie Sprague.

I place two representative editorials, expressing the sorrow of all Oregonians, in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Oregonian, Mar. 14, 1969]

CHARLES A. SPRAGUE

Charles Arthur Sprague was Oregon's wartime governor, an office in which he served with distinction. But his eminence in the affairs of the state and the nation was by no means limited to that period (1939-1943). His influence was such that he was widely recognized for many years prior to his death Thursday as Oregon's most distinguished citizen.

Wherever he lived, Charlie Sprague built something. In Waitsburg, Wash., he built a school system as its superintendent while still in his early 20s. Later he served as assistant superintendent of instruction of Washington state. In Ritzville, Wash., and Corvallis he built newspapers. And, at 42, he moved to Salem to build the Salem Statesman, which was the base for his extensive civic endeavor for 40 years.

As the state's chief executive, Gov. Sprague was responsible for mobilizing the state's industry and manpower for World War II. He also had a hand in the introduction of enlightened forestry management policies, the benefits of which will accrue for centuries.

Well beyond the time most men have retired or are thinking of it, Gov. Sprague put his energies wholeheartedly into civic service. In 1952, he became the first Oregonian to become a member of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations. He bore heavy responsibility in the leadership of state commissions on government reorganization and constitutional revision and as president of Col-

leges for Oregon's Future. He served as a trustee of Willamette University and of Albany College, later Lewis and Clark College. He was active locally and nationally in the affairs of his church (Presbyterian) and was president of the Oregon Council of Churches. His leadership roles in many other civic enterprises—the Community Chest, Salem Philharmonic, YMCA, Salvation Army were a few—are too numerous to catalogue here. At his death he was the incumbent president of the Oregon Historical Society, a demanding job he accepted in his 81st year.

But such positions and the many awards he received for accomplishment are not a full measure of Gov. Sprague's contribution to his community, state, and nation. He was the respected consultant of Oregon governors and legislators of both parties. A life-long Republican, he often crossed party lines. It could be said of him as of few politically inactive men that he put principle above politics.

Legislative leaders and committees gave him the attention due his deep knowledge of Oregon affairs. He was always on hand when he felt an important issue was at stake—often in such controversial fields as conservation and civil rights. With the late William M. Tugman, editor of the Eugene Register-Guard, he waged a successful fight against the imposition of a restrictive teachers' oath by the 1951 Oregon Legislature, just one of the many products of his ceaseless concern that public policy be enlightened.

Late in the afternoon of almost every day of the week he could be found in his cluttered office in the Statesman, writing his daily column, "It Seems to Me," which supplemented his personal civic efforts. One day it might concern a critical issue at the Statehouse, the next the anniversary of the birth of Chopin, and on another day methods of teaching in the Salem schools (he, himself, sat as a pupil to get his material for that one).

Oregon is much, much poorer today because of the departure of Charlie Sprague. But his example should inspire Oregon leadership for a long time to come.

[From the Capital Press, Mar. 21, 1969]

PASSING IN REVIEW
(By Dewey Rand)

The name Charles A. Sprague is surely a familiar one to most readers of this column although many may not have known Governor Sprague personally. It was my good fortune that I did know him well and that we were, in a limited way that I will describe, friends through the circumstances of our businesses and residence in Salem.

On his death last week it was both fitting and natural that Charles Sprague, for more than two decades editor and publisher of the Salem Statesman, would be eulogized by his fellow editors. He was, beyond argument, the most eminent member of his profession in Oregon, and the tribute he has received, even when it might seem extravagant, was earned and deserved. I would hope that you have read at least some of it.

But his fame, if that is the word, had become such that comments have naturally centered on his outstanding accomplishments as an editor, a politician and an actively participating citizen. What about Charles Sprague as a person rather than a public figure? For balance, and because the one side has been so well and extensively done by others, I would like to write a little about my own associations with this very unusual man.

When I came to Salem in 1946 it was only a few years after Mr. Sprague had become sole owner of the Statesman. What brought us together first was contract negotiations between local employers and members of the typographical unions. These were not easy times for any of us. The employers were facing post-war price increases of materials

and labor. Union members were in a bind also trying to match incomes to increased cost of living.

It was through these many annual meetings that I learned first hand about Charles Sprague's extraordinary capacity to see the other man's problems and also his inherent fairness. In fact, at times I thought him a little too "fair." Each year the wages went up and the discussion at the meeting always seemed to be about how much more the scale would increase. Each raise meant either lower profits, if any, or increased prices for circulation and advertising.

One year, before the annual meeting, I suggested that we employers might hold the line for once. He thought about this for a minute and his reply was that this would not be fair even if it were possible. He was thinking about the position of our employees when he explained that if they got the same wages the next year it would mean a "cut" in their pay because of increased living costs. Serious as were our problems at times he had consideration for others. This was his way, thoughtful, fair and—right.

Through the years I never had a pre-arranged "social" meeting with Charles Sprague although at times I would visit him at the Statesman when mutual business interests dictated. We would however, meet by chance at lunchtime occasionally as happens in a community the size of Salem. Often his greeting would be: "Well, Dewey! How are your Democrats doing?" For we both liked to talk about politics and the political people we knew.

Without exception these meetings were a pleasure for me and he, I think, enjoyed them also. This might sound rather unbelievable considering that we were members of opposing political parties and rarely, if ever, did our newspaper endorsements of major candidates agree. But Charles Sprague, consistently Republican as he was, did not believe his party was infallible or that its candidates were without imperfections. Because of this he could discuss this fascinating subject without heat or emotion. Is this not too common characteristic of "partisans" important? I think so.

An editorial in the Eugene Register-Guard had this to say last week: "Governor of Oregon from 1939 to 1943, he remained 'the governor' the rest of his life. When someone asked, 'What does the governor say?' he likely meant not call McCall, Hatfield or any of those, but THE governor. A few called him 'Mr.', almost nobody 'Charlie.'" This caused me to wonder, for in all our Salem association I had never addressed him in any other way than Charlie. I don't know why this was other than it seemed natural for me. Certainly, no one respected him more. And it is another measure of Charlie that "respect" was never something he demanded. It was showered upon him. It is my thought now that he may have liked a "Charlie" mixed in with "Mr." and "Governor" now and then.

When it became permissible, I visited Charlie at the hospital. When I entered his room his eyes were closed as he lay in bed. After waiting a minute I asked, "are you asleep?" He opened his eyes and held out his hand. "Well, Dewey! No, I wasn't sleeping." Then with his wry humor he said: "I was thinking about something. I have never smoked and I got lung cancer. Maybe the cigarette people could use me to counteract the anti-cigarette drive."

Are these small things reported here material when writing about Charles A. Sprague? I believe they are as important as the many unusual accomplishments that have been noted recently. And I would express the sum of these by saying something I'm sure he would have enjoyed as much as his many other deserved compliments. "You were a very nice, a very good guy Charlie Sprague."

LET US HONOR DR. ENRICO FERMI

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, I take great pleasure in joining in sponsoring a measure that would name the nuclear accelerator at Weston, Ill., the "Enrico Fermi Nuclear Accelerator," in memory of the late Dr. Enrico Fermi.

The first self-sustaining nuclear chain reaction ever to take place was a direct result of his work. This birth of the atomic age took place at the University of Chicago, where, under his direction, this first atomic reactor was built and uranium fission took place.

Enrico Fermi was as passionately devoted to the ideals of democracy as he was to the advancement of man's knowledge. After winning the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1938, he was a marked man. America became his refuge, to our benefit and that of all free men everywhere.

Enrico Fermi was one of the world's scientific pathfinders. He was a true explorer and groundbreaker, worthy of being ranked among the towering minds of history.

The Weston accelerator is designed to break new ground for generations of people yet unborn. It is one of those culminations of activity which bear fruit after so much effort. Were Enrico Fermi alive today, such a creation as the accelerator would undoubtedly command much attention and fascination from him. It is altogether fitting that we should honor him by naming this new scientific marvel for him.

Just as the spirit of free Italy lived with Fermi, finding expression in his scientific contributions, so the spirit of scientific inquiry will find new impetus from this machine.

NIXON ADMINISTRATION TO ACT AGAINST STUDENT VIOLENCE

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, President Richard M. Nixon's announcement that he intends to enforce the provisions of the Higher Education Act, including those providing for the withdrawal of Federal assistance from students engaging in violent and disruptive protest will assist college administrators in regaining control over the college campuses. These laws were not intended to stifle dissent but rather to prevent destruction. Last year, however, President Lyndon Johnson's administration refused to enforce any of these provisions.

Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Robert H. Finch, has sent a letter to the presidents of the institutions of higher education calling attention to these sections of the law. This is laudable, particularly when contrasted with the foot dragging in this area by the previous

Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Wilbur Cohen.

A subcommittee of the House Education and Labor Committee, of which I am a member, is presently holding hearings to determine the effectiveness of existing laws. It is most heartening to know that this administration has the courage to enforce the laws passed by Congress.

The Attorney General, John N. Mitchell, has also pledged to crack down on "militant activists" who conspire to create riots and disorders on the Nation's campuses.

President Nixon is to be commended for taking action to ease the current wave of campus disorders. No longer must the taxpayers of this country be forced to subsidize students who engage in disruptive behavior.

INDICTMENTS UNDER ANTIRIOT ACT FIRST STEP TOWARD RESTORING LAW AND ORDER IN AMERICA

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, it is with a sense of solid satisfaction that I note the recent action of the Justice Department in securing indictments under the 1968 Antiriot Act against eight individuals charged with instigating the riots and violence that took place at the Democratic National Convention last August.

As author of the Antiriot Act, I naturally had been concerned over the apparent recalcitrance on the part of the previous Attorney General to enforce its provisions. It is my belief that had the Justice Department, as I requested, made known its intention to prosecute individuals traveling in, or using facilities of interstate commerce, to incite riots before the August convention, at least some of the individuals under indictment today may have been discouraged from traveling to Chicago in the first place and much violence and bloodshed might have been avoided.

Indeed, it is high time the Government clamps down on those revolutionaries who are attempting to thwart the democratic process by fomenting riots in our cities and now on our campuses. The eight indictments returned on March 20 are evidence the Government under the Nixon administration will not permit our sacred institutions to be debauched and other people's property to be reduced to ashes.

Mr. Speaker, riots and civil disorders have no place in a government such as ours which provides ample and effective lawful avenues for individuals to register their complaints. To permit individuals to travel around the country for the purpose of fomenting riots is clearly not sanctioned by the Constitution or by the simplest standards of good reason and commonsense.

I am, therefore, highly gratified that the present Justice Department is enforcing the Antiriot Act and I commend

the President and Attorney General Mitchell for implementing this first essential step toward restoring domestic tranquility to the United States. It is my fervent hope that this action will have to be a deterrent to future rabble-rousing riot inciters who appear to have no respect for law and order or for other people's property or rights.

The article reporting on the Justice Department action in this matter which appeared in the March 21 edition of the Washington Post is inserted herewith for the information of my colleagues:

UNITED STATES INDICTS 16 IN DISORDERS AT 1968 CONVENTION—EIGHT POLICEMEN, EIGHT PROTESTERS FACE TRIAL

(By John P. MacKenzie)

Eight Chicago policemen and eight civilian demonstrators were indicted yesterday on charges growing out of the disorders at the Democratic National Convention last August.

The indictments charged a police lieutenant and seven officers of lower rank with individual action in beating up demonstrators. They charged the civilians, including prominent Yippies and other antiwar figures, with conspiracy to foment a riot.

Justice Department officials indicated that the bundle of criminal charges just about wound up the investigation of the convention turbulence. But they added that the Nixon Administration is far from through with investigations of youth violence, including campus disturbances.

The civilians indicted were David Dellinger, 53, chairman of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam; Rennie Davis, 28, a Chicago Mobilization project director and a leader in the Students for a Democratic Society; Tom Hayden, 28, an SDS founder and Mobilization steering committee member; Abbie Hoffman, 32, and Jerry Rubin, 30, top officers in the Youth International Party or Yippies; Lee Weiner, 29, a member of Northwestern University's sociology faculty; John R. Froines, 29, assistant professor of chemistry at the University of Oregon, and Black Panther leader Bobby G. Seale, 32.

They were accused of conspiring to violate the 1968 Civil Rights Act's ban on interstate travel to incite riots. It was the first criminal charge to be brought under this provision.

A separate indictment was returned against Enid Roth, a former NBC news director, charging her with trying to bug the Convention's Platform Committee. It was the first charge of illegally planting electronic listening devices to be brought under the 1968 Crime Control Act, which forbids all bugging and wiretapping except when law officers do it under court order.

Although eight persons on each side of the demonstrator-police confrontations were charged with crimes, the grand jury appeared already to have made an important judgment—that the Yippie leaders were riot conspirators, while any repression by Mayor Richard J. Daley's police force was the work of individual lawlessness by single officers.

The conspiracy charge carries a maximum penalty of five years in prison and \$10,000 fine. Seven of the policemen, accused under a Reconstruction Era civil rights law, face a maximum sentence of a year in prison and \$1,000 fine if convicted. The eighth officer, charged with two counts of falsely denying the use of violence, faces a maximum of five years in jail and \$20,000 fine on each count.

Accused of perjury in yesterday's indictments was 39-year-old Lt. Carl Dobrich.

The other policemen, charged with beating up newsmen and students were Officers Arthur R. Bischoff, Thomas M. Mayer, George Jurich, Vincent J. D'Amico, Edward M.

Becht, Thomas M. Flemming and Ramon C. Andersen.

The crux of the conspiracy indictment is that the demonstration leaders planned, beginning in mid-April, to go to Chicago with the specific intent of fomenting violence. The defendants, most of whom will appear voluntarily for arraignment by agreement with defense counsel, are expected to deny that they intended anything but peaceful demonstrations against the war.

Included in the indictment were 13 overt acts alleged to have furthered the conspiracy. They began with a speech by Rubin last July 23 in New York and ended with speeches and conversations and meetings at Lincoln and Grant parks in Chicago in late August.

The defendants, who have anticipated the indictment for some time, indicated in statements after the convention that they consider their utterances and meetings to be protected by the First Amendment's guarantee of free speech and association and that they acted peacefully until provoked by police.

The indictment charged that several defendants planned to publish articles and make long distance phone calls encouraging sympathizers to come to Chicago. It said the establishment of headquarters in Chicago, karate training sessions, park demonstrations with or without permits and other activities were likewise part of the plot for violence.

Also linked to the overall conspiracy was the charge that Weiner and Froines would teach other protesters how to make "an incendiary device" that was to have been used in an aborted scheme to blow up the underground parking garage at Chicago's Grant Park.

Yesterday's indictment listed 12 alleged co-conspirators who were not named defendants, including Mobilization leader Sidney M. Peck, a teacher at Western Reserve University.

Others listed were Wolfe B. Lowenthal, Sara C. Brown and Bradford Fox of New York; Stewart E. Albert of Berkeley, Calif.; Kathie Boudin and Corina F. Fales of Cleveland, Benjamin Radford of Chicago, Craig Shimabukuro of Los Angeles, and Bo Taylor and David A. Baker of Detroit.

It was not clear yesterday what decision had been made about disclosure of electronic eavesdropping by Federal agents in which Rubin was overheard. The Justice Department, which told the Supreme Court Wednesday it is reconsidering its entire disclosure policy, admitted to the Fourth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in December that Rubin's voice was heard on a listening device in a national security investigation.

THE POOR, DOWNTRODDEN, PUT-UPON NEW YORK TELEPHONE CO.

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, very recently, the New York Telephone Co. asked for a major rate increase. Their action highlights a serious situation whereby monopolies of this kind squeeze the taxpayer with ever-increasing frequency. Because of its ramifications, I not only have protested this action, but feel that a record of this protest might be illuminating to other Members of the House. As this nationwide phenomenon spreads, they may wish to act accordingly.

The text of my letter follows:

MARCH 24, 1969.

PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION,
Department of Public Service,
Albany, N.Y.

GENTLEMEN: The New York Telephone Company is proposing to add \$175 million to the bills of 5.6 million telephone subscribers. They request a 10.5 percent rate increase on basic monthly charges for local residence and business calls, among other requests.

By their own admission, their rate of the profit is 6.87 percent, which they claim they must raise in order to attract investment capital to keep their construction program going.

I find this excuse unsatisfactory in the extreme, and consider their proposal unfair and unworthy of serious consideration or approval. Again, we see a massive corporation making major profits seeking still more for its coffers at the expense of millions of helpless members of the taxpaying public. Surely, there can be no element of fairness in their request.

Sincerely,

BERTRAM L. PODELL,
Member of Congress.

THE LUMBER PRICE CRISIS: INDUSTRY FINDS AN ANSWER

HON. WENDELL WYATT

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday I spoke to the House suggesting what could be done by the Federal Government to solve the log and lumber shortage which has been responsible for the present high prices of lumber and plywood.

In this speech I mentioned what some private timber owners had been able to accomplish by intensified management of their own timber resources. A good example is the Weyerhaeuser Co., in the Northwest. In the Weyerhaeuser News of July 1967, nearly 2 years ago, that company reported in detail to their official family the plans, which by then had been adopted, to increase the yield of company lands on a long-term basis. While I am not advocating this exact program for Federal forest lands, I certainly think that this is the direction in which we should be heading. Therefore, I offer this full article herewith for the information of my colleagues:

Wild as it sounds, without adding a square foot of land, Weyerhaeuser Company is going to grow 33 per cent more wood in its forests in the future than it has been growing in the past.

This modern miracle is called the High Yield Forest and was outlined to shareholders at the annual meeting in April.

Briefly, Weyerhaeuser will get this extra fiber from the woods through fertilization, thinning, use of genetically superior trees and reforesting logged lands quickly.

In one way the High Yield Forest is evolutionary in that the skills and knowledge to do these four things have been accumulated by Weyerhaeuser through many years. This knowledge is the foundation on which the High Yield Forest will be built.

The High Yield Forest is revolutionary in that for the first time this vast pool of knowledge—some of it owned only by Weyerhaeuser—has been cranked into a computer

in a simulation that proves how this 33 per cent increase in wood growth can be gained.

Yet revolutionary as it sounds, it follows the pattern Weyerhaeuser has set through the years.

Back in the early part of this century, the logging method was to "cut and get out," abandoning land and moving on to new forests. Weyerhaeuser made a radical departure at that time by deciding to keep its land wherever possible. This decision was one of the key ones which has given Weyerhaeuser Company its timber wealth today. This change in policy also set the pattern for today's industrial forest management.

Concurrently, the company began to study reforestation and—contrary to nationwide practices at that time—began treating timber as a renewable resource.

At the same time, Weyerhaeuser helped pioneer fire prevention and established better forest fire prevention and control methods.

These steps led in 1941 to the beginning of the privately sponsored American Tree Farm System, again setting a pattern for both private and public forestry, which has proved to be one of the great success stories in the world of conservation.

So today, when the company says it can increase the growth of its forests by 33 per cent, it's following the pioneering spirit which made these other basic decisions in the past.

The High Yield Forest for one thing is sound business. It will also bring benefits to our nation and the world just as the earlier departures into tree farming did. The plan is bold, just as earlier Weyerhaeuser departures into reforestation, fire prevention and tree farming were bold. And just as these earlier departures became the accepted forestry methods throughout the nation, so the high yield forestry concept promises to become the nationwide pattern on both private and public lands.

THE HIGH YIELD FOREST

This will do even more than tree farming did to revolutionize the timber industry!

That was a typical comment following the statement that Weyerhaeuser is going to grow 33 per cent more fiber in its forests in the coming years.

The statement is no blue sky dream, but based on a heavily documented report made to shareholders at the company's recent annual meeting.

The report is a blueprint for what is called the High Yield Forest. It describes how Weyerhaeuser Company lands are going to be producing more than 1,000 tons of wood per hour, day in and day out, forever.

The idea behind the High Yield Forest is really quite simple. It's that a tree farmer, like any other kind of farmer, can get bigger crops from each acre of land if he uses fertilizer, spaces his crops to let them grow as fast as possible, plants genetically superior seed and fully utilizes the total growth of the forest.

For example, American Indians grew 15 to 20 bushels of corn per acre. Today, the average production of corn in the United States is over 100 bushels per acre and production up to 200 bushels has been reached.

While the concept is simple, the means of carrying it out are probably as complex as any plan ever attempted in the industry.

This conversion to the High Yield Forest will be done in four basic ways:

1. Improvement of standing timber through thinning (and in so doing recovering fiber that would have been lost otherwise)

2. Fertilization

3. Getting quick and full reforestation of logged lands

4. Using genetically improved seeds for this reforestation

Much of the knowledge that makes this change to high yield forestry possible was not easily gained, but has been compiled in the past quarter of a century through research,

study and practical experience in the field by Weyerhaeuser employees.

Some of the major contributions have come from the company's research laboratory which was created at Centralia, Wash., more than 20 years ago. These include new forest measurement and silvicultural techniques and intensive studies in soils, genetics, wildlife, forest disease and insects.

At other places throughout the company, work by forest economists, cruisers, log scaling and raw material supply men, logging cost analysts, accountants, and developers of new logging equipment have all poured facts into the High Yield Forest study.

A brief look at some of these individual skills and studies will illustrate both the complexity of the plan and how it will be carried out.

One step was to classify all the company's lands according to their tree-growing potential. Weyerhaeuser has some of the best conifer lands in the world, both for the amount of wood they will grow and also their location close to transportation.

By classifying these lands it can be predicted accurately what each acre will grow under different intensities of management thus making it possible to apply to each acre the most profitable combination of management techniques such as fertilizing and thinning.

This is one of the sound principles of any business, to achieve the most profitable combination of a large number of factors. In the case of forestry, however, this is the first time that so many of the vital facts have been determined with such accuracy and brought together.

Some of these facts were compiled over the years in the yield tables at the Centralia research center. These tables are more complete than any others in existence and isolate the different factors that affect tree growth.

Another key factor is the knowledge from thinning studies made over a period of years. This includes pre-commercial thinning, much as a gardener thins carrots to let the remaining ones grow larger, and several kinds of commercial thinning. Thinning helps the remaining trees grow more fiber and also gives new income in the form of fiber which in an unthinned forest is lost to insects and decay.

It's a lot like eating your cake and having it too. It's possible to take out over a third of the total volume in an average stand during the growth cycle, gaining additional income and still ending up with more wood when the stand reaches harvest age than it would have produced without thinning.

Today, the company is beginning to buy fertilizer in railroad car quantities and helicopters are spreading it on thousands of acres. This has been proven economically sound by a 12-year research and testing program.

In the field of genetics, a combination of seed orchards where only the best trees are used for growing seed, and nurseries where these trees get a head start, will increase future yields greatly.

The company also has accumulated over many years, a broad experience in reforesting logged lands. This is vital, for idle acres are not contributing to the company's supply of fiber.

The company has adopted a measuring system in which the unit is 100 cubic feet, called a cunit. This replaces the old board foot system which was developed when logs were used mainly for lumber. This old system tended to ignore the part of the log that ends up in anything other than lumber, such as pulp chips. Hence, it was not an accurate measurement for today's integrated mills where plywood, pulp and particleboard are also produced. The smaller the logs, the less accurate the old system became, so with the increased use of small logs in the High

Yield Forest, an improved system of measurement was even more necessary.

Finally, this increased production of timber will be handled by logging equipment far more efficient than that used previously.

Some of this equipment was pioneered by Weyerhaeuser. Some is a result of the general technological revolution in the industry. Some is yet to be developed, but will be as needs arise.

An example is the new equipment designed specifically to handle small logs. Other equipment will make logging of mature trees and the planting of new trees as much more efficient compared to past methods as the chain saw is compared to yesterday's two-man hand saws.

At about this point, the company had more facts than a battalion of scientists could interpret in a lifetime. So the computer scientists took over, programming all this into a forest model that simulated inventories, growth and harvest, and values and costs of all the company's lands, a task of many months in itself.

Then came that magic moment when it was possible to compare various harvest cycles to see which would yield the most fiber, to vary such elements as how much thinning compared to various amounts of fertilizer would yield the most in various cutting cycles and to balance the financial and biological considerations.

The effect was almost like stepping into a time machine. It was possible to look at the forests 30, 60, 120 years from now. It was possible to say "this is the High Yield Forest we will have, these are the steps we have to take to get there."

It was setting a goal, then creating the road map of how to get there, something it had never been possible to do so completely or with so much certainty in the industry before.

There are other sophisticated forestry programs in the industry, both in Europe and in North America. Many of them involve some of the same techniques as does the High Yield Forest.

What is it that makes Weyerhaeuser's program unique?

For one thing, the vastness of the program—nothing on this scale, at this intensity, ever has been attempted before.

Even more important, the High Yield Forest is not just a forestry program. It is a comprehensive industrial plan. Other programs have been aimed only at the goal of increasing fiber growth. The High Yield Forest is aimed at increasing that growth within the framework of projected market demands and the projected financial requirements of the company.

This overlay of marketing and financial considerations is what makes possible the selection of specific management programs for each acre within the company's landholdings. Each portion of our timberlands has not only its individual soil quality, moisture, slope and altitude characteristics, and its own latitude and longitude. Each also has its own characteristics in regard to its location near various mills and markets. Taxes and other cost factors affecting return on investment also differ in each area.

These factors are just as important in planning for a profitable forest as are the factors which determine potential tree growth under various management programs. When they are given weight in the computer simulation of the program, not only the tree growth but also the economics of the High Yield Forest can be simulated.

And with the computer simulation, if some of the factors change—if some of the techniques exceed expectations while others aren't as effective, or new methods are developed—the adjusted factors can be cranked into the computer and the plan adjusted for even greater efficiency.

Finally, the High Yield Forest generates its own cash to operate the plan, plus profit

which would have been lost, by furnishing more fiber as the plan develops.

The High Yield Forest will differ from the forests of today. Gone are the days when land was reforested and then left for 20 or more years. Men will be working in these future forests all the time, to make them work harder to serve men.

This is conservation in its truest sense.

If an individual, for instance, merely hoards the money he has earned, he has in a sense conserved it. Inflation, however, will eat away at its value. And, while it serves a certain insurance purpose, the money is essentially idle and steadily decreasing in value.

If he invests this money wisely, however, it is not merely kept intact, but its purchasing value is also conserved. And, even more important, the money so invested earns new money—the asset is actually increased, as well as conserved. As this holds true with the individual and his money, it also holds true with the forest industry and its trees.

And this, in a sense, is the value of the High Yield Forest. While under the original sustained yield program, Weyerhaeuser was able to insure that it would always be able to operate with a constant supply of timber. Now the new High Yield Forest program will permit the company to operate with a dramatically increased supply of its basic raw material.

Weyerhaeuser Company's unique combination of circumstances, including the balance of old growth to second growth timber on its lands, and the quality and location of those lands themselves, makes this specific program possible at this specific time.

The High Yield Forest plan promises to become the nationwide forestry pattern of the future for both private industry and government.

THE 1970 CENSUS

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as a cosponsor of legislation to limit categories of questions required to be answered under penalty of law on the 1970 census, I was naturally pleased to note the strong radio commentary carried over WBBM, Chicago, Tuesday, March 18, dealing with this subject.

The editorial very effectively goes to the heart of the question. I am hopeful that the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, on which I serve, will give the matter the proper attention it deserves.

The editorial follows:

THE 1970 CENSUS

Next year's federal census is supposed to check every household in this nation. It involves asking 120 questions on 67 different subjects. And any citizen who refuses to answer those 120 questions is subject to criminal penalties of 60 days in jail, or up to \$100 in fines, or both.

There is now a bill before the House to make the answering of most of these questions voluntary instead of mandatory. We think this is a good idea. Of course, we support the basic information which a census is supposed to provide. That is name, age, sex, number of persons in the household, and a few other essentials.

But the next census goes far beyond these primary questions. It requires you to disclose your income from all sources including public aid and unemployment insurance. It requires you to disclose your educational back-

ground, your military and job background; it requires you to disclose the bathroom facilities in your home and if they are shared and if so with whom. The 1970 census requires all kinds of additional information such as whether you own a second home, a dishwasher, and radio and TV sets.

To our way of thinking, this is just too much federal information gathering. There are practical reasons why this information would be helpful in both governmental and private programs. But we do not support the idea that gathering this information should be required of all citizens. If you want to disclose your income and ownership of items, so much the better. But if you don't care to do so, we think you should not be required to answer questions under threat of criminal penalties.

A TALE WORTH REPEATING

HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, my friend, Ben V. Flora, superintendent of Bellevue public schools, Bellevue, Ky., sent me the following article which all members of Congress should read. It is entitled "A Tale Worth Repeating":

[From the Thief River (Minn.) Times]

A TALE WORTH REPEATING

Once upon a time there were two men who lived on farms across the road from each other. One of these men labored from early to late to plant and tend his crops, care for his livestock, improve his buildings and repair his machinery. His wife took part-time employment in the nearby town to supplement the family income and provide for the education of their children.

The other man preferred to rise at his convenience, spend many of his days in the nearby town playing cards, talking on the street corner or relaxing in an air-conditioned bar. His crops—seeded later than his neighbor's—were infested with weeds. He had no livestock, for they were too much work, and his buildings were in too poor repair to keep them. His wife joined him in town or went on her own way, letting the housework slide and neglecting her children.

By virtue of his effort, enterprise and initiative, the first man harvested a good crop, his livestock and their products brought top prices and his farmstead had a neat orderly appearance. Because of his indolence and carelessness, the second man harvested only little crop and his buildings deteriorated.

Then along came a being called Equalizer. He looked upon the second man and said, "Your children are undernourished and underclothed. I will provide you with sustenance for yourself and for them. You are poverty-stricken because you have little income. Your house is in poor condition; I will build you a new one."

He looked upon the first man and said, "You have more income than you require to provide your family with necessities; I will take the remainder from you. Your land and buildings and machinery are of great value; I will exact payment in relation to their value. Your production has created surpluses; next year I shall restrict the acreage you may plant. I shall take much of what you have and give it to your neighbor who is less fortunate than you."

Other neighbors heard what the being called Equalizer had to say and they reasoned thus: "Why should we labor when the returns of our labor are taken from us? Why should we not do as we please, forsaking our labors, when the being called Equalizer will

care for our wants and educate our children? Let us then pursue the course of leisure and pleasure."

Now the country in which this parable took place was called the United States of America and the being called Equalizer was the government. And the people grew lazy and dependent upon the Equalizer, and he lost his power to sustain them and they disappeared from the face of the earth.

AN OMBUDSMAN FOR THE UNITED STATES

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to have the opportunity to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a most interesting and thought-provoking article, entitled "An Ombudsman for the United States," written by Dr. Ake Sandler, Ph. D., professor of government at California State College at Los Angeles, and printed in the May 1968 volume of "The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science."

The concept of a Federal ombudsman in America has been advanced as one possible means of making government more responsive and more responsible to the average citizen—as well as of providing a more effective way for an individual person to assert his rights against a seemingly ever-growing bureaucratic establishment in our increasingly complex 20th-century society.

Therefore, I believe Dr. Sandler's discussion of this important subject is especially pertinent today as a constructive contribution to the effort of citizens throughout the country to improve the quality of life in the United States—so that all Americans may one day fully enjoy the great promise of this land.

Dr. Sandler's article follows:

AN OMBUDSMAN FOR THE UNITED STATES

(By Ake Sandler)

(NOTE.—Ake Sandler, Ph. D., Los Angeles, California, is Professor of Government, California State College at Los Angeles. He has taught at Stanford University, University of California at Los Angeles, and the University of Minnesota. His work abroad includes a study of the Ombudsman in Sweden (1966). He has written a textbook in American government and has authored numerous articles on Swedish government and politics, for American as well as Swedish publications. He has appeared as expert witness at hearings on the Ombudsman bill in the State of California, 1966.)

"One wonders why the Republican Party waits another moment before coming out, as a party objective, for ombudsmen at all levels, state and federal,"¹ wrote a nationally syndicated columnist in November 1966.

Many who read this whole-hearted endorsement of the Ombudsman must have been astonished when they realized that it came from William F. Buckley, Jr., editor of the *National Review* and as conservative as one can be, this side of the John Birch Society. But he meant every word, and his unconditional support is an indication of the extent of the acceptance of the idea—an idea that originated in Sweden some 160 years ago.

Just about everybody who considers himself educated knows what "Ombudsman" means—someone to whom people can take their complaints against bureaucrats, and from whom they can hope to get a complete and thorough hearing and, perhaps, redress. The Ombudsman has worked well in Sweden and in a half-dozen other countries, all of them, except England, with relatively small populations—none exceeding ten million. So the question immediately arises whether there is a population number beyond which one cannot or should not establish an Ombudsman because its size would render the office ineffective. England, with a population of over fifty million, has an Ombudsman of only very limited functions, who could not—certainly by Swedish standards—qualify as a genuine Ombudsman, and West Germany, with an equivalent population, has an Ombudsman solely for military affairs. Sweden incidentally, has Ombudsmen for both civil and military affairs, the Justitieombudsman (JO) and the Militieombudsman (MO). But some experts on the subject believe that twenty million may be the optimal population that an Ombudsman can handle effectively.

"Size," says Professor Stanley Anderson of the University of California, "is the single most important factor in considering whether to transplant the institution to another country."² That would rule out nations of the size of the United States—unless, of course, a federal Ombudsman were established for every state, as is the case with federal district attorneys. For some larger states, like California and New York, possibly two or three federal Ombudsmen might be necessary. We shall consider this possibility later in this discussion.

A CONSTITUTIONAL GAP

For all the intricacy of America's separation of powers and checks and balances, with numerous built-in safeguards to protect individual rights, there exists a gap—a constitutional gap—that exposes the citizen to some serious pitfalls. He can defend himself against just about everybody except the bureaucrat. The federal, state, and local bureaucracy can, if dishonest or unscrupulous, treat the "little fellow"—he who has no "connections"—with disdain, and subject him to all sorts of indignities, including loss of life, limb, and property, without having to worry for a moment about the consequences; for who will take a public agency or a public official to task? The courts? They are too busy, and when they have the time, it may take an eternity to get a decision, let alone a favorable one. And ordinarily the complaints are not of the type that call for legal action. Often, they involve administrative decisions. Sometimes several agencies are acting in co-operation. Then there is the attitude, on the part of both public and politicians, that such general complaints belong in the growing realm of "letter-to-your-congressman"—that "your congressman" properly is the person to listen to, and respond to, complaints of constituents against federal agencies or officials abusing their power or guilty of incompetence.³

The fact is that Americans feel that they "can't fight city hall," and so they do not; or if they do, they feel that they have little chance of getting anywhere beyond blowing off steam. Here is where the congressman enters the picture and provides a "couch" but little else. The irate citizen can "get it off his chest" and then go back to work and forget about it, because the average congressman (or any legislator, for that matter) has neither the time nor the inclination to do anything about a complaint other than to put in a phone call or write a letter on behalf of his complaining constituent.

SOME AVAILABLE REMEDIES

Americans are not helpless, of course—far from it; they have perhaps the most alert and active courts and tribunals in the world, which cover possibly the widest spec-

trum of complaints in the world. The complaints are of all sorts, and Americans, on the whole, fare well, for "American administrative adjudication and rulemaking are attended by the world's most fully elaborated procedural protections against ill-informed exercises of official judgment."⁴

Although the American people, on the whole, have confidence in their judges and in the courts, this confidence is not the same in all fifty states, and not the same from one social grouping to another. Negroes in the South obviously have little faith in the court system there, and many foreigners, such as Puerto Ricans and Mexicans—in New York and California, respectively—have found no reason to be jubilant about the way they are being treated in the courts, not to mention by the police—the latter often being immune to inquiry and examination. In California, where I commented in the *Los Angeles Times*⁵ on a particularly flagrant case involving the shooting and killing of a Negro driver by a young police officer, the police not only enjoy the reputation of being "the best" in the nation, but virtually comprise a state within the state and go unpunished for countless abuses and violations of (minority) citizens' rights. At this writing (November 1967), a trial against peace supporters, who demonstrated at Century Plaza, Los Angeles, at the time that President Johnson spoke there, is attracting a good deal of attention. Several judges are handling these cases, and I spoke to one of them. He was, without doubt, prejudiced against their case, calling them "kooks" and other less printable names, and when I raised the question of constitutional rights, he seemed to think that this was almost irrelevant; yet he is a most honored and able judge in all other respects. This, I may add, is typical of the situation. And there are hundreds of similar cases pending or being tried in the United States at the moment that this is being written. So, although the remedies are there, and are frequently superior to those in most countries, they still leave much to be desired. The Ombudsman is designed to remove this deficiency in the adjudicative system.

WHO WOULD QUALIFY AS OMBUDSMAN?

A serious question often raised by those who support the idea of an Ombudsman for America is: Who would be able and willing to fill such an office? It requires a person not only with extraordinary merits and great prestige, but also with the energy and fortitude, not to mention courage, to tackle a task of this magnitude and scope.⁶ Even at the state level, this is a problem. It has been carefully considered by all the states which have considered having their own Ombudsman. Proposed legislation in California, for example, provides for a commission, consisting of the state's Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Attorney General, Speaker of the House, President pro Tempore of the Senate, and the President of the University of California, to "select one or more qualified candidates for the office of Ombudsman."⁷

Other states—Illinois and New York—leave it up to the governor to appoint the Ombudsman. But, in either case, it is understood that he must have special qualifications for the job. On the national level, he may be proposed by the Supreme Court, appointed by the President, and confirmed by both houses of Congress. This might seem like going to extremes for an office that is not after all, a constitutional office, and which would rank beneath that of a Supreme Court Justice, and perhaps even that of a Senator.

The person who is chosen for this arduous task should be unafraid of abuse or criticism. The job requires one of prominent national—perhaps even international—stature, known for his high principles and noble intents—the kind of person that Sweden has been lucky in finding in Alfred Bexelius, a former judge. He was interviewed by John Bainbridge for the *New Yorker*, and said:

Footnotes at end of article.

The ombudsman cannot be concerned about his popularity. It is no secret that high officials in Sweden . . . dislike the ombudsman. They say that he is interfering in things he doesn't know anything about, and that they could do their jobs better if he would stop meddling, but all their grumbling doesn't mean a thing. Everybody knows that it is necessary to have an ombudsman.⁹

That is in Sweden. What about America?

I think it goes without saying that he should be nonpartisan, as is the case in all Ombudsman countries. But the Ombudsman should be not only nonpartisan, but also independent of politics. It is not a political office, and its holder should be a professional civil servant who never ran for public office, and will not be tempted to return to politics. He should serve for life, and should be so carefully selected that there never could be a question of his honesty, integrity, ability, or motive. This is indeed to ask for perfection—or pretty close to it. But it should be aimed for. In all the 160 years that Sweden has had its Ombudsman, the *man* has never been doubted.

DOES THE NATION REALLY NEED AN OMBUDSMAN?

Many earnest political scientists, and others who have concerned themselves with the matter, doubt that a national Ombudsman would be necessary, or, if necessary, possible. On the other hand, they do not deny that there are some glaring defects in the existing constitutional structure which cannot be glossed over or ignored—or excused by the comment that Americans are "in most regards" better off than others. The fact is that there is an inordinate number of miscarriages of justice in America—*daily*. And the most serious of these are not those committed, unintentionally or otherwise, by administrative agencies; they are those committed by federal courts and federal police—federal marshals and officers of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)—whose abridgments of civil rights, usually in dealing with members of minority groups, is serious, even after the adoption of the Civil Rights Act of 1964! As for police brutality, the numerous so-called "civilian review boards" which have been proposed in state after state (without success) bear witness to serious concern about this problem on the part of many citizens. And the vociferous opposition to such boards by police associations is not less significant. In some countries, notably Sweden, the Ombudsman is the real answer to this problem.⁹

The fact that so many of the states—from Connecticut to California—want such an office is an indication that maybe the nation, too, needs an Ombudsman, or perhaps several Ombudsmen. For the federal government reaches into every state, and its activities in the states often excel those of the state governments and are, in many cases, more vital to the people in those states. One need only mention Social Security and Medicare. Open a telephone directory in any major city, and you will find "United States Government" dominating the pages. Frequently, the complaining citizens' only resort may be the courts. An Ombudsman would be a direct and immediate remedy—and much cheaper!

THE CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION

Where would a federal Ombudsman fit in? And to whom would he report? In Sweden and some other Ombudsman countries, the Ombudsman is primarily a judicial officer. He has the power to survey and to report on the courts, as well as to criticize them and to recommend changes in the law. No state, to date, is prepared to give the Ombudsman this authority; he is entirely an executive official, whether the creature of the legislature or the governor. He is much like the head of the independent regulatory commissions such as the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) or the Federal Power Commission (FPC). But he is more independ-

ent. On the federal level, I would think it impossible to avoid making him a judicial official because so many of the complaints would be of a judicial nature. And it may eventually be necessary for the states to grant him judicial powers as well, so that he could deal effectively with corrupt or incompetent judges, of which each state has an ample number (usually elected ones), and so that he could ensure that police do not exceed their legal authority. In some states, the latter are often the direct cause of riots and other disturbances by their use of raw power when gentler tactics would work better. Policemen themselves admit this; they lack training in how to deal with the public.¹⁰

The American constitutional system is one of checks and balances, and each branch checks and balances the other so that, in the end, power is evenly distributed and no branch can arrogate to itself more power than the Constitution assigns to it. But who would check the federal Ombudsman? To whom would he report? Who would control him? Granted that independence is necessary, may he not become too independent? Can one rely entirely on the hope that he does not abuse his powers?

I think that we need not fear a too-powerful Ombudsman if the legislation establishing the office clearly delineates his powers, and does not vest in him any authority beyond that of investigation, recommendation, prosecution, and publicity. He should not be able to enforce his own decisions. He should not be able to change an administrative decision, no matter how erroneous, stupid, or wicked. His authority should be to inquire and, with the help of a subpoena, to check all pertinent records, to interview personnel involved, to make his findings public, to make recommendations, and to prosecute. Since he would be a creature of all three branches of the federal government he would be responsible to all three, and subject to removal only by the Congress on the recommendation of the President with the approval of the Supreme Court, which selected him in the first place. The federal Ombudsman would not be a fourth or fifth branch of the government, but an official of the order of, say, the Solicitor General; but he would have a number of deputies, perhaps one for each state, and a fairly substantial staff of former judges and lawyers well versed in United States law.¹¹

WHAT WOULD THE OMBUDSMAN DO?

Perhaps I should have begun with this question. But I am assuming that the educated layman has a fairly accurate idea of what an Ombudsman does. He is, in a sense, the post office for all kinds of complaints by irate or injured or disturbed citizens who feel that some government agency has treated them unfairly—whether or not the complainant is mistaken. He then examines the complaint to determine whether or not it is valid. A vast number of complaints are ignored because they need not be acted on. Let me cite some illustrations from two Ombudsman countries, Sweden and New Zealand. Addressing the Assembly Interim Committee on Government Organization of the State of California, on March 1, 1966, the Swedish Ombudsman, Alfred Bexelius, engaged in the following exchange with Assemblyman Jack T. Casey of Bakersfield:

"Mr. CASEY. You mentioned . . . that about nine-tenths of the cases are thrown out with no foundation, and so about how many complaints would the other one-tenth amount to over a period of a year?

"Mr. BEXELIUS. There are 1,200 complaints every year and that means only—

"Mr. CASEY. Ninety per cent are thrown out, so 120 a year.

"Mr. BEXELIUS. But many of these complaints have been thoroughly investigated before they are thrown out.

"Mr. CASEY. And . . . there is only one Ombudsman in Sweden?

"Mr. BEXELIUS. Yes."¹²

In New Zealand, a much smaller country than Sweden, the Ombudsman there reported that of the 1,100 complaints during the first year, he "acted" on 434 "in the first six months and 760 in the following year."¹³

To be effective, the Ombudsman must be armed with power of subpoena and must have complete access to all pertinent records. If needed, he must be free to attend proceedings which bear on the case under study. He should have the authority to investigate on the spot, to ascertain what the circumstances are, and to question all personnel involved. It should be understood by those who complain as well as by those who are being investigated that the Ombudsman will make his findings public, and that whether he does so or not is not a matter of his discretion but of law; for publicity is often the strongest deterrent. As Mr. Bexelius pointed out to the author of this article: "The real value of the JO lies in the fact that his mere existence is often enough to discourage bureaucratic abuse."¹⁴

THE PROBLEM OF U.S. POPULATION SIZE

Is this country to big for an Ombudsman, or even several Ombudsmen? How could one man, or even a staff of men, handle the enormous amount of complaints that would descend on such an office? Americans are notorious complainers. Litigation in this country reaches staggering proportions in one year and exceeds anything that could be handled by present federal courts. So how could it be sensible—or reasonable—to establish another office that would deal not with legal, but with civil matters? Would not such an office simply be overwhelmed, even if, say, 90 per cent of the complaints were weeded out as redundant?

This is a distinct possibility during the first years. Maybe the first five or six years would have to be devoted primarily to acquainting Americans with the proper use of the office, but with the help of the mass media, it could be done. Already, millions of Americans have a fairly good idea of what an Ombudsman is. A radio station in Los Angeles is known as "your Ombudsman station," and it investigates complaints involving government bureaus. Many people complain against private companies and against other individuals, but the idea is gaining hold that complaints should be those directed against government agencies. Once people get into the habit, as they have in Sweden, it will be as natural to register a complaint against the government and hope to see results as to complain, to a particular company, against a product.

Two hundred million Americans may still prove to be too many for an office of this kind, and it may have to be modified to suit America's peculiar situation.¹⁵ For example, I am not convinced that an American Ombudsman could or should investigate the courts. The federal court system is, to begin with, such a gigantic establishment that it is hardly subject to effective review. This must be done by other means, through a combination of public alertness, the press, and political intervention. But even when the courts are left out, what is left may still be too big for the Ombudsman alone to check; so it might be necessary to limit his function and jurisdiction, as determined by the legislature. Thus, if the office is brought under control, a federal Ombudsman might be a useful functionary to perform some duties necessary in the constitutional scope of things.¹⁶

FOOTNOTES

¹ Los Angeles Times, November 30, 1966, Part II, p. 21.

² Center Diary: 14 (September-October 1966), p. 20. (A publication of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California.)

³ See Walter Gellhorn, *When Americans Complain* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966). Representative Henry S. Reuss, who introduced a bill for a "national Ombudsman" in Congress, has presented his views, with the aid of Everard Massey, in "The United States," a chapter in D. C. Rowat (ed.), *The Ombudsman: Citizen's Defender* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1965), pp. 194-200. See also various works on the Ombudsman by Stanley V. Anderson, who helped Representative Reuss to draft his bill.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 212.
⁵ *Los Angeles Times*, June 12, 1966, p. 26.
⁶ *Center Diary*: 14, *loc. cit.*, pp. 20-21.
⁷ California, Assembly Bill No. 2956, April 22, 1965.

⁸ Alfred Bexelius, *New Yorker*, February 13, 1965, p. 151.

⁹ Marion K. Sanders, "Sweden's Remedy for 'Police Brutality,'" *Harper's* (November 1964), pp. 132-134.

¹⁰ The Los Angeles Police Department is seeking to remedy this with a special, very hush-hush training program.

¹¹ See Walter Gellhorn, "Annotated Model Ombudsman Statute," in Rowat (ed.), *loc. cit.*, Appendix, pp. 159-173.

¹² Alfred Bexelius, Testimony before California Assembly Committee on Government Organization, Sacramento, California, March 1, 1966, p. 13.

¹³ J. F. Northey, "New Zealand's Parliamentary Commissioner," in Rowat (ed.), *loc. cit.*, p. 140.

¹⁴ Interview with Alfred Bexelius, Stockholm, Sweden, March 12, 1966.

¹⁵ The President's Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs is the closest thing to a national Ombudsman—or Ombudswoman, in this case—with Betty Furness in charge.

¹⁶ Walter Gellhorn, "The Ombudsman's Relevance to American Municipal Affairs," *American Bar Association Journal* (February 1968), pp. 134-140.

CONGRESSIONAL REFORM GROWING AS MATTER OF PUBLIC INTEREST

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, the lead article of the April issue of the Reader's Digest is titled "Is Congress Destroying Itself?"

This title of the article by Eugene Methvin of the magazine's Washington, D.C., staff is harsh, but it is also provocative.

Expanding on the headline, Mr. Methvin expresses the fear that "unless Congress modernizes its procedures and organization, it will destroy itself as a crucial force in our constitutional system."

He centers his argument on what he considers five major weaknesses in existing congressional operations—inadequate staffing, failure to deal with the information explosion, poor evaluation of the programs Congress has legislated, a committee system that often works at cross-purposes, and decisionmaking behind closed doors.

Many Members of Congress would agree with the general thrust of this reasoning. In fact, nearly 100 Members of the House of Representatives already have demonstrated their determination

to take steps to begin to correct some of these deficiencies by cosponsoring H.R. 6278—The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1969.

H.R. 6278 would improve the staff situation by assuring adequate staff for minority members on committees, by providing for the use of outside consultants by committees, and by strengthening the operations of the Legislative Reference Service.

It would help Congressmen get on top of the information explosion by broadening the use of computer-based analytical and data handling techniques in the Legislative Reference Service and the General Accounting Office. The legislation would also charge a new permanent Joint Committee on Congressional Operations with keeping abreast of changes in information technology.

It would strengthen the hand of Congress in evaluating governmental programs by more sharply defining the oversight function of committees and by improving the capacity for program analysis in the General Accounting Office.

It would deal with the committee jurisdiction problem by making it a specific area of study for the new joint committee.

And H.R. 6278 would rule out decision-making behind closed doors by providing for more open committee meetings, public disclosure of committee votes and roll-call votes on all appropriation matters.

None of the cosponsors of H.R. 6278 would argue that all weaknesses in the congressional structure would be solved by this legislation, but it would be a beginning. And the bill would provide for continuing scrutiny of congressional operations by a joint committee, which surely will arrive at further recommendations in future Congresses.

There is a growing public awareness of the need for congressional reform, and widely distributed articles like the one in Reader's Digest will increase that awareness.

Legislative reorganization is becoming a major national issue, because the people are beginning to demand that Congressmen use the best techniques and procedures available to cope with the problems of our modern society.

The Reader's Digest article follows:

IS CONGRESS DESTROYING ITSELF?

(By Eugene H. Methvin)

"Obsolete"—"inefficient"—"slitting its own throat." Every day these and harsher words descend upon one of the most important institutions in the free world, the U.S. Congress. The attacks come from worried citizens—journalists, political scientists, students of government, state and local officials, disillusioned voters. Most significantly, concern is now growing within the halls of Congress itself. Scores of Republicans and Democrats alike who cherish the historic value of our legislative branch realize that it is in serious trouble.

"Congress has bogged down in trivia and inaction," declares Sen. Hugh Scott (R.-Pa.). Sen. Sam J. Ervin (D.-N.C.), chairman of the Subcommittee on Separation of Powers, after lengthy hearings and study is convinced that Congress "increasingly abdicates its responsibility to determine policy and to set standards." Adds Rep. Jack Marsh (D.-Va.), "Congress is in danger of becoming merely a rubber stamp for programs proposed by the executive branch."

What these and countless other thoughtful citizens fear is this: *Unless Congress modernizes its procedures and organization, it will destroy itself as a crucial force in our constitutional system.*

No one questions that Congress has passed landmark legislation, uncovered and helped remedy grievous national ills, and produced a legion of statesmen and leaders. But certain entrenched weaknesses are crippling Congress. Only by a close, frank examination of shortcomings can the public understand the need for the sensible reforms now being pressed by Congressional members of both parties.

Since 1961 Congress increased federal dollars for manpower training ninefold, spawning 15 programs administered by eight agencies pumping out \$2.25 billion this year. But the situation is "little short of chaotic," says Garth Mangum of the George Washington University Center for Manpower Policy Studies. "Individual acts were written, considered and amended in rapid succession to meet current crises with little attention to their interrelation."

After 18 months of wrangling, the House approved the income-tax increase President Johnson recommended in January 1967. As a price for this tax hike, the House demanded a \$6-billion budget cut. Challenged by the President to specify where the cuts should be made, Congress would not. Instead, it left the details to be decided by the President's Budget Bureau. Thus, the people's elected representatives bucked to non-elected bureaucrats their constitutional duty to set priorities for spending our tax dollars.

Not until almost two years after Congress authorized hundreds of new anti-poverty programs and "community action agencies" did the executive branch try to determine how existing government efforts were affecting the poor. I asked the systems analyst who supervised the research, "How could Congress legislate sensibly without having such facts?" "It couldn't," he told me. "Without this information it was like throwing money out the window hoping some would blow to the poor." Concludes Daniel Moynihan, President Nixon's top urban adviser and a veteran of the 1964 White House task force which designed the \$7.7-billion War on Poverty: "Many men in the Executive Office and in Congress, men of whom the nation had a right to expect better, did inexcusably sloppy work. The government did not know what it was doing."

Why can't Congress respond more effectively to the challenges of our day? It is impossible for us as now organized to discharge our constitutional duties of making policy for and overseeing the executive branch," declares Rep. Bill Brock (R.-Tenn.). Here's why:

1. Inadequate Staffs. No Congressman has adequate help for his incredible array of duties. Democrat John Tunney represents 567,000 Californians. Offices in each of his two counties require full-time secretaries. In Washington he receives 200 letters daily, half of them requiring contacts with federal agencies on constituents' problems and occupying three staffers full time. Two more secretaries plus two part-time girls answer correspondence and send out a newsletter to Tunney's constituents. His "legislative assistant" must write press releases and handle other chores. Result: not one person on his staff of ten can devote full time to legislation, research and program evaluation.

Committee staffs present an even more dismal picture. The House Appropriations Committee has a catch-all Subcommittee on Independent Offices that must decide on money bills totaling \$17 billion for 23 agencies ranging from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to the Department of Housing and Urban Development. For their gargantuan job these six Democrats and four Republicans have only three staffers! "Even if we conscientiously try to decide

whether a program is useful and operating within legal limits, we have to trust to dumb luck to ask the right questions," one member told me.

For all their work our legislators vote themselves \$135 million out of the \$184-billion federal budget. They appropriate three times as much annually to support an executive-branch army of 6800 publicity agents. Prof. Samuel Patterson of Iowa State University found that Congress has only 588 committee staffers. Yet the "executive lobby" wooing legislators on behalf of federal agencies numbers well over a thousand. The U.S. Department of Agriculture has more bill drafters than the entire House legislative counsel. Senate and House Armed Services committees have only 40 staffers to oversee our vast \$81-billion defense operations, while the Pentagon maintains 272 "legislative liaison" officers.

2. Information Explosion. The average Congressman puts in a 60-hour week during legislative sessions, an American Political Science Association study found: 15 hours on the House floor, 11 in committee, 24 on constituent requests, postmasters, military-academy appointments and such. He has ten hours left for studying legislative issues.

Yet ponder the maelstrom he faces! Members dropped 29,133 bills into the last Congress's hoppers and voted 1002 of them into law. Their 1967 debates filled 36,420 pages of the *Congressional Record*, triple the number when Congress last renovated itself by the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. The Government Printing Office last year alone ground out 248,152 pages of printed committee testimony, the equivalent of 287 *Gone With the Wind*-length novels, plus 27,000 pages of committee reports and recommendations, more than the 23-volume *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

Finding out anything in this flood is ridiculously difficult. Is it any wonder that, in one survey, 78 percent of the legislators queried rated "lack of information" as the No. 1 problem preventing them from executing their duties satisfactorily?

3. Poor Evaluation. One of the great reforms supposedly attained by Congressional reorganization 23 years ago was specified provision for overseeing and evaluating programs already legislated. Indeed, the General Accounting Office (GAO) was specifically commissioned to perform expenditure analyses. But Congress never voted the money to give GAO the manpower to do the job. Worse, a survey shows that the 20 House committees do not themselves systematically evaluate programs under their jurisdiction. "We vote all these programs and money and do not follow through carefully to see what the impact of our actions is," Rep. John Brademas (D.-Ind.) complained to the Joint Committee on Organization.

4. Crazy-Quilt Committees. The 535 members of the House and Senate divide themselves into 36 committees, 376 subcommittees, plus uncounted boards, commissions and caucuses. Senators average 20 assignments each, Representatives seven. This tangled maze of jurisdictions defies rational, comprehensive policy-making. In the House 18 committees oversee one or more educational programs scattered over 42 agencies, dispensing upwards of \$10 billion. One committee considers new highways to bring more cars downtown, and another works on mass transit to keep cars out. Funds are appropriated for the reclamation of Southwestern desert so that bumper cotton crops may be grown—at the same time Southeastern farmers are paid to retire their acreage to prevent surpluses. Says Rep. Fred Schwengel (R.-Iowa): "No single unit of Congress is looking across the board at the sum of the nation's goals and resources."

5. Closed Doors and Deals. Committee chairmen guard their domains like Oriental satraps, arrogating crucial decisions the

House should make after thorough debate. The 1946 Legislative Reorganization Act requires open hearings unless a majority specifically votes otherwise, but chairmen frequently disregard it. Foreign and military affairs may require secrecy. But does the House Agriculture Committee require secrecy in 53 percent of its meetings? Protests former Rep. Tom Curtis (R.-Mo.), "Legislative hearings should be open so people can see just how badly some of these programs have been mismanaged. Congressional secrecy is a scandal."

Indeed it is. By monopolizing crucial data behind closed doors, chairmen and senior committee members are able to monopolize crucial policy decisions, leaving rank-and-file members in the dark on many complex issues. This kind of power pays off in a cozy spoils-system alliance that often soaks the taxpayer and ignores the country's real needs. Thus, it is not strange that the Departments of Housing and Urban Development should shower rural DeKalb County, Tenn. (population 12,000), with "Model City" grants to the tune of \$4.7 million, ahead of 147 real cities. DeKalb's foremost native just happens to be Chairman Joe L. Evins of the House subcommittee that oversees HUD's appropriations.

What can be done? Plenty.

Save Time on Votes. Today, ringing bells in legislators' offices announce a roll-call vote. As clerks on the House floor laboriously call the 435 names, members scurry through the tunnel connecting the three House office buildings to the Capitol. Frequently they have to ask a colleague for a quickie description of the pending issue. In this antique ritual, requiring half an hour, the House cast its 478 record votes during the 90th Congress. Electronic voting, already used in 33 state legislatures, could slash this time-consuming procedure to a fraction, freeing harassed legislators of the equivalent of two calendar months of floor sessions!

Make Information Swiftly Available. Today's legislator cannot even get a daily list of all Capitol Hill hearings, and must wait weeks for the impossibly verbose printed transcripts, relying meanwhile on sketchy press accounts.

The 310-man Library of Congress staff now serving our legislators could, if augmented and armed with modern information technology, bring order to this Capitol Hill confusion. Every legislator could have on his desk each morning, through a remote computer terminal in his office, a complete list of all meetings scheduled for the coming day, plus summaries of the previous day's testimony and even digests of every article in the many periodicals coming into the Library that matches his computerized personal "interest profile." On any roll call, he could have via television an instant summary of the issue, the bill's sponsors and legislative history, voting positions recommended by the President and majority and minority party leaders—research requiring hours now.

Florida's legislators, computerized for four years, can have daily an "instant electronic scorecard" on the status of 5100 pending bills. A Pennsylvania legislator can tap out a question on an IBM typewriter keyboard and instantly obtain on a small television screen results of a computer search of every state law, or specified clauses in all 50 state constitutions. New York State Sen. Jeremiah Bloom asked his legislature's computer: "Give me all the laws affecting banking that are not in the banking law." The machine spewed forth 1604 laws, a task that would take trained staff lawyers weeks with pastepot and shears.

Improve Evaluation. Impatient with Congressional failure to oversee programs already passed and with the House blockade on modernization, Sen. Winston L. Prouty (R.-Vt.) and others amended the poverty legislation in 1967 to require the GAO to make a special

evaluation. (The more than 150 investigators will report this spring.) But GAO itself opposed a similar Congressional attempt on the fragmented manpower training efforts because its staff, already strained by the antipoverty study, would have to neglect regular auditing duties.

One proposal is to create a separate "Office of Legislative Evaluation," possibly in GAO, staffed by social scientists armed with the best computer systems and statistical sampling techniques to do "evaluative research" on how people are affected by government programs. "A new source of knowledge is coming into being," testified urbanologist Moynihan, "and this should not remain an executive monopoly. The executive is exposed to the temptation to release only findings that suit its purposes." Such an office might well have spotted trends in the welfare, farm and educational programs in the 1950s that foreshadowed the crime wave and urban riots of the 1960s. Congress could thus have been alerted to the need to change directions.

Press for Modernization. Congress in 1965 created a Joint Committee on Organization, co-chaired by Rep. Ray J. Madden (D.-Ind.) and Sen. Mike Monroney (D.-Okla.), who pushed through the 1946 reorganization. Six Democrats and six Republicans from the House and Senate spent more than a year examining legislative procedures and organization. They unanimously recommended a reform package including a modern information system, restrained powers of committee chairmen, more adequate staffing and improved legislative evaluation.

In 1967, the Senate, after six weeks of debate, approved modernization by a vote of 75 to 9. But the entrenched powers of the House, led by Speaker John McCormack, 77, last year would not even permit the bill to come to the floor for consideration. This year, dozens of Democrats and Republicans, led by Rep. Donald Rumsfeld (R.-Ill.), are pushing modernization. Though Representative Rumsfeld's bill, H.R. 6278, would be only a modest beginning it would at least create a permanent committee to institute continuous improvements in legislative machinery and procedures.

Congressional modernization is no substitute for tough-minded legislators who do their homework, ask the hard questions and demand no-nonsense answers. But it can help them by reducing diversions and confusion, and arming them with expert help in marshaling the facts that can illuminate complex decisions. What happens to H.R. 6278 involves nothing less than the issue of whether we shall be ruled by elected representatives or a bureaucratic elite. Find out how your Congressman and Senators stand on H.R. 6278 today—and let them know how you feel about it.

WHERE ARE THEY NOW?

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the RECORD an editorial recently appearing in the Sioux Falls (S. Dak.) Argus Leader which, I think bears wide publication.

The bleeding hearts can well ponder the question of the one-sidedness of this war in Vietnam. Is it wrong for the civilians in South Vietnam to suffer, while we are required to protect the civilians in North Vietnam?

The article is as follows:

WHERE ARE THEY NOW?

Remember, a few months ago, the hue and cry which could be heard from various "anti-war" protesters concerning the bombing by the United States of military targets in North Vietnam?

The cry "stop the bombing" could be heard from one end of the world to the other. Even U.N. Secretary General U Thant joined the chorus.

Where are they now when the North Vietnamese and their Viet Cong allies are making concerted attacks by mortars and other large weapons on civilian areas of Saigon and other South Vietnamese cities?

Most of recent assaults on the cities have been deliberately aimed at the civilian population, apparently in an attempt to create panic and confusion.

American targets in the North, by contrast, were concentrated on military installations, to the point that some were avoided because they were too close to civilian centers.

VIOLENCE AND THE NEW LEFT

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, the tendency of the New Left to advocate resort to violence as a political tactic is increasingly disturbing to those who believe in continued freedom for America. Violence is not the answer to anything except perhaps defense against aggression. The lot of even the less fortunate in the United States presents no just cause for violence. Even the poorest citizen of this Nation is rich in constitutionally protected freedoms that he will lose for sure if the anarchists prevail.

The country needs a law making it a Federal offense to incite—or commit—violence in support of any objective no matter how conscientiously motivating it may be to the actor. Then it needs enforcement without regard to the race, color or station in life of the offender. Bombing ROTC facilities, passing out pamphlets instructing how to prepare fire bombs, or train mines, or how to make homemade explosives; these things are truly un-American. The actors should be identified and prosecuted, for their deeds undermine the cornerstone of our Nation—liberty under law.

Even more contemptible are those who masquerade as social benefactors yet use their position to encourage criminal action, or things that will inescapably and predictably lead to crime. No longer can those who repeat this pattern be excused as crusaders for civil rights. The vast majority of Americans, white, Negro, or what have you have civil rights, too, and they are not about to sit back idly and watch them go down the drain.

In this connection I commend a thoughtful reading of a recent article in Roll Call, the magazine of Capital Hill, by their extremely capable editorialist Allan C. Brownfeld, entitled "Violence as a Political Tactic":

VIOLENCE AS A POLITICAL TACTIC

(By Allan C. Brownfeld)

Violence, in a short period of time, has moved from an occasional aberration and disturbance to a political tactic, endorsed by

many leaders of the New Left, by leaders of the new black nationalist movement, and by others who feel disaffected and disillusioned.

During his recent news conference, President Richard Nixon said that he had asked John N. Mitchell, the Attorney General, and Robert H. Finch, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, to look into the problem of disorder on the nation's campuses. He did so, the President said, "particularly in view of a Congressional report that 122 of the 540 that had been arrested at San Francisco State College were direct recipients of Federal funds."

But the question, in the long run, is far more complex than this. The political tactic of violence has resulted in many overt and covert acts, the full import of which is yet to be understood and assimilated. There are, of course, the major incidents, such as the take-over of Columbia University and the disorder which was precipitated in Chicago. These bear careful analysis. But there are many, often unreported, incidents of what their perpetrators term "sabotage."

The Institute of Science and Technology at the University of Michigan was rocked by an explosion last October 14. The bombing was the thirteenth to hit the Detroit area since August and came only two weeks after extensive damage forced the closing of a semi-secret C.I.A. recruiting office in a downtown Ann Arbor office building.

Ann Arbor Police Chief Walter Krasny has claimed the series of bombings may be the work of "anti-Establishment militants" at the University of Michigan, while Detroit officials blame "hippies" for the explosions. The far-left National Guardian reported that "Reaction to the bombings in the Ann Arbor radical community has ranged from quiet amusement to fantasy to increased discussion regarding the nature and timing of revolutionary chaos and terrorism and their possible relation to politicization of young people and/or mass repression of the radical movement. While some feel that such violence will help increase the consciousness of students, others feel that the level of awareness is now so low that the bombings will do little . . ."

The Cleveland riots of July, 1969, according to Federal investigators, were the product of a black nationalist conspiracy. Key figure in the conspiracy, the experts say, was Fred "Ahmed" Evans, a local black power leader who has been linked with the propeking Revolutionary Action Movement. Evans, who was arrested during the riots, was charged with shooting to kill. "If my carbine hadn't jammed I would have killed you three," police quoted him as saying. "I had you in my sights when my rifle jammed." Evans told police that he and 17 others had organized the sniper attacks that resulted in the deaths of three policemen. Told that three of his snipers had been slain, Evans said, "They died for a worthy cause." Phil Hutchings, militant head of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, told newsmen that the Cleveland outbreaks were "the first stage of revolutionary armed violence."

Violence is often proclaimed as the only means by which society can truly be cleansed. The Rev. William Sloane Coffin, convicted this summer of conspiring to violate draft laws, delivered his first sermon of the academic year at Yale University in praise of change, even if change comes in violent ways. He told 300 persons, mostly students, that "life is change, growth, love and readiness to suffer." The Rev. Coffin warned that the current condemnation of violence by political leaders may also be a condemnation of change. He stated: "Jesus, when he threw the money changers out of the temple was no more violent than (Columbia radical student leader) Mark Rudd."

Following this advice, a new publication, Mayday, has appeared. Making light of the violence which has shaken a number of cam-

pus es it led off its fourth issue with this verse: "Sabotage, This Is Number One and The Fun Has Just Begun." Edited by Andrew Hopkind, James Edgeway, and Robert Sherrill, its November 8, 1968 issue included the following: "The war began last winter on the Western front, in the rainy season. The guns of February were four Molotov cocktails thrown at the Naval ROTC building on the Berkeley campus of the University of California. . . . The first attack on the Berkeley ROTC building was followed by the burning of a similar center at Stanford. At about the same time, electric power cables strung over the Berkeley hills were cut. Then, three giant electric towers in Oakland were blown to the ground leaving 30,000 houses without power and stopping work at the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory at Berkeley. A few days after the tower was destroyed, a University of Colorado drop-out student turned himself in to publicize his 'crime.' I had to do something to stop their machines—so maybe they would listen, so that this war would be stopped," he said."

The majority of those who advocate violence either to change the system or to improve its shortcomings are unaware of the historical consequences of violent upheavals. George Bernard Shaw wrote that "Revolution never lightens the burden of tyranny, it simply shifts it from one shoulder to another." That violence is the solution to our current difficulties is, observing the historical record, very unlikely.

Crusades which initially seek to throw off the fetters of an old order have, in most instances simply replaced them with new fetters. The French Revolution led to the Reign of Terror, the Russian Revolution to Stalin, the Chinese revolution Mao Tse-tung. The tyrannies which follow violent revolutions have been infinitely more brutal than the autocracies they replaced.

Modern rebellion has been linked very closely with ideologies which seek to explain man on the basis of one or another theory of human behavior. But man is infinitely complex, and it is doubtful that any theory about man's behavior can adequately explain it, or can effectively predict its future course. Western thought has, for some time, been engaged in explaining man in one manner or another. Both Marx and Freud discussed man's social unconscious, and stated that man's consciousness is determined by the "logic of the historic process."

With regard to the theories of Marx and Freud, those which perhaps had the greatest impact on Western thought, Erich Fromm has made this assessment: "It is the rule rather than the exception in the historical process that ideas deteriorate into ideologies. The ideology, while still using the words of the original idea, in effect expresses the opposite meaning . . ."

Those who advocate the necessity for the use of violence to effect a particular social change are often deeply committed to one ideology or another. Such commitment lies at the root of the rise of modern totalitarianism. This judgment is presented by Hannah Arendt in her important study, Totalitarianism: "Ideologies—isms which to the satisfaction of their adherents can explain everything and every occurrence by deducing it from a single premise—are a very recent phenomenon. . . . In their claim to total explanation, ideologies have the tendency to explain not what is, but what becomes, what is born and passes away . . . in this capacity ideological thinking becomes independent of all experience from which it cannot learn anything new . . . since the ideologies have no power to transform reality, they achieve this emancipation of thought from experience through certain methods of demonstration."

Violence has resulted in less freedom and more repression, and violence imbued with ideology has pursued with a vengeance ends which have made means such as genocide, inquisitions, and slave labor camps acceptable.

One of Nazism's sympathizers announced: "When I hear the world culture, I draw my revolver." Those who call for violence today are also drawing their revolvers. The road to tyranny is paved with idealism. We know this. We have been there before.

GOVERNOR REAGAN PLACES CAMPUS CHAOS IN CONTEXT

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, Gov. Ronald Reagan, of California, submitted a statement on March 19, 1969, before the Special Subcommittee on Education of the House Committee on Education and Labor.

Governor Reagan's statement is the most thorough and perceptive statement I have yet seen relating to the campus chaos which our universities, students and taxpayers are suffering today.

Governor Reagan's problems with the college campuses have been the most severe of any Governor. Governor Reagan has had the most experience with campus disorders, militant radicals, and subversive teachers, students and campus trespassers.

I believe his statement should be read by every public official and every citizen who is concerned about our educational institutions and the fulfillment of his responsibility to teach, research, and serve.

I insert Governor Reagan's testimony at this place in the RECORD, prior to the publication of hearings of this subcommittee, because his understanding of the problem is extraordinary and the urgency for general understanding of the problem is crucial to university officials and legislators:

STATEMENT OF GOV. RONALD REAGAN

Madam Chairman and members of the subcommittee, to attempt to analyze in a brief time the significant factors which have brought about our current campus problems must do an injustice to the complexities of the situation. However, one of the main factors of our dilemma is a general lack of information and understanding of the total problem by much of the public. I wish to commend this committee on its endeavor to shed light on these problems and to assess the means for resolving them. Our educational institutions are the key to individual growth and to the progress of our society. Your efforts are particularly appropriate at this time because it is only through the cooperative efforts of public officials at all levels of government, as well as campus administrators, faculties, and students, that our educational institutions will be guaranteed the ability to carry on their responsibilities for teaching, research and service.

As I am sure you are well aware, there is a wealth of misinformation and the widest range of interpretation of the causes of coercion and violence spreading to campuses throughout the land. We are faced with circumstances which have never before confronted our society. People are groping for explanations without experience to guide them and it is too easy to make generalizations. We also have the added confusion of "Mythologies"—some developed by well-meaning apologists for the antisocial behavior of a few, and others apparently put forth by those in revolt, who seek to make

their excuses acceptable through sheer repetition.

Today's situation did not come about overnight. In California it is the culmination of activities which have transpired over the past ten years. At first there were occasional episodes of mass disruption. The protests against the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1960 in San Francisco were followed by months of romanticizing the role of the protestors in literature, speeches, recordings, and conferences. In 1963-64 there were mass sit-ins in hotels, automobile agencies, and banks over alleged discrimination in employment practices. In 1964-65 there were similar disturbances at newspaper offices and restaurants. During these years, the campuses were used as "launching pads" for action in the surrounding community. The Berkeley campus of the University of California was most frequently involved.

Beginning in 1964, rather than serving as the launching pad, the campus itself became the focus of attack. In September and October, 1964, a floor of the Berkeley campus administration building was "captured." The staff of the Dean of Students' Office was forced to flee over the roof of the building. A few days later, a police car was captured and held for 32 hours, one of the longest episodes of mass interference with due process of law. The police car and its occupants were finally released after negotiations and major concessions to the mob by University officials. In December, the entire administration building was occupied by more than 800 persons, and was held until police cleared the building by making mass arrests. The pretext for these major disorders was first related to the demand to use campus facilities for collecting funds for political purposes; later the slogan "free speech" was introduced.

Since 1964, the tempo of disruption has rapidly increased until there is rarely a day that a campus somewhere in California is not in difficulty. The campuses have been in constant turmoil: the Berkeley campus of the University of California, and, during the past few years, San Francisco State College.

Certain trends are evident. There has been a shift in tactics from nonviolence to planned and announced violence. There has been a shift from mass confrontation to guerrilla tactics with beatings, the disruption of classrooms, shootings, bombings, arson and general vandalism and destruction. Initially, the participants in these incidents were primarily from the campus although they represented only a small minority of students and faculty. More recently, their ranks have been swelled by large numbers of outsiders who have no legitimate connection with the campus. Mobility between campuses has increased and just recently in California even high schools have become heavily involved in disorders.

Following a half million dollar fire on the University of California campus in Berkeley, an editorial appeared in the *San Francisco Examiner* of January 24, 1969. I quote:

"The arsonist-set fire at Wheeler Hall Auditorium on the U.C. Berkeley campus sets a new high in the wave of criminal violence perpetrated during current strikes and attacks against bay area educational institutions and educators.

"Here is a partial catalog of recent crimes, including some involving potential murder: "February 9, 1968: four firebombs damaged naval ROTC building at U.C. Berkeley.

"February 19, 1968: flammable liquid set fire on porch of naval ROTC building at Stanford, causing \$35,000 damage.

"May 7, 1968: naval ROTC building at Stanford destroyed. Will cost \$70,000 to replace.

"July 15, 1968: a \$100,000 fire destroyed the office and irreplaceable effects of former Stanford president Wallace Sterling.

"August 6: two fires were set in the Stanford student activities office.

"September 14: a bomb blasted the naval ROTC building at U.C.

"December 11: a firebomb was hurled at the administration building at San Francisco State College.

"December 13: College of San Mateo students smashed windows and broke crockery in the college cafeteria.

"January 5: shots were fired into a San Mateo home in the mistaken belief it was the residence of a college trustee, endangering life.

"January 7: the home of Philip C. Carlington, Sr., former Dean of Instruction at the College of San Mateo, was severely damaged by firebombs. He and his family were lucky to escape with their lives.

"January 10: firebombs were thrown into the home of Edwin Duerr, coordinator of internal affairs at San Francisco State. One failed to go off. If it had, Duerr, his wife and three children would have been killed or gravely injured.

"January 16: a firebomb was defused in the state administration building. It would have killed anyone within 25 feet.

"January 17: a mob of strikers smashed windows and crippled the sprinkler system in a rampage at San Jose State College.

"January 20: two firebombs exploded on the U.C. campus.

"Those who see nothing but high moral purpose behind the current campus violence are invited to re-read the above."

Just as there have been trends in militancy there have also been pattern of response to destructiveness. Campus administrators have typically been slow to act and quick to concede. Often they belatedly call in the police only when real danger becomes all too apparent.

In California today, there is continuous concern at all levels of government, including the governing boards of the universities and colleges, about campus problems and violence. The concern of all is for the protection of students, for the integrity of the learning process, and for society itself. It is tragic that the campus, which has represented a forum for expressing differences of opinion, for the pursuit of truth, and for the peaceful resolution of problems, has now become the arena for oppression by revolutionaries, vandals and arsonists.

It may seem incomprehensible that a portion of our population—including some students, some faculty members, and outsiders—are attempting to overthrow our democratic way of life. It is equally incomprehensible in a democratic society—which is the pinnacle of man's dream for self-government and dignity—to find so many of its citizens standing mute and helpless while their basic values and processes are assaulted. Students of Plato and other political philosophers should today recognize a condition long anticipated: when the majority does not function, our society falls into the hands of the most cunning or the most powerful.

For some time, the climate of our society has not been conducive to the most responsive and responsible citizenship. I need only cite the letdown which followed World War II as such periods follow all wars—a sort of recess from social responsibility following a time of total commitment to a cause larger than ourselves. The prosperity which then followed led to affluence for the great middle class—that group which historically has set our basic standards of behavior and attitude. Affluence often leads to self-centered behavior and a smaller chance of experiencing maturity and good judgment. It weakens pride in meeting challenges and lessens cooperation among individuals.

Also the recent advocacy of so-called "right" and "wrong" ways for rearing children has had profound effects. Parents, who since the dawn of history found in their hearts what was right and found in their heads what made sense were undercut and lost confidence in their relationships to their

children. Who can estimate the effect on a child who finds his parents consulting a book to make decisions instead of confidently and directly stating what they believe?

The knowledge explosion which has brought us some great benefits also has a hidden cost. There is too much to know: specialization follows and people become less sure of their own opinions. Those values that human beings need—and indeed what our culture requires—have been challenged. When moral standards become doubtful values become negotiable. When even some clergy question the existence of God mere mortals become anxious.

In the past few decades, progress in agriculture, business and industry has led to the replacement of men by machines. It also has reduced the opportunities for youth to discover the gratifications of real work with real purpose. Consider the opportunities for positive work experience when, in the first decade of this century, 90 percent of our young people lived on farms. Now only six percent have these opportunities. Consider the shortage of labor supply in 1900 when it was necessary to pass child labor laws to protect our youth so they could stay home or go to school. In wisdom and compassion, we passed those laws. But today it is the fortunate seventeen-year-old who can find a job during summer vacation, let alone find full-time work.

All of these changes—and there are more—have operated to make people less sure of themselves. When unsure, it is natural to withdraw. It can be no surprise that we speak of a "silent generation," that we find a growing distaste by youth for competition, that we find individuals less willing to stand apart from the crowd.

A democratic society depends upon an active majority of "civilized" individuals, who express, each in his own way, the values of the culture. In this way, traditions of fair play, of freedom of speech, of equal opportunity to learn, even of the right of life, are protected. A democratic society develops laws largely to protect individuals from the extreme behavior of those who are not bound by the cultural values and who are not persuaded by the normal expressions of approval and disapproval by their peers.

It is obvious—but so important that it bears repeating—that as an increasing number of citizens refuse to become involved, society for its survival must depend increasingly upon law enforcement. Law enforcement becomes a substitute for the moral suasion previously exercised by the people themselves.

There is general agreement that a small percentage of our society is responsible for coercion, threats and violence on our campuses. There is agreement that the behavior of a relative few infringes daily upon the rights of the many. There is agreement, too, that quality education—the pursuit of the truth wherever it may lead, of the opportunity to hear the widest variety of viewpoints on issues—has suffered terrible damage in the past six or seven years. That disturbances have occurred more on some campuses and in some states than others provides no reassurance, because the spread is rapid not only nationally but also locally from colleges into high schools and junior high schools and out into surrounding communities.

Those who speak and write about the increasingly coercive minority reveal their own confusion, and add to the confusion of others, by the descriptive terms they use: "protestors," "demonstrators," and "activists". These terms suggest those persons are engaging in activities normal to American life. Is this normal dissent? Just listen to the words of their leaders:

Devereaux Kennedy, student body president of Washington University, said:

"I want student power to demand 'revolutionary reforms' that can't be met within the logic of the existing American system.

"I'm going to say loudly and explicitly what I mean by revolution," he continued. "What I mean by revolution is overthrowing the American government, and American imperialism, and installing some sort of decentralized power in this country.

"This," he added, "is going to come about by black rebellions in our cities being joined by some white people. People in universities can do a number of things to help it. They have access to money, and they can give these people guns, which I think they should do. They can engage in acts of terrorism and sabotage outside the ghetto. Negro people have trouble getting out because they cordon those areas off, but white activists can go outside, and they can blow things up, and I think they should.

"But," he concluded, "that's just a minor part of it. We must start up fifty more Vietnams. The major thing student activists can do while all this is going on is to completely demoralize and castrate America."

Ewart Brown of Howard University said: "I think we agree that the revolution is necessary, and that you don't conduct a revolution by attacking the strongest enemy first. You take care of your business at home first, and then you move abroad. Thus, we must make the University the home of the revolution . . ."

Our confusion has been deliberately planned: the banners under which militancy moved were, first, "Abolish HCUA"; then, "Fair play for Cuba," then, "Free speech" at Berkeley; next, anti-US-Vietnam policy (often indistinguishable from pro-Viet Cong). Now, we have demands for autonomy in determining staffing, admittance to campuses and all matters relative to students of ethnic minorities. Yet, throughout this sequence we learn that much of the leadership is the same. After the assassination of President Kennedy, the "Fair Play for Cuba" Committee disappeared and new groups, with the same leadership, were formed.

When Mario Savio was the spokesman for "free speech" in California he was also referring, in a New York publication, to the issue of free speech as somewhat a pretext—the silver iodide you put in the clouds to make the rain fall!

The Vietnam "teach-ins"—and who is against teaching?—were, in fact, almost uniformly a series of provocative speeches presenting only one side.

We have noted that there has been a rapid shift in tactics from nonviolent coercion to the advocacy of and the use of violence. There also has been a corresponding increase in openness in word and deed—the success of violence has bred arrogance.

It is apparent that there is also a roving leadership which appears on campus after campus and in close relationship to accompanying disorder. National publications of SDS, Black Panthers and other new groups exhort the closing of institutions, destruction of facilities, and the silencing of opposing viewpoints.

Instructions for constructing bombs and how to place them are now commonplace.

In a situation with the majority of students and faculty all too silent, and with a relentless minority of students and faculty (now with outside reinforcements) becoming increasingly effective in harassment and in distortion of the academic environment, we have prevalent college administrations who have proved themselves consistently ineffective.

Typically, we find negotiation, compromise and concession—usually without reference to, or even in the face of, the expressed desire of the majority of students or faculty.

It is argued that there is danger of "escalation" when campus authorities assume their responsibility to enforce laws and regula-

tions. There is fear that in response to authority, other students and faculty will join the participants. To rationalize their permissiveness and appeasement, administrators themselves often promote myths which confuse those both on campus and off. They speak disparagingly of "generation gap" at a time when too many parents are in awe of, and tend to imitate, their own children. They speak of a "new breed with wisdom and conscience" at a time when research has clearly indicated a social and emotional immaturity of youth to a degree previously unknown (although linked with better scholastic preparation).

Administrators speak of "freedom" when they are describing license. And whereas a few years ago they insisted that, for the protection of institutions of higher learning, partisan political activity not be launched from within academic facilities, they now rationalize the use of these institutions by militants for highly partisan purposes as "relevant education."

A few years ago, administrators and faculty members jealously guarded the schools' entrance requirements. They now—under pressure and with good intentions—admit a number of students so underprepared that they can only fail. It should be no surprise that those facing failure react with hostility and frustration, and seek radical change in curriculum in an attempt to remove the threat posed by their inability to attain even minimum standards of performance.

One cannot fault administrators who use tact, whose responses are determined in part by a sense of timing and circumstance, and who recognize fully that irrational, forceful response without explanation and fairness can have only unfortunate results. One must fault, however, total abdication of leadership.

Failure of administrative leadership silences further a majority which is unsure and which is seeking support and guidance. On our campuses with the most turmoil the percentage voting in student body elections is so low that student publications and student government have become the possessions of the militants—the silent majority has no representation.

I might interject here, however, that there have been in recent weeks a few responsible efforts to find voice for the moderate majority. These efforts should be given every encouragement. Sadly we must also note, however, that there have been a few examples of "vigilante-type" conduct by extremists. Continued nonsolution will result in new forces on the scene, some of them dangerous.

It is true that regardless of social climate or social change, basic human nature remains the same. Unless limits are set, unless adults provide models for youth to emulate, unless there is reasonable discipline which with experience becomes internalized and leads to "self-discipline," man will become once again only an animal. A culture will revert to a jungle if there are no traditions, values and laws which are respected and defended. Without these, only might will make right.

These tragic circumstances have continued too long. On some campuses it may be too late for a sure solution even if thoughtful and courageous administrators are found. It has already become necessary in California to pass new laws and to rely on law enforcement to a degree not excepted and never desired.

In considering laws to govern campus behavior and the use of law enforcement in our campuses, it is important to recall the words of Dr. Hayakawa, who stated: "In a democratic society, the police are there for the protection of our liberties. It is in a totalitarian society that police take our liberties away."

One of the purposes of these hearings is to inquire into the effectiveness of provisions of the higher education amendments of 1968,

and in various appropriation acts directed at the elimination of federal aid to students who violently disrupt the functioning of a college or university.

I welcome such provisions if they be fair and effective. On some of our campuses we are informed that a disproportionate number of students receiving federal aid have been involved in disruption. This probably results in part because militants have been using demands for ethnic studies as the vehicle for confrontation and disruption. Withholding federal monies would surely serve as a deterrent and would hopefully redirect protest into appropriate channels. Also of importance is that public confidence in such programs will be further reduced if they are, or are believed to be, the source of disorder.

May I suggest that it would be helpful if there were greater uniformity among various programs concerning the procedures for withholding aid to those who disrupt. Also, it may be necessary that such provisions be absolutely mandatory so that they will not be thwarted because of pressures on administrators or by current administrative style. Since the withdrawal of government assistance will often be tantamount to removal from the campus, in the interest of fairness as well as of responsible administration, campus officials should be urged to be equally concerned about those who commit violence who are not receiving aid.

I stated earlier my support of these provisions if they are effective. Too often students have heard threats which are not followed through. This leads to disrespect for appropriate authority, including the authority of government. An escalation of threats with no subsequent action leads to an escalation of violence with no concern for results.

Again, my gratitude to you and to your committee. I wish to offer you the complete assistance of the State of California in your pursuit of our common goal.

It is my heartfelt wish that your action will be of help in protecting students and faculty, as well as all of our educational institutions, in their vital mission of serving our society.

THE ENZYME—LYSOZYME

HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished constituent of mine, Dr. Alfred T. Sapse, has recently sent to me the text of a speech on a subject of vital importance to us all. Dr. Sapse is associated with the University of California at Los Angeles in the department of bacteriology as a special research fellow. His present 3-year project is called "Smog Eye Irritation Experimental and Clinical Studies" involving a National Institute of Health grant of some \$190,000. To be investigated are the eye tissues most exposed to smog, such as the tears, cornea, conjunctive, lacrimal glands. This is the first of several articles to be released as the study progresses. Dr. Sapse's speech of March 5, 1969, follows:

THE ENZYME—LYSOZYME

The March issue of *Fortune* magazine has brought to the surface something that has been developing, steadily and quietly, almost unnoticed, in the field of medical research. It deals with the life-saving promise of enzymes, and is concerned with something which I believe, truthfully, will open a new era in medicine.

Today, I would like to acquaint you with the first enzyme discussed in this article, one which, undoubtedly in the near future, will be the most talked about—*Lysozyme*.

Lysozyme is an enzyme discovered accidentally by Sir Alexander Fleming in 1922—the same Fleming who six years later discovered penicillin, also "accidentally."

Lysozyme is the body's own antibiotic. It is considered to be in the body's first line of defense. It is present throughout the body anywhere the danger of infection or other injuries is most likely to occur. It is present in tears, skin, saliva, bronchial secretions of the lungs, and in the white cells of the blood.

Like penicillin, the discovery of Lysozyme didn't arouse too much excitement initially. Lysozyme was left dormant for many years until scientists suddenly became aware of it. I won't bother you too much with its description—how its molecule of 129 amino acids was discovered, or how Lysozyme kills bacteria. That is for the biochemists. It is important though, that in some forms of leukemias, lysozyme in the blood serum is present only in very low levels. It was, therefore, possible to detect these forms of leukemia by measuring lysozyme-in-serum. Also, when human kidneys were transplanted, scientists while checking for the presence of lysozyme-in-urine, found that they were capable of detecting the early symptoms of kidney rejection.

Cow milk differs from maternal human milk, in that it contains no lysozyme. Some eye infections are accompanied by the lowering or even total disappearance of lysozyme levels in tears. Recently, it was demonstrated by two groups of scientists that lysozyme levels in human tears were lowered when the eye was subjected to smog eye irritation; also, in experimental studies, lysozyme in lung secretions was observed to be inactivated by ozone—a smog component.

The list of uses for lysozyme as a diagnostic tool is long, ranging from measurements of Lysozyme in the serum for the detection of damage by irradiation, to the low levels of lysozyme found in the early stages of viral hepatitis.

This initial presentation demonstrates how Lysozyme may be useful in the detection of a variety of diseases.

In the following talks, I shall discuss how Lysozyme can be useful in many other ways to human and animal welfare.

A FORWARD MARITIME POLICY FOR THE UNITED STATES

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 24, 1969

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the dangers to the national security of the United States inherent in the Soviet Union's massive naval shipbuilding program are widely recognized. Perhaps not so well known are the national security implications involved in the Soviet's accelerated programs in the merchant marine, oceanography, and fisheries.

One of the authors of a significant report on "The Changing Strategic Naval Balance: U.S.S.R. Versus U.S.A.," which was published last December, was Dr. James D. Atkinson of Georgetown University.

Based on that experience, Dr. Atkinson has now prepared a paper on the Soviet challenge in the merchant marine. He also makes some recommendations re-

garding U.S. response to this challenge which I believe should be important reading for Members of this body. The paper follows:

A FORWARD MARITIME POLICY FOR THE UNITED STATES

(Presented by Dr. James D. Atkinson, professor of government, Georgetown University, at a luncheon sponsored by the AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Department, Washington, D.C., Jan. 22, 1969)

THE STRATEGIC NAVAL BALANCE

The naval balance study

In early December 1968, the House Committee on Armed Services published a study entitled "The Changing Strategic Naval Balance: USSR vs. USA." This study was prepared for House Armed Services by a special committee of the American Security Council on which I served. This carefully researched paper pointed out that the burgeoning Soviet merchant marine served to enhance Soviet attainment of strategic objectives on the oceans of the world and that this constituted one of the significant developments of our times. The study emphasized that the Soviet effort was both qualitative and quantitative and noted that "four out of five Russian merchant ships are less than 10 years old, whereas four out of five of the U.S.-flag vessels are of World War II vintage or older!"

Continued Soviet momentum

Since the publication of this report, the trend has been for continued upward movement of the Soviets on the high seas. There are many examples of this continuing Soviet thrust at sea, but these are especially interesting:

(1) On 26 December 1968 the official Soviet news agency Tass stated that "the Soviet Merchant Marine has firmly taken the world's sixth place this year" and that one more line had been added "to the score of regular services. It links the ports of the Baltic with Australia."

(2) On 6 January 1969 Tass stated that meetings had begun that day between the Soviet Union and East Germany in order to coordinate their maritime policy including that "on the international freight market." With the recent example of Soviet rate cutting on Australian cargoes, this report is highly suggestive for future Soviet and bloc policy.

(3) On 9 January 1969 Moscow Radio announced that ten ships of the Soviet merchant navy had arrived in Havana, Cuba, and that a record number of Russian ships would be plying the sea route to Cuba this month.¹

(4) On 14 January 1969 press reports revealed an historic first for the Soviet merchant marine. It was stated that the first regular shipping service by the USSR to North America's Pacific Coast had begun with the over 14,000 ton *Ostrogozhsk* (built only 4 years ago), one of three Soviet ships to be in service from British Columbia to Japan. Significantly, this is a third country service, not a Soviet home port operation.

PROJECTIONS FROM THE NAVAL BALANCE STUDY

There are, of course, a number of projections which could be made from "The Changing Strategic Naval Balance." The following, however, appear to have special relevance to the fields of merchant marine, oceanography and fisheries:

General projections

(1) *The Maritime Psychological Gap:* Of prime importance is the closing of the mari-

¹ In another part of the world, the Mediterranean, the Soviet capability—greatly assisted by merchant shipping—for exploiting trouble spots was indicated by the statement in *Pravda* on 11 January 1969 that "the USSR has always taken a firm position of supporting Arab peoples."

time psychological gap. For too long the American people have been told—by the prophets of gloom and doom—that it is useless for the United States to make a maritime effort, because other countries can build and operate more efficiently. A logical examination of this claim leads, of course, to a *reductio ad absurdum*. For, if we accept this kind of defeatism, it follows that, very shortly, we cannot make an effort in the fields of electronics, in steel, or in textiles. All of these fields are challenged from overseas as is our maritime enterprise.

Furthermore, a recent example indicates that American labor and management in the maritime field are performing far more efficiently than the critics would have us believe. I cite the sad case of the Queen Elizabeth II, not as a criticism of the grand maritime tradition of Britain, but, rather, as, by contrast, emphasizing what America is doing and can do at sea.

The London *Daily Telegraph* stated (1 January 1969) of the Queen Elizabeth II that there were "minor defects, mainly electrical, in 900 of the 1,000 cabins." Their correspondent went on to say that "plumbing is bad in several cabins and one can wade in inches of water. Shower attachments are missing. The taps on baths are also missing. In some cases attachments in bathrooms have come away in people's hands." Far more serious were the faults in two turbines. The *Daily Telegraph* of 8 January 1969 reported these were even more serious than it was first believed and that the chairman of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders "refused to give a completion date for the ship."²

(2) *National Need vs. Cost-effectiveness*: Closely associated with the maritime psychological gap is the myth of maritime cost-effectiveness. A myth, because the U.S. mari-

² The British are not alone. The *Daily Telegraph* of 17 January 1969 reported that "a faulty turbine in the West German passenger ship Hamburg, 23,500 tons, has delayed its test run and speed trials for two weeks..."

time posture should, in truth, be related to national need, not to cost-effectiveness alone. The U.S. merchant marine has been steadily deteriorating. And the British merchant marine—upon which many of our exporters and importers have placed reliance—now appears to be headed towards a sharp decline. Can we believe that the Soviet Union will be so conscientious that, in future, it will refrain from taking advantage of what will be a geopolitical fact of life? If this should come to pass, would the American voter ask whether the policy had been cost effective?; or would he ask why was not something done?

Specific projections

(1) *Merchant Marine*: In "The Changing Strategic Naval Balance" we point out that "a vital factor in the Russian merchant marine expansion is the total of national resources devoted to this oceanic enterprise. In 1965, the Soviet government devoted more than \$600 million to the construction of merchant vessels. The United States spent only \$150 million in the same year. These figures make clear the different priorities that the Soviet Union and the United States assign to a vital segment of sea power."

It would appear, therefore, that a minimum program by the United States to restore the merchant marine balance would be the building of 50 ships per year for the four-year period fiscal 1970 (calendar year beginning 1 July 1969)—fiscal year 1973. This is a minimum program; indeed, in view of the growing magnitude of the Soviet effort, it may be necessary to review this number and project a total of 250 instead of 200 U.S. built merchant ships, that is, 50 in each of the first two years and 75 each in the latter two years. Based on national need, 50 per year for the four-year period would certainly appear to be a minimum number.

(2) *Oceanographic*: The arrival in Leningrad last October of the new oceanographic research ship *Akademik Vernadskiy* is in many ways symbolic of what needs to be done to redress this part of the maritime balance. This ship, built in East Germany

for the USSR was reported to have made its first voyage (and where it may still be operating) not in seas adjacent to Russia, but in the Atlantic Ocean. The *Akademik Vernadskiy* becomes one of an increasingly large fleet of oceanographic ships given the task of both basic and applied research on the seas of this great globe. For the Russians realize that while outer space is, of course, very important, the liquid space of the world's oceans is in the long run of equal importance and, in the short run, may be—at various times—of even greater importance.

A modest program in oceanography, therefore, would be the tripling of the present approximately 3700 people in the field of ocean studies and the building of four oceanographic ships—exclusive of undersea research ships for here we should, perhaps, have a crash program—per year over a four-year period from fiscal 1970 onward.

(3) *Fisheries*: The magnitude of the task facing us here is too well known to require more than brief comment. A comparison with Soviet priorities is relevant. In the past fourteen years the USSR put \$4 billion into its fishing fleet-shoreside plant complex. In the same period, a goodly part of the U.S. fishing fleet became museum pieces. It would hardly be imprudent to suggest that we either directly spend or indirectly use tax incentives to provide, over a four year period, at the very least, one-half the average yearly amount of the Soviet expenditure

SUMMARY

In short, what is at stake is not only a significant industry—and important the maritime industry certainly is—but, much more, a vast sector of the U.S. national security. This sector embraces the inter-related mix of naval, merchant marine, oceanography-marine resources, and fishing fleet-shoreside plant complexes. If the American people can be shown the overriding importance of this maritime complex, the evidence indicates that they will ask, indeed, may even demand, that their country adopt and implement a forward maritime policy.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Tuesday, March 25, 1969

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

My defense is of God, who saveth the upright in heart.—Psalm 7: 10.

O God, who art a strong tower of defense to those who put their trust in Thee, have mercy upon us as we bow in prayer before Thee and gird us for the experiences of this day. Grant that in moments of low moods and in minutes of high moods we may keep our faith in Thee in whom alone true life is to be found.

Forgive the ways we have placed shackles about ourselves and others, the intolerance we have shown when others differed from us, the envy we have revealed when some have received what we thought we deserved, the prejudices we have mistaken for principles, and the ill will generated at the success of others. May we pray not only to be forgiven but to learn to be forgiving.

Amid the perplexities of this period may we always remember to be kind and generous, understanding and upright in heart, knowing that he who lives in Thy spirit and who keeps Thy commandments is walking in the way of truth and love—the best defense our Nation can ever have.

We pray in the spirit of Him who walked the way of the loving heart. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 8438. An act to extend the time for filing final reports under the Correctional Rehabilitation Study Act of 1965 until July 31, 1969.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills and a joint resolution of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 301. An act for the relief of Selin Lin;
S. 348. An act for the relief of Cheng-hual Li;

S. 537. An act for the relief of Noriko Susan Duke (Nakano);

S. 628. An act for the relief of Koon Chew Ho;

S. 648. An act for the relief of Ernesto Alunday;

S. 672. An act for the relief of Charles Richard Scott;

S. 713. An act to designate the Desolation Wilderness, Eldorado National Forest, in the State of California;

S. 742. An act to amend the act of June 12, 1948 (62 Stat. 382), in order to provide for the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Kennewick division extension, Yakima project, Washington, and for other purposes;

S. 743. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Touchet division, Walla Walla project, Oregon-Washington, and for other purposes;

S. 927. An act for the relief of Victor Abadi;
S. 958. An act for the relief of John Anthony Bacsalmas;

S. 1011. An act to authorize appropriations for the saline water conversion program for fiscal year 1970, and for other purposes;

S. 1016. An act for the relief of Dr. Richard Francis Power;

S. 1049. An act for the relief of Dr. Angel Solar;

S. 1120. An act for the relief of Wong Wah Sin;

S. 1123. An act for the relief of Ah Mee Locke; and

S.J. Res. 28. Joint resolution providing for renaming the central Arizona project as the Carl Hayden project.

The message also announced that the Vice President, pursuant to Public Law