

Science, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. WOLD:

H.R. 9585. A bill to provide for the conveyance to the city of Cheyenne, Wyo., of certain real property of the United States heretofore donated to the United States by such city; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. EVINS of Tennessee:

H.R. 9586. A bill for the establishment of a Commission to study and promulgate a national policy respecting dispersal of population and industry; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania:

H.J. Res. 600. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GRAY:

H.J. Res. 601. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim February of each year as "American History Month"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KING:

H.J. Res. 602. Joint resolution to declare the policy of the United States with respect to its territorial sea; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania:

H.J. Res. 603. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WHALLEY:

H.J. Res. 604. Joint resolution to declare the policy of the United States with respect to its territorial sea; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama:

H.J. Res. 605. Joint resolution, reciprocity in U.S. territorial waters; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. RIEGLE:

H.J. Res. 606. Joint resolution to declare the policy of the United States with respect to its territorial sea; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BINGHAM (for himself, Mr. ASHLEY, Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. BURTON of California Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. HALPERN, Mr. KASTENMEIER, Mr. KOCH, Mr. MIKVA, Mr. MOORHEAD, Mr. PODELL, Mr. RYAN, and Mr. SCHEUER):

H. Con. Res. 184. Concurrent resolution proposing a multilateral treaty to bar all military installations from the sea bed; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CLARK:

H. Con. Res. 185. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that efforts should be made to invite Spain to membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

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H. Con. Res. 185. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that efforts should be made to invite Spain to membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MOORHEAD (for himself, Mr. BINGHAM, Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. DENT, Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. FARBERSTEIN, Mr. GAYDOS, Mr. GILBERT, Mr. HALPERN,

Mr. HAWKINS, Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia, Mr. JOHNSON of California, Mr. KASTENMEIER, Mr. KOCH, Mr. LEGGETT, and Mr. McCLOSKEY):

H. Con. Res. 186. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that the United States should begin to reduce its military involvement in Vietnam; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MOORHEAD (for himself, Mr. MIKVA, Mr. MINISH, Mrs. MINK, Mr. MOSS, Mr. PODELL, Mr. REES, Mr. REUSS, Mr. RODINO, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. ROYBAL, Mr. RYAN, Mr. SCHEUER, Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey, Mr. VIGORITO, Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON, Mr. WALDIE, and Mr. YATRON):

H. Con. Res. 187. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that the United States should begin to reduce its military involvement in Vietnam; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BROWN of California:

H. Res. 341. Resolution to provide for an International Conference on Problems of Human Environment; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

H. Res. 342. Resolution to abolish the Committee on Internal Security and enlarge the jurisdiction of the Committee on the Judiciary; to the Committee on Rules.

H. Res. 343. Resolution creating a special committee to conduct an investigation and study into the legal, political, and diplomatic status of lands which were the subject of grants from the King of Spain and from the Government of Mexico prior to the acquisition of the American Southwest as a result of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo concluding the Mexican-American War in 1848; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. DUNCAN:

H. Res. 344. Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to establishing an all-volunteer military force; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. NIX:

H. Res. 345. Resolution to abolish the Committee on Internal Security and enlarge the jurisdiction of the Committee on the Judiciary; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. PATMAN:

H. Res. 346. Resolution authorizing the printing of additional copies of the "Report of the Joint Economic Committee"; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. PERKINS (for himself, Mr. DENT, and Mr. ERLBORN):

H. Res. 347. Resolution to authorize the General Subcommittee on Labor of the Committee on Education and Labor to conduct an investigation and study of production of foreign-made goods competing with domestically produced goods and of new developments in coal mine safety and health practices in Great Britain; to the Committee on Rules.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII,

93. Mr. ULLMAN and Mrs. GREEN of Oregon presented a memorial of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, memorial-

izing the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of the Interior to refrain from implementing the recently proposed increase in fees of grazing on public land because the agricultural sector of this Nation's economy is undergoing a period of recession, and the increase would have such detrimental economic impact on the livestock industry that the entire profit margin in many livestock operations would be removed, which was referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADDABBO (by request):

H.R. 9587. A bill for the relief of James J. Carpenter; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia (by request):

H.R. 9588. A bill for the relief of John Acerbi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CAREY:

H.R. 9589. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe De Blasi and his wife, Grazia De Blasi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CORMAN:

H.R. 9590. A bill to confer jurisdiction on the U.S. Court of Claims to reopen and continue case No. 66-55; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GONZALEZ:

H.R. 9591. A bill for the relief of Elgie L. Tabor; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HATHAWAY:

H.R. 9592. A bill for the relief of Ferdinando Muscas and his wife, Christina Muscas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McFALL:

H.R. 9593. A bill to confer jurisdiction on the U.S. Court of Claims to reopen and continue case No. 66-55; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MACGREGOR:

H.R. 9594. A bill for the relief of Iraj Rigi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'KONSKI:

H.R. 9595. A bill to confer jurisdiction on the U.S. Court of Claims to reopen and continue case No. 66-55; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RHODES:

H.R. 9596. A bill for the relief of Guisappa Guarino; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H.R. 9597. A bill for the relief of Rafael Martinez-Garcia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ST. ONGE:

H.R. 9598. A bill for the relief of Sea Oil & General Corp., of New York, N.Y.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. Res. 348. Resolution to refer the bill H.R. 9598 entitled "A bill for the relief of Sea Oil and General Corporation, of New York, New York" to the Chief Commissioner of the Court of Claims pursuant to sections 1492 and 2509 of title 28, United States Code; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

TIME TO STOP THE NONSENSE ON CAMPUS

HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, throughout our Nation thousands of concerned

citizens have gazed in wonderment at the brazen destruction of property and thoughtless disruption of the learning processes on our Nation's college campuses.

Few, if any, of our people question the right to dissent and to make grievances known through peaceful means. But the right to dissent does not include the right to destroy. The case for change confers no privilege to invoke anarchy,

for if there is to be reasoned change, orderly processes must be preserved.

I am happy to say that in my own State, school administrators, faculty, and students have thus far succeeded in reaching mutually satisfactory solutions to campus problems. Needless to say, I hope this atmosphere of cooperation continues.

The Washington Post on March 17 published an editorial entitled "Time To

Stop the Nonsense on Campus." It is a cogent article placing in perspective the problems which confront our college campuses. I ask unanimous consent that it appear at this point in the RECORD.

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

TIME TO STOP THE NONSENSE ON CAMPUS

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

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

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

That is precisely the distinction that needs to be drawn in all campus protests. Students must be free to air their complaints and grievances, real or imaginary, in meetings, speeches, handbills, newspapers, conferences, and any other form of nonviolent persuasion including noncoercive picket lines. But they ought not to be free to disrupt classes, destroy property, deprive others of the right to speak, bar anyone from going into or out of a building, or interfere with the normal functioning of any part of a university's activities.

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

Father Hesburgh's formula for handling disorders at Notre Dame is still a good one. He has warned students that anyone disrupt-

ing a university activity will be given 15 minutes to think about it, then suspended if he continues to disrupt, and then expelled if he persists; nonstudents participating in disorders are to be arrested. But it takes more than an *ipse dixit* to establish such a policy. To make it stick, administrators must have done their homework—unifying behind them the great mass of faculty members and students who are interested in learning even while reforming the universities and making clear to all students what the penalties for riotous behavior are to be.

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

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

A BILL TO PROVIDE HAZARDOUS RETIREMENT FOR AIR TRAFFIC CONTROLLERS

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, today, I am introducing a bill supported by the Air Traffic Control Association, an association of air traffic controllers in the employ of the Federal Aviation Administration, to obtain for them the same privileges of retirement at age 50 after 20 years of service as are now provided to other classes of Federal employees who have hazardous or arduous duties under section 8336 of the Retirement Act.

Already included in this category are Federal law-enforcement officers such as FBI agents, employees of the Bureau of Prisons, employees of military disciplinary barracks, and employees of the Department of Corrections of the District of Columbia. As my colleagues know, there are other classes of Federal employees who have these same benefits through separate legislation, such as Public Health Service officers and Foreign Service officers.

Mr. Speaker, the hazards of air traffic control duties are not newly discovered. This is something the Congress knew 10 years ago. When Congress enacted the Federal Aviation Act in 1958, it inserted section 302(g) which directed the Administrator of FAA to prepare a report and submit it to Congress with respect to

the need for early retirement for controllers. The Administrator did so. It is identified as Senate Document No. 57, 87th Congress, second session. The Administrator found there were unique pressures and tensions in this profession, and that it was a young man's game. He found that controllers should have early retirement, not only for their own good, but for the good of the service and the safety of the air traffic control system.

Mr. Speaker, to further point up the need for this legislation, I want to place in the RECORD a portion of the testimony of Mr. James D. Hill, general counsel of the Air Traffic Control Association, on May 7, 1968, before the Senate Subcommittee on Retirement, when the subcommittee was considering Senator RANDOLPH's bill, S. 3424, 90th Congress:

We respectfully suggest to the Committee that there is no more deserving group in the entire Government for twenty-year retirement than air traffic controllers, with due deference to all the hazards foreign service officers or others may have.

An air traffic controller's job was difficult ten years ago and it has been made twice as hard since that time because of the fact that air traffic volume has doubled in the last ten years.

When the Act was passed in 1958, towers handled 25 million operations a year; now it is 50 million. Centers handled 8 million instrument operations a year; now it is 17 million. Flight Service Stations assisted 17 million aircraft; now it is 34 million.

The Administrator issued his ten-year aviation forecast last month and estimated that aviation traffic will triple or quadruple again in the next ten years.

The trouble is, the size of the air traffic control work force is about the same today as it was ten years ago, and no provision is being made to meet the future.

Many controllers who were supposed to handle four or five aircraft at a time are handling 35 or 40 at a time. Because of personnel shortages in the system, they don't even get a coffee break and they have to eat lunch at their position. They work eight hours a day, six days a week, in concentrated effort. When they get up, their pants stick to the seat. One controller tells of spilling a hot cup of coffee on the hand of the man next to him, who did not even notice it, as he was so involved in his work.

This is not just the opinion of the controllers' group; a great deal of medical research has been done on the subject by many people. This includes the FAA medical staff at Georgetown Medical Center; the FAA Aeromedical Institute at Oklahoma City; the Flight Safety Foundation; the U.S. Air Force Human Factors Research Laboratory; Carnegie Institute; the British RAF Institute of Aviation Medicine; the Medical Center at New York State University; Harvard's Guggenheim Center for Aerospace Health and Safety—I could go on and on. All of these groups have made studies of the effects of tension and pressure and aging on air traffic controllers. All report that these people have an undue amount of tension and pressure, which in time worsens into serious ailments. Initially they may just suffer irritability, inability to sleep, nervousness, tremors, cramps, headaches or nausea, but with time, as with any tension or pressure when not relieved, it degenerates into the three usual products of unrelieved tension and pressure—heart attacks, ulcers and mental illness. All of these affect controllers, to a much greater extent than the general population.

The FAA puts out a monthly list of people who retire, and when I examined the list last month, I noticed that 11 controllers retired. Over half—six of them—were disability retirements. I suggest to the committee

where more than half of the people of any Federal occupational specialty can't make it to age 55 and must retire on disability because of the debilitating, arduous nature of their job, you have per se, a hazardous occupation.

If we were to consider that "hazardous" in the statute means hazardous to life, such as being shot to death in law enforcement duties, rather than hazardous to health, we would be glad to compare our profession with the others on this basis also. Within the last month we have received reports of five of our members who suffered heart attacks on the job. Two died immediately. Let me refer just to one for the committee's enlightenment. This is a typical example of the problem. This man was a controller at the Kansas City Center on the 4:00 p.m. to midnight shift with heavy traffic all the time. At about 9:30 he got an unusually complex traffic situation, the kind that can result in a midair collision if not speedily corrected—it took him about twenty minutes, working in cold perspiration, I am sure. When he finished he said he was sick, got up holding himself, slumped to the ground and died within a few minutes. He was 32 years old, and left a wife and three small children.

Let me emphasize, this man did not have a bad heart when he came into the service. Controllers have to pass a medical examination which is more rigorous than the examination which the agency requires for commercial pilots. Also, a psychological examination; and they must repeat these exams and pass them every year to stay in the service. This was a man with a perfectly sound heart a few hours before, but these are the kinds of things that happen all the time in the Air Traffic Control Service.

We think that this situation raises some questions. First is the moral question: How much should the Federal Government, as an employer, expect of an employee? Should it require him to continue to work until the day he is carried out on a stretcher dead or a useless hulk of a man for the rest of his life or should it give him freedom before this happens?

Second, is the question of safety. FAA medical research has found that the ability of a controller to handle heavy traffic starts to slide down hill fast after he becomes forty years of age. Yet he can't quit because of this; he has to stay on until he is 55, although he can't really do the job any more. It is like asking an athlete to play major league baseball at age 55. He can't do it, and neither can a controller. But, under present law, he is forced to hang on like grim death to a job he can't really do. His comrades on each side "carry" him, and try to conceal it from the facility chief—so he must hang on until the "lucky" day when he is "fortunate" enough to have a heart attack or ulcer and can get out on disability. This is not a safe way to operate the air traffic control system.

Third, it creates recruitment, retention and staffing problems; people no longer want to enter the service because of the job pressures. This is especially true of the high density terminals like Chicago, New York and Los Angeles. I saw a report last week stating that O'Hare Tower, which has 64 journeyman positions, had 39 journeymen on duty and 25 vacancies. When this occurs, it means the facility chief must use trainees who have not checked out, or he must double up positions, or must call fatigued controllers back on overtime. All of these have safety implications.

Mr. Speaker, various measures to achieve earlier retirement for air traffic controllers have been introduced in prior Congresses, but none have been enacted. Daily we are asking these men to control the lives of thousands of people. We can't

keep putting off a decision in a matter as important as this. I urge the Congress to act on this legislation without delay.

YOUNG MARYLANDER WINS SCHOLARSHIP

HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, the Westinghouse Corp. recently conducted its annual talent search for outstanding scientists and mathematicians. Over 22,000 students from high schools cross the country submitted projects to this year's conference in Dallas.

Among the top 10 national winners was a young Marylander, Justin C. Schaffert, of Silver Spring, Md. Justin's project, which dealt with the patterns of numerical coefficients of Pascal's triangle, won the young mathematician a \$4,000 scholarship. Justin, who now attends Springbrook High School, hopes to use his scholarship at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology this coming fall.

Our technological society is demanding that each of us acquire a greater understanding of the physical sciences in order to be able to handle the exigencies of modern life. I bring the accomplishments of this young man to the attention of my colleagues not only because Justin is an outstanding scholar but also because he recognizes the impact of technology on our society and environment and the need to apply our knowledge of the sciences in solving the problems that confront us.

I ask unanimous consent that an article honoring Justin, published in the Washington Star on March 4, 1969, be printed in the RECORD.

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

YOUNG MATH WIZARD GETS \$4,000 AWARD

A 17-year-old mathematics wizard from Silver Spring has won a \$4,000 scholarship in competition in the 28th annual Westinghouse talent search.

Justin C. Schaffert, a senior at Springbrook High School and the son of Mr. and Mrs. Justin C. Schaffert of 1039 Cresthaven Drive, was selected among the top 10 young scientists in the country for his study of Pascal numbers. Schaffert's project deals with the aspects of a pattern of numerical progression first explored by Blaise Pascal.

Complex number theories are nothing new to the young mathematician, who wants to attend Massachusetts Institute of Technology and study pure math. Last summer he attended a special session on math at Ohio State University. He has founded a chapter of a national mathematics society at Springbrook and has organized a math tutoring system there.

Schaffert also is working with other students to build a permanent 10-inch reflector telescope on the school grounds. Montgomery County is sponsoring the materials for the telescope, which Schaffert says will be worth about \$3,000 when finished.

Schaffert's father is an electrical engineer at the Goddard Space Flight Center.

The top winner of the national contest is a Dallas high school senior who won a \$10,000 scholarship for a mathematical theory on the origin of the universe. Seventeen year old Lane P. Hughston, who last year was victorious in the International Science Fair competition, won on a project dealing with the theory of collision of interstellar bodies.

Other area winners of the contest, which drew more than 22,000 entrants, were two Virginia high school students who each won \$250.

Jack R. Woodside Jr. of W. T. Woodson High School in Fairfax won for computing the radius of the moon's orbit. Joseph B. Jordan Jr. of McLean High School won for surveying two types of stars and evaluating their characteristics from variations in brightness.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON THE AGING HONORS GENEVA MATHIASSEN

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the Ollie A. Randall Award is presented each year by the National Council on the Aging to a person who has performed especially meritoriously to help make life better for older Americans. This year, the award was given to Mrs. Geneva Mathiasen, who had served as executive director of the NCOA until her retirement late last year.

The honor paid to Mrs. Mathiasen can be well appreciated by members of the Senate Special Committee on Aging. Mrs. Mathiasen has been an informative and very helpful friend of that committee on many occasions during the past 8 years. In fact, her suggestions have led directly to several committee or subcommittee studies in areas that needed close attention. Her concern about the problems facing the elderly is genuine and far-reaching; but she also sees that great new opportunities open up to a nation as large numbers of the elderly assert their determination to enjoy satisfying and rewarding lives in retirement or in second or even third careers.

Perhaps the best description of Mrs. Mathiasen's contribution to the field of aging can be found in the citation for the Ollie A. Randall Award. I ask unanimous consent that this tribute to one of the pioneer leaders in her field be printed in the RECORD.

I also wish to note that the NCOA is fortunate in having Mr. William C. Fitch as Mrs. Mathiasen's successor. Mr. Fitch has served inside of government and in other ways for the well-being of older citizens, and his past experience bodes well for his present responsibilities.

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

THE OLLIE A. RANDALL AWARD, 1969

To Geneva Mathiasen, our esteemed associate and former Executive Director, the National Council on the Aging is honored to present the 1969 Ollie A. Randall Award for Distinguished Service to Older People.

For two decades as Executive Director of NCOA and its predecessor organization, The National Committee on the Aging of the National Social Welfare Assembly, Mrs. Mathiasen has exemplified the nation's concern for the well-being of its older citizens.

As a writer, editor, speaker, and more than these as a humanitarian, she has had a major part in the achievement of the most significant programs for the elderly. In forums as diverse as the Congress of the United States and the small neighborhood meeting hall she has been the spokesman for those who are often neglected and forgotten.

Mrs. Mathiasen has long been the guiding spirit of the National Council on the Aging. We are proud to be associated with her, and we are honored that she joins the other distinguished Americans who have been recipients of the Ollie A. Randall Award.

S/Edwin F. Shelly, President,
William C. Fitch, Executive Director.

THE PARIS PEACE TALKS

HON. ALBERT GORE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Extensions of Remarks an article entitled "Peace Talks: All Talk, No Peace," written by Mr. James McCartney and published in the Chicago Daily News of March 25, 1969.

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

PEACE TALKS: ALL TALK, NO PEACE—BOTH SIDES SHY AWAY FROM MAKING REAL CONCESSIONS OR TAKING FIRST STEP TOWARD ENDING VIETNAM WAR

(By James McCartney)

PARIS.—To this date the Vietnam peace talks have been a flimsy facade, an exercise in "let's pretend."

A year from the time that President Lyndon B. Johnson withdrew from politics to make peace talks possible, the situation is grim.

There is no sign the Communists came to Paris with the intention of making peace. And the United States has put nothing on the table that could be called a solid, give-and-take negotiating proposal.

If President Nixon has a "fresh approach," as promised in his campaign, it is the best-kept secret in Paris.

The struggle over Vietnam is not being fought here at all, but on battlefields half a world away.

Those who know the situation best predict a road so long and hard that they may have to sell it to President Nixon as well as to the public.

Mr. Nixon has said he is pinning his major hopes for peace on these talks. But those in key spots here can't see how the talks are going to do it.

Neither side is speaking to the other. Each is talking only in its own language, for its own people.

You can't really call these round table sessions negotiations. As one high U.S. official puts it: "We talk past each other."

The urbane Henry Cabot Lodge, chief U.S. negotiator, still believes that the most significant achievement so far was getting the Communists to come to Paris.

One top man in the U.S. delegation frankly

doubts if the Communists came expecting to make peace. He points out they didn't agree to do so—they only agreed to show up in Paris if the United States would stop bombing North Vietnam.

So far the U.S. approach has been extremely cautious.

Ambassador Lodge has said he would like to talk about three things—the demilitarized zone, prisoner exchange and mutual troop withdrawal. But the United States has not offered to do anything, specifically, to end the war.

There is some question whether either side is ready to end the war as matters stand. Each is still attempting to influence the talks by what it does on the battlefield. The war, once again, is escalating—and each side, in a pattern that goes back for years, accuses the other of starting the latest round.

The two sides don't agree on the most fundamental question—who is winning? This is what is causing the continuing struggle on the battlefield, as both sides attempt to win negotiating points.

Each believes it must "negotiate from a position of strength." Each finds it easier to apply military pressure than to make a first step toward stopping the war.

North Vietnam, in fact, came to these talks with the swagger of a conqueror. "They talk like conquerors, with a hobnail boot on our heads," says one U.S. negotiator.

The Communists argue they have won, and that the United States is too proud, corrupt or stubborn to admit it. "Defeated and yet trying to seek a position of strength on the battlefield and at the conference table, the United States is nurturing sheer illusions," the chief negotiator for the Viet Cong, Tran Buu Kiem, said recently.

U.S. negotiators insist that the Communists know better than to think they have won. Both sides know all too well that the war is a stalemate, according to the sources.

But the battlefield struggle suggests strongly that a more convincing settlement may have to be reached there before any settlement at all will be possible here.

"It's going to be messy," says a high U.S. official. "Everything about Vietnam has always been messy. It's going to be fight and talk, fight and talk. It's likely to go on a long time."

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) said that Mr. Nixon told congressional leaders he had a "peace plan" he intended to bring to Europe on his recent trip. Nobody here seems to know anything about it.

Mr. Nixon also has referred to a "phase two" of the Paris negotiations, in which the parties get down to brass tacks. There is no evidence of a "phase two" here yet.

At the moment, U.S. officials, including the President, are hinting strongly that secret negotiations—or "private talks," as Mr. Nixon has used the term—may provide the ultimate breakthrough.

It is a measure of the desperate state of the U.S. position that the possibility of unpublicized talks had to be discussed openly—possibly in the hope it might advertise U.S. willingness to participate.

FAINT WISP OF HOPE

On such a slender reed do U.S. hopes currently rest. It is a slender reed because the objective is so limited.

The question is not what might be said in secret negotiations—what the basis of a settlement might be—but whether the Communists can be persuaded to talk.

There is almost no suggestion of compromise or new initiatives to try to break the deadlock. There is, on the other hand, complete awareness that the U.S. public would not accept a huge escalation of the war to try to win it.

The present U.S. program, from all indications, is simply this:

We will continue battlefield pressure to try to convince the Communists we can't be beaten.

We will attempt to get discussions started on small items in the hope of broadening them eventually to major, important issues.

We will concede nothing.

We will be prepared to stay as long as necessary to hammer out some kind of a peace agreement.

All of this is another way of saying: We will not try for a dramatic breakthrough.

NO CLEAR-CUT ANSWERS

So the questions remain: What might we do? How do we get out of Vietnam?

There are no clear-cut answers, but in the months that there have been contacts with North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front (NLF), the United States has learned a lot. It has not been able to find the ground rules for a settlement, but it has been able to see the kinds of choices available.

At least some members of the U.S. delegation believe a major mistake may have been made last fall after President Johnson's bombing halt.

As is now well known, the bombing halt was a result of an "understanding" between the North Vietnamese and the United States. The United States was to stop bombing—the Communists were to lessen tensions in the demilitarized zone and stop shelling civilians in major cities.

On their own and without announcement, the North Vietnamese withdrew 30,000 to 40,000 troops from the demilitarized zone before the United States actually stopped the bombing. They also abruptly stopped shelling cities the day the bombing halt began.

At this time the United States had an option of lowering the intensity of combat in South Vietnam as a further gesture of good faith.

It did not do so. U.S. commanders, in fact, may have increased it—although this is still a matter of dispute.

The bombers that weren't bombing the North were put to work in the South—and thus the volume of attacks there increased. Says one official: "We might have taken a step to lower the intensity of fighting. Perhaps it would have worked."

A time may come in the talks when someone will have to take a first step—or there won't be one.

There is a quality of rage, either real or artificial in all of the Communist invective now. The Viet Cong's Kiem recently launched a tirade in which he said:

"With millions of tons of bombs each year, with hundreds of thousands of tons of toxic chemicals, the United States has razed to the ground vast rural and mountainous areas, heavily damaged many cities and towns of South Vietnam, killed or wounded hundreds of thousands of persons, made tens of thousands of women widows, and children orphans, and millions of people homeless. . . ."

In the Communist view, the United States is always the "aggressor," intervening in Indochina in 1950 and escalating ever since. Thus they formally recognize only one approach to ending the war.

As stated by the adroit Xuan Thuy, the gray-haired chief diplomat for North Vietnam: "There is no other way but the United States stopping its aggression, unconditionally withdrawing all U.S. and satellite troops from South Vietnam, and letting the South Vietnam people settle their internal affairs. . . ."

There is a hooker, of course: The settlement must be made "in accordance with the political program of the South Vietnam Na-

tional Front for Liberation, without foreign interference."

In the U.S. view, the NLF political program is designed to turn the country over to the Communists.

SOUTH VIET SETTLEMENT

The impasse has led some members of the U.S. delegation to believe that nothing is really going to move at the talks unless agreements can be reached first on a political settlement in South Vietnam.

The political future of South Vietnam, of course, is what the war is all about. The question is: Who is going to run it?

Strangely, the positions of the two sides on this all-important settlement appear to be coming at least a little closer.

The United States strongly believes that the Saigon regime and representatives of the National Liberation Front (the Viet Cong) eventually will have to sit down together to hammer out a program.

The NLF continues to insist that a settlement must be reached in terms of its long-range program. And Saigon continues to consider the NLF all but traitors—but is willing to sit down with them.

The key concept now is the idea of a new "peace cabinet" for South Vietnam that would include NLF representatives.

The issue is whether the present Saigon regime would be represented in such a cabinet. Lodge would have President Nguyen Van Thieu and Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky in the cabinet. The NLF wants an entirely new cabinet without them.

The United States is clearly willing to accept elections in South Vietnam in which the Communists would be on the ticket. If a breakthrough is going to come in the political area, it is probably going to involve U.S. pressure on Saigon to loosen up and accept a greater role by the NLF.

The alternative may well be to keep scrapping on the battlefield until one side or the other is ready to make concessions.

RELEVANCE IN EDUCATION

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 25, 1969

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, there is currently an experiment of great importance being conducted by Walt Whitman High School in Bethesda, Md. It is the result of an openness to life and a creative boldness to contend with things new; it promises an improved perspective on education for students and faculty alike, a perspective born from relevance.

This week the students at Walt Whitman High School have been given the opportunity to study whatever interests them. The student-planned curriculum reflects the diversity of their interests, the breadth of their awareness, and the depth of their involvement. The administration at Walt Whitman has assured us that this is not a student protest, but, on the contrary, is a positive educational experience. That the program stands in refutation of the otherwise widely held opinion that many of our students today lack responsibility bespeaks one of its greatest advances.

It is my good fortune and pleasure to have two Whitman students in my office for the week. We are seeking to advance their "studies" by providing them with an inside look into the operation of a

congressional office, and, just as importantly, we are finding ourselves being educated by their presence, too.

I would like to commend to my colleagues the following article from the Washington Star of March 25, 1969, which outlines the details of this impressive and inspiring program:

RELEVANCE IS THE WHITMAN "CLASSWORD"

(By Barry Kalb)

Here's a very contemporary riddle: What do sex education, world protest, the hazards of night driving, current trends in the Catholic church, the stock market, the draft, Balkan Kolo dancing, marijuana and the way a football game should be watched have in common?

A very contemporary answer: They're all relevant.

At least the students at Walt Whitman High School in Bethesda think they're all relevant to the students at Walt Whitman High School.

Among complaints that have cropped up most frequently in student protests of late are that the current course offerings—such as earth science and trigonometry—have no meaning for the student, or that they are just plain boring.

BLESSED BY AUTHORITIES

Whitman students were given the opportunity to outdo professional curriculum designers. The result of their efforts, including the above courses, began yesterday and will run through Friday under the title, "An Experiment in Free Form Education."

But this is no protest, and the students had the full blessing of the administration, faculty, PTA and county school board in their endeavors.

"We didn't sit down and say the school system is tearing us down, and hurting our minds, and we hate it, and therefore we're doing this," explains Lance Dublin, a student and prime mover behind the program.

"Obviously, the school has done something for us, or we wouldn't have this," he continued, pointing to the mild pandemonium that accompanied EFFE's first day of operation.

The whole thing began back in October with a few students and a couple of teachers talking about new ideas in education. The idea for EFFE quickly took shape, Dublin says, and in December, the school was presented with a proposal for the experiment.

"Some people were dubious of the scope and size, but by February, we had pretty much 100 percent backing," he says.

Students were polled as to what courses they would like to have taught, teachers were recruited to help plan and eventually teach the experimental courses, and parents—"the parents were fantastic," Dublin says—pitched in with advice and special parttime jobs.

The courses are of two major types: Those that are completely new, such as the seminar on "What It's Like to Be a College Professor," and regular courses that "aren't being taught the way they are normally."

In addition, 268 of Whitman's 2,200 students are spending the week on special work study programs, doing such things as teaching school, working for United States congressmen, learning how a newspaper is put together, and working at the Montgomery County Board of Education in Rockville.

Courses are non-graded, attendance is optional, and if the student decides to show up for classes, there is nothing to turn in at the end of the week to show that he actually got something out of it.

A good many did show up, and a leisurely stroll around Whitman's long, narrow corridors revealed a glimpse of what free form education is like.

In the class called "Honest to God Debate," a visiting priest—Dublin says more than 250

outsiders volunteered as teachers and speakers—was asked by a boy:

"Can I ask you a question, sir? When you say 'God,' what do you—I'm not asking you to defend your faith—but when you say 'God,' what do you mean?"

In "Four Modern Underground Writers," a young teacher with a beard and muddy boots and a peace symbol around his neck instead of a tie read excerpts from Norman Mailer's "The Siege of Chicago," and told his students:

"If you remember that as a human being you have the potentialities to do harm to people or to concur in doing harm to people, you may not be so quick to condone some of the atrocities that are committed in your name."

Robert George, a chemistry teacher, looked over his busy organic chemistry class. "This week, they're making some common things like soap, aspirin, DDT, nylon," he said.

"Normally, they just work with conceptual things, to prove a particular point. I thought this would be a nice departure."

The program will be evaluated next week and the week following the Easter vacation, Dublin says. The University of Maryland, the National Institute of Mental Health and the Board of Education are all at work designing evaluation procedures.

THERE'S A BEALL BACK IN CONGRESS

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, the name J. GLENN BEALL is well known in Congress. J. Glenn Beall, Sr., served in the other body from 1942 to 1952, when he was elected to the Senate and re-elected in 1958. Now his son, J. GLENN BEALL, Jr., is representing the Sixth Congressional District of Maryland.

Charles S. Mack, a columnist for the Suburban Record, Silver Spring, Md., has written an excellent article on the Beall family. I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Mack's article be printed in the RECORD.

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

THERE'S A BEALL BACK IN CONGRESS

(By Charles S. Mack)

When does a politician decide he wants to be a Congressman? If your name is J. Glenn Beall, Jr., you set your cap for Congress at a pretty early age.

Of course, you've got some incentive if your father was in Congress. J. Glenn Beall, Sr., sat in the U.S. House of Representatives from the Maryland 6th District for ten years before being elected to the United States Senate in 1952. Beall served two terms before being unseated by Joseph Tydings in the Goldwater debacle of 1964.

Two years before his father's near-quarter century in Congress came to an end, Glenn Beall, Jr., was elected to the Maryland House of Delegates. 1962 was a year of Republican resurgence in Maryland. Four years earlier, the GOP contingent had all but been wiped out in the state's legislative elections. When the dust of the 1962 elections had blown over, the number of Republicans in the House of Delegates had grown from seven to 25.

Some illustrious Republicans were among those 25. Names like Jim Miller, Charlie Bresler, and Louise Gore. And Tom Ander-

son, Stu McInerney and Perry Doing. All of the new faces, and looking for the one man among them who could do the best job to mobilize them as an effective minority. The gentleman from Alleghany County, Glenn Beall, Jr., was their choice. He continued as House minority leader until his election to Congress in 1968.

OLD-LINE NAME

"Beall" is one of those old-line Maryland names that literally goes back to the founding of the Republic: One Samuel Beall sat for the upper district of Frederick County in the Maryland Constitutional Convention of 1776. A few years later, in 1779, a Delegate from Prince George's County, Josias Beall, served as the state's fourth Speaker of the House of Delegates. Today, there must be a Beall in nearly every part of Maryland.

But no Beall ever served in Congress until J. Glenn, Sr. made it in 1942. He succeeded Katherine S. Byron, a Democrat who had been elected to represent the Western Maryland district—which included Montgomery County in those days—in a 1941 special election. Mrs. Byron was elected to the seat vacated at the death of her husband, William D. Byron.

Ironically, Glenn, Jr. won the district in 1968 by defeating the Byrons' son, Goodloe, currently a State Senator who represents Frederick and Carroll Counties.

The new Representative sits for a district shaped a bit differently than his father's old constituency. The 6th district still starts way out at the Garrett County line where the stream that will become the Potomac River trickles slowly out of a mountain spring. The district moves east to include the Bealls' home county of Alleghany, and then Washington and Frederick Counties.

But where Beall, Sr.'s district ran southeast at that point to take in the Washington suburbs of Montgomery County, the redistricted 6th runs due east to include Carroll County, the northern half of Howard County, and the Baltimore suburbs around Catonsville.

UP FROM THE BOTTOM

J. Glenn Beall, Jr. makes no bones about having wanted to go to Congress a long time before he made it there. "I ran for the legislature in 1962 because I wanted one day to be in Congress. I wanted to get good experience, and I believe people should start at the bottom."

He worked his way up in leadership positions. In 1953—the year his father was sworn in as a United States Senator—Glenn was elected President of the Maryland Federation of Young Republicans. In 1958 he won election to the Republican State Central Committee for Alleghany County and served as its chairman for the full four-year term.

During his years in the General Assembly—especially the years before Spiro Agnew became Governor—Beall recognized that one of the responsibilities of legislative eminence was representation of the GOP leadership around the State. No Republican club was too small, no distance too far to travel. If he could possibly make it, Beall accepted every speaking engagement. Glenn spoke everywhere from Oakland to Ocean City.

DIFFERENT PROBLEMS

Constituents' problems in those days in the legislature dealt with road location and recreation, sewers and schools, liquor licenses and zoning laws. No more.

Not long ago, he took a seven-day tour of the district to meet his constituents and listen to their problems. They turned out by the busload. In one day in the Hagerstown post office, 55 people came to talk to their Congressman. The problems they brought to him were a lot different than the ones he used to get when a road was going to trim a few feet off somebody's cornfield.

One 62-year-old widow told him that she made \$3108 in wages in 1968. More than \$500 of it was withheld in Federal and state

taxes—one-sixth of her income—even though the poverty level is officially defined as \$3000 a year. After paying for her food, rent, and other necessities, she had exactly \$130 left to take care of clothing, entertainment, and any medical expenses she might have. She was distressed because she would have to pay more in taxes in 1969, and she didn't know where the money would come from.

As a state legislator, Beall was aware of poverty problems. "You couldn't escape it in areas up home like the one we used to call Mosquito Flats." But it didn't have the impact on him it does now.

"I was more concerned with making sure of state financial aid for my county." As a federal legislator, though, he's got only two major public works projects in the whole district instead of the large number of small ones he had before. As a result, he can give more of his attention to public policy issues like tax reforms to help the Hagerstown widow.

"People come to their Congressman for everything," Beall says. "A couple came to me because they wanted to fight an application for a liquor license. A divorced woman wanted my help in wrestling with her county's welfare department over custody of her child. The welfare people won't approve her well water."

FULL-TIME CONGRESSMAN

Washington is a far cry from Annapolis. "As a state legislator, I had full-time responsibility with part-time involvement. Now I can give it my full time. You can accomplish so much more full time. State government should be a full-time vocation."

There's another difference, too, Beall notes. "As a member of Congress, I'm adequately staffed. As a state legislator, I wasn't." That makes a world of difference. Serving as his chief aide is David Markey, a young lawyer from Frederick County who had been assistant legislative officer on Governor Agnew's staff.

Glenn was fortunate in his committee assignment in the House. He was named to the Banking and Currency Committee, a body which, despite its name, deals with everything from housing and urban programs to consumer credit. It's a good opportunity for a freshman Congressman who wants to make his mark.

He'll make that mark with little trouble. As one of the brighter lights of the "class of 1969," he'll do well.

How well? Congressmen from Maryland's 6th district have a habit of going far. Beall's father moved into the Senate from the 6th. So did Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., whose successful 1968 Senatorial campaign opened the way for Beall to make the House race.

1970 is probably too early to make a move. But Beall is only 42 with lots of time and the seasoned judgment to use that time wisely to his best advantage.

Meanwhile . . . it's good to have a Beall back in Congress.

MITCHELL KILLED SUIT AGAINST EX-CLIENT

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 25, 1969

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the day before yesterday the new administration announced that it was going to sue one of the biggest of the conglomerates—Ling-Temco-Vought—to force it to un-load Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.

This was welcome news indeed, particularly in the light of the failure of

the preceding administration to take effective action against the current rash of conglomerate mergers.

However, today's column in the Washington Post by Mr. Drew Pearson raises very grave questions about the dismissal of an antitrust case affecting the El Paso Natural Gas Co. by the new Attorney General, just 6 days after taking office. According to Mr. Pearson, this case was at one time described by Attorney General Ramsey Clark to be one of the most important antitrust suits in the country. Also according to Mr. Pearson, during the years 1961-67 the El Paso Natural Gas Co. paid to the law firm headed by Mr. Nixon, of which Attorney General Mitchell was a senior partner, a total of \$771,129.83.

At the very least, the Congress and the public are entitled to know the facts of the matter.

Mr. Pearson's column follows:

MITCHELL KILLED SUIT AGAINST EX-CLIENT
(By Drew Pearson)

SPOKANE, WASH.—The powerful El Paso Natural Gas Company, which paid the Nixon law firm \$771,129.83 during the years 1961-67, has managed to get the Justice Department to dismiss an antitrust case involving the 11-year battle over competing pipelines in the Far West. John Mitchell, now Attorney General, who dismissed the case on Jan. 26, six days after taking office, is a former senior partner in the Nixon law firm.

A spokesman for the Justice Department stated that "the decision not to appeal the case was made on Jan. 17, before Mr. Mitchell's succession as Attorney General."

A check at the Justice Department revealed that on that date Solicitor General Erwin Griswold did recommend that the Justice Department dismiss its appeal. However Prof. John J. Flynn of the University of Utah, who has petitioned the Supreme Court to retain its jurisdiction, informed this column that he had flown to Washington on Jan. 20, and discussed the case with Griswold on Jan. 21, one day after President Nixon was inaugurated.

"At that time," said Prof. Flynn, "the case was wide open. There had been no decision. I mentioned to the Solicitor General the interest of the Nixon law firm, and he said the case was being cleared upstairs, obviously referring to Attorney General Mitchell."

William Bennett, former Chairman of the California Public Utilities Commission, who handled the three El Paso cases before the Supreme Court, commented: "Assuming the Justice Department's statement to be true—which I doubt—the Nixon Administration has not gone along with other Johnson recommendations. Nixon dropped the Johnson appointment of Cecil Moore as the first Negro judge on the West Coast and the appointment of Barefoot Sanders to be U.S. Court of Appeals judge. Why the haste to drop one of the most important antitrust cases in this decade?"

Gov. Ronald Reagan's administration in California also dismissed California's suit against El Paso, as did Gov. Calvin Rampton of Utah, under very peculiar circumstances.

The case involves the attempt by El Paso Natural Gas, biggest pipeline company in the world, to monopolize the supply of natural gas to the Far West by buying up and merging with Pacific Northwest Gas, its chief competitor, on Dec. 31, 1959. The Supreme Court overturned this merger in 1962 with a strongly worded opinion.

Three times the Supreme Court has spoken out on this case, each time vigorously ruling against natural gas monopoly. The last time it spoke out, it severely criticized U.S. District Judge Willis Ritter of Salt Lake City, and ordered him removed from the case. "Judge

Ritter," the Supreme Court stated, "has knuckled under to El Paso."

The case then was turned over to U.S. District Judge Olin Hatfield Chilson, who okayed a merger between Pacific Northwest Gas and Colorado Interstate Gas.

Because this would give two companies a monopoly of the entire West, the Justice Department under Attorney General Ramsey Clark filed a new antitrust suit. The State of California and the State of Utah joined in the suit. The merger of Pacific Northwest with Colorado Interstate, they contended, would let El Paso and the new combine divide the Western market between them.

Attorney General Clark stated that he considered the case one of the most important antitrust suits in the country.

MITCHELL DISAGREES

He had only been out of office six days, however, when his successor, who had been Nixon's campaign manager and a partner in the firm which received \$771,129.83 from El Paso, dismissed the suit.

In Utah, one interesting aspect of the dismissal is that the letter of dismissal was signed not by Attorney General Vernon Romney of Utah but by the Governor, who normally does not sign legal papers.

Furthermore, notice of the dismissal was mailed to other attorneys in the case in the envelopes of Colorado Interstate Gas in Colorado Springs, not in the envelopes of the Utah state government, nor from Salt Lake City, Utah's capital.

Gov. Rampton, in telling the press why he dismissed the case, lamely explained that Colorado Interstate had promised to deposit some of its funds in Utah banks, which, of course, has nothing to do with the rates which Western gas consumers will now have to pay as a result of monopoly.

El Paso has already been forced to refund \$155,000,000 to California consumers for overcharging, and at the present moment is passing the Federal surtax on to Pacific Gas and Electric, which in turn is passing it on to consumers. Congress, of course, never intended that the surtax be passed on to consumers.

As a result of the petitions from former California Public Utilities Chairman William Bennett and two University of Utah professors, John J. Flynn and Daniel Stewart Jr., the Supreme Court now has the case before it.

DR. M. NOEL STOW

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I would like to recognize an individual who is doing outstanding work in an unheralded field, Dr. M. Noel Stow, one of the founders and the driving force behind the Ophthalmic Research Foundation of Washington, D.C. Created for the purpose of supporting research in ophthalmology, the foundation was established initially in February 1967 through the generosity of a gracious lady who was almost blind, but had her normal vision restored through surgery by Dr. Stow. Dr. Stow is now the president and medical director of the foundation.

One million Americans are blind and 3½ million have permanent, noncorrectable vision defects. Americans are becoming blind at twice the rate that the population is increasing. From 1940 to 1960, while the total population increased

by 36 percent, the blind population increased by 67 percent and it appears that new factors are arising which will accelerate the increase in serious visual disability in this country. Despite these alarming figures, only \$1 million is spent annually to prevent blindness, while \$1 billion is spent every year to restore sight.

Dr. Stow's group plans research into the use of lasers to cauterize veins in the eye and to remove part of the pituitary gland by X-ray or surgery in the early stages of diabetes to prevent blindness. It is his hope that the Ophthalmic Research Foundation will receive contributions from many sources. As a physician and surgeon, he has been especially grateful for pledges and contributions that have come to the foundation from men and women who have been given the miracle of restored sight through eye surgery. Help for future generations, Dr. Stow emphasizes, is the real purpose of the foundation.

Dr. Stow, a native of Jesup, Ga., is the son and grandson of physicians and his son is also preparing to enter the medical field. A graduate of Emory University, at Decatur, Ga., Dr. Stow continued his studies at Emory School of Medicine where he received his medical degree in 1939. Following his internship in Baltimore at the West Baltimore General Hospital, he was a resident in ophthalmology at the Eye Institute of the Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center in New York City. Dr. Stow has been in the practice of ophthalmology in Washington for 22 years and during those years he has served on the staff of many local hospitals. He has been a faculty member in the Department of Ophthalmology at George Washington University for several years.

Certified by the American Board of Ophthalmology in 1943, he is a member of the American Medical Association, the Medical Society of the District of Columbia, and the American Academy of Ophthalmology and Otolaryngology. A member of the teaching faculty of the latter for 22 years, he was awarded the academy's honor key in 1951.

There appeared in the Washington Sunday Star on March 16, an article on the works of Dr. Stow at George Washington University, and 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:

BLIND RESEARCH GROUP TAKES QUARTERS AT GW

The Ophthalmic Research Foundation, formed here in 1967 by a number of people concerned with the need for basic research to prevent blindness, will move into the same building and be associated with the George Washington University Medical School's ophthalmology department, it has been announced.

Dr. Noel Stow, president and medical director of the foundation, said his group plans research into the use of lasers to cauterize veins in the eye, and into removal of part of the pituitary gland, by x-ray or surgery, in the early stages of diabetes to prevent blindness, among other methods.

The group also is interested in work with the causes of blindness from cataracts, glaucoma and cancer. Dr. Stow said that while \$1

billion is spent every year to restore sight, only \$1 million is spent annually to prevent blindness.

The university and foundation ophthalmic researchers will occupy the former Warwick Memorial Cancer Clinic building at 2300 K St. NW; no date has been set yet for the move from the foundation's present offices at 3900 Wisconsin Ave. NW.

"The rate of blindness has gone up appallingly fast," as the number of older Americans increases, Dr. Stow said. "We hope to prevent certain of these blinding diseases."

AMERICANS OF LITHUANIAN ANCESTRY

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 25, 1969

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I have received an interesting letter from a constituent, Mr. Kestutis K. Miklas, of Plainview, N.Y., on the subject of Lithuania and the large community of Americans of Lithuanian ancestry. This letter makes certain cogent points about the need for refusing to accept Soviet control of Lithuania. Also included in Mr. Miklas' well-thought letter is a history of activities on Long Island in commemoration of the recent anniversary of Lithuanian Independence.

I commend Mr. Miklas' letter to my colleagues' attention and wish to include it in the RECORD at this point:

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Mr DEAR REPRESENTATIVE: Over 40,000 Americans of Lithuanian origin and descent here on Long Island and their friends in February of this year commemorated the 718th anniversary of the formation of the Lithuanian state when Mindaugas the Great unified all Lithuanian principalities into kingdom in 1251, and the 51st anniversary of the establishment of the Republic of Lithuania that took place on February 16, 1918.

Since its ancient settlement along the Baltic Sea coast for centuries the Lithuanian Nation has played an important role in North-Eastern Europe. Especially that role became significant when Lithuania assumed the responsibility of protecting the Western culture from the Asiatic onslaughts.

The growing strength of Russian Imperialistic power continually threatened Lithuanian lands, and finally at the end of eighteenth century Russia invaded and occupied Lithuania. Foreign subjugation, however, failed to destroy the spirit of the people who, for 120 years continually objected to foreign domination by civil and cultural resistance, by numerous uprisings and revolutions against the invaders.

The intensive and determined struggle for freedom and independence from Czarist Russia was climaxed on February 16, 1918, by the Declaration of the Lithuanian National Council, proclaiming the restoration of the Independence to Lithuania.

It is tragic that Lithuania enjoyed such a brief period of freedom. Since 1940 the once great Lithuanian nation of the Middle Ages and the proud and progressive Republic of the period between the two world wars still lies under the yoke of Soviet despotism.

In the United Nations and elsewhere the Soviets are still accusing the United States and other western powers of imperialism and colonialism. As part of their unceasing campaign to win power and influence among the

underdeveloped countries, Kremlin propagandists never tire of boasting that Russia is an implacable foe of imperialism and a dedicated champion of "self-determination." Yet Moscow brusquely dismisses any suggestion that non-Russian peoples within the Soviet Union are entitled to determine their own destinies, too.

The Kremlin is fond of saying that Russian imperialism died with the czar. But the fate of the Baltic nations—Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia—shows this to be a cruel fiction.

The Communist regime did not come to power in Lithuania by legal or democratic process. During the Second World War, the Republic of Lithuania became a victim of Soviet Russia's and Nazi Germany's conspiracy and aggression, and as a result of secret agreements between those two powers of August 23rd and September 28th, 1939, became invaded and occupied by Soviet Russian armed forces on June 15, 1940.

Since the days of Soviet Russian occupation, however, the Lithuanian people have waged an intensive fight for freedom. During the period between 1944 and 1952 alone, some 30,000 freedom fighters lost their lives in an organized resistance movement against the invaders. Hundreds of thousands of others were imprisoned or driven to Siberia. Though that resistance movement was weakened and finally subdued to a failure to get any material aid from the West, nevertheless, the Lithuanian people are continuing their passive resistance against the Soviet Russian genocidal aggression to this very day.

The United States of America, mindful of its own struggle for freedom and independence, has remained sensitive to the aspirations of other people for self-determination. For this reason, we, the American-Lithuanians are grateful to the Government of the United States for denouncing the Soviet Russian aggression in Lithuania and for refusing to recognize the alien subjugation of Lithuania since 1940.

I am very thankful to you for the kind words you said at U.S. Congress and for the understanding of Lithuanians struggle for freedom.

You should feel free that the Lithuanians on Long Island are with you. I think that it would be proper at this time to brief you about the activity and the accomplishments of the American-Lithuanians living on Long Island on the occasion of this commemoration.

Nassau County Executive Mr. Eugene H. Nickerson issued a proclamation declaring February 17-23 as Lithuanian Independence Week and raised the flag of free Lithuania at County Executive Office Building in Mineola, N.Y.

Suffolk County Executive Mr. H. Lee Denison through his proclamation declared the week of February 17 as Lithuanian Independence Week and raised the Lithuanian flag to be flown during this entire week at his office building in Riverhead, N.Y.

Presiding Supervisor of Town of Hempstead Mr. Ralph G. Caso proclaimed the week of February 17 as Lithuanian Independence Week and raised the Lithuanian flag at the Town Hall in Hempstead, N.Y.

Town of North Hempstead Supervisor Mr. Robert C. Meade through his proclamation declared the Lithuanian Independence Week February 16 through 23 and raised the Lithuanian flag at the Town Hall in Manhasset, N.Y.

Town of Oyster Bay Supervisor Mr. Michael N. Petito issued his proclamation declaring the Sunday, February 16, the Lithuanian Independence Day and raised the Lithuanian flag at the Town Hall in Oyster Bay, N.Y.

The Long Island radio station WGBB presented a special program about Lithuania and the aspirations of the Lithuanian people for self-determination and to national

independence in their own country, on Sunday, February 16 at 12:45 p.m. The presentations on the occasion of this anniversary were made by the Consul General of Lithuania at New York Mr. Anicetas Simutis, by the member of the Executive Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania and the press officer of Assembly of Captive European Nations (ACEN) Dr. Algirdas Budreckis and by the member of the Supreme Council of American-Lithuanian Community of USA Mr. Kestutis K. Miklas.

The American-Lithuanian Community of Great Neck, N.Y. held a mass meeting on February 15 at the local Elks Lodge Hall with guest speakers and with a special program prepared for this occasion. The following day, on Sunday, there was a religious service held in St. Aloysius R.C. Church in Great Neck with prayers for Lithuania and the Lithuania's freedom fighters who lost their lives in fight for freedom of their beloved country.

The news media of Long Island provided a wide coverage on this occasion. The three major daily newspapers (Newsday, Long Island Press and Suffolk Sun) as well as the local weekly newspapers (Bethpage Tribune, County Seat Press, Great Neck News, Great Neck Record, Herald Courier, Manhasset Mail, Manhasset Press, Garden City News, The Eagle, Newsgram in Bethpage, Centre Island News, Bellmore Life, Oyster Bay Guardian, Roosevelt Press, Syosset Guardian, Syosset Advance, Mid-Island Times, Levittown Times, Mid-Island Tribune, Mineola American and Williston Times)—in toto 24—in their issues to date published articles about Lithuania, about the issuance of proclamations by counties and townships, and pictures of the American-Lithuanian delegations (dressed in Lithuanian Folk costumes) with governing officials of Long Island.

I would be very pleased if you could make possible to record this activity of the American-Lithuanian Community on Long Island in the United States Congress.

With all good wishes and regards,
Sincerely,

KESTUTIS K. MIKLAS,
Member of the Supreme Council of the
American-Lithuanian Community of
USA.

RIGGIN S. EVANS

HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, on Friday, January 31, Riggin S. Evans, of Somerset County, Md., passed away at the Perry Point Veterans' Administration Hospital. Mr. Evans was one of six brothers, all of Crisfield, Somerset County, Md. The Evans family for many years has been a leader in civic and community affairs in Somerset County on Maryland's Eastern Shore. Riggin Evans himself was typical of the solid American tradition of the Evans family. For many years he was supervisor of buildings of the Havre de Grace High School, admired and beloved by all who came in contact with him. During the last years of his life he was closely associated with me and my family. He possessed all those characteristics which we prize so highly in this country: integrity, industry, ability, imagination, and kindness. His passing was a great loss, not only to the community in which he lived but to my family personally as well.

I ask unanimous consent that the article published in the Bel Air Aegis be printed in the RECORD.

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

RIGGIN S. EVANS

Riggin S. Evans, 48, of Havre de Grace, died on Friday, Jan. 31 in the Perry Point Veterans Administration Hospital.

Mr. Evans was a maintenance supervisor on a farm belonging to Senator Joseph D. Tydings.

He is survived by five brothers, Horace Evans, Carey Evans, Frank Evans, Wesley Evans and Richard Evans, all of Crisfield; and a number of nieces and nephews.

Funeral services were held on Monday, Feb. 3, at 2 p.m. from the Bradshaw Funeral Home, Crisfield, Md.

HIPPIE-CARE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, March 25, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the taxpayers will be very happy to know that HEW has now extended a \$25,000 grant for the hippies in New York City.

Under unanimous consent I submit a report by Peter Kihss of the New York Times, March 18, 1969, for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows. [From the New York Times, Mar. 18, 1969]

PROGRAM TO AID HIPPIES HERE GIVEN \$25,000
BY WASHINGTON
(By Peter Kihss)

A Federal grant was announced yesterday for a pilot project to develop "bridging mechanisms" between the community and what was described as "a population of dissident youth (known as the 'Hippies')" in the East Village.

The \$25,000 grant by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare went to the Educational Alliance, a 79-year-old settlement house, to carry on an effort it has had under way since March, 1968, in a store front at 220 East Seventh Street.

Robert Meltzer, assistant director of the Educational Alliance and director of the hippie project, estimated the number of hippies—"young people running away, lost, angry"—as "still very heavy, probably in the thousands" despite some reports that the phenomenon was fading away.

Mrs. Bernice L. Bernstein, regional director of the Federal agency, said it was "essential that we understand—and in turn gain the understanding of—all the dissident groups in our society."

TWO-WAY COMMUNICATION SOUGHT

The pilot effort, she said, sought two-way communication with and help for the hippies in the East Village. She said she hoped it would "show us how to return to the community at large the skills, the talents and the abilities that are locked up in the disaffected young and young women."

Mr. Meltzer said a number of young people living in "communes" had asked for Educational Alliance help 18 months ago to deal with hospital, legal and police problems.

The storefront named Contact by some hippie leaders, was set up to provide medical service; emergency food and help in finding sleeping arrangements; a place for craft work, and counseling.

The storefront has been open Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday afternoons and evenings. Help has also been provided

by St. Brigid's Roman Catholic Church and the New York Infirmary.

Mr. Meltzer said therapy and psychiatric aid had been provided when requested by the hippies. The numbers visiting the storefront, he said, have ranged from as few as four to as many as 40 on any day.

The effort, he said, has indicated, some "visible influence" on about half the hippies coming in—in some cases helping send them home or find jobs, in others reducing drug use or stopping the carrying of weapons, in some cases at least some change in basic attitudes.

The application by the Educational Alliance for the grant described the hippies as "social retreatists—that is, rather than engaging in direct confrontation with the established community and its institutions, they have withdrawn into what they hope to be a separate, self-sustaining subcommunity and subculture."

The hippies' chances for sustaining themselves were described as jeopardized by "gross educational and vocational handicaps." Thus far, the Educational Alliance reported, there has appeared to be "a progressive deterioration for most into poor health and functioning."

The project is to include "crisis service" on food, clothing, shelter, medical and legal problems, "mediation services" on relations with police, courts, families, landlords and welfare agencies, and "groups involvement" of hippies in planning and operating programs.

ELIMINATION OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY EARNINGS LIMITATION—
REPORT OF THE NEW YORK STATE BAR ASSOCIATION COMMITTEE ON FEDERAL LEGISLATION

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I have long been in favor of eliminating the earnings limitation under the social security laws. While the earnings limitation was raised during the last Congress, I still believe that it unduly penalizes those of our older citizens who are willing and able to work. Moreover, at this time, there is a distinct shortage of skilled manpower. Therefore the retention of the earnings limitation at this time is not only unfair to the individuals concerned, but is a disservice to the Nation.

The Committee on Federal Legislation of the New York State Bar Association has recently issued a report on some of the bills which have already been introduced in this Congress to increase or remove the earnings limitation. The committee report endorsed the June, 1966, report of the Committee on Labor and Social Security Legislation of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York recommending the elimination of the earnings limitation. I ask unanimous consent that the report of the committee be printed in the RECORD.

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

NEW YORK STATE BAR ASSOCIATION COMMITTEE ON FEDERAL LEGISLATION: REPORT ON BILLS TO INCREASE PERMISSIBLE OUTSIDE EARNINGS OF SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFICIARIES

Several bills have been introduced in the 91st Congress to amend Title II of the Social

Security Act to increase from \$1,500 to \$3,000 the amount of outside earnings permitted without loss or deduction from benefits. H.R. 80 introduced by Mr. Anderson of Illinois makes this change as to both covered beneficiaries and their dependents; H.R. 201 introduced by Mr. Ellberg of Pennsylvania for the breadwinner only. H.R. 1372 introduced by Mr. Thomson of Wisconsin would remove the limitation entirely.

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

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

Several bills are before the Congress to permit receipt of full Social Security benefits by otherwise qualified employees over 65 who are able to continue to make a contribution to their own welfare and to society by part-time or full-time work.¹ This Committee endorses the purposes of the bills.

Under present law, persons over 65 receiving Social Security benefits cannot earn more than \$1,500 per year without having their benefits reduced.² Penalties are provided for failure to report earnings.³

These income limitations were initially enacted in 1935⁴ during the period of the Great Depression, when the notion was widespread that as many persons as possible should be removed from the labor force in order to spread the available work. In our opinion the limitations serve no useful purpose today and should be removed.

We have found other ways of promoting high employment than discouraging people anxious and willing to work. Social Security benefits are frequently insufficient by themselves to maintain our older citizens in the dignity which should be their lot. These citizens in our opinion should be encouraged in their efforts to supplement their income by constructive work which also redounds to the benefit of society. This seems particularly true today when many employers are reporting a shortage of qualified personnel for many jobs.⁵ Older citizens who possess skills accumulated during many years of experience may be especially qualified for many of these very positions. Indeed it is now recognized that an important segment of retired persons as the average life span lengthens, will want and need to continue to work beyond

¹ Referring to bills in the 89th Congress, omitted.

² 42 U.S.C. Section 403(b) and (f). The limit was raised from \$1,200 to \$1,500; 79 Stat. 363 (1965).

³ 42 U.S.C. Section 403(g). Enforcement problems are also created where erroneous certifications are given by Social Security recipients as to their outside income. The amounts due the Government are often relatively small, yet the beneficiary may be unable to pay them except over a period of years which may frequently be less than his or her anticipated lifetime. False statements are, of course, a source of possible criminal penalties. E.G., 18 U.S.C. Section 1001; 42 U.S.C. Section 1307. Older citizens who erroneously report income for Social Security purposes are thus subjected to potential prison sentences in connection with the income limitations under discussion here. Questions necessarily arise in such cases whether the individual understood the requirements of the law or was sufficiently aware of the discrepancies to be liable.

These issues in this context create difficult problems for prosecuting authorities and the courts which would be obviated by repeal of the income limitation.

⁴ Stat. 623 (1935)

⁵ See N.Y. Times, March 27, 1966, p. 1, col. 2 and p. 82, col. 4; Rosenthal, Letter to the Editor, N.Y. Times, March 20, 1966.

65 in order to feel a sense of constructive usefulness in their lives.⁶

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

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

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

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

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

COMMITTEE ON FEDERAL LEGISLATION

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

THE BEGINNING OF THE
COLD WAR

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 25, 1969

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, on January 28, I inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD part 1 of a study entitled "The Beginning of the Cold War" which was written by Mr. Julius Epstein of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, at Stanford University.

The second part of the study has just appeared in the March issue of the Central Europe Journal and I submit it herewith so that readers of the RECORD will have the benefit of this excellent work in its entirety:

⁶ As stated by Franklin D. Roosevelt in his first inaugural address: "Happiness lies not in the mere possession of money; it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort." N.Y. Times, March 5, 1933; 2 Hofstadter, Great Issues in American History 351, 353 (1958). Compare Pope John XXIII, Mater et Magistra, Part II, Par. 82-83 (1961); Peter F. Drucker, Concept of the Corporation 140, 179 (1960); Drucker, The Future of Industrial Man 101-117 (1942); Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, The Future of Man 16-18, 118 (Denny Trans. 1964); Givens, The Coming Industrial Citizenship, 17 Labor L.J. 99 (1966); Khalil Gibran, "On Work" in The Prophet 27-31 (Pocket ed. 1955).

THE BEGINNING OF THE COLD WAR: PART 2
(By Julius Epstein)

(NOTE.—This is the second part of an article by Julius Epstein of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace treating of the recently published Diplomatic Papers of the U.S. Department of State from 1945. In this present article the content of a telegram from George Kennan, U.S. Chargé d'Affaires in Moscow, to the U.S. Secretary of State, on January 25, 1945, gives a primary pointer to the fact that Czechoslovak-Soviet Russian relations were headed for tension and double-play between the Soviets, and Czechs and Poles. Although eager for boundary rectifications, Czechoslovakia had agreed to discuss the matter in accord with Allied governments, desiring of course that frontiers be drawn as of pre-Munich Agreement status.)

(In a telegram sent by Czechoslovak Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs to U.S. Chargé d'Affaires in Czechoslovakia, Mr. Klieforth, on May 31, 1945, this desire for revision of borders is clearly expressed. It tells, however, of steps taken by Poland in areas the Czechs claimed — especially Kladsko (German Glatz)—where the Polish authorities, not waiting for final settlement of border issue, denationalized, persecuted, and drove to the brink of economic ruin the Slavonic people there. The Czechoslovak government planned to take over control, despite Poland's protem administrative rule there, "not as a final act" but in amicable accord with Poland. The United States had also left room open for treatment of this issue by the Allied Control Council on a temporary basis.)

(The information given here shows that a term, taken in all seriousness by the other participant countries, was used as a smoke-screen by the Soviets who paid lip-service to the agreement of waiting for a final "peace conference" to solve the Kladsko and other territorial issues, but in reality playing Czechs against Poles.)

(Here are reproductions of telegraphic messages between the countries concerned that will serve as valuable references in weighing these disputes and applying the principle of holding them in abeyance until a final peace settlement is reached, also for all persons who plead for the recognition of the Oder-Neisse line as a permanent boundary between Poland and Germany.)

Long before V-E Day (May 8, 1945) it became clear to the Czech Government-in-Exile in London that Soviet-Czech relations were headed for collision rather than for a road of friendly relations. This became especially clear after Soviet troops had entered Ruthenia (Carpatho-Ukraine). The documents as published by the Department of State in its recently released volume "Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1945, Volume IV, Europe", United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1968, show beyond the shadow of any doubt that as early as January 1945, the Beneš Government must have realized that the road of Czech-Soviet relations would be a rather rough one.

One of the first diplomatic papers bearing upon this subject is the telegram, sent by the American Chargé d'Affaires in Moscow, George Kennan, to the Secretary of State in Washington. The telegram bears the date of January 25, 1945. The pertinent parts read as follows:

"Němec (Frantisek Němec, Delegate for Liberated Territories for the Czechoslovak Government-in-Exile in London, Delegate Němec and his staff arrived in a portion of Ruthenia liberated by the Soviet Army in October 1944); returned to Moscow beginning of December (1944) to establish contact with his Government. During the month he and his delegation had spent in liberated area they had been allowed to reside in Chust but not to visit larger centers of Uzhorod and Munkacevo nearer to front. He had also not been able to communicate with his Government. Local executive power was exer-

cised by Ruthenian National Council, a local political, Communist-controlled organization, ostensibly representing resistance and patriotic elements. Němec and other members of delegation had functioned as liaison officers of London Government vis-à-vis Ruthenian National Council and Red Army. Council had come out in favor of annexation with Soviet Union. Formal resolution to this effect passed November 26 (1944). Red Army had been entirely correct and had remained aloof from this agitation. Czechs recognized, however, that movement enjoys at least tolerance of Moscow party circles, and realized that choice before them was whether to retain province nominally part of Czechoslovakia though penetrated and dominated from Soviet side or to cede it entirely, which could be done only after liberation of entire country and consultation of electorate."

PEACE SETTLEMENT TO DETERMINE
CZECHOSLOVAK FRONTIERS

In April 1945, the question of Czechoslovakia's boundaries preoccupied the European Advisory Commission in London. It confirmed "the full political authority of the Czechoslovak Government within 1937 boundaries" and reserved "final determination of Czechoslovak frontiers until frontiers in central Europe are defined in the peace settlement." The document referred to is a telegram from the American ambassador in the United Kingdom, Winant, to the Secretary of State in Washington. It is dated April 28, 1945.

The British representative at the meeting of the European Advisory Commission of April 25, 1945, on which Ambassador Winant reported to the American Secretary of State was Sir William Strang. As Winant telegraphed:

"Strang proposed that a statement like that contained in the second paragraph of the United Kingdom formula be made to the representatives of the Czechoslovak Government by the Allied Consultation Committee of the EAC in reply to a question raised by the latter regarding steps for declaring invalid the Munich Agreement and German acts deriving from it. (The statement contained in the second paragraph of the United Kingdom formula read as follows: His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom for their part agree that the Czechoslovak Government should exercise full political authority from the date of unconditional surrender of Germany throughout the area bounded by the frontiers of Czechoslovakia as these existed before December 31st, 1937. His Majesty's Government consider, however, that the question of the final settlement of Czechoslovak frontiers must remain in abeyance until international frontiers in Central Europe are definitely laid down in the peace settlement)."

The only Soviet comment on this formula was that the Soviet Government had had nothing to do in any form with the Munich Agreement. This brief comment gave no indication whether the Soviet Government agrees with the United Kingdom position that the final settlement of the Czechoslovak frontiers should be held in abeyance pending the general peace settlement.

"Since the United Kingdom formula is in general accord with previous expressions of United States policy I propose to agree to the step proposed unless otherwise instructed." Ambassador Winant was not "otherwise instructed," a fact which spelled out the United States' agreement.

While the Czechs agreed to the restoration of the 1937 frontiers—with the exception of the Carpatho-Ukraine, to be ceded without any plebiscite to the Soviet Union—they were by no means satisfied with this solution. They wanted more than the 1937 frontiers. This evolves from a written communication from the Czechoslovak Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, Clementis—later purged and hanged by the Communists—to the American Chargé d'Affaires in Czechoslovakia, Mr. Klieforth, dated May 31, 1945.

FOR A "RECTIFICATION" OF BOUNDARIES

Mr. Clementis wrote: "Sir: I have the honour to address to you the following information: The Czechoslovak Government has always claimed frontiers for this country which were in existence before Munich, at the same time never failing to emphasize to the competent bodies that this point of view must not be prejudicial to future claims of rectification of frontiers to be raised at a suitable time in full accord with the Allied Governments, in favour of the Czechoslovak Republic and to the disadvantage of the enemy states. The period immediately following the end of war operations has on our part been considered as most suitable for this purpose. The Czechoslovak Government has therefore prepared proposals along this line in order to lay duly substantiated claims before all Allied Governments and, should such rectification concern the boundaries of the friendly neighbouring Polish State, naturally also before the Polish Government."

"In the meantime, however, it has been brought to the knowledge of the Czechoslovak Government that the territory of Kladsko (Glatz) was placed under the administration of the Polish authorities and that, by a proclamation dated in April 1945, Mr. St. Piaskowski was appointed commissioner of the Polish Republic for the administrative province of Lower Silesia. This proclamation which was addressed to the population of Lower Silesia and South Brandenburg, and which having been posted also in the area of Kladsko, was evidently supposed to cover this area too, asserted that this province, Slavonic from time immemorial, had been taken from Poland."

"With respect to the arguments contained in the aforesaid proclamation, I take the liberty of drawing your attention to the fact that the area of Kladsko, up to the year 1742 when first annexation by Prussia took place, had been a possession of Bohemia to which it belonged also ethnographically to such an extent that even at the present time, after more than two hundred years of forced Germanization, entire groups of communities have never been deprived of their decidedly Czech character."

"It should be added to the statement of the Polish proclamation that the primary origin of these inhabitants is Slavonic, that these primarily Slavonic inhabitants used to and still do belong to the Czech branch. For this reason these people applied to the Czechoslovak Government to take charge of Kladsko until final determination of the frontiers should be made."

CLAIMS AIMED AT GLATZ

"Owing to the fact that Kladsko gravitates to Czechoslovakia also economically and by its system of transport, it is the intention of the Czechoslovak Government to take over the control of this territory, as shown in the map attached hereto, without any further delay. The Czechoslovak Government would not consider the taking charge of Kladsko as a final act, being fully aware of the fact that this problem will ultimately have to be solved at the Peace Conference. The Czechoslovak Government, knowing that such regulation of northeastern boundaries of Czechoslovakia in her favour may concern future Polish frontiers, is determined to settle this point in amicable accord with the Polish Government."

"I may add that the Czechoslovak Government does not consider the present note as providing for all claims concerning rectification of frontiers which may have to be raised in connection with ethnological, historical, geographical, economic, transport and other motives."

"A similar note is being addressed to the representatives of the Governments of Great Britain, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, France and to the Polish Government."

"Accept [etc.] "Under Secretary of State:"
"Dr. V. Clementis M. P."

A memorandum prepared in the Department of State to be used as background information for President Truman and his advisers at the Potsdam Conference clarifies the American point of view in regard to frontier changes concerning Czechoslovakia. The document bears the date of June 23, 1945 and reads in its pertinent parts as follows:

The specific territorial questions are as follows: (a) *Sudetenland*. The Munich Agreement of 1938 incorporating Sudeten territories into Germany was not recognized by the United States. These areas should be returned to Czechoslovakia and incorporated immediately into the Czechoslovak State.

(b) *Teschen*. The United States favors a direct settlement of the Teschen question by Poland and Czechoslovakia. If the two states do not reach an agreement, this Government favors the resumption of Czechoslovak administration in the Teschen area since it does not recognize the transfer of this territory to Poland in 1939. (The date should be 1938, since the Czechoslovak Government yielded to a Polish ultimatum for the immediate cession of Teschen on October 1, 1938. J.E.)

(c) *Ruthenia*. The United States favors a direct settlement of the question of Ruthenia by Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. It is hoped that the Ruthenian question is settled as a whole and that the final settlement is based on the desires of the Ruthenian people as ascertained in a free and fair plebiscite.

(d) *Glatz*. The Czechoslovak Government has announced its intention to occupy Glatz (Kladsko) in the Silesian salient without prejudicing the final settlement of the question at the Peace Conference. This area is now reported to be under Polish administration. The United States assumes that, if the Allied Control Council in Germany agrees to this proposal, the Czechoslovak Government will agree that the territory in question remain subject to the authority of the Allied Control Council until a final decision is made concerning the disposition of territories lying within the 1937 frontiers of Germany.

DUPLICITY OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

The symptomatic question of Teschen appears again in a noteworthy State Department Paper, dated July 2, 1945. It is a telegram from Mr. Klieforth to the American Secretary of State, reporting Klieforth's conversation with Mr. Clementis, Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of the same day. The document and an attached footnote by the editors shows the duplicity of Soviet foreign policy. The brief document reads:

"Clementis, Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, requested me to see him this morning (July 2, 1945)."

"He said negotiations with Poles in Moscow regarding Teschen resulted in no decision. Neither side surrendered its claims but both parties agreed to avoid frontier incidents. Russians maintained formal neutral attitude but recommended that dispute be referred to peace conference."

"He added that Czechoslovakia 'was pleased' to complete transfer of Ruthenia to Russia. Full text of agreement followed by pouch. In return Russians agreed to evacuate all Russian troops from Czechoslovakia by July 5th except for 9 divisions about 90,000 troops which would remain along Czechoslovak-German frontier."

"Czechoslovak Commission in Moscow also discussed with Russia all Czech claims for rectification of frontier including Glatz and Leobschuetz area together with quite an extensive but narrow strip along practically entire Czech-German frontier. He promised to send me full description of this area at an early date. Russians told Czechs that boundary changes would have to be settled at peace conference."

Playing up the final settlement of all frontier questions at the "peace conference" was the official stance of Soviet diplomacy.

Behind the diplomatic scene the Soviets played quite another game.

In the footnote mentioned above, the Department of State reveals that the American Ambassador in Moscow, *Harriman*, had reported a conversation with the Czech Ambassador in Moscow, *Fierlinger*, in which the latter stated "that negotiations with the Poles at Moscow regarding Teschen had come to no conclusion, that Poles were pressing their claim particularly because of their loss of territory to the Soviet Union, and that the Poles also rejected Czech claims to Kladsko".

The same footnote informs the readers that President *Benes* had told the American Chargé d'Affaires *Klieforth* that "Czechoslovakia would never give up its claims to Teschen." It also reveals that the American Ambassador in Warsaw, *Arthur Bliss Lane* "reported the opinion of the Czechoslovak Ambassador in Poland, *Joseph Hefret*, that Polish agitation over Teschen had been fostered by the Soviet Government in order to make its influence further felt in Poland and Czechoslovakia."

STRATEGIC ANNEXATION OF CARPATHO-UKRAINE

That the Americans never fell for the flimsy "justifications" of the Soviet annexation of the Carpatho-Ukraine can be seen by the despatch which the American Ambassador in Moscow, *Harriman*, sent to the Secretary of State on July 3, 1945. He telegraphed:

"Citation of ethnological affinity and of Ruthenian people for reunion with Ukrainian Motherland can only bring a smile from anyone familiar with province of Ruthenia. Ruthenia was last associated with Ukraine, as far as we are aware, in 1220: a period not likely to evoke any lively associations in minds of present population. Bulk of people are illiterate and politically apathetic. Most of them are probably inclined for economic reasons to look back on their inclusion in Hapsburg Hungary as most prosperous and happy time in recollection of living people. Outward manifestations of Ruthenian political sentiment have usually been chiefly a matter of a few intellectuals, usually not natives of the province. Claim of cultural affinity with Ukraine is tenuous and debatable. It is of fairly recent origin and its protagonists among whom the Nazis in 1939 were some of the most prominent have generally had ulterior motives."

Province contains no economic resources of any importance; its population is in a pitiable state of squalor and backwardness; and it has always been a financial burden on any larger state it was associated with. It could therefore hardly be desired by Russia for economic reasons."

"In view of the above it seems clear that main reasons for cession was its strategic position and desire of Moscow leaders to have common frontier with Hungary. (This motive became evident when Khrushchev decided in 1956 to march into Hungary in order to crush the Hungarian revolution. J. E.) Extensive connection of Ruthenian economy with Hungary, favored by geographical factors will give Soviet authorities another channel of entry into Hungarian economic affairs."

On July 9, 1945, the American Chargé d'Affaires in Prague expressed his agreement with *Harriman's* opinion concerning Ruthenia. He wired the Secretary of State:

"I agree fully with *Harriman's* views regarding incorporation of Ruthenia. While Czechoslovakia gladly got rid of Ruthenia, as it was a real burden on the state, the authorities are very apprehensive of public opinion in US fearing that they will be accused of 'selling Ruthenia down the river' as a matter of appeasement. The Czechs frankly are ashamed of the deal, as it was realized that the vast majority of Ruthenians would have voted against it given a chance. I learned reliably that the main objection to Allied diplomats landing in Constanza en route to Praha (Prague) was de-

sire to prevent them from learning true situation in Ruthenia."

POLISH MEASURES AGAINST THE LOCAL CZECH POPULATION

An interesting light upon the Polish practices in the areas claimed by Czechoslovakia is being shed in a despatch from the Czechoslovak Ministry for Foreign Affairs to the American Embassy in Czech * * * Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent a similar note to the Repre * * * ber 13. The following parts may be quoted:

"By a note of the beginning of June 1945, concerning Czechoslovak claims on the area of Kladsko, the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs took the liberty of informing the Representative of the Government of the United States of America that the Czechoslovak Government were preparing proposals for the rectification of the frontiers of Czechoslovakia to the disadvantage of hostile powers. The Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent a similar note to the Representatives at Praha (Prague) of the Government of Great Britain, of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, and of France."

"At the same time, the Czechoslovak Government informed the Polish Government through their Minister at Warsaw of the preparation of such proposals. The Czechoslovak Government did this in the knowledge that a rectification of the northeast boundaries of Czechoslovakia to its advantage could affect the future boundaries of Poland, and with the determination to settle problems of this kind in amicable accord with the Polish Government. From the note of the Czechoslovak Minister, as well as from oral communications, made by competent persons, the Polish Government learned that the Czechoslovak proposals also concerned Kladsko, Hlubice and Ratibor districts and that the Czechoslovak Government intends supporting their claims to those regions also by ethnographical arguments."

"It is true that, by the Potsdam Agreement, the administration of the Kladsko, Hlubice and Ratibor districts has been entrusted to Poland, and therefore, the settling of the question into which State these districts should be incorporated, has been reserved for the peace conference. The Czechoslovak demands for the rectification of the frontiers in these regions have not, therefore, become meaningless and, for this reason, the Czechoslovak Government cannot be indifferent if the Polish authorities in the said districts take measures against the local Czech population which create the impression of having as their object the eradication of the Czech element in these regions and thus the depriving of the Czechoslovak Government of one of the arguments which they intend to put forward in favour of their territorial demands; neither can they be indifferent if the Polish authorities and Polish troops act in a manner which must necessarily result in the total cessation of all economic life in those districts."

OPPRESSION OF CZECH NATIONAL MINORITY

"According to authentic reports, the population of Czech nationality in the Kladsko (Glatz), Hlubice (Leobschütz) and Ratibor areas is being constantly changed, requisition, expelled, beat and persecute, and Polish state authorities. This population is constrained by all means to take part in demonstrations for the annexation of these regions to Poland and is compelled to sign manifestoes calling for this annexation. The Polish authorities have started a forcible action for the acquisition of Polish State citizenship. They summon inhabitants of Czech nationality, particularly supporters of families, and confer upon them Polish State citizenship. Everyone is obliged to sign and protests are of no avail. In communities where Czechs are living, Polish schools are being established and church-services in Polish are being introduced: sermons in the mother-

tongue of the people, customary from time immemorial, are interdicted."

"Hand in Hand with nationality oppressions goes unscrupulous economic oppression. The economic situation in these parts is so dreadful that they are faced with absolute ruin. The army units, which are being constantly changed, requisition, expel, beat and persecute, and the administrative authorities do not remain far behind in similar activities. The local population is driven to despair by the terror reigning everywhere. Bedding, furnishings, including wall-clocks and sewingmachines, as well as agricultural machines and implements, cattle—down to the last cow—and even crops are being taken from the inhabitants. Czech farms are being occupied by Polish colonists from the East, who force the Czech population to work in the fields; for their work they give them neither food nor money. In some places the inhabitants are being driven out altogether from their farms and dwellings, are being assembled in camps and then taken away; the Czech inhabitants, in some places, have been tortured by official Polish organs in rooms especially equipped for that purpose."

"It is no wonder that, in this dreadful economic situation, famine is setting in and, in consequence of that as well as of the severe mental and physical torment to which this population is being subjected, mortality is increasing at an amazing rate. In Ratibor, for instance, between twenty and thirty persons die every day, mostly children. There are no hospitals, no doctors, no medicaments and, in some communities, typhoid fever is beginning to spread."

"FOR THREE DAYS NEITHER GOD NOR MERCY"

"These horrors are crowned by the fact that both soldiers and civil commissaries and their assistants every day utter threats to the effect that, if the population does not remain in those regions, the time will come when *'trzy dni nie bendzie Boga a slitowania'* ('For three days there will be neither God nor mercy'). Under these circumstances, and for fear lest they should be transferred to Poland, the inhabitants, often with only a small suitcase, are fleeing across the frontier into Czechoslovakia."

"Since it cannot be concealed that by this method of proceeding, the Polish authorities are pursuing in the Kladsko, Hlubeice and Ratibor districts a policy of faits accomplis which, in their consequences, might impair some of the premises in favour of the satisfying of the Czechoslovak claims to the said districts or, on the satisfying of those claims, might, to say the least, cause Czechoslovakia to come into possession of territory ethnically estranged and economically depreciated, the Czechoslovak Government take the liberty of drawing attention to this state of affairs."

"It is true that the Potsdam Conference entrusted Poland with the administration even of those parts, but at the same time it stressed the fact that the definite frontiers would be determined by the Peace Conference. Hence, in the opinion of the Czechoslovak Government, it plainly follows that the Polish Government are not empowered to effect in those districts changes in the situation such as would prejudice the decision of the Peace Conference. The settling of those areas with Polish population alone creates a state which is of itself prejudicial. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs drew the attention of the Polish Government to the matter in their note of August 20th, 1945, with the request that they should remedy it and now take the liberty of requesting the Government of the United States of America to be kind enough to act accordingly."

"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avail themselves of this opportunity to express to the Embassy of the United States of America the assurance of their highest consideration.—Prahá, August 26, 1945."

FINAL SETTLEMENT ONLY BY PEACE CONFERENCE

This truly remarkable diplomatic document should be of interest to Germans who plead for the recognition of the Oder-Neisse line as a permanent frontier between Poland and Germany. Every single argument brought forth by *Jan Masaryk's* Czech Foreign Ministry can and should be applied to the dispute about the Oder-Neisse line. The Czechs were right in stressing the fact that Polish administration of the Hlubeice-Ratibor areas was—under international law—of temporary character and that the final settlement could only be made by a Peace Conference.

What was the reaction of the U.S. Department of State?

The reaction is contained in a telegram from the American Acting Secretary of State, *Dean Acheson* of September 29, 1945, addressed to the American Ambassador in Prague, *Steinhardt*. Acheson's answer to the Czech document reads—in its decisive part—as follows:

"Since Polish control of area is temporary pending final decision of German frontiers, Dept. considers that problem contained in Zecho note should be brought to the attention of Council of Foreign Ministers by Zecho Govt as a development which prejudices final settlement of frontiers as contemplated in Potsdam agreement."

"Repeated to London as 8640; repeated to Warsaw as 150.—Acheson."

This was the correct position of the American Department of State.

The purpose of this study was not to exhaust the evaluation of the documents produced. Its purpose was to produce a selection of the documents contained in the latest State Department publication, documents which shall for years be the subject of historical and political consideration by present and future historians.

GIDEON OPPENHEIMER—
RENAISSANCE MAN

HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, recently in Boise, Idaho, a gentle man by the name of Gideon Oppenheimer died, the victim of a heart attack. Gideon was a close personal friend and certainly one of Idaho's most illustrious adopted sons, for he was born in Berlin, reared in Prague, and spent much of his life in New York. It was a flip of a coin 16 years ago that made him decide to move to Idaho, where he purchased a small weekly newspaper. Idaho was fortunate the coin brought him West from New York.

Gideon Oppenheimer was a man of many talents and many interests. He was a newspaperman, a lawyer, a scholar. Little failed to interest him, from athletics to politics to chess. But his special interest was recruiting young Idahoans with outstanding scholastic talents for his alma mater, Columbia University. Through his efforts, scores of Idahoans of high scholastic ability were given the opportunity to study at Columbia, and the university recognized his efforts by awarding him its Outstanding Alumni Award.

In the words of Suzanne Dabney Taylor, who wrote movingly of Gideon in an

article published in the Intermountain Observer following his death, "With the I.Q. which hovered around the genius level, Gideon lashed into activities so diverse that he smacked of the Renaissance Man."

Gideon Oppenheimer was this and more, Bob Lorimer, whose sensitive, well-written columns grace the pages of the Idaho Daily Statesman, captured another side.

His secret was empathy. He understood people and was kind and thoughtful when kindness and thoughtfulness counted.

Mr. President, Idaho has lost an unusually gifted citizen. But Gideon Oppenheimer will long linger in the memory of his adopted State.

I ask that the articles by Suzanne Dabney Taylor and Bob Lorimer be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

FRIEND'S DEATH ROUSES MEMORIES OF BOISE
LAWYER'S VARIED LIFE

I lost a friend a few days ago.

The whole thing seemed unreal when I glanced at the death notices. It had only been two months since his charming mother had died—also suddenly and also of a heart attack. He was only 46 and I hadn't even known he was sick.

He was part of Boiseana even though he had been born in Berlin, reared in Prague and had attended New York schools. He worked hard at being a westerner in general and an Idahoan specifically ever since he moved here 16 years ago to take over management of the Meridian Times.

It took a little time to get acquainted with Gideon Oppenheimer. When I first met him I wasn't too sure I even liked him. He brought with him the coolness of many easterners augmented with the influence of formal European upbringing. Frankly, I felt he was a little snooty.

I was wrong. Actually, I believe he was instinctively very shy. He sometimes tried to cover up with brusque mannerism and, occasionally, impatient outbursts when faced with people who hit him the wrong way. Then he would do an about-face and treat a child or an animal in a way that was well beyond what either deserved.

Unlike some people who exploit their past, he seldom talked about his war years. I knew that he earned a Purple Heart but I didn't know he had two of them—or five battle stars—until I read the obituary.

He once showed me some pictures he had taken when American troops liberated one of the Nazi torture camps. It was too late for liberation of many of the prisoners. It must have been a terrible emotional experience for Gideon. In spite of his special training as an interpreter for his work as a combat intelligence officer, he had a personal stake in the mess.

As I recall, at least six of his mother's relatives had fallen victim to the horrors perpetrated by Hitler's butchers. In addition to first-hand knowledge what the Nazis did to members of his own race, he was aware of how other minorities had been mistreated for their refusing to compromise to demands of storm troopers.

The funny thing was Gideon and I had few mutual interests. I mentioned the wonders of the Dodgers when he talked about Mickey Mantle. When he lauded Columbia College, I would take another side. I didn't share his avid interest in politics nor literature for literature's sake.

Gideon lacked natural ability to work with his hands but he had a brilliant mind—not only full of facts but also possessing the abil-

ity to put it into gear as evidenced by his prowess at the chess board and bridge table. Incidentally, I play neither nor am I interested in learning.

His secret was empathy. He understood people and was kind and thoughtful when kindness and thoughtfulness counted.

He had other friends. This was proven by the acid test, a funeral attended by but one living relative (as far as I know), a cousin who participated in the simple Jewish service. But there were a number of persons attending. They were of various ages. It was obvious from the looks on the faces of the young pallbearers that they felt personal loss.

It was windy and cloudy at the cemetery. I couldn't hear very well but what I did hear sounded like: "A thousand will fall at your very side and ten thousand at your right hand; to you it will not come near . . ."

THE COIN FELL TO THE WEST FOR GIDEON OPPENHEIMER

One day about a decade ago Gideon Oppenheimer tossed a coin in his New York apartment to decide whether to buy a newspaper at Meriden, Conn., or Meridian, Idaho. It was Idaho's luck that the coin fell west.

Gideon was a degree-carrying lawyer from Columbia University, a member of the bar of the City and State of New York, and the architect of the law course designed for the American Legion Boys State delegates and the YMCA Youth Legislature, in which Idaho is a participant. However, he had another field that called him, the challenge and excitement of newspaper work. He had come under its spell while editor of his school newspaper and as a writer for university publications.

Shortly after coming to Boise he made a deal for a weekly published at Meridian which he promptly re-named the *Meridian Times*. Later when he bought a daily at Caldwell he also re-named this the *Caldwell Times*. Both were in honor of his model, the *New York Times*, which he read without fail every day until his death last week at the age of 46.

After a period spent with these newspaper enterprises he sold out and opened a law practice in Boise where his mother, Mrs. Carol Oppenheimer, had joined him. She died last December.

During this newspaper experience he had become an active participant in Idaho Democratic politics and worked in the early campaigns of Sen. Frank Church. As a campaign manager, he piloted Robert McLaughlin of Mountain Home to the Democratic nomination for U.S. Senator in 1960, but lost in the general election to Republican Henry Dworshak.

With the I.Q. which hovered around the genius level, Gideon lashed into activities so diverse that he smacked of the Renaissance Man.

He adored games, but how he hated to lose! Eugene Thomas, Boise attorney and a classmate of Gideon's at Columbia, recalls on one pleasant day a dozen tables for chess were set out in the university close under the lofty plane trees. Gideon was the challenger for each. He took every game with scarcely a furrow of concentration on his brow.

During World War II he served as a combat intelligence officer in the infantry. He was severely wounded and received two purple hearts and five battle stars.

His driving passion was the development of young men of the highest intellectual ability toward university experience. Specifically, that meant the recruitment of bright young Idahoans for Columbia.

To these he opened his excellent library as well as the pages of his sophisticated mind, which had been nurtured in Germany where he was born in 1922. He was a school boy at Prague, Czechoslovakia and experienced travel in other European countries,

where his father's business as a metals buyer took him (Gideon's father died shortly before his son's removal to Idaho).

The young students whose scholastic records would seem to fit them for undergraduate work at Columbia were Gideon's project. In his search for the worthy he was as relentless as a blood hound and scoured the state for those whose attainments reached his ears. For these efforts, which gave Columbia scores of Idahoans, many of them of the highest calibre, he received his alma mater's Outstanding Alumni Award.

The achievements of these young men will serve as Oppenheimer's memorial long after his personal memory has vanished like the blue haze of autumn from the Idaho hills.

THE URBAN CRISIS—EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 25, 1969

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, recently, an outstanding American, Mr. David Rockefeller, spoke at Long Island University on the problems faced by our Nation's urban centers. His speech was a good one and to the point, stressing the responsibilities of free enterprise in solving the problems of our cities. The text of the speech follows:

THE URBAN CRISIS—EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

(Address by David Rockefeller)

When Alexander Aldrich and his academic colleagues invited me to participate in this Conference, they neglected to explain the historic antecedents of the area. It was only later that I learned that we are meeting in the shadow of a shrine of rock 'n roll music—the old Brooklyn Paramount Theatre!

To me, it is reassuring to find that there is actually one place in our city where the three R's of learning have displaced the two R's of music!

One place, that is, where "Beatlemania" has given way to entomology!

Of course, there may be some who would take issue with this shift, but I'm sure the chorus of dissent would not be nearly so loud as the one that greeted the news that, on our Avenue of the Americas, there are now more banks than bars!

I've heard a number of people express grave doubts that this trend represents urban progress!

At any rate, it seems to me the site of today's meeting provides an appropriate setting for a discussion of one of our most pressing long-term economic problems—a problem known perhaps too familiarly as the crisis of our cities.

Within a short distance, we have numerous examples of the activities, hopes and frustrations that surround efforts to bring about a better life for all our citizens.

A few blocks to the north, plans for development of the Brooklyn Navy Yard complex hold out the prospect of a significant increase in job opportunities. The adjacent Bedford-Stuyvesant area, which houses the nation's largest non-white population, is the focus of ambitious training and redevelopment programs. And in the nearby Ocean Hill experimental school district, recent events demonstrated that change does not come easily and that even the best intentioned efforts may inflame feelings of resentment that have smoldered for years.

All these activities, I think, reflect an expanded growing public awareness of the problems of our cities. But unhappily they reflect, too, the fact that far more intensive

efforts are needed if we are to cure present ills, while retaining the representative character of our Government and insuring the freedom of individuals and enterprises to pursue the quest for betterment.

While solutions to specific urban problems are immensely complicated, I feel that the experience of the past few years has clarified at least the general approach that must be taken. It is not a Government approach exclusively. Nor is it a private sector approach. It is a massive cooperative effort that mobilizes every segment of our society for a sustained campaign.

Anything less, in my judgment, is doomed to failure. The crisis of our cities must be everybody's concern and everybody's business.

As John Gardner put it recently, "We have an ample supply of handwringers, but we are in very short supply of people willing to lend a hand."

The cooperative approach I mentioned is perhaps best exemplified by the concept of Mr. Gardner's National Urban Coalition. As you know, this is an organization that embraces business, labor, education, church groups, community leaders—the entire spectrum of our society—and reaches out to local areas where these problems must ultimately find their solutions. It is unique in two respects: first, because it is not sponsored by any one constituency but by all significant elements of the community; second, because it does not focus on a single problem but on the whole range of urban problems.

To understand why such a broadly based effort is indispensable, we need only remind ourselves of the issues that are straining the sinews of our social structure—issues rooted in social, technological, political and economic conditions of incredible complexity.

From a social standpoint, a critical factor has been the migration of Negro farm labor from the south to our northern urban centers, a movement involving almost four million people over the past 30 years. Although much progress has been made in assimilating these people, much more remains to be done. And, paradoxically, even as progress is accelerated, it has given rise, in some quarters, to strident demands for a fragmented rather than an integrated society.

The technological implications of this rural-to-urban migration have been awesome, indeed, especially in the field of transportation. The task of getting people into and out of our cities, as well as moving them around inside, is a long way from being mastered. We are equally far behind in dealing with air and water pollution and the provision of adequate recreation facilities.

The political and economic impact of this population shift is further cause for grave concern. For the most part, suburban areas do not fall within the same political jurisdiction as the major cities themselves. Our metropolitan areas are made up of a host of autonomous political entities—some 1,500 in the Greater New York region alone—and each is understandably jealous of its independent status. From the point of view of effective municipal administration, this constitutes a major obstacle. Beyond this, the influx of low-income families and the exodus of middle-income families from the central cities have reduced tax revenues at the very time when the costs of providing education, police protection, sanitation, health services and welfare have all risen astronomically.

In view of the magnitude and complexity of these problems, it is clear that we must come to some firm conclusions on national priorities. Without a realistic schedule of goals and a commitment of resources to meet them, we are certain to experience duplication of effort and a consequent lack of accomplishment. Regrettably, the resources available to deal with the urban crisis are far more limited than our aspirations, so we can

scarcely afford to squander anything through lack of planning and coordination.

In recent months, as the new Administration in Washington has developed plans for the future, we have heard a great deal about the private sector's shouldering an increasing burden in managing projects to improve training, education, health services and housing among the disadvantaged.

I think this move, toward what Peter Drucker calls "reprivatization" of the economy is most encouraging, and I hope that more will come of it. Business must assume greater responsibility in the urban area if it wants to preserve the rights it has enjoyed up to now. And, in my view, it has much to contribute through the application of the efficiency and economy of business practice to public problem-solving.

The particular credentials business has for this role rest in the procedures by which private managements establish goals and move to their accomplishment. Wherever the condition of voluntary enterprise governs and the consumer makes independent decisions, a business has to plan how to produce and distribute at a cost the market is able to absorb. Because failure is costly, every effort is made to seek each new objective with more science and exactitude, less intuition and compromise.

Above all, business is an innovator. It is the only institution in our society created specifically for managing change. It is also the most flexible and adaptable of our institutions at a time when these qualities are needed as never before.

Government now faces the necessity of providing greater benefits and satisfactions within the increasingly limited resources that can be mustered. There is questioning whether a limit has not been reached in a tax load that can be borne without slowing down the economy. There is also evidence of a serious shortage of capital to supply the houses, schools, service facilities and machines needed to provide jobs and produce goods for our growing population.

There must be dramatic breakthroughs in providing better education, health services and housing at reasonable cost. Here, typically, the innovative leadership must come from business, with Government furnishing appropriate incentives.

The best example of this we have had, to my way of thinking, is the Federal Housing Administration, which was introduced during the 1930's as a guarantor of home mortgages. Originally, the Government appeared to be taking a substantial risk. In point of fact, though, there have been virtually no losses. Because the Government stood behind these mortgages, private funds flowed into the market and enabled people to build and to own homes.

More recently, Business-Government cooperation in construction has been stimulated with the formation of the New York State Urban Development Corporation. Through this body, the state will initiate and plan large-scale community projects and, in some cases, handle land acquisition and demolition. Then private enterprise will be brought in to acquire the vacant land and develop the various elements of the project, except in instances where additional public funds may be required for subsidized low-income housing.

The passage of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 has also opened many avenues for cooperation and business action in this field. One of the most promising new features of that legislation is the National Corporation for Housing Partnerships, which has as its goal the construction of 50,000 additional low- and middle-income homes each year. A significant effect should be to stimulate research into advanced construction technology so that low-income housing will become even more attractive to private developers.

These examples suggest that the coopera-

tive approach to urban problems is not merely desirable, but, in many cases, essential to success. This applies to cooperation among Federal, state and local Government units as well as to cooperation within the private sector.

For instance, the Urban Coalition's Task Force on Housing and Urban Development, on which I serve, includes representatives of labor, the financial community, the construction industry, and the academic community, urban affairs specialists and city and state officials.

Such a diverse membership provides a broad base from which to attack problems that could not be adequately dealt with by any one segment. This Task Force is currently coordinating information on the contributions that corporations, universities, the states and local governments can make to the physical rebuilding of our cities. It is also studying the formation of national housing markets—markets large enough to take advantage of advanced technology in construction and make low-income housing economically attractive to builders.

I believe the type of partnership exemplified by the Urban Coalition can usefully be carried a step further. The Coalition, with its wide cross-sectional representation, should be able to contribute enormously to the setting of realistic national priorities and goals, and I would hope that arrangements could be worked out with the appropriate Government agencies to make such a contribution possible.

The primary task of Government, of course, is to focus the political energies of the people, to dramatize the issues, to present the fundamental choices, and to make decisions.

Once we have achieved a measure of consensus on goals and priorities, though, there remains the formidable task of implementation. And here, as I have indicated, there is a pivotal role that business and individual businessmen can play.

Too often, I'm afraid, the measures chosen by Government are those that survive the executive and legislative obstacle course after every interest group has exerted its maximum pressure. Frequently the best measures have the least support, placing an intolerable burden on responsible public servants who want to achieve the best possible results for the underprivileged while keeping the country economically strong and able to continue improving itself.

It is my thought that the business community—with the great capacity it has for searching out methods, devising techniques, and programming operations economically—cannot do less than vigorously promote the adoption of the best projects and policies proposed, in the interests of all our citizens.

What is needed, in my view, is some means of mobilizing the opinions and resources of the business community behind workable approaches to urban problems, and then persuading Congress to do the things that must be done. The influence and ideas of businessmen are needed now as never before, and we should apply them in the area of social legislation as we have, in the past, on issues such as taxes and tariffs.

Not long ago, I suggested that one means of doing this might be through a Business Committee for Social Progress. This would be a policy-making group which would unify and coordinate the otherwise isolated efforts of the business community in this field. It could perform a highly useful function by enlisting wider public and legislative support for constructive proposals to encourage and reinforce national, state and local efforts to cope with urban problems. It could also help, on Capitol Hill, to promote the aims of the Urban Coalition. It seems to me that such a Business Committee could do much to sift through the many studies of the urban problem and help put together a realistic program for action.

In any event, regardless of the mecha-

nism, I think the business community must involve itself even more deeply in urban issues in the future than it has in the past. And that future is not likely to be two or three or five years, but the rest of your lifetime and mine.

Yet I don't think we should allow ourselves to become unduly discouraged, either by the magnitude of the problem or by its likely duration. All of us can perhaps draw inspiration from the example of the French Marshal Hubert Lyautey who asked his gardener to plant a tree near a bench on which he particularly liked to sit. The gardener protested, saying that the tree grew only slowly and would not reach maturity for 100 years.

"In that case," replied the Marshal, "we have no time to lose so plant it this afternoon."

In dealing with the urban crisis, we, too, have no time to lose. We must think hard about how our cities can be made to work, then get down to the tough practical details of implementing our thoughts in employment, housing, education and elsewhere. This is a job for all of us—government, business, labor, the academic world, religious and civic groups all working together. We must remain everlastingly at the job if our cities are ever to realize their full potential and to hold out for all our citizens the actuality of the American Dream.

LEGISLATIVE OBJECTIVES:
NRTA-AARP

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, a statement of "Legislative Objectives" was adopted on February 25, 26, 1969, by the Legislative Council of the National Retired Teachers Association and the American Association of Retired Persons. The legislative council represents the one and a half million members of these sister organizations, and the council statement serves as a guide to those who are authorized to speak for these organizations on legislative issues, including their executive director, Cyril F. Brickfield; their legislative representative, Ernest Giddings; and their legislative counsel, James S. Rubin.

This statement of "Legislative Objectives" is significant not only as a statement of the aspirations of these one and a half million older Americans, but also as an informative indication of the desires of millions of others of this age who are not affiliated with NRTA and AARP.

Included among these legislative objectives are recommendations to increase and improve social security and medicare benefits, to protect fixed incomes against the ravages of inflation, to enact new laws and implement existing laws to promote safety in the streets and at home, to provide equitable tax treatment, to improve employment and service opportunities for the elderly, and to protect consumers against frauds, misrepresentations, and other undesirable practices.

The statement urges the President to issue a proclamation calling the White House Conference on Aging for 1971, as authorized by Public Law 90-526, enacted last year, and urges the appropri-

ation of funds for allocation to the States to permit immediate beginning of planning at State and local levels in preparation for that Conference.

Time does not permit me to discuss other recommendations in this statement of legislative objectives. In order that the full text may be available to Senators and others who may be interested, I ask unanimous consent that the text be printed in the RECORD.

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

LEGISLATIVE OBJECTIVES

IMPROVED SOCIAL SECURITY AND MEDICARE BENEFITS

1. We support legislation to increase the minimum Social Security benefit to at least \$120 a month and provide corresponding increases at all Social benefit levels.

2. We recommend that the Social Security earnings limitation be amended to permit annual earned income of \$3000 without reduction in Social Security benefits.

3. We urge that the widows Social Security benefit be increased to 100 per cent of the worker's benefit.

4. We favor legislation to establish minimum Social Security benefits for all persons age 70 or older who are not otherwise eligible for cash benefits under the Social Security program.

5. We urge Congress to assure that all persons will be eligible for Medicare upon attaining age 65.

6. We urge the Congress to include prescription drug costs in Medicare.

7. We support the principle of preventive care to promote the physical and mental health of the aged.

8. We urge a bipartisan study of the whole Social Security system in relation to today's economy.

ADEQUATE RETIREMENT INCOME

9. We urge the states to increase pension benefits of all retired teachers to at least a \$2400 a year minimum based on 25 years of service, with proportional benefits for all service of shorter duration.

10. We urge adoption of a national policy of (a) the transferability of public and private retirement credits, (b) five-year or earlier vesting of retirement benefits, and (c) adequate funding.

11. We urge the Congress to provide federal funding to encourage the States to accept the transfer of outstate teaching credit.

12. We urge the Congress to provide adequate pension increases for railroad retirees.

13. We urge the Congress to provide adequate pension increases for civil service retirees.

14. We urge the Congress to protect veterans, their dependents, and all other older Americans in their benefits when increases are voted in Social Security or pensions.

SAFETY IN THE STREETS AND AT HOME

15. We urge effective implementation and strict enforcement of criminal laws, and enactment of new ones where necessary.

PROTECTION AGAINST INFLATION

16. We urge the Members of Congress and the President to intensify all efforts to protect the purchasing power of persons on fixed retirement incomes.

17. We urge that all public and private pension programs be revised to provide automatic pension increases tied to a rise in the cost of living.

EQUITABLE TAX TREATMENT

18. We urge that the entire economic community of the Nation contribute to the financial improvement of needy older Americans.

19. We urge the Congress to permit persons age 65 and over to deduct all unreim-

bursed expenses for drugs and other medical expenditures from their Federal income taxes.

20. We believe that single persons over age 65 with incomes up to \$3500 a year and married couples over age 65 with incomes up to \$6000 a year should be exempt from paying a Federal personal income tax.

21. We urge the Congress to adjust the retirement income credit base in accordance with the increase and the maximum Social Security.

22. We favor replacing the retirement income tax credit with retirement income tax exemption.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

23. We urge more effective enforcement of the Age Discrimination Act passed by the 90th Congress and expansion of its provisions to better assure those over age 65 who want to work, the opportunity to do so.

24. We urge the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to see that applications under the Model Cities Act take into account the needs of older persons in the affected areas and the community at large.

CONSUMER PROTECTION

25. We support legislation to expose and restrict all categories of misrepresentation and fraud to consumers.

26. We favor legislation to provide additional protection for the aged against high drug expenses.

27. We urge that there be a Consumer spokesman at the highest Executive level of Federal Government.

28. We oppose the adoption by any State of the Uniform Consumer Credit Code until at least July 1970, to afford adequate study of the complex provisions of the Code.

29. We urge that organizations be established to study and promote the interest of people as consumers, encourage protective legislation, and further consumer education.

INDEPENDENCE, SELF-RESPECT AND DIGNITY

30. We urge that the method of choosing the President of the United States be reformed.

31. We reaffirm our support of the Older Americans Act and the principles upon which it is based; we urge Congress in its consideration of the extension of the grants program to continue support of those projects which have proved successful, but to terminate those which have not fulfilled their original purposes, redirecting funds into other more promising programs; we further urge that amendments to the Older American Act fulfill the objectives established by Congress.

32. We urge the Congress to appropriate the funds necessary for allocation to the states by the Administration on Aging in order to permit immediate planning by states in preparation for the White House Conference on Aging.

33. We reconfirm our belief in the need for an independent Federal Commission on Aging and independent State Commissions on Aging.

34. We urge an appraisal of the effectiveness of the President's Council on Aging in coordinating the various Federal agencies having jurisdiction over the problems of the elderly.

35. We urge immediate implementation of the National Community Senior Service Corps concept under the Older Americans Act to provide programs of employment and service opportunities for older persons.

36. We urge the Congress to support more dynamic educational programs for older persons.

37. We urge that the several states develop and adopt a uniform probate code.

RESOLUTIONS

Resolved, That the National Retired Teachers Association and the American Association of Retired Persons urge:

38. That President Nixon, at an early date,

appoint a Special White House Assistant on Aging.

39. That President Nixon issue a proclamation calling for the White House Conference on Aging for 1971.

40. That the month of May be proclaimed "Older Americans' Month".

PRICE COMPETITIVENESS

HON. KEITH G. SEBELIUS

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. SEBELIUS. Mr. Speaker, the Kansas wheat industry plays a most important role in our Nation's economy and in addition represents a mighty weapon to be used in our Government's concerted attack on the problem of hunger and malnutrition.

Today, Mr. Carl Dumler, the president of Great Plains Wheat, Inc., at the third annual congressional breakfast sponsored by Great Plains Wheat, Inc., Western Wheat Associates, U.S.A., Inc., and National Association of Wheat Growers, made some very pertinent and timely remarks concerning several new barriers that those of us vitally interested in the wheat industry are facing this year. I feel that Mr. Dumler's remarks and suggestions concerning the present gulf port dock strike and the need for the United States to adopt a more aggressive export price competitive program represent the kind of thinking we must have to find workable answers to these pressing problems. I commend Mr. Dumler's remarks to the attention of my colleagues and all those interested in agriculture:

PRICE COMPETITIVENESS

(Remarks by Carl Dumler, president, Great Plains Wheat, Inc., at the third annual congressional breakfast sponsored by Great Plains Wheat, Inc., Western Wheat Associates, U.S.A., Inc., National Association of Wheat Growers, Washington, D.C., March 26, 1969)

Senator Goodell, distinguished Senators and Congressmen, and fellow wheat producers. Like most people today, we farmers are prone to complain about our problems while taking many of our blessings for granted. Before I go any further, I would like to take note of one of our blessings—these gentlemen of the Congress who have made a special effort to visit us this morning and the interest they express in our problems by their attendance. Thank you, gentlemen, for attending.

The year since our last meeting here in Washington, however, has really not been one with many blessings to count in the export market, let alone take for granted. It has been a crucial year with many factors combining to send U.S. wheat exports sliding downhill. Shipments of wheat from July 1 to the end of February were down more than 40 percent compared to the same period last year. I will discuss here new barriers which have faced U.S. Wheat this year.

Of immediate concern is the dock strike, resolved in some areas, continuing to stifle export movement in others. The strike has taken its toll in our exports. Up to the end of December, U.S. shipments for dollars showed a gain of more than 461,000 bushels compared to the same period last year. These same dollar shipments, however, have now slipped into a 14 percent deficit since the beginning of the dock strike.

Another deterrent to sales was the embargo initiated by Japan. Shipments to this leading cash customer are off about 25 per cent. We are pleased that shipments have been resumed and the important role played by marketing organizations in the negotiations leading to the lifting of the ban.

But the principle barrier to U.S. Wheat exports has been the loss of price competitiveness. Precipitating this crisis has been an abundant world supply of wheat. The fears of world starvation a few years ago have now been replaced by concern of oversupply. Wheat production soared in the major food-deficit countries last year. Coupled with recent high levels of production in the developed countries, world wheat output has surpassed the 10-billion-bushel level, something like the four-minute mile in track, for the last three years. This year's production set a record at 10.8 billion bushels.

Also influencing the loss of price competitiveness has been the International Grains Arrangement. The wheat marketing organizations supported the I.G.A., providing we could remain competitive in our traditional markets. This we have not been able to do. In fact, we have had to price below the I.G.A. minimum in order to make sales. And we have lost sales because of this non-competitiveness.

For instance, Brazil issued a worldwide tender for 100,000 tons on October 23. The United States sold 75,000 tons. To make this sale, however, we had to price our wheat 10 cents per bushel below the I.G.A. minimum. And in spite of being below the minimum, Argentina, whose I.G.A. pegged price at the Gulf is the same as the United States, offered at three cents per bushel below our price and sold 25,000 tons. Other f.o.b. offers were received from Australia at six cents under the U.S. price, France at 21 cents under and Spain at 17 cents under. Romania offered wheat at the same price as the United States.

Also, the United Kingdom estimated a need for 500,000 to 700,000 tons of filler wheat this year. We have not been able to take advantage of this opportunity because our wheat has been priced 10 to 15 cents per bushel higher than wheat offered by the EEC, Sweden, Spain, Bulgaria and Romania.

A French sale was made to Turkey at more than 12 cents per bushel under the I.G.A. minimum due to freight interpretations of the agreement. This again prevented a possible U.S. sale.

Other freight interpretations and quality up-grading of I.G.A. pegged wheats has made the United States non-competitive in many areas. Non-member wheats are being priced under U.S. Wheat. For instance, Russian 441 is priced at more than \$2.00 per ton under Hard Red Winter, 13.5 per cent protein, in Rotterdam and Russian SKS, 14 per cent protein is about \$4.80 per ton under U.S. Spring, 14 per cent protein, in the United Kingdom around the first of March.

The facts clearly show the United States is not price competitive in many of our traditional markets. And we must be competitive if we are to sell. Our wheat exports can bounce back with an aggressive price competitiveness program through the coordinated efforts of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, grain trade and producers.

ADDRESS BY SENATOR TYDINGS BEFORE LIONS CLUBS OF ARBUTUS, LINTHICUM, AND GLEN BURNIE

HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, early this month, in Baltimore, I had the

pleasure of speaking before three Lions Clubs, Arbutus, Linthicum, and Glen Burnie.

As an individual who is concerned with the quality of our environment and as a Senator from a State which is trying to preserve and enhance this quality, I ask unanimous consent that my remarks to these groups be printed in the RECORD.

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

ADDRESS BY SENATOR TYDINGS BEFORE LIONS CLUBS OF ARBUTUS, LINTHICUM, AND GLEN BURNIE

Few concerns of mankind today are as important as the preservation of the quality of the environment.

Before telling you how we in Congress are alarmed by the shocking decline in environmental quality and what some of us are trying to do about it, let me just relate some facts which indicate the degree to which man has abused his natural environment.

Every river system in this country is polluted.

Toxic matter is being released into the air over the United States at a rate of more than 142 million tons a year, or three-fourths of a ton for every American—a new and invidious form of overkill.

Not counting industrial and agricultural wastes, we discard more than 165 tons of solid wastes each year. While we send 3 men to the moon and back in an unprecedented display of technological skill, the rest of us on earth are being buried in our own trash. It has been said, "We reach for the moon standing knee deep in garbage."

There are over 19 thousand communities whose public water supplies serve about 58 million people which are not covered by U.S. public health standards.

Each year over 300 new chemical compounds are introduced into industry without sufficient concern shown for the health of the individual and ecology of the country side. Damage to materials and crops is \$65.00 per person, 11 billion per year.

I could go on but I won't. I'll just mention that this senseless destruction of the environment is taking place close to home as well as nationwide.

Here in the Baltimore metropolitan area as well as in other metropolitan areas, air pollution is reaching crisis proportions.

Our factories, automobiles and office buildings spew forth sulfur oxides, hydrocarbons and particulate matter in dangerous quantities. These damage our health, causing bronchitis, asthma, and emphysema.

Air pollution covers this area with dirt and smoke, destroying its attractiveness and giving the area a bad name.

Air pollution increases the cost of living, as cleaning expenses rise.

And scientists tell us now that air pollution may be damaging and upsetting the world's weather.

What is needed in the Baltimore area and elsewhere are stiffer laws and stiffer penalties. At State and local level our present lax attitude no longer can be tolerated.

Very simply, the blatant pollution of our skies must stop.

We can no longer afford to treat our air as an aerial sewer.

Government and industry must join together in a massive effort to bring back clean air to the Baltimore area. We have the technology available to do the job. What we lack is the will.

The greatest natural resource in Maryland is the Chesapeake Bay. But even this has not escaped the heavy hand of man. The Director of the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration's mid-Atlantic regional office in Charlottesville recently reported that each year \$3 million worth of

fish are lost because of pollution in the bay and its tributaries.

The point of all this is that man is now in the process of destroying his environment.

And let me interject here that man is part of this environment. It is a small point, perhaps, but an important one and is too frequently overlooked. Man does not exist on his environment. He exists within it.

Dr. Charles C. Johnson, Jr., the Administrator of the Consumer Protection and Environmental Health Service within the Public Health Service has said "unless our Nation learns and learns quickly to apply the scientific knowledge we have to the problems of the environment, we are courting inevitable disaster."

I would like to briefly review how the Congress has responded in the past years and what I think must be done if we are to restore the quality of our environment.

You may be surprised to know that in the past eight years Congress by and large has recognized the seriousness of the problems we face and has enacted into law a wide ranging and far reaching package of environmental legislation. Since 1960, under two Democratic administrations, we have passed more and better legislation than in any other period of our history.

Let me run down the list of legislative achievements.

The Water Quality Act of 1965 which provides for the establishment of quality standards for both State and interstate waterways.

The 1966 Clean Water Restoration Act which encourages the river basin approach and provides a massive financial authorization to construct water quality treatment plants.

The 1964 land and water conservation fund which provides financial assistance to the States for planning and acquisition of outdoor space for recreational purposes.

The 1968 wild and scenic rivers systems which seeks to protect the few remaining rivers we have that are in their natural state.

The Solid Waste Disposal Act of 1965 which establishes a research and planning effort for means to dispose of millions of tons of garbage, rubbish, junk autos, and other litter that clog our cities and countryside.

The Clean Air Act of 1967 which authorizes the setting up of our quality control regions and directs HEW to establish air criteria for certain pollutants.

The list is, I think you will agree, an impressive one. Let me add to it 2 bills of my own that have been signed into law.

The first established an office of estuarine studies in the Department of the Interior to conduct a nationwide study of pollution in our estuaries. The bill was drafted so as to provide us with the first real analysis of the Nation's estuaries. This should be completed by this fall and will contain a follow-up program of action.

The second directs the Corps of Engineers to undertake the first nationwide survey of coastal erosion, to establish a list of priority control projects and to submit to the Congress a series of recommendations for the sensible, comprehensive protection of our shoreline.

Overall, then, the achievements of the last eight years have shown a remarkable awareness of the depth and scope of the problems involved in the restoration of our environment.

But there is a hitch, and that hitch is money. There does not seem to be enough of it.

The acts which I have mentioned are all authorizations. They permit the executive branch to spend money but they do not provide it with any funds. For this you need an appropriation. It is a double barrel process. First the authorization and then the appropriation.

But in the field of environmental legislation, the appropriations have been way below

the authorizations. We have, in effect a money gap.

The 1969 fiscal year authorization for construction of water quality treatment plants was \$700 million. Yet only \$214 million of this was appropriated.

The combined total of the appropriations for the land and water conservation fund in fiscal 65, 66, 67, and 68 was less than the cost of a nuclear powered aircraft carrier of which we have one, are building a second, and planning a third.

Yet even with more money and with all this legislative authority, and with the growing recognition of the need to restore the quality of our environment, I believe very strongly that an essential element of any successful effort is absent.

We have legislation for trails and recreational funds. We have legislation for our pollution and desalinization, and so on and so forth.

But what we don't have is legislation providing for an overview. We haven't pulled it all together. No one in our government is looking at the big picture. Our efforts at environmental control are diversified and fragmented.

Some Federal agencies are involved in a portion of the environment but none of them is viewing it in its totality.

This is a great mistake, for our environment is a complex system, made up of different parts, but parts that are completely interrelated and form a single entity. It is also a great tragedy, for unless the environment is considered as a whole, our efforts to restore its quality will be half measures.

I am going therefore, to introduce legislation that will establish a new, small yet select office within the executive office of the White House to consider the overall environmental effects of the policies and projects of the many agencies within the Federal Government.

This office will be called the Office of Environmental Quality. It will be well staffed and amply financed. It would operate much like the Bureau of the Budget.

Its principal purpose, however, would be to review, through in-house research or by contract, Federal activity affecting the environment, and to render judgements on such activity.

I cannot help but be impressed by the tremendous resources we have in this country, their basic unity, and the need for all of us to try to maintain their quality. In this country today there is no more serious problem than the restoration of the environment. We simply must make the effort and spend the time and money to stop the abuses that have been taking place. Very simply. We must regain the integrity of our environment. As rational men in a rational age, we can do no less.

THE DAY I KNEW I BELONGED TO THE FLAG

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, it is a pity that those elements in our society who are working ceaselessly to subvert our youth have robbed so many young people of the deep pride and pleasure that comes from a sense of patriotism and from the knowledge of the glorious history of America.

Former President Eisenhower experienced this thrill countless times and expresses his feelings so wonderfully in his

article "The Day I Knew I Belonged to the Flag," which appeared in the March 1969 edition of the Reader's Digest. I believe everybody should read it.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include it in the Extensions of Remarks in the RECORD:

THE DAY I KNEW I BELONGED TO THE FLAG
(By Dwight D. Eisenhower, former President of the United States)

My first day at West Point—June 14, 1911—had been rough. My classmates and I had been barked at and ordered by upperclassmen to do all sorts of ridiculous chores, on the double. All 285 of us were weary and resentful.

Toward evening, however, we assembled outdoors and, with the American flag floating majestically above us, were sworn in as cadets of the United States Military Academy. It was an impressive ceremony. As I looked up at our national colors and swore my allegiance, I realized humbly that *now I belonged to the flag*. It is a moment I have never forgotten.

Later I became color sergeant of our class, and my final year at West Point it was my privilege to carry the American flag at all official parades and ceremonies. No honor could have meant more to me.

To tell you why I love and respect our flag so much would take a book, for it would be the long, brave story of America. Briefly, I love our flag because it is the most beautiful national banner of all, and because it stands, today as always, for the finest nation on earth.

Today we urgently need a new commitment to the basic principles that made our nation great. Our flag is the symbol of these principles, and I would hope that all of us might find some way to display it, not merely on patriotic holidays but every day in the year. Such a visible upsurge of respect for flag and country will do much to help bring about a new national solidarity, a renewed pride and faith in America.

A TRIBUTE TO OUR FINE YOUNG PEOPLE

HON. LOWELL P. WEICKER, JR.

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. WEICKER. Mr. Speaker, almost every day our newspapers and our radio and television newscasts report to us about the growing unrest among the Nation's youth. Hardly a day goes by that we do not hear of a campus riot or some sort of antiestablishment demonstration by protesting youth.

As a result of this spotlight on the negative aspects of a few young people an entire generation has been stigmatized as way-out hippies, yuppies, and kooks.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

Today, I would like to call my colleagues attention to a project undertaken by responsible young adults who more typically personify the majority of our Nation's youngsters.

In Fairfield, Conn., there is a young people's group called "Kids Who Kare."

A year ago this month, a young lady at Roger Ludlow High School, Claudia Stephens, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Claud Stephens of Fairfield, Conn., brought together a group of her school

friends to discuss what they could do for the servicemen fighting in Vietnam.

The teenagers decided to form a group to write letters and send packages of cookies, reading material, and other useful items to the boys from their town, serving their country in Vietnam.

From this meeting "Kids Who Kare" was born. The energetic young people set out with the drive and enthusiasm of youth and their contagious spirit infected their town's adults.

The first adult recruited was a banker, Jesse P. Sanford, vice president of the Connecticut National Bank, who was asked to handle the finances of the group and to receive any contributions that were sent in.

The young people then got the Remar Printing Co., of Bridgeport, to donate posters and forms which were placed in local stores and sent to GI's. The posters asked for donations of soap, cigarettes, shaving equipment, reading materials, and other items requested by the GI's. The forms were sent to each serviceman asking his needs.

For the past year, the dismal days of lonely GI's, in far-off Vietnam have been brightened by a package or a letter from a young person back home who cared enough to think of them.

How has their project been received? First, they have been an inspiration to the adults at home. The Fairfield Elks have loaned their hall for the packaging of monthly parcels to the GI's. The Fairfield Emblem Club helps the youngsters with the packaging and have given their all-out support.

The residents of Fairfield have also gone all out to help with donations of money and materials.

Most important, the servicemen know that someone at home really cares about them. The letters the men send back praise the young people and tell how their buddies wish that there were similar groups in their hometowns.

Here are a few examples of the GI's feelings. A U.S. marine, Ken Athens, wrote the young people:

Hope you all do real good with school because it will show in the future. We are trying our best to win the hearts and minds of these people. And we are trying to show them the right road. I will never forget you and how you've treated me so good. Be good and take care. May God bless you now and forever.

Airman Mark E. Trupp, wrote the youngsters:

There are not words that can express the way I feel about what you young people are doing for us over here.

Pfc. Richard Skudlarek wrote:

Gestures like yours are a clear indication that there are some people back home who are aware that we are here.

Pvt. Bohden Howera wrote:

It really makes a guy feel great when he knows there are people like you back home who care.

The letters of thank you from our servicemen would fill a book and each one is treasured by these young people who care.

When you have youngsters in this country like the young men and young ladies of "Kids Who Kare" can there be

any doubt in anyone's mind that there still is a big, bright, beautiful tomorrow in store for America.

THE DEMISE OF FREE TELEVISION

HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, a number of weeks ago I inserted in the RECORD my thoughts and comments relative to what I consider disturbing trends toward the possible and eventual elimination of free television to that of paid television. Preliminary hearings before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce with the Federal Communications Commission has failed to allay my concerns.

In the last day or so I have observed further public announcements which, unfortunately, substantiate my fears. For example, I would like to insert an article from the March 23 edition of the Washington Post, in which the famous name of Howard Hughes appears concerning this matter. In addition, I would like to include an article which appeared in the March 21 edition of the Saginaw News, Saginaw, Mich., which touches on the matter of paid television.

While both of these articles, which will follow at the conclusion of my remarks, center on the sports field, I think it is quite obvious that such paid television operations could and would be quickly expanded to include practically all free television as we know it today. The news articles follow:

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 23, 1969]
 BID FOR FOOTBALL TELECASTS IS NEXT MOVE:
 HUGHES MINES PAY-TV GOLD

(By Dave Brady)

PALM SPRINGS, CALIF., March 22.—On a clear day in the sparkling desert air of Las Vegas, Howard Hughes can see beyond the outer limits of free television. And into the golden horizon of pay TV.

As a first step toward making that vision a reality, he has bought Sports Network, Inc., from Dick Bailey for some \$16 million. Bailey built it from a "country store" operation into its present worth. Hughes is taking it from there.

Bailey is still minding the store for Hughes in the canyons of Manhattan, but the firm is doing business as Hughes Sports Network.

As a warning signal to the established major networks that he is ready to poach on their domains, possibly to the extent of eventually building a conventional news and entertainment rival, Hughes has bought for nearly one-half million dollars the right to carry highlights of National and American football league games in 1969 and 1970.

It is a trifling deal for a man of Hughes' stature, but it is a sampling of what he has in mind. Bailey was a bit prudent when he was asked whether Hughes would bid against the three major networks for pro football game telecasts in 1970, when the contracts of the Columbia Broadcasting System and National Broadcasting Co. expire.

"I'll say this—we are very interested in pro football," Bailey said in New York. "We can handle anything."

A source closer to Hughes was not nearly so cautious once he was assured anonymity.

"Hughes is going to bid for the pro football game telecasts," he said.

Commissioner Pete Rozelle said that CBS and NBC, which have been televising the NFL and AFL games, respectively, would be extended the courtesy of bidding first on a combined package in 1970. He also said that the complexity of it might require two networks.

But despite Rozelle's enthusiasm for prime-time Monday night telecasts to attract more revenue, the networks have not shown a mutual interest because of conflicts with high-rated entertainment programs.

Also, the talk along Madison Avenue is that sponsors have reached the choking price for game telecasts on Sunday, when there are no serious conflicts.

It is into this vacuum that Hughes is tempted to test his big-dealing expertise, backed by indeterminate financial resources.

As his man Bailey said, "We can handle anything the other networks can. We have the equipment, the personnel and the know-how. Ten of our key people represent more than 200 years experience in radio and TV."

"Mr. Hughes has the resources. All we have to have is the product."

Queried about the dream of zillions of dollars to be made from pay TV, which pro football owners secretly nurture, Bailey said, "We are in a position to handle it but what our policy will be on it, I am not prepared to say until the right time."

Pro football has reached a plateau of diminishing returns with costs still rising and other sources of revenue such as gate receipts drying up. The commissioner's office admitted as much here this week, when it pointed out that the NFL is already playing to 87.1 per cent stadium capacity and the AFL 74.8.

The clubs are reduced to inching up their ticket prices in an era when the population of 21,000 in mountain-locked Palm Springs has learned to live with the idea of paying \$7 a month to pull in its entertainment by Community Antenna Television, or doing without. CATV is pay TV, any way you slice it.

[From the Saginaw (Mich.) News,
 Mar. 21, 1969]

HARVEY POINTS OUT DANGERS OF "COMING-SOON" PAY-TV

(By Robert D. G. Lewis)

WASHINGTON.—Sports fans, don't be surprised if the time comes when it will cost a dollar or two to watch your favorite team on television.

The Federal Communications Commission is scheduled to start accepting applications in the next few months for pay television stations.

At the start, Subscription Television (STV) will be limited to the largest cities. Under FCC rules, Detroit will be immediately eligible for a pay-TV outlet. Three outstate markets—Grand Rapids-Kalamazoo, Flint-Saginaw-Bay City and Lansing-Jackson—do not qualify for a STV station but are close to the line.

FCC regulations scheduled to take effect June 12 are written to prevent pay-TV stations from "siphoning" away sporting events and other programs now shown free on television.

But there is a large body of opinion that holds that once STV gets a foothold, it will swallow up the best of network television. Viewers will have to pay for the most popular movies, programs and sporting events that they now see free, the argument goes.

Others contend that pay-TV will be just another medium in the entertainment field, taking its place alongside television, radio, movies and the theater.

Rep. James Harvey, R-Saginaw, a member of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, which oversees the FCC,

believes the siphoning away of sports events from free television to STV is about to begin.

FCC rules would prohibit this, but Harvey believes professional sports sooner or later would find a way around the prohibition.

"As objectionable as the average American may often find 'commercials' on TV today, I do not believe he would take favorably upon the necessary for paying outright to see a sporting event that he has been watching for free," Harvey said.

"The FCC would, of course, deny that this will come about. But the testimony at our hearings, coupled with events described in the articles to which I have referred, makes clear that professional football on pay-TV is indeed what is in store."

NATIONAL CONCERN FOR DECENCY
 LED BY OUR YOUTH

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, there is a national concern for decency spreading across the land today, and it is being led by the youth of America. This is one of the most refreshing and exciting things developing in our beloved country today.

The scope of the "Crusade for Decency" is reflected in last Sunday's rally at the Orange Bowl Stadium in Miami, Fla., when 30,000 young people demonstrated their interest against the flow of obscene materials and pornographic magazines and movies.

In my hometown of Jacksonville, Fla., a group of young people are forming a decency drive, emulating the Miami youth. I plan to assist them in this effort through a congressional youth forum I am sponsoring in Jacksonville on April 12, 1969. I include two articles in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on the Miami rally and on the youth plans in Jacksonville.

On January 29 I introduced a bill, H.R. 5171, which is designed to curb the alarming flow of obscene materials to our youth. It is pending in the House Judiciary Committee. This bill, together with two identical subsequent bills, H.R. 6186 and H.R. 7167, has 40 cosponsors. Because it is similar to a New York State statute which was upheld by the Supreme Court last April in Ginsberg against New York, I am confident that my legislation will also be upheld.

Similar legislation is being introduced in the Senate today by Senator JAMES B. ALLEN, of Alabama, with a group of important cosponsors.

Since I introduced H.R. 5171, I have received hundreds of letters from all over the country expressing support for this measure.

John Grace, lieutenant commissioner of the Salvation Army, stated in a recent letter:

We are appalled at the volume of pornographic literature that seems to find its way into the hands of youth, and certainly, any move that can be made to protect our young people is a move in the right direction. We have written Chairman Celler . . . asking that he expedite action on this bill.

Winfrey C. Link, a member of the President's Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, wrote me:

I hope your bill is successful. We desperately need controls for minors.

Sam Wolgemuth, president of Youth for Christ International, said in a letter to Chairman Celler:

I am joining with others in urging hearings on the bill sponsored by Congressman Charles E. Bennett, H.R. 5171. I wholeheartedly support this bill, believing that there would be tremendous value nationwide in its passage.

The President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Mrs. Walter Varney Magee, told me:

The General Federation of Women's Clubs would wish to go on record as being strongly in favor of the legislation. . . . We intend to make H.R. 5171 the subject of a Legislative Bulletin in the near future. . . . We shall consider it a privilege to support it in any way we can.

These are but four of the many distinguished Americans who have offered their support and help in the effort to obtain the enactment of this vital legislation. Others include: The International Association of Chiefs of Police; Columbia, the Knights of Columbus magazine; the Young Men's Christian Association; Billy Casper, the famous golfer; the National Urban League, and the American Legion.

Mr. Speaker, there exists today a tremendous need to create some kind of control over what may be distributed to minors through the mails, and in interstate commerce. It is no longer possible for a parent to protect his children from pornography by himself. If any Member wishes to join the 40 cosponsors of this measure, I hope he will contact my office.

The cosponsors are: E. ROSS ADAIR, Republican, of Indiana, WATKINS M. ABBITT, Democrat, of Virginia, JOSEPH P. ADDABBO, Democrat, of New York, WALTER S. BARING, Democrat, of Nevada, BENJAMIN B. BLACKBURN, Republican, of Georgia, TOM BEVILL, Democrat, of Alabama, JAMES A. BYRNE, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, EARLE CABELL, Democrat, of Texas, R. LAWRENCE COUGHLIN, Republican, of Pennsylvania, TIM LEE CARTER, Republican, of Kentucky, EDWARD J. DERWINSKI, Republican, of Illinois, WILLIAM L. DICKINSON, Republican, of Alabama, HAROLD D. DONOHUE, Democrat, of Massachusetts, EDWIN W. EDWARDS, Democrat, of Louisiana, O. C. FISHER, Democrat, of Texas, LOUIS FREY, Jr., Republican, of Florida, GEORGE A. GOODLING, Republican, of Pennsylvania, CHARLES H. GRIFFIN, Democrat, of Mississippi, TOM S. GETTYS, Democrat, of South Carolina, JAMES A. HALEY, Democrat, of Florida, F. EDWARD HEBERT, Democrat, of Louisiana, CRAIG HOSMER, Republican, of California, SEYMOUR HALPERN, Republican, of New York, RICHARD ICHORD, Democrat, of Missouri, CARLETON J. KING, Republican, of New York, JOHN KYL, Republican, of Iowa, DONALD E. LUKENS, Republican, of Ohio, GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB, Republican, of California, ROMAN C. PUCINSKI, Democrat, of Illinois, W. R. POAGE, Democrat, of Texas, ALEXANDER PIRNIE, Republican, of New York, HOWARD W. POLLOCK, Republican, of Alaska, JOHN R. RARICK, Democrat, of Louisiana, HERMAN T. SCHNEEBELI, Republican, of Pennsylvania, ROBERT L. F.

SIKES, Democrat, of Florida, FRANK A. STUBBLEFIELD, Democrat, of Kentucky, JAMES B. UTT, Republican, of California, JOSEPH P. VIGORITO, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, LESTER L. WOLFF, Democrat, of New York, LAWRENCE G. WILLIAMS, Republican, of Pennsylvania.

The following news story and editorial are pertinent:

[From the Jacksonville (Fla.) Times-Union, Mar. 25, 1969]

YOUTH MAY STAGE DECENCY DRIVE HERE

(By Tom Sawyer)

A teen-age "decency crusade" may be staged in Jacksonville this summer.

Representatives of the county's high school student councils say the possibility is being explored.

Sunday, a youth crusade for decency in entertainment drew 30,000 persons to the Orange Bowl in Miami.

Jim Lanahan, 17, president of the Bishop Kenny student council, said a local program may be staged at the Gator Bowl.

The possibility of a rally was revealed during a press conference Monday by the Student Action Committee of the county's associated student councils.

The students said they hoped to expand on the program presented at Miami, but added that nothing yet has been arranged.

The committee currently is studying drug abuse in local schools, and indicated it also plans to look into other problems such as student unrest, dress codes, drinking and sex.

Drinking currently is a much bigger problem here, but drug use has received more publicity, the student group said.

It estimated that only 5 percent of students have experimented with pep pills, glue-sniffing or drugs, but one female member of the committee called the estimate low.

EASILY OBTAINED

"I could get drugs whenever I wanted to," she said, adding they were widespread at her school.

While declaring that the drug problem has been "blown up" here, the committee said it is establishing a five-point program for dealing with the situation in schools. It includes:

Presenting an assembly program at each high school, featuring experts in the fields of drug abuse.

Supplying students with a list of doctors they can go to for confidential counseling.

Sending drug experts to the schools for individual counseling.

Distributing literature on drugs to all students.

Supplying through local news media drug information for parents and students thereby "helping to close the generation gap."

Paul Harden, 17, of Andrew Jackson High School, said if the program proves successful in high schools it will be expanded to junior high schools.

"We feel education is the best road to take in reaching the drug user or potential drug user, because if students knew the physical and mental damage they faced when they experimented with drugs they would never begin," Harden said.

Tom Cornelson, editor of the school newspaper at Forrest High School, said that when he was a sophomore students would laugh if you talked about a drug problem in school; when he was a junior it was acknowledged and now as a senior the use of drugs is accepted and expanding.

The Student Action Committee meets every Monday night at the Duval Medical Society building. Its meetings are open to the public.

FED-UP YOUNG PEOPLE SPEAK OUT

The "Crusade for Decency" launched at a rally of 30,000 in Miami's Orange Bowl under the initiative of that city's teen-agers and which snowballed under spontaneous,

community-wide backing is the sort of good news for which most of the nation hungers.

Most of the big names in show business who were in Miami at the time, including Jackie Gleason, Anita Bryant, Ted Mack, the Lettermen, and many others, appeared at the rally not to lead, but to applaud the determination of the young organizers to demand entertainment free of vulgarity and obscenity and to boycott all those who refuse to get their message.

The rally was sparked, strangely enough, when a popular rock and roll group put on a nauseating show in Miami.

Mike Levesque, a Miami Springs High School student, and other members of his church study group, were credited with originating the rally idea as an answer to the offensive performance and to demonstrate for established beliefs including love of country, love of God and equality of all men.

Clergymen of all faiths gave their help, but left the leadership in their hands.

The electrifying response by the people of Miami, sometimes regarded as blasé and sophisticated, is an encouraging barometric reading on the nation's mood. It is a testimonial that the great majority of the nation's youth are at least keeping pace, if not ahead of their elders in their disgust with the open commercialization of depravity. It is reassuring to all who recognize that today's youth are the only hope for the nation's future.

Alert and responsible young people in Jacksonville and elsewhere are moving in the same direction as the Miami rally-organizers in their efforts among their peers to fight the evil of drugs through friend-to-friend logic free of preaching.

When enough Americans, young and old, become sufficiently fed up with filth to speak out for decency, filth will recede down the drain.

CCC SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 25, 1969

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of House Joint Resolution 584, which requests a supplemental appropriation of \$1 billion to restore the capital funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation.

This request has become necessary this year, rather than next year as originally scheduled, because of a whole series of unexpected developments. Lower market prices for our 1968 crops, a most harmful and prolonged dock strike, and thus a larger backup of grains here in the United States, have all been factors in the need to advance this funding authority.

We are advised that the borrowing limit of \$14.5 billion for CCC is nearly exhausted or will be this month, so that it is necessary to take prompt action.

I strongly urge my colleagues to pass this resolution in order to prevent further financial hardship on our producers.

It should be pointed out that emergency of CCC loan funds should not be considered as a fault of either the CCC or of farmers. Farmers have lived within the lines as laid down by the Congress. The CCC has only been carrying out the provisions of the charter as approved by Congress.

Mr. Speaker, the passage of this reso-

lution is an urgent necessity, it will not upset the budget, and the limited relief that it provides to our producers is most important.

HARRY S. GENUNG: HE SPREADS THE AMERICAN DREAM

HON. CLARK MacGREGOR

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, Harry S. Genung of Minneapolis, a longtime friend of mine, epitomizes the patriotic American who is seeking, as an individual, to instill the values of democracy among people throughout the world.

He and his wife conceived the idea of spreading democracy's value through the distribution of school yearbooks. The opportunity for young people in other nations to see another side of American youth is an enlightening experience. It will lead to a greater understanding of our Nation.

The Genung's program is called "Y-O-U—Yearbooks Offer Understanding." I feel very strongly that this program can do much to contribute to teaching the values of democracy in foreign lands. It is a project which deserves support and encouragement.

I insert in the RECORD two articles which more fully explain this imaginative program. The first is an article in the November 1954, issue of Torch and Trefoil, published at North Dakota State College, entitled "Yearbooks Offer Understanding." The second is an article contained in the January 1969, issue of NEW, published by the Unity School of Christianity, Lee's Summit, Mo., entitled "Harry S. Genung: He Spreads the American Dream":

YEARBOOKS OFFER UNDERSTANDING

(By Ardean Rystad)

"Yearbooks Offer Understanding," originated by Mr. Harry Genung of Minneapolis, Minnesota, is a program that consists of mailing copies of yearbooks or college annuals to colleges, universities, and schools of other nations, in hopes that they, through the media of pictures, illustrations, etc., will lead to a true understanding of the average American student by the students and youth of other lands.

Alpha Lambda Chapter at North Dakota State in Fargo, North Dakota, took on this program as one of its projects for 1954. The chapter was able to obtain about 200 college annuals from two other colleges together with those rounded up on our own campus. The College Blue Book was used to find the names and mailing addresses of colleges in other nations. A letter was inserted which explained the program and stated that we would be pleased to receive any information about their school and themselves which would help us to get a true picture of them. Quoting from the letter itself, "Troubles among nations begin with misunderstandings. We want you to better understand the American college student through examining this book. We hope that you will use this book. If you care for another book next year, we would appreciate a letter from you." A mimeographed list of Alpha Phi Omega members of this chapter was also enclosed, together with complete addresses.

Books were sent to thirty-two different countries including most of South America,

Mexico, much of Europe, and even behind the Iron Curtain into Russia and its satellites.

An assembly line for getting the books ready for mailing was set up one evening after a chapter meeting, in the basement of our college library. We wrapped each book with a light cardboard called "flexpack" and then inserted them in No. 20 envelopes.

The activity was publicized by the local newspapers, our college paper, and was mentioned at one of the student senate meetings. It was well thought of by everyone and Alpha Lambda Chapter gained new friends.

We had lots of fun, and if we're able to obtain yearbooks next year, we shall continue our participation in the program of Y.-O.-U.

This is an excellent project, and we recommend it to all chapters of Alpha Phi Omega. Any chapter desiring further information about Y.-O.-U. may obtain it by writing to Donald Hanson, President of Alpha Lambda Chapter, 1016 Fourth Street, North, Fargo, North Dakota.

HE SPREADS THE AMERICAN DREAM

For 25 years Harry S. Genung stood before students—in this country and the Philippines—teaching the values of democracy. Today, from his home in Minneapolis, the 66-year-old teacher and world traveler is helping instill those same values in young people around the world.

Genung is the founder of YOU (Yearbooks Offer Understanding), a project sparked by a German student's letter, received while Genung was teaching in a Minneapolis high school. Europe was still recovering from World War II in 1948, and Genung helped some of his students send a CARE package overseas. Soon a thank-you letter arrived from Martin Girschner, a former Hitler youth who had since become president of a German Boys Club. Girschner asked many questions—about the school, the country, about the American people. *Der Fuhrer* had commanded him to hate. There was one question Genung couldn't forget: "Do you teach democracy in your school?"

The next year Genung and his class sent another CARE parcel to the same German boys and included a high school yearbook. A boy wrote back: "Your book is a gesture of friendship and goodwill which will help make peace in the world."

Genung had found a way to answer the questions of Martin Girschner and others like him who wonder if America really does practice what it propagandizes. Since then Genung has sent yearbooks from high schools and colleges in every state to more than 50 foreign countries.

"What better way to show democracy in practice," he asked, "than to show the youth of other countries how our own young people live? And what could be a better barometer of American youth than a school yearbook!"

Genung's voice projects a contagious excitement as he explains that YOU feeds minds, just as CARE feeds bodies. "Yearbooks don't say in bold print, 'Here is democracy'—they show it.

"How can a Japanese youth accuse the United States of intolerance when he sees a Japanese-American pictured as president of the senior class in some yearbook? And how can an African label all of us 'prejudiced' when he sees a Negro boy as captain of an American school's debating team!"

"Another thing, yearbooks show teachers and students working together—through student councils, student papers, on the yearbook itself. These active examples of democratic life, along with pictures of scholastic Societies—French clubs and foreign affairs groups and all the rest—show foreign students that American kids are more than hot-rodgers and juvenile delinquents."

Quoting from memory, Genung explained, "Right now the Russians are publishing 720

times as much information for overseas distribution as we are. Last year they shipped over three and one-half billion pieces of propaganda into democratic and uncommitted nations; the best USIA (United States Information Agency) ever did in one year was five million pieces."

Genung insists YOU is a joint effort of many people. "One company furnishes me yearbooks—I had to buy some in the early days, but that doesn't happen too often anymore. Another company furnishes the cartoons People-to-People (ex-President Eisenhower's international good will program) coordinates distribution."

In addition, young people at youth centers and settlement houses and boys' homes stamp each book on the inside cover (the stamped letters to Americans shown in the book). "This stamping is a big thing with the youngsters," says Genung, "and it gives our own young people a chance to do something for world peace."

Harry Genung—educator, statesman, traveler, crusader—summarized the reasons behind his years of work when he explained a void in his own life: "My wife and I never had any children of our own. So, we've adopted the youth of the world instead."

CONGRESS FORCING CENSUS INVASION OF PRIVACY

HON. R. LAWRENCE COUGHLIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. COUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, the unwarranted intrusion of Government into the private lives of the people is illustrated by the growing and understandable resentment of Americans against questions asked them under provisions of the U.S. census.

In an era when the Government's tax bite so deeply affects citizens economically, it adds unconscionable insult to monetary injury when census takers delve into the intimate aspects of family life. I support congressional reform that will eliminate this invasion of privacy and put the census back into its proper perspective—a count of the number of people living in this country.

On February 20, 1969, WCAU radio in Philadelphia, Pa., broadcast an editorial which cuts to the heart of the census matter. I agree wholeheartedly with the editorial and am pleased to enter it into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

WCAU radio believes the American people are getting sick and tired of being numbered, indexed, cataloged, pigeonholed, and having their privacy invaded.

We believe most of them will be outraged by the mandatory provisions of the 1970 census. Fines of \$100 and 3 months in prison may be the lot of anyone refusing to answer some of the very personal questions they would not think of answering for their neighbors.

The U.S. Constitution calls for a count of the number of people in this country every 10 years so that Representatives and direct taxes may be apportioned among the States. It calls for nothing more. But Congress has seen fit to make mandatory, under threat of severe penalty, the answering of questions having nothing to do with a head count.

There is a 20-question short form that more than covers the needs of the Government, but the House Subcommittee on Census and Statistics has approved a long form checking into 68 areas of our lives.

It inquires into whether you share a bathroom, what are your savings, dividends, stock, interest, alimony payments, tips, bonuses, physical disabilities, marital record, and ownership of appliances. We have no doubt such information would be of great value to many phases of business. WCAU radio does not believe, however, answering such questions should be mandatory, but given voluntarily. WCAU radio holds Congress should adopt regulations making the bare enumeration mandatory as prescribed in the Constitution. We think forcing people to answer personal questions for the benefit of any segment of our society is revolting.

MOLLY LUDWIG HAYS McCAULY
OFTEN KNOWN AS "MOLLY
PITCHER"

HON. GEORGE H. MAHON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, recognition has again come to the Hal J. Rucker family, of Midland, Tex. This time, the youngest son, Douglas, age 12, has brought honor to the family and he is the third member of the family to be awarded a medal in the American History Month essay contest sponsored by the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Douglas received the medal for an essay on Molly Pitcher. He has now won first place in the city of Midland, and first place in the State for 1969.

I submit this interesting and stimulating essay for the consideration of the readers of the RECORD.

The essay follows:

MOLLY LUDWIG HAYS McCAULY

Molly McCauly was a heroine of the American Revolution. She was born near Trenton, New Jersey, the daughter of John George Ludwig, a farmer who had come to the colonies from Germany.

In 1769, at the age of 15, Molly took a job in Philadelphia as a maid. Later that same year, she married John Caspar Hays, a Philadelphia barber, who enlisted in the army in December, 1775.

After Hays left with the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment, Molly's parents sent a courier to pick her up and bring her to their home. It is said that the courier brought a secret letter to Molly, sent by her husband for her to come to her parent's farm so that he might possibly see her. She had a long, tiresome ride because of poor roads and the only way to get there was on horseback.

Molly was with the army during the Battle of Monmouth. Molly was 24 years old at this time. The battle was fought on a June day in 1778, one of the hottest days of the year. The battle was from nine o'clock in the morning until night. It was so hot that it was said that fifty men died of thirst and others were very thirsty. Molly found a spring that is today still a historic spot, and carried the water to the men in a cannoneer's bucket. This was done under fire

and shelter and the sight of Molly with her "pitcher" was a joyful sight to the tired and thirsty soldiers. The soldiers gave her the sobriquet, "Molly Pitcher".

Molly constantly watched the battery where her husband was a gunner and when she saw a soldier lying by his gun, she rushed there to see if it was her husband. She found him wounded and she sprang to his place and kept his gun in action the rest of the battle.

For this brave action she was praised by General Nathaniel Greene and was made an honorary sergeant by George Washington. She was also called "Major Molly" by the soldiers.

Molly always wanted to help other people. She was very interested in the war, and being a good patriot and an enemy in her heart of the redcoats. She felt it necessary to risk her life by taking her place at the gun and to transport water to the thirsty men.

The battle was won with the help of this strong, courageous woman. The state of New Jersey was the first to give honor to Molly Pitcher. At Freehold, New Jersey there is a monument with five tablets around it, one of which commemorates her heroism.

Several years after the death of John Hays she married a man that was a comrade of her husband, named George McKolly. This name was changed so that after her death it became McCauly.

The last years of her life were spent in Carlisle, where she had kept a small store, located not far from the house where Major André and Lt. Despard had been confined in 1776. Molly died the 22nd day of January, 1832 and was buried in the old Graveyard, then known as the English Graveyard in Carlisle, where many of the prominent citizens are buried.

Mrs. Mary McKolly was 90 years of age when she died. Her last name was written McKolly, McCauley, and on her tombstone it was McCauly.

She had served her country so well that she had been honored by the different states and had received a pension from the government during the latter years of her life. We remember her with honor.

HOW CAN I EXIST ON SOCIAL SECURITY ALONE?

HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced two bills aiding those who live on social security. Many of the estimated 80,000 people in my district who receive social security checks each month have this as their only means of income. This is true throughout the country. Most of these people have worked all their lives—but inflation, medical expenses, and the cost of living have consumed their savings. I have been in many of their homes and have been unable to answer the question, "How can I exist on social security alone?" A change is needed.

The bills I have introduced are not the complete solution, but they are positive means which will help. The first bill provides for an automatic increase in social security benefits each time the Consumer Price Index rises by at least 3 percent. In this manner, the increase in the cost of living can be met. The second bill would allow those living on social security to earn up to \$3,000 annually

and still receive full benefits. The present earning restriction of \$1,680 is unrealistic based on today's living costs.

BIG JIM FARLEY: TUMULT, GRACE

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the RECORD an interesting article on the Honorable James Farley by Richard Ryan which appeared in the Tablet of Thursday, March 13, 1969.

Mr. Ryan has given us an interesting account of this outstanding American:

BIG JIM FARLEY: TUMULT, GRACE

(By Richard Ryan)

There is, on the walls of his office, the kind of wordless biography that speaks quietly about James Aloysius Farley. The paneled office at Coca-Cola serve as a gallery for all these pictures that speak of Big Jim's time and epoch in American history when politics was boisterous and intense, pushing and shoving, fierce, loud, and terribly human. There are pictures of this man at a dinner or walking the street or standing in a room with someone like Lyndon Johnson or Pope Paul or Richard Nixon. There are bright new glossies and photos tanned by time and on each of them there are these affectionate apostrophes to a great patriot, a good friend, a loyal advisor. There are pictures of his family and his grandchildren. There are pictures of Jim Farley sitting in a room with Franklin Roosevelt and there is a picture of Jim Farley leaning over the shoulder of John Kennedy at a dinner in New York two weeks before another dinner in Dallas.

They are part of the memories of this man who, across his 80 years, has been the personal friend of seven Presidents, the confidante and campaign manager of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the architect who has watched the Democratic Party mature and become petulant and discover some of its own dignity and turn cranky and edgy and then move back again toward its own adulthood. The chairman of the board of the Coca-Cola Export Corporation since 1940, he has in his office relics that speak of things that will always be fond, cherished, part of him.

EX-POSTMASTER GENERAL

There are, you see, things in his office that speak of things that are gone, from another day, the seed of everything that is now and future. Over in the corner, a tinted majestic bronze bust of Farley by Paulanship that was given to him by the employees of the New York City Post Office after his retirement as U.S. Postmaster General in 1940, seems to look out solemnly at the desk and the newspapers strewn on the floor and at the street below on Madison Ave. There is a samurai sword given to him in the Orient, as well as a delicately magnificent replica of a rickshaw encased in glass.

And if the pictures and the inscriptions and the long-ago gifts carry with them a nostalgia for the man and his era, there is in another corner of the room something that recalls the memory of any childhood when the name of James Farley was gospel for the Irish and for the people coming off boats, coming here to this country to make their fortune and climb their mountain.

In one corner of the room there is one of these proud old cabinet radios that was in every home years ago when the voices of Gabriel Heatter and Lowell Thomas brought into the living room and into the kitchen, solemnly and gravely, the good news tonight.

And for those of us sitting around waiting for the half-hour miracle of the Lone Ranger or I Love a Mystery, there were always the shushing from an intense father who nodded silently at the adventures of the people like Jim Farley and Al Smith and Jimmy Walker, who dominated and cajoled his age.

CHARM AND PASSION

For the Irish coming into this town during the Depression, the stature and achievements of men like Farley and Smith and Walker sustained them and lifted them over the lean weeks and prodded them on with the dream that perhaps they, their own children, their own family might one day bring into politics some of the charm and some of the passion that people like Farley held out as good and noble, something to be admired, a rough and tumble sacrament that could lift up and transform a whole city, a nation.

For the black man looking up and out, the thread of hope for tomorrow was there in the glories and achievements of Joe Louis. For the Irish it was there in the 6'2½" outline of Big Jim Farley, with his straw hat and unrehearsed smile and the massive imprint he had made in politics and the standard he had left for those who would come out of the tenements and the local wards later on.

And now sitting in his office and talking casually about the young in this country and about some of his own mildly disappointing memories like losing the re-election to the Assembly in 1923 and of never having achieved his dream of sitting in the State Senate, the words bring back some of that warm, gentle orthodoxy from an Irish living room when parents and uncles and relatives would, in another day, respond to Heatter and the cabinet radio and the news of their day with the kind of reverent awe that has gone out of our conversation on politics and society.

HUMOR, HOPE, HUMANITY

There is in any conversation with this man the memory of some long ago Irish uncle because there is in everything he says, whether in speaking of Presidents or Popes or young people or another election, there is always the husky-throated humor and hope and simple, shimmering humanity. Jim Farley can sit in a room with you and tell you that perhaps the two greatest Presidents who ever lived in this country were, if only for the social legislation they passed, Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Lyndon Baines Johnson. He numbers Harry Truman among the five greatest Presidents of our country and will tell you that New York has never had a Governor like Al Smith or a Mayor as popular and friendly as Jimmy Walker. "This man, with all his faults, was the acme of loyalty."

Warming to his subject, he will also tell you that Hubert Humphrey would be sitting in the White House today if the McCarthy and Kennedy forces had dropped their differences, closed ranks after the convention and supported Humphrey and Muskie. The name of McCarthy comes out and the smile dilutes into puzzlement, disappointment.

The future leadership of the Democratic Party, he will tell you, will have to come out of the Senate and the House because it is in these two chambers, according to Farley, that the ball game is played. He talks of his time as campaign manager for Roosevelt and of his disagreement with him over a third term. He talks also of his disappointment when Al Smith was defeated in the presidential nomination of 1924 and defeated for the presidency in 1928. He talks of the differences that television has made in political campaigns and noted how men of real ability sometimes simply don't appear as well on television as a flashier, more charming, no-talent opponent. He talks optimistically of New York City as the greatest city in the world "despite all of its new build-

ings," calling it "a strong religious city" with probably more to offer the people coming into it than any place in the country.

NEW POLITICS: A HOAX

The Democratic and Republican Parties will never, he feels, be replaced by the Conservative or Liberal groups. You see, for Jim Farley, there is only little boy optimism when speaking about the Democratic Party. He knocks no one. And the idea of a New Politics is, as far as James Aloysius Farley is concerned, a hoax. But all of it, the memories, the optimism about tomorrow, the conjectures on past elections and what-might-have-been defeats, the comparisons of the strong, other-era personalities, all of it is the blood and adrenalin and breath of this man.

You don't talk about this man and his time as something out of the past because there is in everything that he did and in everything that he talks about so much of the flare and virtue that have gone out of politics but that are still possible, still a hope. He has given to politics an elan and an honesty that in some areas have gone out of style. He has given to it much more than he has received. And no one, in any career or in any age, can be asked for more than this. In an era of tumult, he has been part of its grace.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S STAND ON THE QUOTA ISSUE

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, the plight of the domestic mink rancher has been outlined several times on the House floor and has been heard in 1967 before the U.S. Tariff Commission and in 1968 before the House Ways and Means Committee. The facts are, Mr. Speaker, that mink imports today make up 53 percent of the total domestic consumption and have driven 56 percent of our mink ranchers out of business since 1960. Because of this serious situation, mink ranchers have repeatedly asked Congress for a quota limitation of imports, but failing in that, they are willing to work for voluntary quotas with their main competitors.

To illustrate this I am inserting an article which appeared in the March issue of the National Fur News:

PRESIDENT NIXON'S STAND ON THE QUOTA ISSUE
(By Galen E. "Gene" Broyles)

The first hint of President Nixon's stand on the quota problem came out during his February 6th press conference.

The question asked was: "Mr. President, during the election campaign, you said you would seek international agreements to limit the import of certain textiles. Can you tell us when you plan to get around to doing that? Also, can you give us some idea as to what you feel about the growing of protectionism in Congress?"

"I take a dim view of this tendency to move toward quotas and other methods that may become permanent, whether they are applied here or by other nations abroad," Nixon said.

"Second, as far as the textile situation is concerned, that is a special problem which has caused very great distress in certain parts of the country, and to a great number of wage earners, as well as to those who operate our textile facilities.

"For that reason, exploratory discussions have taken place, and will be taking place

with the major countries involved to see if we can handle this on a volunteer basis, rather than having to go to legislation, which would impose quotas and, I would think, turn the clock back in our objective of trying to achieve freer trade."

Could the mink industry, with government help, explore the possibility of voluntary quotas with our principal competitors?

Others are turning in this direction. The steel industry has been working for many months on voluntary quotas. Effective January 1, 1969, the European coal and steel community and Japan have agreed to reduce their exports to the U.S. This year, they will be cut back by some 2½ million tons. They will then be allowed to raise their exports no more than 5% in 1970 and another 5% in 1971. These arrangements were worked out in co-operation with our State Department. They intend to maintain the present mixture of steel products in their sales to the United States.

Will this be the trend? Dozens of industries in the United States are being hurt by excessive imports. Senator Everett Dirksen thought President Nixon made a mistake by not mentioning steel as a special problem in his press conference on February 6th. His state is a major steel producer. Dirksen questioned whether voluntary restrictions, agreed to by other nations, will reduce imports to a satisfying level. He stated that he would not rule out a quota bill for steel. Senator Vance Hartke, of Indiana, who has sponsored a steel bill, said he welcomed Dirksen's support.

As has been said many times, the pressure mounts on both sides. Some industries are profiting by freer trade. Others are suffering. Perhaps there is a ray of hope in that our new president has stated that he will work with industries that are in trouble.

As mink ranchers, we must work every angle. There is only one course of action. Whether it's by quota, or on a voluntary basis, the pressure must come from our congressmen. They are representatives of the people who make up our various industries.

The pressure has got to be put on through introduction of bills in the Senate and in the House as we did in last year's session of the Congress. Because of the work we did last time, I am confident we can double our support. We are now more experienced in how to go about getting bills sponsored. Last time, we introduced 60 bills in the House and the two bills in the Senate were supported by 25 Senators.

This gets our problem in front of government officials so they can logically study our position. The previous administration, at the executive level, refused to even look at the problem. President Johnson repeatedly stated that any quota bills laid on his desk would be promptly vetoed.

Mr. President, you've recognized that the textile people have a problem and you will work on it. The mink ranchers of the United States also have a problem and we have a right to expect that you will give the same kind of attention to our good citizens.

The United States founded the mink industry as a sound agricultural pursuit. American mink ranchers are entitled to live and prosper in a market that has now become world-wide.

LIBERAL NEWSMAN FIRED

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, we sometimes forget how hard free speech is to come by and how much harder it is to

preserve. While we think of ways and means to tell the media what to do and what to say, we should be reminded that there are already too many people offering that advice. Last week a bright young radio newscaster lost his job in Chicago—not because he was faithless to the traditions of integrity, rather because he took them seriously.

The airwaves are less free in Chicago with Jeff Kamen not broadcasting. Hopefully, that will be remedied. The more difficult question is how we curtail our itch to silence anybody that disagrees with us. Two columnists from Chicago described the circumstances of Mr. Kamen's discharge very well. An article by Jack Mabley of Chicago's American and an article by Dean Gysel of Chicago's Daily News tell the story.

The articles follow:

[From the Chicago (Ill.) American,
Mar. 19, 1969]

MABLEY'S REPORT

The climate inside the office is uniform, 365 days of the year. We can't open the windows to let in the fresh air because it throws off the regulators, or something. At least our windows open. On the new buildings you're sealed in.

Jeff Kamen, a news reporter of WCFL, owned and operated by the Chicago Federation of Labor, William A. Lee, pres., called. "I got fired," he said.

It was hard for me to grasp how one news organization, WCFL, could at one and the same time provide air time for Howard Miller and Jeff Kamen, who represent, respectively, as far right and as far left as you can reasonably go on the mass media. My puzzlement was justified. There is not room for both.

Kamen said that Lew M. Witz, general manager of WCFL, told him:

"I'm sick and tired of hearing all those niggers and Puerto Ricans screaming on our radio station. I just can't stand to have Mr. Lee upset by the mayor's calling him up on the telephone and complaining about you." Witz said this morning:

"I never made that statement or any statement resembling it to Mr. Kamen. I am shocked that he would say such a thing."

WCFL said Kamen was fired, as of 8 a.m. yesterday, because of a "policy rift." For a 25-year-old, that's pretty big potatoes.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Daily News,
Mar. 19, 1969]

WCFL FIRES LIBERAL NEWSMAN
(By Dean Gysel)

WCFL radio has fired its zealous young newsman Jeff Kamen in what station general manager Lew M. Witz called a "policy difference."

Kamen said he was fired because of his liberal social-political attitudes.

He said City Hall and William A. Lee, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor-Industrial Union Council, which owns WCFL, criticized his anti-establishment documentaries and Sunday night reports.

Kamen said Witz complained that he (Kamen) paid too much attention to the problems of Negroes and Puerto Ricans, and too openly espoused left wing views.

Witz in turn said, "It was a long series of things that we weren't pleased with. It was very painful for us to do it. He's an aggressive reporter but sometimes he goes past the stage of reporting and injects his own feelings, which is not our news policy. "It really doesn't bear any more discussion than that."

Kamen, who is 25, had trouble with WCFL policies in 1966 and left briefly to join WBBM radio. He returned to WCFL under a change of management.

WBBM, which now has an all-news operation, is a likely attraction again for Kamen since WBBM's chief correspondent, Dick Westerkamp leaves next week to become editorial director of WBBM-TV, replacing the late Carter Davidson.

Although controversy seems to follow Kamen—indeed, he courts it—he is regarded in the trade as a very skilled newsman.

His coverage of James Meredith's civil rights march in Mississippi in 1966 won high praise. Last year he made headlines by volunteering to be maced by the sheriff's office to test the medical effects of the chemical.

He suffered it more easily than a fellow reporter, Joseph Cummings, who got a whiff and was hospitalized for a week.

For a couple weeks last fall Kamen was half of a striking mixed marriage when he aired the news on conservative Howard Miller's early morning disk jockeyship.

While Kamen's professional intensity can be overbearing at times, I can understand the mutual disenchantment at WCFL. Any relationship between the Chicago Federation of Labor and the liberal ideals of the laboring class is purely historical.

NEWSLETTER ISSUED BY THE HONORABLE BILL DICKINSON

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I want to call to the attention of the readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the March newsletter issued by my colleague, the Honorable BILL DICKINSON of Alabama's Second Congressional District:

DEAR FOLKS: The 1968 elections and the Presidential Inauguration are now history. I deeply appreciate your again choosing me as your Representative in Washington.

The Inaugural meant something special, not only to me, but also to most of the Second Congressional District. With our new Postmaster General, Red Blount; Governor Brewer; Chief of Naval Operations, Adm. Moorer (who was born in Lowndes County); Johnny Long and the Troy State Band; and the lovely girls who rode on Alabama's float, our District must have been the best represented in the parade.

Miss Sharan Fay Hill of Andalusia, Miss Marian Jones of Troy, and Miss Colleen Smith of Brewton represented our District on the Inaugural float.

There is surprisingly little difference between the old Congress and the new 91st. There is the smallest crop of freshman Members in years. Of the 435 Representatives elected, 396 were incumbents and 39 newcomers—20 Democrats and 19 Republicans. Of these, Republicans took 9 seats from the Democrats and lost 5 Republican seats, for a net gain of 4 seats. In the Senate, there are 58 Democrats and 42 Republicans—a net gain of 5 for the Republicans.

I hope the product of the current Congress will be different!

Red Blount is the first Alabamian of the 62 men who have served in the office of Postmaster General since it was established in colonial America 215 years ago. He is only the second Alabamian ever to serve in the President's cabinet.

Real gone dollar: The value of the dollar, over the past 29 years, looks like this: 1939 equals 100 cents; 1945 equals 77 cents; 1950 equals 57.6 cents; 1955 equals 51.7 cents; 1960 equals 47 cents; 1965 equals 43.7 cents; 1967 equals 42.2 cents. Wonder what it will be at the end of this year?

Freshman Congressmen are finding out fast about crime in Washington. Rep. Shirley Chisholm (D-NY), the first Negro woman in Congress, wasn't in town a week before housebreakers looted her apartment (she moved and got an unlisted telephone number). Thieves also drove off with Senator Barry Goldwater's rented gold Mustang not long ago.

Inaugural pictures: If you wish to acquire color slides of the Inauguration, including the Troy State University Band and the Alabama float, write to Lt. Col. M. W. Arps (Ret.), P. O. Box 1715, Washington, D.C. The slides are 35 cents each and Col. Arps will send you an order form. Please do not write my office.

Public Law 90-301: Increases maximum guarantee on VA home loans from \$7,500 to \$12,500.

Public Law 90-491: Prevents employment discrimination against Reservists and National Guardsmen for their periods of Reserve and active duty training.

My mail indicates a popular interest in revision of our Internal Revenue laws. Most writers want "loopholes" plugged and are irritated by reports of some citizens with enormous income paying little or no federal taxes.

The Committee on Ways and Means has opened hearings on the subject of tax reform, the first since 1954. The Committee began by considering tax-exempt foundations, and other subjects on the agenda include tax treatment of the elderly, taxation of single persons, maximum and minimum tax on individuals, and various deductions relating to farm losses, gasoline taxes, and moving expenses.

Over 60 Congressmen, myself included, are sponsoring legislation to eliminate the \$100 fine and 60-day jail sentence which can be imposed on citizens who refuse to reveal personal information about themselves and their households on the forthcoming decennial census form. Some of the questions would be of a very personal nature and would certainly be an invasion of personal privacy if the law required the householder to answer them. Counting heads is the proper function of the Census—counting the number of people using a bathroom is not!

All of the living Congressional Medal of Honor winners were invited to Washington as guests of the House of Representatives to attend the Inauguration. Two of Alabama's seven recipients of the Medal of Honor attended the festivities and the special reception given for them.

On the left (not printed in the Record) is Col. William R. Lawley, Commander of the 3825 Support Group at Maxwell Air Force Base.

On the right (not printed in the Record) is Col. Charles Davis, Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics, 6th Army. He is a native Montgomerian.

Did you know? Alabama is probably the pimento capital of the world. From 9543 acres growers harvested a \$2.6 million crop in our State last year. What's more, there's a future in pimento peppers: Alabama's only processor still has to "import" some from out of state.

Pictured above (not printed in the Record) is Mr. Charles Kelley, Director of the Fish and Game Division of the Alabama Department of Conservation, who was recently in Washington to accept an award as Conservationist of the Year from the American Wildlife Federation. Congratulations!

Radio stations which carry my weekly newscasts:

WHEP, Foley, Saturday, at 2:35 p.m.
WTBF, Troy, Thursday, at 12:20 p.m.
WAMI, Opp, Sunday, at 1:55 p.m.
WATM-FM, Atmore, Friday, at 7:30 a.m.
WCTA, Andalusia, Sunday, at 12:15 p.m.
WEBJ, Brewton, after receipt, at 7:30 a.m.

CRIME ON THE CAMPUS

HON. EDWIN D. ESHLEMAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. ESHLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, many of us supported the action in the 90th Congress which provided for denial of Federal moneys to students found guilty of criminal violations in campus disorders. We are therefore heartened by President Nixon's stated intention to use that provision of the law to assist in bringing an end to crime on the campus.

The Nation has been shocked by the irresponsible student rebellions that have spread throughout many of America's colleges and universities. The seizure of buildings and the disruption of educational activity by small bands of student and nonstudent roughnecks on the campuses has been a totally deplorable situation. The rights of the student majority have not only been threatened by organized minority groups of militants, but in some cases overt physical violence has endangered the lives of professors, college administrators, and law-abiding students.

I noted with great concern the disclosure out of Philadelphia recently that pamphlets are being distributed among college students which describe in detail how to deal with police during campus disturbances. One of the recommendations read: "If you can't kill them, harass them." In addition, that outrageous document was complete with crudely drawn illustrations of how to make bombs.

One may hope that school authorities will cooperate with the Nixon administration in dealing with hard-core student leaders who promote campus turmoil. The fund-cutoff legislation is definitely not intended to interfere with peaceful and orderly protest, but would aid in preserving the public order which is so necessary to the functioning of any institution. Attorney General John N. Mitchell has said that his department is having a "terrible time" with college presidents and professors who do not want the Justice Department to proceed with enforcement of statutes designed to curb campus riot leaders. I am hopeful that these educators will see fit to cooperate in the new pattern which will allow the university community to make the basic decision as to which of its student militants are undeserving of continued Federal support. College administrators have responsibilities under the law to use the authority which they unquestionably have to deal appropriately with all students who participate in the proscribed illegal activity.

President Nixon summed up the need to deal decisively in the area of campus crime when he stated:

Violence or the threat of violence may never be permitted to influence the actions or judgments of the university community. Once it does the community, almost by definition, ceases to be a university.

The congressional command is that college students who are guilty of law violations must not be the beneficiaries

of public funds. The action to implement that command is long overdue, and I am hopeful that the administration's determination to take the needed steps will aid the universities in coping with the crime problem on the campus.

CURBING MISMANAGEMENT AND WASTE IN THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT**HON. JACKSON E. BETTS**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, in recent Congresses I have sought to focus attention on the need to save tax dollars through adoption of improved accounting procedures by many agencies and departments. I have also urged creation of a complaint desk at the General Accounting Office, under the direction of the Comptroller General, where any citizen or Government employee could present, on a confidential basis, reports of improper management or expenditure of funds or in other ways mishandling public moneys. Today, I introduce legislation to accomplish these objectives and call on the 91st Congress to take appropriate action.

Anyone who reads the annual reports of the Comptroller General, inspects the hundreds of GAO audits and special investigations, or scans newspapers for articles on Government waste and inefficiency can find a wide array of examples my bill seeks to curb. Let me summarize its major provisions:

First. To require publication in General Accounting Office reports of the names of Government employees personally responsible for failing to comply with the laws or administrative procedures in spending public funds after this has once been reported by the Comptroller General to the appropriate agency head.

Second. To require that before 1 cent of taxpayers' money can be spent by a newly established Federal agency, the head of that agency must consult with the Comptroller General to become well acquainted with requirements for the disbursement of funds and contracting procedures.

Third. To suspend from all agencies whose accounting systems have not been approved by the GAO within 2 years after passage of the bill, and requiring all new agencies to meet these approved standards within 2 years after they begin operation.

Fourth. To require that every agency which receives GAO recommendations because of findings of mismanagement of funds must submit to the Bureau of the Budget a report of corrective action to prevent recurring waste.

Fifth. To require the head of each executive agency to transmit a report to Congress on the status of the development of its accounting system or systems at the end of any calendar year during which its systems have not been approved.

Sixth. Each agency shall be required within 1 year following the approval of

its accounting systems to submit to Congress a report setting forth the manner and extent to which such systems are being used by the agency's management and the benefits derived therefrom.

Seventh. Provides for the creation of a complaint desk at the GAO designed to receive, review, and investigate reports from citizens and Government employees of cases of waste and mismanagement in any department or agency.

Mr. Speaker, little has been accomplished so far as I can ascertain to upgrade the accounting systems of laggard agencies which still do not meet GAO standards. I am hopeful this Congress will press for progress in this area and that President Nixon will call on each unit under his jurisdiction to upgrade administrative and financial practices to reduce drastically the amount of mismanagement in the executive department. In order to underscore the importance of the legislation I present today, I will include at this point an editorial from the Wall Street Journal of October 4, 1967, which is still most timely on this subject:

NO-ACCOUNT FEDERAL ACCOUNTING

Eleven years ago Congress took a look at all the money the Government was spending, and at the antiquated, helter-skelter accounting systems most Federal agencies were using. Alarmed by what it saw, it amended the Budget and Accounting Act to require the agencies to adopt up-to-date, cost accounting systems.

At the time, in 1956, annual Federal expenditures totaled about \$66 billion and the public debt stood at \$273 billion. This fiscal year, spending is expected to reach about \$143 billion and the debt may exceed \$335 billion.

However, of the 173 Federal agencies subject to the law requiring them to set up Government Accounting Office-approved, modernized accounting systems, only 61 have complied. And most of those are small agencies with small budgets.

The big agencies are still dragging their feet, for the most part using what are called obligation accounting systems. These show the amount of money agencies are authorized to spend, but fail to show the actual costs of particular programs or operations.

Properly designed cost accrual accounting systems, on the other hand, provide not only better control over funds but also up-to-date cost data on operations. They help to determine whether money is being spent wisely and used efficiently, and whether results justify the costs. Adequate cost accounting systems, says the U.S. Comptroller General, are "basic and fundamental to the whole operation of the Federal Government."

If that is so, perhaps it helps to explain some of the deficiencies evident in Federal agency operations. The Health, Education and Welfare Department, for instance, has 12 accounting systems subject to GAO approval; the number so far approved is zero. HEW has been found, by GAO, to be guilty during fiscal 1966 of inefficient record-keeping and property management.

The Agriculture Department has 15 accounting systems subject to approval; only five have been approved. Interior has 17 systems with six so far approved. And Treasury, which surely ought to be setting an example, has only four approved systems out of 18.

Rep. Jackson Betts of Ohio is leading a move in the House to compel all agencies to speed up the accounting reforms they were obligated by law to adopt 11 years ago. Since no-account Federal accounting tends to breed no-account Federal programs, that move deserves full Congressional support.

TELLING IT LIKE IT IS IN SAN ANTONIO

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, the public information program of the Social Security district office in San Antonio was singled out for praiseworthy coverage in the February regional newsletter of the Social Security Administration's Dallas region.

The article points out that San Antonio maintained one of the best operation records among class I offices in the Nation. Not only is the office in my district efficient, but it reaches out to the people it serves. Mary Ruiz recently directed 20 bilingual students in a door-to-door survey of the inner city area to determine if potential beneficiaries had failed to apply.

The value of the public information program of the San Antonio office is explained by Roy Swift, the district manager:

(The people) know the office as a friendly, human place, and so they just simply work better with us. That's why our staff has time to carry out this program—they know it saves time in the long run.

Mr. Speaker, having received permission, I include the full text of the article at this point in my remarks:

TELLING IT LIKE IT IS IN SAN ANTONIO

HemisFair '68, the April-to-October Texas World's Fair in San Antonio, brought millions of guests to that city. It was also the theme of a "Social Security in America" film featuring 27 beneficiaries in all walks of life.

San Antonio is a colorful city with a colorful history. The Texas Pavilion at the HemisFair had a special exhibit for each of the racial, national and cultural groups which contributed significantly to population, culture, and development. There were 26 such groups. In San Antonio, the predominant group is the Mexican-American, and it is to this group that many of the public information activities in San Antonio are directed.

And San Antonio has an active, ongoing public information program. During the last five years, this one office has published 14,890 news articles; broadcast 5,851 radio programs; published 365 magazine articles; telecast 659 local talent television programs; displayed 136 exhibits, and delivered 1,379 talks. During the same period, San Antonio received 123,276 claims and cleared 123,810, and maintained one of the best operational records among Class I offices in the Nation. Some specific projects of their public information activities are:

Special projects and activities are a routine part of the ongoing public information program. This season's programs include personal visits to all high schools and colleges in the district, crew leader meetings with guest speakers, presenting informational material and talks to all ministerial associations in the area, distribution of 10,000 SSI-32 booklets ("Self-Employed Farmers—Are You Getting Your Social Security Credit?") through farm agencies, and a locally developed exhibit (for the 9th year) aimed at farm and ranch people at the San Antonio Livestock Show and Exposition. Weekly classes in Spanish language uses on technical SSA matters are conducted, and a weekly news-writing course for field reps and selected claims reps has been initiated.

Social Security in America Participation—This SSIA Film used all local background and cast and is an all-out "significant beneficiary story." It was developed by Field Reps Sybil Boland, Charles Adcock, Evelyn Heny, and William Watson, and Claims Reps Esther Garcia, Louise Joplin, Bart Irby, and Dennis Beran. The crew from the Office of Information was able to shoot the show in one and one-half days. The film was promoted by the DO through mass media and selected groups. The premier telecast was over a local station.

Headquarters for the Regional Informational Materials Exchange—The San Antonio DO sets up production quotas and reviews, types, proofreads, assigns item number, and requests printing and distribution of some 850 RIME submittals yearly with coordination by Oper. Supv. Jack Jones, backed up by the field and administrative unit members.

With Evelyn Heny, Field Rep, as national chairman of the Spanish Informational Materials Exchange, the office is responsible for translations, editing, typing, and forwarding for printing and distribution of Spanish radio monologues, press releases, and spot announcements.

The office has also produced a continuing series of Spanish radio programs, monologues, and spots for national distribution to Spanish radio stations, translated and prepared Spanish informational leaflets and booklets for national distribution by the Office of Information, and produced weekly TV programs both in Spanish and in English.

Reaching the Disadvantaged—among the Mexican-Americans of the area (comprising 37 percent of the total population with a much higher concentration in metropolitan sections) is of continuing priority in San Antonio. Mary Ruiz, Officer-in-Charge of the new metropolitan branch office, spearheaded a door-to-door survey of the disadvantaged area where her office was established. It was conducted by 20 especially trained bilingual students. The 1968 survey, an effort to determine whether any potential beneficiaries had failed to apply, followed along the lines of the 1966 door-to-door Medicare enrollment campaign conducted by district office trained SANYO (Spanish American National Youth Opportunity) employees.

Every District Office Employee Is Involved—in San Antonio's public information program with employees using a special district office form to jot down questions claimants are asking and also notes about confusing situations, trends, documents claimants should bring to the interview, and cases of significant beneficiaries interviewed to route through the field unit for consideration as basis of press, radio, and TV release.

With special impetus under the leadership of John Palmer (now Asst. Reg. Dir. for Information, DHEW) when he was district manager in San Antonio, the district office employees learned to understand and fulfill SSA Objective 9: "Let people know about their rights and responsibilities under the program." This philosophy has played a major role in the leadership continued by those who followed Palmer—George Clark, now Dist. Mgr., Pasadena; Weldon McNeely, Asst. Reg. Rep. DI, RO; Jim Forbus, Dir. of Mgt., KCPC; D. G. Hudson, Asst. Dist. Mgr., San Antonio, and Roy Swift, Dist. Mgr., San Antonio.

"Even more significant," says Swift, "I find this office long ago recognized that an informed community, developed through continuing long-range programs, makes all operations easier and more efficient. People are better prepared for the claims interview; thus we have more single interview claims. They have learned to respond to advice on the best times to come to the office for faster service. They know the office as a friendly, human place, and so they just simply work better with us. That's why

our staff has time to carry out this information program—they know it saves time in the long run.

"I firmly believe that the touchstone of social security's success over the past third of a century is that its leaders from the start determined to administer it in human terms rather than the dry abstractions which have doomed many programs. Therefore, the public has been able to identify with social security—to feel that it is their own."

Wayman Register, Reg. Com., commented, "The record of San Antonio in public information and public affairs is a remarkable example of what a dedicated staff, working together, can accomplish. Their work processing record illustrates the contribution an effective informational service can make."

FLOODS HIT EASTERN MASSACHUSETTS; MORE FEARED

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, may I take this opportunity to bring to the attention of the Members of the Congress the terrible threat of floods being faced in the eastern section of Massachusetts this spring. The need of coordinated effort on the part of Federal, State, and local governments is very clear. From past experience it is expected that the cities of Brockton and Quincy will have flooded conditions, the towns of Canton, Dedham, Milton, Braintree, and surrounding towns could suffer from flood damage. Recently in a short period over 51 inches of snow fell in the Greater Boston area and in the southeastern section of Massachusetts. These snows have melted. Heavy rains have fallen threatening the rivers and streams with overflowing. I have contacted the Army Corps of Engineers and I have requested their complete cooperation with local and State officials on the serious threat of floods. I have been assured that every reasonable precaution has been taken.

I insert a news item on flood conditions that appeared in today's Boston Globe:

[From the Boston (Mass.) Globe,
Mar. 26, 1969]

FLOODS HIT EASTERN MASSACHUSETTS—MORE FEARED

(By Ken O. Botwright)

Widespread flash flooding occurred in Eastern Massachusetts and other areas of Southern New England yesterday, as small rivers and brooks boiled over their banks following a 12-hour storm that deluged the area with 1 to 3 inches of rain.

Muddy floodwaters inundated streets, cut roads and poured into thousands of basements in Greater Boston.

Brockton was hardest hit. It declared a state of emergency. Hundreds of homes were flooded by the Salisbury River and about 50 persons were evacuated from houses and a school for retarded children.

But river-watchers called the flooding "minor." They said the danger had abated by nightfall because most of the streams had receded.

They warned, however, that fast-rising large rivers, like the Charles, the Merrimac, Housatonic and Connecticut, could pose a

fresh flood threat within 48 hours as they became swollen by runoff from the storm and melting snow. Said state Civil Defense Director Allan R. Zenowitz: "We've just had a taste of what could come."

The U.S. Weather Bureau at Boston predicted that the Charles was due to crest tomorrow at one foot above flood stage. The river lapped over its banks in lowlands at Charles River Village yesterday afternoon, after topping its flood stage of 93.4 feet above sea level. "We don't expect a major problem when the Charles crests because the flood stage will be about four feet below that of last Spring," said Oscar Tenenbaum, weather bureau chief.

Tenenbaum said dry weather was expected to prevail throughout New England for the next two days at least, and that should help alleviate the threat.

Outlook for today is fair and colder, with high temperatures ranging from the low 40s in Boston to the low 30s in the snow-covered mountains of northern New England, where the big rivers rise. Tomorrow ought to be fair with little temperature change.

While southern New England was being soaked by torrential rain, blasted by gales and rocked by thunderstorms yesterday, the ski country in central and northern New Hampshire, Vermont and in Maine was blanketed by from 6 to 13 inches of new snow.

FIFTY FAMILIES FLEE

The rain began late Monday night and sluiced down until shortly after noon yesterday. The Weather Bureau at Boston's Logan International Airport measured 1.18 inches and Falmouth on Cape Cod reported nearly 3 inches.

In Brockton, scene of serious flooding last year, rising water forced 50 families out of their homes on the West Side. In the South End of the city, police and firemen rescued 18 youngsters from the headquarters of the Brockton Area Assn. for Retarded Children.

Although city officials declared a state of emergency, Civil Defense experts said the flooding was not as grave as that last Spring.

There was some isolated flooding in Canton—kids paddled canoes on Park drive and Short street—and overworked drains inundated streets in Braintree, Quincy and other communities.

However, the major trouble spots during last year's floods posed no danger because the levels of the Charles and Neponset Rivers had been lowered before the storm struck.

For instance, at Taunton, the Mill River remained within its banks. But just to be safe, city officials ordered 10,000 sandbags from Civil Defense headquarters in Framingham.

Taunton had trouble of another kind, though. Three homes and the Pilgrim Congregational Church were struck by lightning.

West of Boston, streets were flooded in areas of Framingham, Sudbury, and Tewksbury. Wayland firemen kept sandbags ready as the Sudbury River rose steadily. The river flooded last year and isolated the residents of the Pelham Island section.

On the North Shore, the flooding Ipswich River menaced scores of homes in North Reading, West Peabody and Middleton.

More than 2 inches of rain fell in the area, and nearly every community had some flooding. Roads, backyards and fields were under water in West Peabody, Wenham, Lowell, North Reading, Middleton and Topsfield.

DISTRIBUTED 200,000 SANDBAGS

During a morning thunderstorm, power failures blacked out sections of Hamilton, Lynn, Saugus, West Peabody, Beverly, Wenham and Essex.

CD Director Zenowitz said more than 40 Bay State communities had requested emergency flood control assistance and technical aid. Flood control experts were dispatched to many towns by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, he said.

A Corps spokesman in Waltham said 200,000 sandbags had been distributed and 100,000 were being stockpiled at Ft. Devens.

The state CD agency has begun transporting 50,000 sandbags from Devens to the Public Works Department depot in Wellesley.

They'll be available to communities who need them.

BROOK OVERFLOWS, HOMES PERILED IN TEWKSBURY

TEWKSBURY.—During the Summer the brook that runs beside Fred Merrill's home on Deering drive is only a trickle, but yesterday it turned into a rushing, destructive flow of water that threatened to flood 25 homes.

"When I left at 8 in the morning the brook looked to be all right. But my wife called me around 10 and said that in 15 minutes time the water had gushed over the top and began running down the street.

"By the time I got home at 10:30 the water had ripped up my asphalt driveway and run into the house. The entire basement was filled with six inches of water and we have to move all the furniture upstairs," Merrill said.

"All the houses on the street were in danger so I called the town's highway department and the Civil Defense people to try to get a truckload of sand. It took about four hours—until at least 3 p.m.—for them to bring the sand and by that time it was too late to help much.

"I used snow, linen, logs and carpets to keep the water from coming into the house but it didn't do much good. There's about \$3000 damage to my house alone. And the stink from the water picking up the sewerage is terrible," Merrill added.

Merrill blamed an inadequate drain pipe running under Deering drive for the problem.

FOCUS ON THE FEDERAL CITY COLLEGE—PART I

HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, as a result of an article in a local daily, an assertion was read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on March 6, 1969, which states:

The people at Federal City College must be naive if they feel the taxpayers of the United States are going to continue to fund a university specializing in teaching the catechism of revolution, confiscation of lands, and destruction of culture of the United States, and as a base of operation for a bunch of loud-mouthed anarchists.

From my reading of material on Federal City College including a statement made by the interim college commission of Federal City College, composed of representatives of the entire college community—faculty, administration, students, classified personnel, and so forth, and statements by the board of higher education and the student government association, I find that, contrary to the assertion, there is tremendous momentum by a wide representative group of the college to develop a truly profound and meaningful urban community college.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I am bringing to your attention and that of my colleagues what I believe to be a clearer picture of the District's new institution of higher education.

In November 1968 the interim college commission prepared a news release which was distributed widely to local press agencies. The statement indicated that Federal City College, perhaps uniquely in American higher education, had tried to establish a genuinely democratic and interracial faculty. The release stated in part:

We can see the beginning of many innovative and exciting programs and ideas, such as a Community Education Program, an interdisciplinary curriculum, a Black Studies Program and a College-wide senate where faculty, students and staff are equally represented. So far, these efforts have attracted widespread attention and interest from educators and students. . . .

In addition to these innovative programs and activities, FCC has developed a number of high quality programs that are within the best traditions of institutions of higher education. Programs in this area include nursing, family life, health education, business, social science, natural science, liberal arts, etc.

The student government association of Federal City College recently held a press conference to present a statement concerning their views on the state of the college. The statement had been read to the student body and overwhelmingly approved. The student government association's press conference was held with the advice and consent of numerous representatives of student organizations, thereby providing a cross section of the student body. Their statement indicated that the principal responsibilities of the student government is to take those actions which will result in benefits for the students and which will enable the college and community to act in accordance with the needs and aspirations of the students.

The student government association made three basic statements:

(1) The students attend Federal City College to obtain a high quality education; this is our basic and primary purpose, (2) the students accept the need for several different types of educational programs to co-exist as part of the urban higher educational experiment, with the qualification that all such programs must be academically sound in content, philosophy, and instructional method, and (3) the students remain dedicated to the growth and development of the College and consider as irresponsible any discussion of the need to terminate or restrict the growth of the College.

The student government association also stated that the black studies program that is presently available within the college already has the support of a large number of students. The black studies program as pictured in the news accounts has little or no support, except from those who wish to use this inaccurate view as a means of causing additional confusion and to achieve some objective other than support of the institution. It is unfortunate that outsiders are attacking the college on this biased information.

Mr. Speaker, in my opinion there is an urgent need for consideration of a legitimate black studies program within the broader context of education and I will discuss at another time my views on this. I submit at this time the following class schedule at Federal City College which has just concluded:

CLASS SCHEDULE, WINTER QUARTER 1968-70

[Explanation of course numbering system: 1st digit indicates division: Blank, skills center; 1, humanities division; 2, social sciences division; 3, natural sciences division; 4, professional division; 5, black studies program. 2d digit indicates level: 0, noncollege course; 1, freshman courses; 2, sophomore courses; 3, junior courses; 5, graduate courses]

| Course No. | Section | Title | Instructor | Qtr. hrs. | Days | Time | Room |
|----------------------------|---------|---------------------------------------|--------------|-----------|--------|---------------|------|
| SKILLS CENTER | | | | | | | |
| .001 | 01 | Basic communication skills | Coffey | 5 | MTThF | 9-12 a.m. | 3304 |
| | 02 | | Johnson | | MTWTh | 1-4 p.m. | 3304 |
| | 03 | | Anderson | | MTWTh | 6-9 p.m. | 3304 |
| .002 | 01 | Developmental reading | Hausman | 2 | TTh | 9-12 a.m. | 3318 |
| | 02 | | Tannenbaum | | Daily | 10-11 a.m. | 3375 |
| | 03 | | Tannenbaum | | Daily | 11-12 a.m. | 3375 |
| | 04 | | Pickney | | MWF | 1-3 p.m. | 3429 |
| | 05 | | Tannenbaum | | TTh | 1-4 p.m. | 3305 |
| | 06 | | Dobbins | | MW | 6-9 p.m. | 3429 |
| .003 | 01 | Advanced reading | Burstein | 2 | MWF | 8-10 a.m. | 3429 |
| | 02 | | Burstein | | TTh | 10-12 a.m. | 3429 |
| | 03 | | Maben | | MWF | 1-3 p.m. | 3305 |
| | 04 | | Maben | | TTh | 1-4 p.m. | 3318 |
| | 05 | | McMillan | | MW | 6-9 p.m. | 3305 |
| .004 | 01 | Basic writing | Hutchinson | 2 | MWF | 8-10 a.m. | 3359 |
| | 02 | | Thomas | | TThS | 8-10 a.m. | 3305 |
| | 03 | | Schaeffer | | TThS | 10-12 a.m. | 3375 |
| | 04 | | Schaeffer | | MWF | 1-3 p.m. | 3318 |
| | 05 | | McMillan | | TTh | 1-4 p.m. | 3429 |
| | 06 | | Thomas | | MW | 6-9 o.m. | 3318 |
| .005 | 01 | Fundamental concepts of math | Hutchinson | 3 | Daily | 10-11 a.m. | 3359 |
| | 02 | | Hutchinson | | Daily | 1-2 p.m. | 3359 |
| | 03 | | Pinckney | | Daily | 6-7 p.m. | 3359 |
| | 04 | | Pinckney | | Daily | 7-8 p.m. | 3359 |
| .006 | 01 | Beginning typewriting | Dobbins | | TTh | 8-10 a.m. | 3303 |
| | 02 | | Dobbins | | TTh | 10-12 a.m. | 3303 |
| HUMANITIES DIVISION | | | | | | | |
| Freshman courses: | | | | | | | |
| 1.100B | 01 | Revolutionary tradition | Rodgers | 5 | TTh | 1-3 p.m. | B105 |
| | 02 | | Haskett, M. | 5 | TTh | 1-3 p.m. | B105 |
| | 03 | | Brent | 5 | TTh | 6-8 p.m. | B105 |
| | 04 | | Taylor, A. | 5 | TTh | 6-8 p.m. | B105 |
| 1.101 | 01 | Man's quest for the good life | Van Ness | 5 | M | 10-12 a.m. | 1247 |
| | | | | | WF | 11-12 a.m. | |
| | 02 | | Kuhnle | 5 | MWF | 11-12 a.m. | 3370 |
| | 03 | | Burruss | 5 | MW | 8-10 p.m. | 1177 |
| 1.102 | 01 | 20th century American civilization | Lynn | 5 | TTh | 8-10 a.m. | 1239 |
| 1.102B | 02 | | Lynn | 5 | MW | 1-3 p.m. | 1177 |
| | 03 | | Ellery | 5 | TTh | 8-10 a.m. | 1178 |
| | 04 | | Ellery | 5 | MW | 1-3 p.m. | 1239 |
| | 05 | | King | 5 | MW | 1-3 p.m. | 2332 |
| | 06 | | King | 5 | MW | 8-10 p.m. | 2332 |
| | 07 | | Butcher | 5 | TTh | 10-12 a.m. | 2332 |
| | 08 | | Butcher | 5 | TTh | 1-3 p.m. | 2332 |
| 1.103 | 01 | Communication arts seminar | Staff | 2 | M | 8-10 p.m. | 1231 |
| 1.111 | 01 | World civilization | Robinson, H. | 5 | MW | 10-12 a.m. | 1239 |
| | 02 | | Simmons | 5 | TTh | 10-12 a.m. | 1239 |
| | 03 | | Simmons | 5 | TTh | 6-8 p.m. | 1239 |
| 1.112 | 01 | U.S. survey | Brent | 5 | MWF | 1-3 p.m. | 2331 |
| | 02 | | Rodgers | 5 | MWF | 1-3 p.m. | 2332 |
| 1.120A | 01 | Criminal and madman | DeGrazia | 5 | TTh | 10-12 a.m. | 1178 |
| 1.120B | 03 | Man, ideas and society | Lawson | 5 | TTh | 10-12 a.m. | 3370 |
| | 04 | The student | Butterworth | 5 | TTh | 6-8 p.m. | 3310 |
| 1.120C | 05 | Man, ideas and society: The artist | Bowen | 5 | MTWThF | 9-10 a.m. | 2331 |
| 1.121 | 01 | Intro to logic and critical thinking | Bowen | 5 | MTWThF | 8-9 a.m. | 2331 |
| 1.140 | 01 | English composition | A. Taylor | 4 | MWF | 8-9 a.m. | 3309 |
| | 02 | | B. Lawson | 4 | MWF | 9-10 a.m. | 3309 |
| | 03 | | A. Lefcowitz | 4 | MWF | 9-10 a.m. | 3310 |
| | 04 | | Kuhnle | 4 | MWF | 10-11 a.m. | 1178 |
| | 05 | | Lawson | 4 | MWF | 11-12 a.m. | 1177 |
| | 06 | | Wiley | 4 | MW | 10-11:30 a.m. | 1177 |
| | 07 | | Burruss | 4 | TTh | 10-11:30 a.m. | 2333 |
| | 08 | | Mayfield | 4 | TTh | 10-11:30 a.m. | 1177 |
| | 09 | | Lefcowitz | 4 | TTh | 10:30-12 a.m. | 2331 |
| | 10 | | Couch | 4 | TTh | 10:30-12 a.m. | 2332 |
| | 11 | | Quigless | 4 | MWF | 1-2 p.m. | 3309 |
| | 12 | | Mayfield | 4 | TTh | 1-2:30 p.m. | 3309 |
| | 13 | | Gordon | 4 | MW | 6-7:30 p.m. | 2333 |
| | 14 | | Staff | 4 | MW | 6-7:30 p.m. | 2332 |
| | 15 | | Mayfield | 4 | TTh | 6-7:30 p.m. | 1178 |
| | 16 | | Staff | 4 | TTh | 6-7:30 p.m. | 2331 |
| | 17 | | Staff | 4 | TTh | 8-9:30 p.m. | 1239 |
| | 18 | | Staff | 4 | MW | 8-9:30 p.m. | 1239 |
| | 19 | | Gordon | 4 | MWF | 10-11:30 a.m. | 2333 |
| | 20 | | Brady | 4 | MWF | 8-9 a.m. | |
| | 21 | | Brady | 4 | TTh | 9-10:30 a.m. | |
| 1.150 | 01 | French I | Labat | 5 | MW | 6-8 p.m. | 3310 |
| | 02 | | Labat | 5 | MW | 8-10 p.m. | 3310 |
| 1.151 | 01 | German I | Turpin | 5 | MW | 10-12 a.m. | 3309 |
| 1.153 | 01 | Spanish I | Grady | 5 | MTWTh | 10-11 a.m. | 3310 |
| | 02 | | Grady | 5 | MTWTh | 11-12 a.m. | 3310 |
| 1.160 | 01 | Drawing | Rode | 5 | TTh | 1-4 p.m. | 3319 |
| | 02 | | Rode | 3 | Sat | 9-12 a.m. | 3319 |
| | 03 | | Rode | 3 | TTh | 1-3 p.m. | 3319 |
| 1.161 | 01 | Painting | Young | 5 | MTTh | 1-3 p.m. | 3367 |
| | 02 | | Young | 3 | MT | 1-3 p.m. | 3367 |
| 1.162A | 01 | Sculpture I | Taylor, W. | 5 | MW | 9-12 a.m. | 3319 |
| | 02 | | Taylor, W. | 3 | MW | 9-11 a.m. | 3319 |
| 1.162B | 01 | Sculpture II | Taylor, W. | 5 | TTh | 6-9 p.m. | 3319 |
| | 02 | | Taylor, W. | 3 | TTh | 6-8 p.m. | 3319 |
| 1.165 | 01 | Afro-American art history | Young | 4 | TTh | 10-12 a.m. | 3367 |
| 1.170 | 01 | Speech arts | Staff | 3 | MWF | 10-12 a.m. | 2334 |
| 1.171 | 01 | Public speaking | Niles | 4 | TTh | 8-10 a.m. | 3309 |
| | 02 | | Niles | 4 | MTh | 6-8 p.m. | 3309 |
| 1.172 | 01 | Dramatic reading | Williams | 3 | TTh | 10-12 a.m. | B105 |
| | 02 | | Williams | 3 | TTh | 6-8 p.m. | 1247 |
| 1.173 | 01 | Introduction to television production | Robinson, M. | 5 | MWTh | 6-8 p.m. | 2334 |
| | 02 | | Robinson, M. | 3 | MW | 6-8 p.m. | 2334 |
| 1.174 | 01 | Dramatic literature | Tucker | 3 | MWF | 10-11 a.m. | 2334 |
| 1.175 | 01 | Acting | Staroba | 3 | TTh | 10-12 a.m. | 2334 |
| | 02 | | Staroba | 3 | TTh | 8-10 p.m. | 2334 |

See footnotes at end of table.

CLASS SCHEDULE, WINTER QUARTER 1968-70—Continued

[Explanation of course numbering system: 1st digit indicates division; Blank, skills center; 1, humanities division; 2, social sciences division; 3, natural sciences division; 4, professional division; 5, black studies program. 2d digit indicates level: 0, noncollege course; 1, freshman courses; 2, sophomore courses; 3, junior courses; 5, graduate courses]

| Course No. | Section | Title | Instructor | Qtr. hrs. | Days | Time | Room |
|--------------------------------------|---------|--|--------------|-----------|-------------------|-------------|------|
| HUMANITIES DIVISION—Continued | | | | | | | |
| 1.180 | 01 | Acting—Continued | | | | | |
| | 01 | Introduction to music | Warner | 3 | MW | 1-2 p.m. | 1247 |
| 1.181 | 01 | Materials of music I | Roach | 3 | TTh | 10-12 a.m. | 1247 |
| 1.182 | 01 | Applied piano | Roach | 2 | Arranged | | |
| 1.183 | 01 | Voice | Warner | 2 | Arranged | | |
| 1.185 | 01 | Afro-American history of music | Roach | 4 | TTh | 1-3 p.m. | 1247 |
| 1.189 | | Chorus | | | | | |
| | 01 | Permission of instructor | Warner | 2 | MW | 12-1 | 1247 |
| | 02 | Permission of instructor | Warner | 2 | MW | 5-6 | 1247 |
| Advanced (nonfreshman) courses: | | | | | | | |
| 1.211 | 01 | History of Russia | Robinson, H. | 5 | TTh | 10-12 a.m. | 3309 |
| 1.213 | 01 | History of Latin America | Cortada | 5 | MW | 10-12 a.m. | 2331 |
| | 02 | | Cortada | 5 | MW | 6-8 p.m. | 2331 |
| 1.270 | 01 | Creative dramatics | Tucker | 3 | Sat | 9-12 a.m. | 2334 |
| 1.281 | 01 | Materials of music II | Warner | 3 | MW | 6-7 p.m. | 1247 |
| 1.282 | 01 | Advance applied piano | Roach | 2 | Arranged | | |
| SOCIAL SCIENCES DIVISION | | | | | | | |
| Freshman courses: | | | | | | | |
| 2.100 | 01 | Reason and society | Stern | 5 | M | 10-12 a.m. | — |
| | 02 | | Stern | | TTh | 8-10 a.m. | — |
| | 03 | | Haskett, M | | M | 10-12 a.m. | — |
| | 04 | | Haskett, W | | TTh | 10-12 a.m. | — |
| | 05 | | Sugarman | | M | 10-12 a.m. | — |
| | 06 | | Haskett, W | | WF | 10-12 a.m. | — |
| 2.101 | 01 | Introduction to political theory | Butterworth | 5 | MW | 6-9 p.m. | — |
| 2.102 | 01 | Introduction to scientific method | Becker | 5 | TTh | 1-3 p.m. | 2477 |
| 2.103 | 01 | The individual in urban society | Sugarman | 5 | TTh | 10-12 a.m. | 2274 |
| 2.104 | 01 | Introduction to communism | Reeves | 5 | TWTh | 10-12 a.m. | — |
| 2.110 | 01 | Introduction to American government | Klonoski | 2 | To be arranged | | |
| | 02 | | Simms | 5 | MW ¹ | 8-10 a.m. | 2271 |
| | 03 | | Ruddy | 5 | MW ¹ | 1-3 p.m. | 2288 |
| 2.111 | 01 | The family | Rose, C | 5 | TTh ¹ | 8-10 p.m. | 2285 |
| 2.112 | 01 | Introduction to urban social institutions | Collier | 5 | MTW | 6-8 p.m. | 2— |
| | 02 | | Kiblan | 5 | TTh ¹ | 10-12 a.m. | 2— |
| | 03 | | Brooks | | TTh ¹ | 1-3 p.m. | 2279 |
| | 04 | | Frankel | | MW ¹ | 8-10 a.m. | 2278 |
| 2.113 | 01 | The courts and the judicial process | Cohen | 5 | MW ¹ | 10-12 a.m. | 2279 |
| | 02 | | Zeit | | MW | 1-3 p.m. | 233— |
| 2.114 | 01 | The political life of black people in America | Cox W | 5 | MW | 6-8 p.m. | 2338 |
| 2.119 | 01 | Carrer psychology | Parks | 2 | MWF | 1-3 p.m. | 2275 |
| 2.120 | 01 | Urbanization in traditional societies | Cownie | 5 | To be arranged | | |
| | 02 | | Weinberg | | TTh ¹ | 1-3 p.m. | 2275 |
| | 03 | | Simms | | TTh ¹ | 6-8 p.m. | 2275 |
| | 04 | | Simms | | TWTh ¹ | 8-10 a.m. | 2275 |
| 2.121 | 01 | Non-Western societies | El-Alfi | 5 | MW ¹ | 6-8 p.m. | 2275 |
| | 02 | | Tinker | | W | 1-3 p.m. | 3371 |
| | 03 | | Brown | | TTh | 1-3 p.m. | 2271 |
| | 04 | | Morris | | W | 1-3 p.m. | 3371 |
| | | | | | MF | 1-3 p.m. | 2271 |
| | | | | | W | 1-3 p.m. | 3371 |
| | | | | | MF | 1-3 p.m. | 2273 |
| | | | | | W | 1-3 p.m. | 3371 |
| | | | | | TTh | 1-3 p.m. | 2273 |
| 2.122 | 01 | Social evolution of the Black race in the United States | Scarborough | 5 | TTh ¹ | 1-3 p.m. | 2288 |
| 2.123 | 01 | African civilization | Oneywu | 5 | TTh ¹ | 6-8 p.m. | 2275 |
| | 02 | | Oneywu | | MW ¹ | 10-12 a.m. | 2288 |
| 2.130 | 01 | Group conflict | Nye | 5 | MW ¹ | 6-8 p.m. | 2279 |
| | 02 | | Rose, C | | MW ¹ | 6-8 p.m. | 2273 |
| | 03 | | Kiblan | | MW ¹ | 8-10 a.m. | 2279 |
| | 04 | | Reeves | | MW ¹ | 10-12 a.m. | 2275 |
| | 05 | | Cousins | | TTh ¹ | 6-8 p.m. | — |
| | 06 | | Cousins | | TTh ¹ | 8-10 a.m. | 2288 |
| 2.131 | 01 | Roots of urban America | Richter | 5 | TTh ¹ | 6-8 p.m. | 2279 |
| | 02 | | Richter | | TTh ¹ | 10-12 a.m. | 2275 |
| | 03 | | Rose, T | | TTh ¹ | 8-10 p.m. | 2278 |
| 2.132 | 01 | Urban problems | Brown | 5 | MTW | 10-12 a.m. | 2336 |
| | 02 | | Bartholomew | | MWF | 10-12 a.m. | 2288 |
| 2.140 | 01 | Introduction to community development | Rooks | 5 | MWF | 1-3 p.m. | 2279 |
| | 02 | | Scarborough | | W ² | 1-3 p.m. | 2271 |
| | 03 | | White | | Th ² | 10-12 a.m. | 2285 |
| 2.141 | 01 | Community development—Labor and the black community | Searles | 5 | Th ² | 1-3 p.m. | 2285 |
| | 02 | | Searles | | W ² | 6-8 p.m. | 2313 |
| 2.142 | 01 | Community development—Police and judicial practices | Cox, W | 5 | W ² | 10-12 a.m. | 2274 |
| 2.143 | 01 | Community development—Economic problems of black people in the United States | Parker | 5 | Th ² | 6-8 p.m. | 2336 |
| 2.145 | 01 | Community development—Cooperatives | Staff | 5 | MW ² | 10-12 a.m. | 2273 |
| 2.146 | 01 | School decentralization | Marksman | 5 | W ² | 6-8 p.m. | 2289 |
| 2.201 | 01 | Advanced (nonfreshman) courses: | | | | | |
| | 02 | Social research | Becker | 5 | T | 10-12 a.m. | 2285 |
| | 03 | | Jones | | TTh ² | 1-3 p.m. | 2336 |
| | 02 | | Jones | | TTh ² | 6-8 p.m. | 2285 |
| 2.202A | 01 | Principles of economics | Bartholomew | 4 | W ² | 6-10 p.m. | 2285 |
| 2.202B | 01 | | El-Alfi | | MW | 6-8 p.m. | 2336 |
| 2.203 | 01 | Principles of psychology | Nye | 4 | TTh | 10-12 a.m. | 2289 |
| 2.204 | 01 | Urban violence in America | Rose, T | 5 | MWTh | 10-12 a.m. | 2285 |
| | | | | | MTW | 1-3 p.m. | 2285 |
| NATURAL SCIENCES DIVISION | | | | | | | |
| Freshman courses: | | | | | | | |
| Mathematics: | | | | | | | |
| 3.030 | 01 | Elementary algebra | Schwarz | 3 | MWF | 9-10 a.m. | 3369 |
| | 02 | | Brown | | MWF | 11-12 a.m. | 3369 |
| | 03 | | or | | | | |
| | 04 | | Carcione, S | | MTTh | 2-3 p.m. | 3368 |
| | 05 | | Katz | | MWF | 6-7 p.m. | 3369 |
| | | | Wells | | TTh | 6-7:30 p.m. | 3369 |

See footnotes at end of table.

CLASS SCHEDULE, WINTER QUARTER 1968-70—Continued

[Explanation of course numbering system: 1st digit indicates division; Blank, skills center; 1, humanities division; 2, social sciences division; 3, natural sciences division; 4, professional division; 5, black studies program. 2d digit indicates level: 0, noncollege course; 1, freshman courses; 2, sophomore courses; 3, junior courses; 5, graduate courses]

| Course No. | Section | Title | Instructor | Qtr. hrs. | Days | Time | Room |
|--|---------|---|-------------------|-----------|------------|---------------------------------------|------|
| NATURAL SCIENCES DIVISION—Continued | | | | | | | |
| Freshman courses—Continued | | | | | | | |
| Mathematics—Continued | | | | | | | |
| 3.031 | 01 | Algebra and geometry..... | Brown | 3 | MWF | 9-10 a.m. | 3431 |
| | 02 | ..... | or Schwarz | | MWF | 11-12 a.m. | 3368 |
| | 03 | ..... | Wells | | MTh | 1-2:30 p.m. | 3312 |
| | 04 | ..... | Carcione | | MTTh | 6-7 p.m. | 3368 |
| | 05 | ..... | Katz | | MWF | 7-8 p.m. | 3368 |
| 3.130 | 01 | Elementary functions..... | Wells | 4 | MWF | 10-11:15 p.m. | 3431 |
| | 02 | ..... | Carcione | | MTThF | 1-2 p.m. | 3368 |
| | 03 | ..... | Brown | | MW | 6-8 p.m. | 3342 |
|  |  | ..... | or | | | | |
| 3.131 | 01 | Calculus II..... | Katz | 4 | TTh | 6-8 p.m. | 3431 |
| Natural sciences 100: | | | | | | | |
| 3.100 | 01 | Physical science..... | Bolten | 4 | TTh | 9-12 a.m. | 3363 |
| | 02 | ..... | Bolten | | MWF | 1-3 p.m. | 3369 |
| | 03 | ..... | Posey | | MWF | 1-3 p.m. | 3407 |
| 3.101 | 01 | Computer programing..... | Thomae, I. | 2 | MW | 1-2 p.m. | 3431 |
| | 02 | ..... | Bertaut | | MW | 1-2 p.m. | 3432 |
| | 03 | ..... | Bertaut | | MW | 2-3 p.m. | 3432 |
| 3.102 | 01 | Chemistry of life..... | Romain | 4 | MWF | 1-3 p.m. | 3370 |
| | 02 | ..... | Phelps | | W | 1-5 p.m. | 3416 |
| 3.103 | 01 | Chemistry of the photographic process..... | Thomae, S. | 4 | MWF | 1-3 p.m. | 3401 |
| 3.104 | 01 | Physiology of perception..... | Thomae, I. | 4 | MWF | 6-8 p.m. | 3402 |
| 3.105 | 01 | Introductory astronomy..... | Brooks | 4 | TTh | 1-3 p.m. | 3369 |
| | 02 | ..... | Schwarz | | MW | 6-8 p.m. | 3431 |
| Chemistry: | | | | | | | |
| Nonmajors: | | | | | | | |
| 3.110 | 03 | Introductory chemistry LEC..... | Posey | 4 | M | 10-11 a.m. | 3371 |
| | | REC..... | | | WF | 10-11 a.m. | 3369 |
| | | LAB..... | | | Th | 8-11 a.m. | 3401 |
| | 04 | Introductory chemistry LEC..... | Posey | 4 | M | 10-11 a.m. | 3371 |
| | | REC..... | | | TTh | 10-11 a.m. | 3431 |
| | | LAB..... | | | W | 8-11 a.m. | 3401 |
| | 05 | Introductory chemistry LEC..... | Posey | 4 | M | 10-11 a.m. | 3371 |
| | | REC..... | | | TTh | 10-11 a.m. | 3369 |
| | | LAB..... | | | F | 8-11 a.m. | 3401 |
| | 06 | Introductory chemistry LEC..... | Bertaut | 4 | W | 6-7 p.m. | 3371 |
| | | REC..... | | | M | 6-8 p.m. | 3370 |
| | | LAB..... | | | W | 7-10 p.m. | 3401 |
| Majors: | | | | | | | |
| 3.111 | 01 | General chemistry LEC..... | Savitz | 4 | M | 9-10 a.m. | 3371 |
| | | REC..... | | | WF | 9-10 a.m. | 3370 |
| | | LAB..... | | | T | 8-11 a.m. | 3401 |
| | 02 | General chemistry LEC..... | Romain | 4 | M | 6-7 p.m. | 3371 |
| | | REC..... | | | W | 6-8 p.m. | 3370 |
| | | LAB..... | | | M | 7-10 p.m. | 3401 |
| Biology: | | | | | | | |
| 3.120 | | General biology lecture..... | Staff | 4 | TTh | 9-10 a.m. | B105 |
| | 01 | LAB..... | | | MW | 10-12 a.m. | 3404 |
| | 02 | LAB..... | | | MW | 10-12 a.m. | 3409 |
| | 03 | LAB..... | | | TTh | 10-12 a.m. | 3404 |
| | 04 | LAB..... | | | TTh | 10-12 a.m. | 3409 |
| | 05 | LAB..... | | | MW | 1-3 p.m. | 3404 |
| | 06 | LAB..... | | | MW | 1-3 p.m. | 3409 |
| | | General biology lecture..... | Staff | 4 | TTh | 6-7 p.m. | B105 |
| | 07 | LAB..... | | | TTh | 7-9 p.m. | 3404 |
| | 08 | LAB..... | | | TTh | 7-9 p.m. | 3407 |
| 3.121 | 01 | Basic biological techniques..... | Staff | 2 | F | 9-12 a.m. | 3407 |
| Physics: | | | | | | | |
| 3.140 | 01 | Matter and its properties (physics I)..... | Staff | 4 | MWF | 10-12 a.m. | 3432 |
| | 02 | ..... |  |  | TTh | 6-9 p.m. | 3432 |
| 3.141 | 01 | Energy, fields and waves (physics II)..... | Staff | 4 | MWF | 8-10 a.m. | 3432 |
| | 02 | ..... |  |  | MW | 6-9 p.m. | 3422 |
| | 03 | ..... |  |  | TTh | 1-4 p.m. | 3432 |
| 3.142 | 01 | Atomics and nuclear phenomena (physics III)..... | Staff | 4 | MWF | 8-10 a.m. | 3422 |
| 3.240 | 01 | Sound optics (physics IV and V)..... | Staff | 4 | MW | 6-9 p.m. | 3432 |
| PROFESSIONAL DIVISION | | | | | | | |
| Business: | | | | | | | |
| 4.100 | 01 | Business in society..... | Clement | 3 | TTh | 10-11:30 a.m. | 1190 |
| | 02 | ..... | Staff | | TTh | 1-2:30 p.m. | 1190 |
| | 03 | ..... | Staff | | MW | 6-7:30 p.m. | 1190 |
| | 04 | ..... | Staff | | MW | 1-2:30 p.m. | 1190 |
| | 05 | ..... | Staff | | TTh | 6-7:30 p.m. | 1190 |
| | 06 | ..... | Freeman | | WF | 10-11:30 a.m. | 1190 |
| 4.200 | 01 | Management and organizational behavior..... | Crump | 3 | TTh | 10-11:30 a.m. | 1187 |
| | 02 | ..... |  |  | T | 6-9 p.m. | 1187 |
| 4.201 | 01 | The marketing environment..... | Clement | 3 | MW | 10-11:30 a.m. | 1187 |
| | 02 | ..... |  |  | Th | 6-9 p.m. | 1187 |
| 4.202 | 01 | Elementary accounting..... | Staff | 4 | MW | 8-10 a.m. | 1187 |
| | 02 | ..... |  |  | MW | 6-8 p.m. | 1187 |
| 4.203 | 01 | Principles of data processing..... | Cross | 4 | TTh | 8-10 a.m. | 1187 |
| 4.204 | 01 | Readings in management..... | Staff | 3 | | | |
|  |  | ..... |  |  |  | Arranged by permission of instructor. | |
| 4.205 | 01 | Readings in marketing..... | Staff | 3 | | | |
|  |  | ..... |  |  |  | Arranged by permission of instructor. | |
| Education: | | | | | | | |
| 4.110 | 01 | A social history of American education..... | Arrington | 3 | MW | 10-11:30 a.m. | 1179 |
| | 02 | ..... |  |  | TTh | 10-11:30 a.m. | 1179 |
| | 03 | ..... | Wiegman | | M | 6-9 p.m. | 1179 |
| 4.310 | 01 | Seminar in curriculum development for programs in teacher education..... | Staff | 3 | TTh | 4:30-6 p.m. | 1179 |
| Human services: | | | | | | | |
| 4.120 | 01 | Human services, past and present..... | Denham | 5 | MWF | 10-12 | |
| 4.121 | 01 | Intervention methods in human services Problem solving and interviewing..... | Kestenbaum, Acker | 5 | TWTh | 10-12 | |
| 4.221 | 01 | Seminar in group leadership..... | Kestenbaum, Acker | 3 | W | 10-11 a.m. | |
| Physical education: | | | | | | | |
| 4.130 | 01 | Introduction to physical education, health education, and recreation education..... | Hall | 4 | MTThF | 11-12 a.m. | |
| Graduate courses: | | | | | | | |
| 4.512 | 01 | Individual development and behavior..... | Staff | 3 | M | 5:30-8:30 p.m. | 2314 |
| 4.513 | 0 | Influence of social context on personality and behavior..... | Staff | 3 | W | 5:30-8:30 p.m. | 2314 |
| 4.514 | 01 | Philosophies and practice of counseling..... | VanNess | 3 | T | 5:30-8:30 p.m. | 2314 |
| 4.515 | 01 | Practicum and field experience in counseling..... | Staff | 3 | | | |
| 4.516 | 01 | Independent research study..... | Staff | 3 | (C) (C) | 5:30-8:30 p.m. | 2314 |

See footnotes at end of table.

CLASS SCHEDULE, WINTER QUARTER 1968-70—Continued

THE BLACK STUDIES PROGRAM

[Explanation of course numbering system: 1st digit indicates division; Blank, skills center; 1, humanities division; 2, social sciences division; 3, natural sciences division; 4, professional division; 5, black studies program. 2d digit indicates level: 0, noncollege course; 1, freshman courses; 2, sophomore courses; 3, junior courses; 5, graduate courses]

| Course No. | Section | Title | Instructor | Qtr. hrs. | Days | Time | Room |
|--|---------|---|---------------------|-----------|----------|-------------------|------|
| PAN AFRICAN WORLD | | | | | | | |
| 5.11 (2.123.01) | 01 | History and society in the African world..... | Cobb, C..... | 5 | MWF..... | 11-12 a.m..... | 1191 |
| | 02 | (African civilization) ⁴ | Oneywu, N..... | | TTh..... | 10-11:30 a.m..... | 2288 |
| | 03 | | Cox, C..... | | MW..... | 1-2:30 p.m..... | 1179 |
| | 04 | | Njoku, M..... | | WF..... | 1-2:30 p.m..... | 1178 |
| (2.123.02) | 05 | (African civilization) ⁴ | Onyewu, N..... | | MW..... | 6-7:30 p.m..... | 2279 |
| | 06 | | Garrett, J..... | | TTh..... | 8:30-10 p.m..... | 1247 |
| NATURAL SCIENCE⁴ | | | | | | | |
| 5.12 | 01 | Uses of science in history..... | Wells, C..... | 2 | MWF..... | 10-11:15 a.m..... | 3431 |
| | 02 | | | | | | |
| COMMUNICATIVE SKILLS | | | | | | | |
| 5.13 (1.171.01) | 01 | Uses of language (public speaking) ⁴ | Wiley, J..... | 4 | MWF..... | 9-10 a.m..... | 1177 |
| | 02 | | Niles, L..... | | TTh..... | 8-10 a.m..... | 3309 |
| | 03 | | Taylor, A..... | | WF..... | 10-11:30 a.m..... | 1247 |
| (1.172.01) | 04 | (Dramatic reading)..... | Williams, S..... | | TTh..... | 10-11:30 a.m..... | 8105 |
| | 05 | | Wiley, J..... | | TTh..... | 1-2:30 p.m..... | 3309 |
| | 06 | | Mayfield, L..... | | TTh..... | 1-2:30 p.m..... | 1247 |
| (1.172.02) | 07 | (Dramatic reading)..... | Williams, S..... | | TTh..... | 6-7:30 p.m..... | 1247 |
| | 08 | | Njoku, M..... | | TTh..... | 8:30-10 p.m..... | 1178 |
| (1.141.01) | 09 | (English composition)..... | Taylor..... | | MW..... | 8-9:30 a.m..... | 3309 |
| (1.171.02) | 10 | (Public speaking) ⁴ | Niles..... | | MTh..... | 6-8:00 p.m..... | 3309 |
| AFRICAN PEOPLES AND WORLD REALITY | | | | | | | |
| 5.14 | 01 | Uses and techniques of pacification..... | Garrett, J..... | 4 | MW..... | 1-3 p.m..... | 1178 |
| | 02 | | Rooks, B..... | | TTh..... | 1-2:30 p.m..... | 1179 |
| | 03 | | Scarborough, S..... | | TTh..... | 1-2:30 p.m..... | 2788 |
| | 04 | | Cox, C..... | | MW..... | 2-3:30 p.m..... | 1179 |
| | 05 | | Cox, W..... | | MWF..... | 1-3 p.m..... | 2275 |
| | 06 | | Cobb, C..... | | TTh..... | 7-8:30 p.m..... | 1178 |
| | 07 | | Parker, J..... | | MW..... | 8-9:30 p.m..... | 2273 |
| LANGUAGES⁴ | | | | | | | |
| 5.15(1.153) | 01 | Spanish..... | Grady, C..... | 5 | MF..... | 10-11 a.m..... | 3310 |
| | 02 | | Grady, C..... | 5 | MF..... | 11-12 a.m..... | 3310 |
| (1.150.01) | 03 | French..... | Labat, A..... | 5 | MW..... | 6-8 p.m..... | 3310 |
| (1.150.02) | 04 | | Labat, A..... | 5 | MW..... | 8-10 p.m..... | 3310 |
| | 05 | Swahili..... | Wamboi..... | | MWF..... | To be arranged. | |
| | 06 | | Wamboi..... | | | | |
| BLACK STUDIES LIST OF COURSES | | | | | | | |
| 5.16 (1.165.01) | 01 | Afro-American art history..... | Young, C..... | 5 | TTh..... | 10-12 a.m..... | 3367 |
| 5.17 (1.185.01) | 01 | Afro-American history of music..... | Roach, M..... | 5 | TTh..... | 1-3 p.m..... | 1247 |
| 5.18 | 01 | African heritage in Negro music..... | Turpin..... | 5 | TTh..... | 10-12 a.m..... | 1191 |

¹ 1 period to be arranged.
² To be arranged.
³ Days and times to be arranged.

⁴ The details in parentheses are the identical sections numbered and listed according to their other appearances in this schedule.

NEW CITIES FOR AMERICA

HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, last year Congress passed the Housing Act of 1968, which, if implemented, will prove to be the most farsighted housing act ever developed by Congress.

One title of the act called for the establishment of new cities throughout our country, and I would like at this time to have printed in the RECORD an article, "New Cities for America," by Edgardo Contini, who is a partner of Victor Gruen Associates, Los Angeles. The Gruen firm and Mr. Contini have been pioneers in the development of the new city concept. The article follows:

NEW CITIES FOR AMERICA

(By Edgardo Contini)

In the next thirty-five years we must literally build a second America—putting in as many houses, schools, apartments, parks and offices as we have built through all the time since the Pilgrims arrived on these shores.—PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON

This statement puts into focus the enormity of the task before us better than any set of statistics. Yet it may be worthwhile to refer to a set of figures derived from U.S. Census statistics applicable to metropolitan areas. They summarize past conditions and projections of population growth and its distribution between rural and urban locations.

The tabulation tells us that between the present and the turn of the century urban population in the U.S. will be more than double what it is now, and will represent seventy-five percent of the total population.

All present trends and predictions indicate that without a serious national effort to encourage other patterns of growth, most of the increase will occur around existing metropolitan complexes.

| Year | U.S. population | Population inside SMSA ¹ | Percent of total | Population outside SMSA ¹ | Percent of total |
|-----------|-----------------|-------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------|
| 1940..... | 132,165,000 | 72,834,000 | 55.1 | 59,331,000 | 44.9 |
| 1950..... | 151,326,000 | 89,317,000 | 59.0 | 62,009,000 | 41.0 |
| 1960..... | 179,323,000 | 112,885,000 | 63.0 | 66,438,000 | 37.0 |
| 1965..... | 192,185,000 | 123,813,000 | 64.4 | 68,372,000 | 35.6 |
| 1970..... | 208,249,000 | 137,444,000 | 66.0 | 70,805,000 | 34.0 |
| 1980..... | 244,566,000 | 168,751,000 | 69.0 | 75,815,000 | 31.0 |
| 1990..... | 287,472,000 | 206,980,000 | 72.0 | 80,492,000 | 28.0 |
| 2000..... | 337,472,000 | 253,104,000 | 75.0 | 84,368,000 | 25.0 |

¹ Standard metropolitan statistical areas.

Growth of the city contributes increasing opportunities for employment, residential choice, education, recreation and culture. But growth also aggravates the problems of the community, increases the complexity of transportation and service systems, and generally requires more for the support of public facilities and services.

As growth continues indefinitely, there is

a point of diminishing return. Benefits tend to decline while problems and liabilities increase. There may be disagreement about exactly where this point occurs, but when urban settlement reaches the order of ten or twenty millions, the residents of Megalopolis pay a high price for the dubious advantages of bigness. The only residual benefit is an increase in business or employment oppor-

tunities. Yet it can be argued that the average level of employment results from the over-all rate of national population growth and productivity, not from the size of population in any specific area. As for increased cultural and educational opportunities, beyond a certain point they fail to follow urban growth. When Megalopolis requires duplication of museums, theaters, civic centers, and multiple urban centers, each center remains limited in its influence. As Megalopolis continues to grow its residents limit themselves to their immediate neighborhood and actually enjoy fewer cultural and recreational advantages than residents of a smaller city.

Other disadvantages of Megalopolis are more obvious. The resident is robbed of the benefit of leisure time. Travelling through mile after mile of uninterrupted urban structure to reach the country for a breath of fresh air is a depressing experience, regardless how well designed the freeway, how comfortable the seat on the commuter train.

If the projection of growth cannot be challenged and the trend toward urbanization is not reversible, are there alternatives to the predicted image of the United States of tomorrow—two-thirds of its population concentrated in a dozen clusters of urbanization of fifteen to twenty million each? Are our children destined to have no other choice than Megalopolis?

The alternative consists of undertaking as a matter of national policy the creation of *New Cities*—"new" in that they must be viewed as urban organizations responsive to human needs and aspirations; "cities" in that (unlike the "new towns" dependent upon an adjacent metropolis) they must from the beginning be complete urban structures; "New Cities" in that their self-sufficiency, independence of existing political forces and interests will permit experimentation with techniques that are not possible in the existing cities.

The *New Cities* must be large enough to support a full range of cultural and educational facilities. The optimum size will have to be determined by regional characteristics, the local economic base and other factors. Indefinite expansion beyond optimum size should be discouraged. New political and economic devices and incentives should initially encourage and, at later stages, limit their growth.

The hardening of the social, political and economic structures of the nation's cities is so advanced that experimentation with new techniques has become almost impossible. People are becoming impatient with the slow pace of accomplishment. But no amount of indignation can alter the fact that our existing cities simply do not respond to reform. The *New Cities*, as laboratories for experimentation, may prove to be the best investment in terms of long-range returns.

Aristotle's words, "The aim of the city is to make man happy and safe," remain to this day a valid prescription. It is easy to evaluate urban structure in terms of safety. The definition of happiness may be more elusive, but where urban amenity is concerned, it is not difficult to recognize certain of its ingredients.

The contribution of *New Cities* to urban amenity must be based on greater sensitivity toward environmental design. Some of the values that our present cities have either never possessed or have lost can be recaptured. Imaginative design can also create new ones by being responsive to our emerging way of life.

Technological improvements that have lifted our standard of living at almost all other levels have failed to make an equal contribution to the building industry: techniques and materials, like attitudes, are in many ways those of our grandfathers. Obsolete and inconsistent building ordinances and union featherbedding, as well as ro-

mantic and irrational public attitudes toward shelter, have blocked efforts to produce housing of adequate standards at lower cost. To this day, we cannot produce new housing within the reach of one-third of the population, without subsidy. As a consequence, we are forced to fall back on the "hand-me-down" solution that is one of the prime causes of urban deterioration.

If the technology employed for the production of appliances, automobiles or farm produce was applied to housing, within a few years we could bring unsubsidized housing within the reach of everyone.

For *New Cities*, building ordinances should be prepared by professionals to encourage rather than penalize technological innovation. The building unions might more readily accept innovations for the *New Cities* (where they would not disturb the existing structures of economy and power) than if they were applied to existing urban areas.

Technological innovation for the *New City* should go far beyond the more efficient building of shelter. For example, the possibility of total climate control should be explored. The covered airconditioned pedestrian areas of recent years are just modest forerunners of the potentials already technologically available. Through them regions previously bypassed because of climate can be opened to urban settlement. Furthermore, new approaches to water supply and disposal, new techniques of power generation and distribution, and new methods of communication should readily be introduced in the design for the *New Cities*.

One of the most promising innovations in the *New Cities* should be in the field of transportation. The building of a *New City* offers an unparalleled opportunity to retain the benefits of private mobility without sacrificing the characteristics of compactness, efficiency and variety that must prevail in the new urban complexes. A system of private and public transportation designed to maximize the benefits of both, and new techniques of rapid mass transit should be developed as integral elements.

The major difficulty encountered in eliminating the ghettos of existing communities is that efforts to redistribute housing, schooling, and recreation run up against prejudice and natural resistance to change established patterns.

Obviously, in the case of existing cities, change by fiat cannot be enforced. In the *New Cities* there would be no *status quo* to defend, no change to enforce. Its urban structure would be conceived to make racial and economic integration an element in its basic design. Its residents' sense of belonging and their desire for participation in civic affairs should be reinforced by structuring the complex into identifiable elements, comprehensible in size and organization, correlated to each other and to the city's center, by interspersing public spaces at the neighborhood level and providing for recreational facilities related to the over-all urban structure.

The functioning of the urban structure as a whole has not yet been subjected to the critical analysis applied to major private industrial complexes or the nation's defense system. The present pattern of urbanization is conducive to inefficient and uneconomical public services and improvements. Discontinuous development, fragmentation of government and authorities, and obsolete habits and institutions result in unnecessary costs for the support of public services and facilities. These in turn are reflected in the high rate of taxation.

Even if it were possible to unravel the complex tangle of functions and services within the urban structure, and, by sophisticated analysis, develop a system of optimum relationships for minimum cost, it would be extremely difficult to bring about the political reforms necessary to implement such a system in our existing cities.

But a careful analysis of functions, services, costs and techniques for a *New City* should be undertaken prior to the plan and the administrative scheme of the *New City* should be based on the findings. It will thus be possible to expand the range of public services and amenities without increasing taxes.

The role of the educational institutions is changing and expanding. Pre-school head-start programs and adult extension programs have widened the range of educational services. New relationships are emerging: the elementary school as a neighborhood center; the high school as an integral element of the community center; the use of school facilities to fulfill civic as well as educational needs; the university conceived as an urban campus reflecting its relationship with private institutions of research and industry, as well as the broad cultural influence it can exert on the entire community. These are just beginnings.

Similarly, in the field of community health, the emphasis is shifting from curative to preventive medicine; mental health is being tied in with environmental amenity, and the problems of the aged are viewed as a community responsibility.

Both in terms of educational and health facilities the *New Cities* should provide an opportunity for experimentation that would be valuable elsewhere.

The political systems inherited by our cities have proved cumbersome in coping with the problems of the metropolis. Conceived and structured at a time of slow change and limited range of public service, they were directed more toward maintaining democratic processes at the local level than providing efficient government.

The challenge for *New Cities* thus is clear: to devise and adopt a government structure that will not only retain but will reinforce the democratic process in contemporary urban life and, at the same time, function effectively in administering the complex machinery of the city. The multiplicity of independent (and often competing) governments should be replaced in the *New Cities* by a new form of municipal government structured to respond quickly to metropolitan problems as they arise and yet sensitive to neighborhood and community needs. It will have to combine the best characteristics of corporate management with the tradition of representation and participation by the residents.

It is an open secret that our cities are in dire economic straits. Growth and deterioration, operating simultaneously in the framework of an obsolete system of taxation and financing, have resulted in land speculation and fiscal insolvency. A large measure of the difficulty results from the conflict between the concept of private ownership of land and rapid growth.

Individual ownership of land served the urban community as long as growth rate and obsolescence were slow. But as soon as growth became pressing and, more recently, as obsolescence tended to accelerate the pace of change, ownership of urban land was overshadowed by speculation, which led to the frustration of efforts to guide urban growth.

Thus, as other democratic countries have done already, we must come to view urban land as a public asset, a resource to be used wisely and efficiently for the greatest common good.

This concept has already been adopted on a limited scale by the urban renewal process: eminent domain is exercised when hope of self-improvement has faded; land is assembled as a community asset and returned to private development. The differential between acquisition cost and disposal price is borne by the community, with substantial federal assistance.

Can this concept be expanded? Why should the instrument of community guidance and

control be instituted only after things get desperate and the price of rehabilitation is sky high? Why not reverse the process, and, from the beginning, introduce community control of the development rights of all land destined to become urban?

In this manner it would be possible to program the pattern of urban growth efficiently, to install services and utilities of adequate size. The community, by making land available to the private developer when it is required, and pricing it at its fair market value, could retain the differential between the cost of raw land plus improvements and the disposal price. Thus it could accumulate a rotating capital to finance the process of growth and the added services growth requires. The result: not subsidized renewal but urban administration on a self-supporting basis, with a lower and more equitable tax burden.

The implementation of the *New Cities* program—like many of the new ventures recently undertaken as a matter of national policy—can best be accomplished by joining the initiative and financial support of government and the imagination, technological skill and investment of private enterprise.

The scale of the *New Cities* program is too overwhelming for private initiative. Its purposes and implications are too relevant to the country's future to be sacrificed to the profit motive alone. Nor should the venture be undertaken entirely by government. Not only would this represent a departure from the nation's tradition, it would deprive the undertaking of the contribution of ingenuity, motivation and capability that private enterprise can provide. Through a joint venture involving the coordinated participation of three principles, government, industry in general, and the building and urban development industry in particular, the program can be carried out.

The government should formulate the program and provide the financial support or guarantees necessary to generate incentive.

The role of industry should be to develop research and production facilities to establish employment possibilities for this new community.

The building and development industry would have responsibility for translating the program into reality.

I have attempted to outline the benefits of such a program. Beyond such specifics, a national commitment to the bold new venture of establishing new urban settlements would have extraordinary psychological value. As long as we view urbanization essentially as a generator of problems and grief, and address our public efforts to remedy, relief, or repair, we lose the spirit of our heritage.

We should view the urban revolution as we viewed the industrial revolution—as an extraordinary opportunity: the opportunity for the joint exercise of public vision and commitment and private ingenuity.

A RESOLUTION IN OPPOSITION TO THE PERMITTING OF OFFSHORE DRILLING FOR OIL AND GAS IN LAKE ERIE

HON. JACKSON E. BETTS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, the matter of exploration of oil and gas drilling on the floor of Lake Erie is one of increasing concern to the residents in the areas bordering on the lake.

OXV—494—Part 6

Recently the city council of Sandusky, Ohio, passed a resolution opposing this offshore drilling, and I am taking this opportunity to make its contents available to every Member of Congress. I sincerely urge that Members read it and take note of this problem which is developing in the Great Lakes area.

The following is the text of the resolution:

RESOLUTION 1441-C: A RESOLUTION IN OPPOSITION TO THE PERMITTING OF OFF-SHORE DRILLING FOR OIL AND GAS IN LAKE ERIE

Whereas, Lake Erie is a great natural resource as a primary source of water supply, for commerce, for many forms of recreation, and

Whereas, although Lake Erie has been neglected for many years by the public and by the various governments that have jurisdiction in the matter and they have permitted it to become polluted and be otherwise misused, principally by private interests, to the great detriment of the public generally, and

Whereas, there is now a great awakening and much concern is now being shown and vast sums of money spent by the public, and the various governments toward the preservation of Lake Erie as a great natural resource, to keep it from being further polluted and otherwise misused, to restore it to its former state of relative purity and natural beauty, but there is still a great deal more to be done, and

Whereas, private interests still persist in their efforts to get permission to drill offshore in Lake Erie for oil and gas primarily for their own interests and to the detriment of the interest of the public generally, particularly when it has recently been demonstrated through off-shore drilling in California that the same may be a source of pollution of monstrous proportion, now therefore

Be it resolved by the City Commission of the City of Sandusky, Ohio:

SECTION 1. That the City of Sandusky be and it is opposed to the permitting of off-shore drilling in Lake Erie for oil and gas.

Sec. 2. That our representatives in the legislature of the State of Ohio and the Congress of the United States be made aware of our concern for the preservation of Lake Erie as a great natural resource and its restoration to its former state of relative purity and natural beauty, and that they be urged to have the same concern when considering legislation that is proposed which directly or indirectly relates to these things.

Sec. 3. That this Resolution shall take effect and be in full force from and after the earliest period allowed by law.

J. ROBERT HANLON,
President of the City Commission.

Attest.
VIRGINIA SCHAEFER,
Clerk of the City Commission.
Passed: March 10, 1969.

THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN LEGION

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, it is with a sense of personal pride that I rise today to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to the American Legion on the occasion of its 50th anniversary.

As a member of Post No. 314 of Hawthorne, Calif., for 25 years, I have long

been familiar with the outstanding work of the American Legion in the field of community service.

The Legion, for example, has trained our young people for positions of leadership and responsibility through sponsorship of programs such as Boys State, Boys Nation, American Legion junior baseball teams, American Legion oratorical contests, and Boy Scout troops. These programs have given millions of young Americans an opportunity to develop their talents in a constructive and responsible manner while at the same time strengthening their character.

During its five decades, the American Legion has compiled an impressive record of legislative achievements. The establishment of the Veterans' Bureau in 1921 and its successor, the Veterans' Administration in 1930; the World War Veterans' Act of 1924; the first non-service-connected pension program for widows and orphans; the World War II GI bill and similar programs for veterans of more recent conflicts are but a few of the major pieces of legislation in which the American Legion played a leading role.

Ever since that historic day, March 15, 1919, when a group of World War I veterans, known as the Paris Caucus, met in Paris, France, the American Legion has grown from 500 then to almost 3 million veterans today of World War I, World War II, the Korean conflict, and Vietnam.

The work they have done for our young people, for veterans and their families, and for the community has shown their great concern for the future of our country and serves as an inspiring example of what a dedicated organization can accomplish.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to salute this great organization and wish the American Legion well in its next 50 years.

OREGON HOUSE JOINT MEMORIAL 12

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, I testified before the House Interior Committee recently requesting a reversal or major modification in the proposed increases in grazing fees on public land. At that time I expressed my belief that this increase is not equitable and that the departments should reconsider this decision. The Public Land Law Review Commission is now in the process of studying these questions, and I believe it is appropriate to delay the increases until the study is completed and the Commission has submitted its recommendations.

The people of Oregon feel strongly about this issue and I think this feeling is well demonstrated by the joint house memorial which the Oregon Legislature recently passed in opposition to the fee increases. The gentlewoman from Oregon (Mrs. GREEN) and I have asked that this memorial be introduced to the House today and referred to the proper com-

mittee. I would like to have it printed in full at this point in the RECORD:

HOUSE JOINT MEMORIAL 12

TO THE HONORABLE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE AND SECRETARY OF INTERIOR:

We, your memorialists, the Fifty-fifth Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, respectfully represent as follows:

Whereas the agricultural sector of this nation's economy is undergoing a period of recession; and

Whereas the increase in the fees for grazing on public lands that has been proposed by the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Interior would have such detrimental economic impact on the livestock industry that the entire profit margin in many livestock operations would be removed; now, therefore,

Be It Resolved by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon:

(1) The Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of Interior are memorialized to refrain from implementing the recently proposed increases in fees for grazing on public lands.

(2) The Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives shall send a copy of this memorial to the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Interior and to each member of the Oregon Congressional Delegation.

NIXON AND ATLANTIC UNION

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the noted columnist Roscoe Drummond discussed the question of President Nixon and the movement for Atlantic Union in his column for Sunday, March 9, 1969. This was the second of a series of two Drummond columns on the Nixon-in-Europe trip. Unfortunately, the Washington Post published only the first of the articles but omitted the second. Therefore, I present it at this point in my remarks:

NIXON AND ATLANTIC UNION

(By Roscoe and Geoffrey Drummond)

Will Richard Nixon as President act on his conviction that patching up the North Atlantic Treaty Organization just would not be good enough?

And will he take bold initiative on his long-held view that the Atlantic Alliance should be an Atlantic Union?

Mr. Nixon has strongly backed the proposed congressional resolution to invite interested NATO countries to prepare the way to turn the present military alliance into a federal union.

When the Atlantic Union Resolution was before the House Foreign Affairs Committee in 1966, he spoke for it:

"It is fitting that the United States, the world's first truly federal government, should be a main force behind the effort to find a basis for a broad federation of free Atlantic nations."

As President, he can turn promise into performance.

In 1966, Mr. Nixon noted that "the concept of an 'Atlantica' is at present only a dream, but, in the age of the rocket, dreams become reality with a speed which is difficult to imagine."

On his recent European trip the President found ample evidence that every nation he visited, except France, wanted to be partners in a more unified Western Europe.

Three years ago Mr. Nixon was "deeply disturbed" by the "renewed nationalism of

France" and on his latest trip he found President de Gaulle as nationalist-minded as ever.

But in 1966 Mr. Nixon said that "by adopting a measure such as the Atlantic Union Resolution we could give new impetus to the spirit of federalism in Western Europe."

And there is more support for further unifying the Atlantic community now than there was three years ago. Most European nations now outside the Common Market—Britain, Scandinavia, Greece, Switzerland and others—want to join, and all the Common Market countries, except France, want them to join.

In the United States there is a wide political base to encourage the President to actively help the move for a Citizens' Convention to see what first steps can be taken to enable the free nations of the Atlantic world who want to join closer together to do so.

Time was when it was venturesome, even perilous, for American political leaders to show that they favored any moves toward a federation of like-minded free nations.

No longer. And President Nixon would have no reason to fear any serious political opposition either from the responsible right or left if he put his prestige behind the Atlantic Resolution.

Few, if any, congressional proposals have won such wide and prestigious backing as the Atlantic Resolution. It is supported by nearly every national Republican leader—Dwight Eisenhower, Mr. Nixon, Nelson Rockefeller, Barry Goldwater, George Romney, William Scranton, Charles Percy, Mark Hatfield and others. It was supported by the contenders for the Democratic presidential nomination—Hubert Humphrey, Robert Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy.

It probably wouldn't take either courage or daring for President Nixon to put himself behind an Atlantic convention. But it would take something because the tendency of many Presidents, once they are in office, is to feel that it is unwise to rock the boat in foreign relations.

But the President may well feel on the basis of his trip to Europe that now is the time to act more boldly if the Atlantic world is, in Mr. Nixon's own words, to respond adequately to "the incredible change which is going on in the world around us."

FOCUS ON THE FEDERAL CITY COLLEGE—PART II

HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, the black studies program at Federal City College is a tentative and projected curriculum which, like all other majors, has not yet come to the administration and the board of higher education for final approval.

Recent newspaper stories, nevertheless, have given the public a distorted and confusing view of the proposed black studies program. I feel it important, therefore, to bring to the attention of my colleagues the details of the program, its objectives and goals, as outlined in the following report on the activities at the Federal City College from the college information office:

FOCUS ON THE FEDERAL CITY COLLEGE—A PERSPECTIVE: BLACK STUDIES PROGRAM AT FCC

"There must be a way to legitimize black thought—the intellectual concerns of black people," says FCC Associate Professor of English Andrew Taylor. "The Black Studies Pro-

gram at Federal City College and other colleges in the country will provide the leadership in the challenge to take manifestations of black culture out of the streets, institutionalize it, discover its relationship to the past and transmit it to present and future generations," he continues. This is the goal of the Black Studies Program at Federal City College.

The Black Studies Program at FCC is a comprehensive and complete rather than the usual fragmented approach to black studies. According to Black Studies Program Director James Garrett, "It focuses upon the realities and prospects of those of African origin where they exist or, the Continent of Africa, in the West Indies, and in the Americas. In essence, the Program is at once a cultural and educational vehicle for creative awareness, confidence, and determination of black people."

The objective of the Program is to provide sorely needed manpower in black communities at home and abroad in areas of (1) food and medicine for nutrition planning assistance and care for the ill, (2) architecture for physical development of the community, (3) communication for communicating effectively within and between communities, (4) political and economic structures for effective contributions in productive and conciliatory activities in the communities, (5) historical and cultural structures for development of knowledge and appreciation of heritage and aesthetic activities, and (6) teacher education for expertise in training people of the communities to train each other. To achieve this end, the Program proposes to encourage black people to understand the disciplines of science, mathematics, and other technical areas as they apply to these black educational needs. It will seek to provide an arena for the perfection of those skills necessary for the vitalization of black communities.

FCC Professor of English and Chairman of Humanities Division William Couch, Jr. says, "It is normal for any school to serve the interests of its citizens. Black Studies defines and furthers the interest of students whose lives are rooted in black existence."

The Black Studies Program has as its purpose revitalization and maintenance of values, attitudes, social structure, and technology relevant to black people through (1) development of undying love for each other; (2) realization that black people are descendants of Africans; and (3) realization that security, respect and equality shall be the necessary foundation of black life.

Community involvement and dedication will be the means for achieving the goal of love among black people. Accordingly, the Program will seek to develop a relationship among black people that manifests itself to the black community. It will advocate an African cooperative family concept of dedication to the black community as opposed to the individual concept of "me first." For example, a black doctor would go into the black community that most desperately needs his talent. He would seek *only to make a living* and not accumulate great amounts of wealth. In time the black community would support him and he would serve that black community. He would also devote himself to encouraging black youth to become interested in medicine and serving the black community. The black community in return would pay for the education and training of the black doctors who would come back to serve them. The same model would apply to all technical and professional areas, including architecture, engineering, food processing, biology and chemistry.

In the second instance, Black Studies will provide a physical and emotional setting for strengthening the currently vaguely perceived ties between black people throughout the world. This will mean the institution of methods of communication and vehicles of exchange which will serve to bring together

the information and talent of black people everywhere.

In addition, it is hoped that various kinds of exchange programs between African, Caribbean, and the North and South American blacks will be instituted to lead to a knowledge of an empathy politics, cultural and economic with black people in those countries.

In connection with this, the Program will include in its activities a series of group-travel plans through which students will be able to visit, work, and learn in various areas of the country, such as black cooperatives in the South, and the rest of the black world including the Caribbean, Africa and Latin America. In this way real contact will be established and maintained between black people in countries around the world and black people in America.

The Program proposes that meaningful education for black people must insure security. Black security must mean security from hunger, sickness, and shelterlessness. Black security also includes a psychological well being. Respect represents a basic principle which must be strengthened through the Black Studies Program. This will increase the dignity and sense of security of black people.

In order to achieve these specific objectives and goals, the Program will take total responsibility for the academic pursuit of students enrolled in Black Studies. The Program will be composed of two major parts—a degree program and a series of individual course offerings. The degree program is a systematic four-year course which will lead to a degree in Black Studies. The first two years will focus primarily on channelling the student to a spirit of dedication and community work, and development of interpretive skills necessary to define for themselves the relationship between the history of black people and their present situation so that they may better understand how to create their future. The latter two years will focus on specialization in one of three curriculum cores—technical, political, or cultural. "All courses in the degree program are mandatory. They are divided into the following areas with students taking one course in each area each quarter:

FIRST YEAR

Pan African World—The study of the historical, social and cultural development of African communities in the Caribbean, on the Continent, and in the Americas.

Natural Sciences—Basic courses for a historical survey of the general principles and uses of the sciences and an introduction to practical application of these principles of the social life of the community.

Communicative Skills—Courses designed to advance the concepts and applications of reading, writing, and speech.

African Peoples and World Reality—Survey and analysis of the dominating forces and facts and the relationship of African peoples to this context.

Languages—Choice of Swahili, Kikuyu, Arabic, French, Spanish, or Portuguese. (Students must specialize in one language).

Physical Development—Program of study and activity in the arts which strengthen the body and discipline the mind, including Aikido Karate, Aquatics, Gymnastics, the African Hunt, and Dance.

SECOND YEAR

Interpretation of the African Experience—History and analysis designed to develop the student's interpretative understanding of political developments in the African world.

Cultural Concepts of African Peoples—Discussion of cultural themes in specific areas of the African world.

World's Great Men of Color—Courses concerning life and time of outstanding black men.

THIRD YEAR

Concentration in one:

Technical Core—Training and instruction in the specific skills, scientific and technical, relevant to black education, such as courses emphasizing food technology, biomedics, and physical planning and development.

Political Core—The exploration and development of social techniques in response to the situation of the Pan-African world.

Cultural Core—The transmission of the culture and heritage of the African peoples.

(In all cores, a course in geography is required in the first quarter, one on institutions is required in the second quarter, and a course in black intellectual thinking and development is required in the third quarter.)

FOURTH YEAR

A yearly rather than quarterly program will be pursued in the fourth year, with major emphasis on the development of areas for the application and acquisition of advanced skills with direction always toward applications.

The fourth year will be a cooperative effort among the cores of three different levels—individual level, intra-core level, and inter-core level—within a particular part of the African world. With the shift to the yearly basis rather than the quarterly, there will be closer personal supervision between instructor and student. The fourth year also provides time for extensive travel. There is a good possibility that some of the courses of study will require a fifth or sixth year. Also in some cases students will be sent to other institutions for further study and skill development.

The several individual courses offered by the Black Studies Program to the entire student body for credit will not lead to a degree in Black Studies, but will focus on various aspects of black history and culture. These courses include "Afro-American Heritage of Music," "African Heritage in Negro Music," and "Afro-American Art History."

The Black Studies Program has set its list of priorities as:

1. The Community—Institution of a carefully designed segment of the program dealing specifically with such areas as participation by students and staff in projects being carried on in black communities, including schools, churches, political organizations, and businesses. The community will be a crucial part of the Program and it will become equally important to the lives of the people in the community.

2. Students in the Program—Understanding and acceptance of the Program aims and objectives by the students and complete training of the students in the area of study.

3. The Staff—General acceptance of the principles of the Black Studies Program, willingness to function in a staff position as opposed to the usual faculty positions, and thorough knowledge of area of specialty—not necessarily expressed in the form of degrees.

4. The Program itself—Achievement of the program goals and objectives.

Black Studies now has proposals under discussion for establishment of formal relationships with all College divisions, especially in teacher education which will be a major focus of the Program. A formal relationship has already been established with the College Humanities Division and will include such cooperation as joint faculty appointments. Later such relationships will be established with professional schools of certain area universities. These relationships will strengthen the Black Studies Program and insure more definite achievement of the Program goals.

The need for establishment of Black Studies as an area of formal studies has been demonstrated nationally. An editor of a large metropolitan daily newspaper recently asserted that those persons thinking that they will "find the sites of a black Rome

or Greece in Africa, are in for a sad disappointment." He was in fact saying that the current surge in black history, black awareness and the study of black culture, is more equated to the fabricating of black cultures and civilizations of our fantasy and legend into pseudo facts.

His assumption is incorrect. Evidently he has not read the *Tarikh al Fattash* (*Chronicle of the Searcher*), which Daniel McCall in his book, *Africa in Time-Perspective*, states as being "the oldest written history now extant that was composed by a West African." He apparently has not read other works (mostly in Arabic) describing the great Sudanese empires of Ghana, Mali, and Songhai. One ancient manuscript was not discovered until 1911 and it is apparent that few of us know much of its contents now. There is much to learn from the works of the *Tarikh al Sudan* and the *Tarikh al Fattash* as well as many facts to glean from the scholars of Sonike and Timbuktu.

The need for information on what has transpired culturally and historically between the Niger and the Nile is a significant part of the thirst that has stimulated the growth of the fairly new discipline of Black Studies.

HANDLOADING AND CRIME?

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent editorial appearing in the *Handloader* publication of March-April 1969 pointing out some of the follies attendant upon the passage of the recent firearms control legislation and some of the foolish administration which has been attendant thereon:

HANDLOADING AND CRIME?

The legislative record of the Gun Control Act of 1968 comprises transcripts of public hearings, committee reports and House and Senate floor debates during some five years of arguing the pros and cons of attempting to control crime by controlling firearms. These records include thousands of pages and millions of words. Stacked one atop the other they make a pile almost three feet tall.

Yet in all this mass of material there is not one suggestion that there is a relationship between reloading and crime. At no time during any of the hearings or debates did anyone offer even an opinion that the availability of reloading components has any effect upon the crime rate.

But when the "gun law" was passed, reloading components were given almost the same treatment as guns. Why? Where is the evidence of any need to regulate and prohibit the sale of components?

Is the Congress of the United States so docile that it will enact a major provision of law without a single word in its support, without a single reason why it should be enacted? Apparently so, for that is precisely what the 90th Congress did when it included reloading components in the Gun Control Act of 1968!

In the editorial in the last issue of *The Handloader* we pointed out that there were never any public hearings in regard to any federal law which would control ammunition or reloading components. Had there been hearings we doubt that either ammo or components would have been included, for both are patently impossible to effectively regulate,

even if there were a valid reason for attempting to do so.

In any event, the proponents of the law should have been made to offer some form of reasonable evidence in support of component controls, and handloaders should have been given an opportunity to present the reasons why such controls should not have been enacted. But neither happened. The handloading components controls simply became law, without public argument either for or against, simply because someone in the Johnson Administration wanted components "regulated." *That kind of shenanigan is expected in a dictatorship, but we didn't think democracy was supposed to work that way!*

Until the Johnson Administration pulled H.R. 17735 out of the hat after Sen. Robert Kennedy's assassination, no Administration bill had called for ammunition controls—and the Treasury Department had testified that it didn't want such a law because experience with the ammo controls of the Federal Firearms Act had shown that ammunition could not be effectively controlled or traced.

In the furor created by President Johnson's call for passage of a firearms registration and licensing bill, too little attention was paid to the "lesser" bill to extend "mail order" prohibitions to long guns and ammunition. As a result, few people noticed that "ammunition" was defined to include "cartridge cases, primers, bullets, or propellant powder."

Since the last *Handloader* editorial was written, Treasury Department regulations on the new law have been published specifically exempting ammo and components for "antique firearms," loose shot and unloaded, unprimed "non-metallic" shotgun hulls from the law's prohibitions. The Treasury Department did not explain why brass shotgun cases are considered more hazardous to the public safety than paper or plastic cases!

Had there been hearings on ammunition—and reloading component—controls, someone would have been expected to explain why the bill included ammo and components and would have been expected to establish some sort of relationship to the crime problems. But no hearings—no explanation.

Bills are reportedly being prepared by Sen. John Tower (Texas) and others to repeal the ammunition section of the new law. The nation's handloaders need to get behind those bills by asking our congressmen a few questions:

"Where is the evidence that reloading or the availability of reloading components has anything to do with crime? Why were reloading components—and ammunition—included in the law without benefit of public hearings? How are you going to vote on the proposal to remove reloading components and ammo from the law's prohibitions?"

We'd like to see some answers to those questions—and the ammunition section of the law repealed!—NEAL KNOX.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to share the following speech, given by a fine, young man in my district, upon his election as Governor of the American Legion Boys' State, with the readers of the RECORD.

I am mighty proud of Kent Stair for this outstanding achievement, and his

speech is an accomplishment which I feel deserves recognition by all of us:

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Mr. Chief Justice, Distinguished Guests, My Friends and Fellow Boy Staters: I come before you on this Inaugural Day of June 5, 1968 with the hopes and beliefs that tomorrow will be a brighter day.

Today, a dark cloud of hatred and confusion hangs over the world. Today, a storm of prejudices divides our nation and our world. Today, self is put first, while country is a distant second. You may ask yourself when will it ever end? . . . Will it ever end? Is there any hope for tomorrow? What is the hope for tomorrow?

Fellow Boy Staters, we are the hope for tomorrow. It will be up to our generation to end this hatred. It will be up to our generation to end this turmoil. Our generation will end this gloomy day one way or the other.

Will we work for peace and live, or hate our neighbor and die? The answer lies in our own hearts. Tomorrow belongs to us! We are the hope for tomorrow!

As governor-elect of American Legion Boys State, I have appointed what I believe to be a capable and qualified staff. Each and every one of these gentlemen is here to serve you. Come share your problems with them. They want to help you. Each and every one of them is looking for a brighter tomorrow.

The keynote we sound here today is that we understand, appreciate, and educate our youth.

Too many times in our world today, the word "teen-ager" has been used as a bad word. We, the Governor's Staff at Boys State, disagree.

You read about the hippie from Columbia University, but do you hear about the clean-cut law student. You see and read about the marches on our national capital, but what about the young man who is out having to work his way through college. You hear of the black power advocates, but you never hear of the young Negro out trying to constructively help his race. You see the draft-card burners, but you never see the boy lying dead in Vietnam because he put his friends and his country before himself.

Too many times in our world today, adults look down upon teenagers. They contend that the teen-agers are gradually digressing to an immoral state. We, on the Governor's Staff, disagree. Some adults point to the problems of liquor, drugs, obscene literature, and a lack of morals. Have these adults ever stopped to figure out who is promoting all of these items? If they take a deep look, they will see that it is not the teen-ager, it is the adult.

No, fellow Boy Staters, the word "teen-ager" is not a dirty word. It is the greatest word in our vocabulary because it is our hope for a better tomorrow.

As governor of your state, I would like to see better education and better opportunity. I want every one in our State to have a chance to live and be truly free . . . free from fear, free from prejudice, and free from hatred. Not until that day will our society be truly free.

Tomorrow draws closer. We must not wait on it to come. We must meet it and we must conquer it. This is what we, the citizens of American Legion Boys State, can do. We can lead the way. We can show a sincere desire to help others. We can make a brighter tomorrow.

I stand before you a proud and honored young man. I have come to realize that when my term as governor ends, my wonderful memories of Boys State will continue. I realize that when my term as governor dies, that the thrill of knowing you all will live in my heart forever. I realize that this week I have made friendships which neither time nor distance can ever break.

I am honored to be your governor, but I am even more honored to be your friend and fellow-citizen in American Legion Boys State.

I sincerely hope that someday, we can all wake up to a brighter tomorrow.

Mr. Chief Justice, I am now ready to take the oath of office.

PASSPORT CLUB, INC.

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, in recent years steps have been taken both in the private and public sectors to help foster a better image of the United States throughout the world. The Peace Corps in particular is a noted example of a people-to-people program that has met with outstanding success and has enabled our citizens to better understand other cultures and other people while at the same time extending to them an understanding of the American spirit.

We know that individual contacts with citizens of foreign lands, for both business and pleasure, may someday be the ultimate answer to peace in our time. Recently, I learned of a very unusual enterprise that is about to begin in the United States that I would like very much to bring to your attention. Passport Club, Inc., which is headquartered in New York City, offers to its members an opportunity to see the world and its people, their philosophies, their ideas, their difficulties and their heritage. For the first time the average American will be able to participate in a 3-year travel program.

The program offers to its members an opportunity to travel within their own hemisphere and to the far reaches of the globe including Europe and the Orient. An important feature is the awareness by those who have founded Passport Club that, in addition to people-to-people communication, there is another problem which we must face—that of our balance of payments.

Passport Club has made a commitment to use U.S. carriers wherever possible. Arrangements for first-class hotels and car service overseas will also be made through U.S.-based companies.

Last, plans are currently afoot to organize similar clubs in other countries so that those who live in Europe, in the Orient, in South America, in Africa, will have a similar opportunity to travel and experience the joys of other people, other worlds, and other countries including the United States. In addition, to further this communication, the Passport Club is embarking on a unique series of services for its members including the offering of foreign language courses prior to their visiting a country, regular group meetings so that members will be able to get to know each other better, special arrangements with large companies offering all the advantages of group purchasing power at the individual level and, within the framework of the club, a spe-

cial travel insurance policy for each member.

I feel this is a program that offers to its members a unique opportunity to be a great help to our country in promoting better relations throughout the world. And, at the same time, offers them the opportunity to see sights and places that only a few short years ago they never would have dared to dream about. Those who are responsible for Passport Club should be commended for offering this opportunity to so many.

PRESIDENT ACTS TO CURB ONE-BANK HOLDING COMPANIES

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, I was extremely pleased to note that the President has now taken concrete action in proposing legislation to eliminate loopholes in the Bank Holding Company Act which allows banking and nonbanking interests to mix. I feel strongly that this type of mixing threatens the financial stability of our country and for many years have sought to close these loopholes. In 1956 when the Bank Holding Act was passed, it was agreed that everything that should be done had not been done in passing the bill. President Eisenhower said on signing the law:

The legislation falls short of achieving these objectives—the exemptions and other special provisions will require the further attention of the Congress.

In 1966 as a result of legislation I introduced, the House voted to eliminate all exemptions to the Bank Holding Act, but only four exemptions were removed in the Senate. Of the two remaining provisions, the one which allows bank holding companies to escape Federal regulation has become a major concern. Until the mid-1960's this exemption allowed relatively small financial institutions to offer services, usually in nonmetropolitan areas which may not have been available otherwise. In 1965 the average deposits of the 550 one-bank holding companies was \$15 billion. The most recent figures available show that there are now almost 800 one-bank holding companies controlling over \$100 billion. A recent report published by the House Banking Committee indicates that nine of the 12 largest commercial banks in the country have recently formed one-bank holding companies.

In his communication to the Congress the President underscored the importance of this legislation when he stated:

Left unchecked, the trend toward the combining of banking and business could lead to the formation of a relatively small number of power centers dominating the American economy. This must not be permitted to happen. It would be bad for banking, bad for business and bad for borrowers and consumers.

I agree fully with the President in this and I commend him for his foresight in

this regard. Legislation which I have introduced in this Congress will eliminate these exemptions which provide for one-bank holding companies. I hope the Congress will act promptly in resolving this matter which has the potential of undermining the diversity of business on which the economic foundation of this country rests.

SAGINAW: ALL-AMERICA CITY

HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to bring to the attention of the membership some very pertinent newspaper articles on the selection of Saginaw, Mich., as an All-America City. The articles, from recent editions of the Saginaw News, follow:

[From the Saginaw News, Mar. 20, 1969]
IN WHICH OUR FINEST HOUR DAWNS UPON US

Saginawians awoke to a very special first day of spring today.

There may not ever again be another one quite like it. If there ever is, there will never be a second realization like the first.

A flag flies over City Hall. It bears a simple inscription.

"Saginaw: All-America City."

Equally unstrained but eloquent ceremonies this morning at the seat of city government acknowledged Saginaw's official designation as one of 11 cities in the United States of America receiving today this signal honor. There are more than 16,000 in the U.S. that makes us "one in fifteen hundred."

How does that grab you? It ought to grab you pretty good, dear reader, because the honor is yours. It doesn't belong to any government. It is yours and yours alone.

No tricks. No double talk. No gimmicks. The National Municipal League and Look Magazine, co-sponsors of the annual All-America City judging, run a hard-nosed event. The only basis on which the award is given is the tested measure of citizen participation in and commitment to the solution of urban problems. That and the measure of accomplishment.

As Look says, "in keeping with today's epidemic of urban ills, each of the winners had problems or sins-in-the-past to confess. But the winners . . . are not being recognized for the quality of their confessions. Their citizens went beyond identifying their troubles to do something about them."

In our case what we've been honored for doing something about is the nation's No. 1 problem—race relations. Only one other among the 11 designated was similarly recognized. This makes it something very, very special. It focuses the eyes of a nation on us.

This is a joyous day, of course. It is a historic moment. Few things nicer have ever happened to Saginaw. It is an appropriate time, moreover, to try to capture the perspective and the enormity of what has come to the people of this community.

We in Saginaw know very well what we are about in the entire field of endeavor for which we are now singled out. We know where we were, we know how far we have come to get where we are and we should know just how far we have yet to go.

Most of us are pretty familiar by now with what Look calls "pace-setting programs" begun here in the area of improved race relations . . . passage of an open housing ordinance . . . the creative work of the May-

or's Committee of Concern ranging over the whole spectrum of problems that keep so many out of the mainstream of attainment . . . passage of an 8-mill tax to improve educational opportunities for all of the city's school children and the deep personal involvement of our teen-age youth that made public approval possible . . . First Ward Community's Center's fully-funded program to secure jobs and job training for the hard core unemployed . . . the city's rental housing inspection program . . . United Fund's activist support of social agencies reaching to the very heart of these ills.

We could go on. Project READ. Opportunities Industrialization Center. The involvement of the churches, the ministry and lay leaders. The list is long. It is made up of efforts large and small, many being conducted on a quiet, more personal basis of man-to-man involvement—some drawing fewer headlines than others, some moving faster than others.

These are the things that deeply impressed the national panel of judges who heard them and asked to know more.

Now, of course, what strikes us about this title which has been bestowed upon the citizens of Saginaw is what it means.

Titles, awards are transitory things. It is what they impose upon their recipients that matters. And what they impose is challenge to live up to them.

Today and the days of official observance that follow will be joyous and prideful ones. That is as it should be. It is not wrong, it will never be wrong to view with satisfaction what we have done in commitment that has brought this honor.

The deeper impact, however, is that the designation "All-America City" marks the end of the beginning.

It is, as Mayor Henry G. Marsh said this morning, necessary to remind ourselves that this award in no way spells municipal perfection in solving the maladies associated with modern urban life of which he spoke in New Orleans before the reviewers—discrimination, low educational achievement, unemployment and poor housing. We are far from that. But we are discovering that an enormous amount is possible by government, business and individual working with each other.

What this award says is that the task of healing the ills has begun in this community. The mayor laid heavy emphasis upon the words "challenge" and "responsibility." They are the key words today in Saginaw for every resident.

"If we can use the title we have received as a foundation upon which to build, look upon it as a landmark telling us that we are heading in the right direction—then we will be truly worthy of the award," said the mayor.

This is a good day for walking tall. As we pass through this period of euphoria, however, let each of us do so with perspective and humility. Let us resolve that this happy moment in our lives will not be merely an anthem to past and present but a pledge to the future.

FLAG RAISING LAUNCHES ALL-AMERICA CITY WEEK

(By Frank J. Koontz)

Official announcement this morning that Saginaw has been named an All-America City launched a round of celebrations which will climax April 1.

The not-very-kell-kept secret was "made public" this morning at a press conference and flag-raising ceremony at the City Hall.

Mayor Henry G. Marsh has proclaimed the period from now until April 1 as "Saginaw All-America City Week."

A red flag with white lettering spelling out, "Saginaw: All-America City" was hoisted up the flagpole shortly after 9 a.m.

under the overcast sky and Central Junior High School's band played several selections.

Mayor Marsh stressed that the award is for citizen action rather than governmental accomplishment. He also noted that the award which he called "the highest honor that can be earned by an American community," could have been made to any of more than 16,000 cities in America.

Only 11 cities are chosen each year by the National Municipal League and Look Magazine to receive the honor.

(The magazine scheduled the announcement for national release today. The release was broken Wednesday by a Saginaw radio station and also by a newspaper in a Texas city receiving the same honor. As a result, the national wire services carried the story Wednesday evening, too late for *The News* to print an account prepared several days ago.)

The proud celebrations planned for the next dozen days will touch almost every citizen.

Decals of the red, white and blue All-America City shield have been attached to all city vehicles; shoulder patch shields will be worn by all uniformed city employees; the All-America City shield has been affixed to all entrance signs welcoming motorists to the city.

The Saginaw Post Office will start using a new cancellation stamp proclaiming Saginaw's proud accomplishment; stewardesses on airplanes going to and from Tri-City Airport will tell the passengers that Saginaw is an All-America City; city schools have scheduled art and essay contests, dances and special flag presentation ceremonies.

The main festivities will end April 1, when Gov. William G. Milliken and other officials are scheduled to come to Saginaw to participate in the official award presentation.

On that date, representatives from Look and the Municipal League will present the All-America City award to Mayor Marsh at a public ceremony at 6 p.m. in the Auditorium.

Because the award is given for constructive citizen action—rather than for governmental action—the public is urged to attend the ceremonies at the Auditorium.

A parade involving local school bands, local and visiting dignitaries and perhaps floats will leave City Hall at 5:15 p.m. and proceed to the Auditorium.

There, the award is to be presented to Marsh, acting as the representative of the citizens of Saginaw. The Saginaw Youth Band is scheduled to entertain the audience.

A banquet at the Bancroft Hotel is scheduled for 7:30 p.m. More than 425 invitations have been mailed for the \$7.50-a-plate dinner, which is designed to honor some of the citizens who have helped to earn Saginaw her "All-America" title.

In making the announcement this morning, Mayor Marsh noted that the award is by no means an indicator of "municipal perfection."

"In accepting this award on behalf of the citizens of Saginaw, I am obligated to remind them of the challenge and responsibility that accompanies being singled out as an example," Marsh said. "There is, as we have often said, much left to do—the agenda of needed improvements is long."

Marsh cautioned citizens not to "rest on our laurels." He said that "the real strength of our community is in the people of the community. This award is tangible expression that this particular strength does exist in Saginaw and has been exercised to the common benefit of all," he added.

"If we can use the title we have received as a foundation upon which to build—looking upon it as a landmark telling us we are heading in the right direction—then we will truly be worthy of the award," he said.

"All of us know that even in the short time that has passed since we entered the All-America City competition, new problems have arisen and many old ones have become complicated with age. To meet these, greater efforts will be required."

To the many city employees who attended the flag-raising ceremony, Marsh urged even greater cooperation with citizens. He said steps toward solutions of Saginaw's problems were taken "when we in government turned to the people for help."

"I think most of us in government—at both the administrative and policy levels—learned that common goals were more easily attained and our tasks are made more meaningful when we work with—not simply for—our citizens."

During a press conference following his speech, Marsh noted that suburban areas of Saginaw played a part in earning the title for Saginaw.

"When I speak of a 'community,'" Marsh said, "I don't stop at governmental boundaries. I include the suburbs. The city received the award, but it took a 'community attitude' to do it."

He added that it is his hope that "the suburbs will play an increasing role in realizing what it means to be an All-American City."

CITY'S RACE RELATIONS EFFORTS KEY TO ALL-AMERICA TITLE

Saginaw was named an All-America City today, being cited especially for "pace-setting programs to ease the nation's No. 1 problem—race relations."

Only one other Midwestern city was among the 11 All-America title winners and only one other was cited for efforts in the area of race relations.

New Albany, Ind., was the only other Midwestern title winner and Savannah, Ga., was the winner cited for its work to overcome racial barriers.

The awards are cosponsored by Look Magazine and the National Municipal League.

Other winning cities are: Charlotte, N.C.; Cottage Grove, Ore.; Danville, Ky.; Edinburg, Tex.; Fairbanks, Alaska; Jacksonville, Fla.; San Diego, Calif., and Snyder, Tex.

In keeping with today's epidemic of urban ills, each of the winners had problems or sins-of-the-past to confess.

"But the winners of the All-American Cities Awards are not being recognized for the quality of their confessions. Their citizens went beyond identifying their troubles to doing something about them," LOOK says in an article on the cities appearing in the April 15 issue, out April 1.

In announcing that Saginaw was a winning city, Look sketched this picture of the city:

"Saginaw's primary race problem is one of job opportunities. The General Motors plants and satellite industries provide work enough to go around, but as elsewhere the lowest paying jobs are held by the city's 25 per cent nonwhite population.

"Shaken by the black revolt that rocked Detroit in 1967, Saginaw took stock of its own situation and appointed a commission to study the problem.

"The City Council caught the spirit and elected fellow-member Henry G. Marsh, a Negro attorney, as mayor of the city. While Saginaw still struggles with the problems of race and air pollution, the barriers are crumbling between whites and blacks. Even a black militant leader admits he "has hope for this place."

Saginaw made her pitch for the title in New Orleans, La., last December.

Harry W. Browne then a Saginaw labor leader, explained to the All-America Cities jury what the Committee of Concern was and what it has done. He cited the estab-

lishment and financing of an employment center at the First Ward Community Center as an example of the committee's work.

Marsh noted that citizens approved by a better than 2-1 margin a local open housing ordinance in a May election. He also noted progress in improving the quality of housing available in the city, especially through the city rental inspection program and the city's scattered housing project.

Michael R. McCormick, a former Arthur Hill High School student who now attends Michigan State University, explained to the jury how students campaigned for approval of the 8-mill "Project BRITE" program.

His presentation seemed to greatly impress the jury. Panelists were interested in how Saginaw had been able to involve its youth in constructive activities.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S OPEN ADMINISTRATION

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, the American people are in the process of experiencing a renewed and healthy rapport with the Presidency. The "new" and welcomed open approach by President Nixon toward the affairs of his office makes evident the sincere efforts being made by his administration to create a forthright and credible atmosphere for greater trust and unity between the people and their Government in the United States.

This greatly hoped for occurrence is being confirmed by much of the Nation's press. In this connection the following editorial by Hugh Sidey entitled "The Presidency: The Surprising Asset of Normality" which appeared in the March 21 issue of *Life*, is particularly expressive of the situation:

THE PRESIDENCY: THE SURPRISING ASSET OF NORMALITY

(By Hugh Sidey)

By conducting the Presidency steadily and sensibly so far (in "normal" fashion), Richard Nixon has astounded the Washington galleries, which says almost as much about the state of affairs among the experts down along the Potomac as it does about the 37th President.

What seems to stun resident critics is that the new President doesn't use notes or Tele-Prompters or cue cards or have aides tugging at his sleeves and whispering instructions when he talks about the business of the day. He simply walks into the spotlight, stuffs a hand into his pocket, grabs the mike and then thrashes through matters with reasonable coherence and knowledgeability. The chief columnist of the left-liberal *New Republic*, who signs himself TRB, has in the past carved Nixon up like a turkey. The other night he walked through the moonlight to the White House to watch the President give an hour-long extemporaneous report on his European tour and came away absolutely lyrical. "Dazzling . . . death-defying tightrope act. . . He talked swiftly, deftly. . . It was a brilliant performance."

The moon was strong that evening and TRB did seem a little sad at such success: "But can it last? The iridescent bubble of harmony floats up in a draft of words. Deeds are when the trouble starts." But he and many others who reacted the same way raise

a fundamental question. Why is it so unusual for the President of the United States to know his job and be able to talk about it without going into a spasm? The rather unfortunate truth seems to be that it is unusual. Over the last decades the Presidency has been encased in such manipulation and mystique that those routine practices which go on every day in thousands of PTA meetings, business conventions and Elks luncheons across the country are hailed as genius when they are applied in the White House. Certainly the environment of the Presidency is far more critical than any other, but one might suppose that the men who arrive there would be conditioned to demands. Richard Nixon spends at least 10 or 15 hours of every day immersed in the major issues of the moment. It is not so illogical that he should have a good working understanding of them. Another thing Washington seems to have rediscovered through Nixon is that knowing what you are talking about—and not talking about what you don't know—is a pretty good idea even in the Oval Office. Most of America runs on such candor, and it is always a little alarming to discover that it is such an unusual commodity in the federal environs.

A while back, when the President was asked about the doubts that black Americans have about him, he did not try to deny the premise of the question—the truth of which was known to any observer of the scene—but devoted himself to pledging action and asking that he be judged on that. Such a semi-confession won a whole half-column of startled praise from the New York Times. Again, when he was asked how come so few women were in his government, he simply said he didn't know the facts but would find out. That kind of frankness, practiced without much forethought in places like Pocatello and Pontiac, brought more gasps of astonishment. And just a few days ago one of the Washington Post's hard-eyed columnists added it all up and declared that in less than two months Nixon had broken the habit of secretiveness in the top government ranks and was well on his way to redeeming his campaign pledge for an "open administration."

In fact, Richard Nixon has performed no miracles yet. He has not even been put to anything that could rightly be called a mild test. The catalogue of national woes is still intact, just put off for a while. Nixon has done his work routinely and rationally and with a minimum of ostentation. The hunger in and around the capital for a return to normalcy has seized on his quiet approach and built it into the image of a man about to conquer all. He may, but nobody can say for sure just yet.

Happily, Richard Nixon himself is one of the biggest skeptics, and in that may lie his greatest strength for the inevitable tests to come. He was wary from the start. He pored over the final drafts of his inaugural address to make sure that it contained no heart-lifting slogan or even some unintentional phrase that could be pounced upon by a public anxious for a panacea. Once when a friend came to him and declared that he had given "a great speech" Nixon shot back instantly, "Not a great speech, but a good speech." A few days ago, when visitors in his office began to express their optimism over the course of the shooting war in Vietnam, it was the President who spoke up to remind them that he had heard that before.

Riding back from Europe on Air Force One he called his staff members to his cabin and asked their judgment on how the journey had gone. Their vote was unanimous—a success. Nixon thought a second and then gave an answer that could apply to almost everything now. "Too soon," he said. "Too soon. A year from now we will know if it was a success."

CAMBRIDGE CITY COUNCIL,
OPPOSITION TO ABM

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to submit to this body a resolution adopted by the city council of the city of Cambridge, February 24, 1969. The Cambridge City Council expressed its support of Senator KENNEDY and Senator BROOKE of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in their call for reconsideration, by President Nixon, of the decision to build the Sentinel anti-ballistic-missile site. Although the President has recently changed the structure of the ABM and called for different locations, this resolution is still entirely valid for criticisms of the ABM as an effective system have not been answered. I firmly believe that the ABM system is exorbitantly expensive, ineffective, and not at all necessary to our country's defense system. It is my pleasure to submit this resolution to my colleagues for their consideration:

RESOLUTION

Whereas: The United States Department of Defense and the President of the United States did designate Camp Curtis Guild—located in parts of Reading, Lynnfield and Wakefield—as the site of the nation's first Sentinel Anti-Ballistic Missile System, and

Whereas: The City of Cambridge and other cities and towns throughout the Commonwealth and nation are experiencing great financial crises which can only be relieved by devoting a greater portion of our national resources to the solution of the problems afflicting our cities and towns; by curtailing non-essential defense spending and by returning more of the federal revenues to the cities and towns, and

Whereas: Senator Edward M. Kennedy, knowledgeable scientists, and other residents of Metropolitan Boston, the Commonwealth and other parts of the country have questioned both the technical justification of this so-called "Thin Missile" system, and the \$5 to \$6 billion expenditure necessary to build it, and

Whereas: Many citizens of Reading, Lynnfield and Wakefield expressed concern about the possible impact such an installation might have on their communities, and

Whereas: Many citizens of Cambridge also expressed alarm at the potential danger to the City of Cambridge and to other heavily populated cities and towns by the installation of such a site within the Boston metropolitan area, and

Whereas: Defense Secretary Melvin Laird, in response to said public pressures, has recently said he may move the site and cut down on the size of the program, thereby suggesting that this enormously expensive program was undertaken last year without sufficient proof that it was absolutely necessary, and

Whereas: It is in the interest of the City of Cambridge to participate in the development of a unified response by the cities and towns in the Boston metropolitan area to the various questions posed by the proposed Anti-Ballistic Missile System and sites selected for that System, and

Whereas: The Boston City Council has adopted a resolution instructing its Committee on Public Welfare to explore the

feasibility of establishing a Metropolitan Boston Elected Officials Emergency Council on this matter,

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Cambridge City Council that: 1. We support the positions taken by both Senators Edward M. Kennedy and Edward W. Brooke urging a full reconsideration by President Nixon of the decision to build the Sentinel Anti-Ballistic Missile site, and the position taken by Senator Edward M. Kennedy in calling for a freeze on any further expenditures of funds or development at Camp Curtis Guild for the proposed Sentinel Anti-Ballistic Missile System, pending a full review by the Congress and President, which freeze is presently in effect pursuant to orders of the Secretary of Defense;

2. We instruct the City Manager to communicate with the chairman of the Boston City Council Committee on Public Welfare, and to offer the cooperation of the City of Cambridge in efforts to develop a unified response by the cities and towns in the Boston metropolitan area to the various questions posed by the proposed Anti-Ballistic Missile System and sites selected for that System;

3. We respectfully request our congressman and senators, when considering authorization and appropriations for anti-ballistic systems and for other defense programs, that they consider the critical plight of our cities and towns and the plight of the taxpayer.

In City Council, February 24, 1969. Adopted by the affirmative vote of 8 members. Attest: Paul E. Healy, Temporary Clerk.

PAUL E. HEALY,
Temporary City Clerk.

BILL TO PROVIDE PERIODIC RECHECK ON COMMUTER ALIENS CROSSING BORDER FROM CANADA AND MEXICO TO U.S. JOBS

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing legislation today to provide a periodic check on the alien commuters who live in Canada or Mexico and commute to jobs in the United States.

My bill calls for an amendment to the Immigration and Nationality Act to assure more effective regulation of the influx of these workers into the labor market on the U.S. side of the border.

I have no intention of halting this practice. Rather, my proposal is simply to require that each of these so-called green-card aliens obtain recertification every 6 months by the U.S. Department of Labor.

This certification would show that the alien's continued presence in the United States to seek or to continue employment does not adversely affect the wages and working conditions of U.S. workers similarly employed.

I am informed by the Immigration and Naturalization Service that, at last count, there were 1,488 registered green-card holders who are coming into the Niagara frontier from Canada regularly for full-time jobs. The total crossing through Canadian and Mexican borders

is estimated at about 50,000, of whom 80 percent are crossing from Mexico.

The bill also would eliminate the current exemption from criminal statutes for those who knowingly employ aliens who have entered the United States illegally.

This is a particular problem on the Mexican border where the U.S. Border Patrol has reported an increase in the number of apprehensions of immigrants illegally entering the United States, many of them lured by U.S. employers who are now exempt from prosecution.

RESOLUTION BY THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, the current debate over whether to establish an oil refinery at Machiasport, Maine, has quite clearly established the fact that the people of New England pay more for fuel oil. The rigid import quotas, about which I plan to speak in the near future, have resulted in much higher prices on the New England markets.

I would like at this point to introduce a resolution by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts that sets forth in greater detail how the people of New England have been discriminated against. The resolution also supports the efforts of the Massachusetts congressional delegation to gain approval of the application by the Maine Port Authority to establish a foreign trade zone in Portland, Maine, and a subzone for the purpose of oil refining in Machiasport, Maine.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTIONS URGING THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO ORDER AN IMMEDIATE INCREASE IN THE DISCRIMINATORY ALLOCATION OF BARRELS OF IMPORTED NO. 2 FUEL OIL TO NEW ENGLAND AND TO ESTABLISH AN OIL REFINERY AT MACHIASPORT, MAINE

Whereas, The consumers of home heating oil in the Commonwealth, as well as those of the other New England states, have been discriminated against for the past decade because of stringent quotas relating to the imports of No. 2 fuel oil; and

Whereas, According to the Massachusetts Consumers' Council the consumers of Massachusetts are overcharged forty-two million dollars annually because of the imposition of such quotas under the Eisenhower Administration; and

Whereas, Said Consumers' Council and the New England Council consistently presented the facts of such discriminatory policies before the appropriate federal bodies; and

Whereas, There has been no decision to rescind the executive order establishing such quotas; and

Whereas, Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall during his term of office reportedly indicated a willingness to recommend an allocation of 30,000 barrels a day of imported No. 2 fuel oil to New England; and

Whereas, The proposed Foreign Trade Zone in Portland, Maine could help to correct the inequities occasioned by the No. 2 fuel oil quota discrimination, by (allowing) making available an additional 90,000 to 101,000 barrels of No. 2 fuel oil in New England at reduced prices; and

Whereas, The establishment and operation of an oil refinery at Machiasport, Maine would relieve the shortage of No. 2 fuel oil for the consumers of heating oil in the Commonwealth in peak heating seasons and retard price increases of this necessity of life; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Senate respectfully urges President Nixon to direct the Secretary of the Interior and Secretary of Commerce to implement forthwith the Udall recommendations relative to the allocation of additional oil imports to New England; and be it further

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Senate supports the efforts of Senator Kennedy and other members of the Massachusetts Congressional delegation to gain approval of the application by the Maine Port Authority to establish, operate and maintain a general-purpose foreign trade zone in Portland, Maine and a subzone for the purpose of oil refining in Machiasport, Maine; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be forwarded by the Secretary of State to the President of the United States, the presiding officer of each branch of the Congress and to the members thereof from the Commonwealth.

Senate, adopted, March 12, 1969.

NORMAN L. PIDGEON,
Clerk.

MR. ZIMMER AND THE NAB

HON. DONALD D. CLANCY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. CLANCY. Mr. Speaker, I am indeed pleased to learn of President Nixon's nomination of William H. Zimmer to the post of Director of the National Alliance of Businessmen in Cincinnati, Ohio. I would like to congratulate Mr. Zimmer on this occasion and urge him on behalf of the Cincinnati community to continue with this challenging work.

Under unanimous consent I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, for the attention of my colleagues, the following editorial from the Cincinnati Enquirer commending Mr. Zimmer:

President Nixon's choice of William H. Zimmer, president of the Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co., to direct Greater Cincinnati's participation in the National Alliance of Businessmen puts one of the Queen City's most energetic business figures at the head of a cause that can stand no diminution of effort.

The NAB is a nationwide campaign designed to create useful, productive employment opportunities for the hard-core jobless.

Mr. Zimmer will succeed Howard J. Morgens, president of the Procter & Gamble Co. Mr. Morgens was the campaign's initiator in Cincinnati, and he leaves behind a record of achievement that will not easily be duplicated. At the moment, some 1852 men and women are now gainfully employed in the seven-county Greater Cincinnati area under the program's auspices—more than 200% of the target quota.

In addition, some 36 companies have pledged to hire 420 more from the ranks of the hard-core unemployed.

The National Alliance of Businessmen is the most ambitious attempt thus far to enlist the energies of the private sector to find jobs for those who lack the experience and qualifications normally required of job-seekers.

Cincinnati's answer to the challenge thus far has been that private enterprise can indeed do the job. Mr. Zimmer's resolve is to sustain and enlarge the momentum.

STOP MIND POLLUTION

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, I invite the attention of my colleagues to an excellent editorial by Mr. John Troan of the Pittsburgh Press, in which he lucidly illustrates the magnitude of the pornography problem and extent the purveyors of filth are reaching to promote their mind polluting wares.

I wish to commend Mr. Troan for his observations and submit for the RECORD the following editorial:

STOP MIND POLLUTION—SMUT PEDDLERS MUST BE CURED

(By John Troan)

Walking along the street the other day, I glanced into the window of one of those cut-rate book stores.

And I was compelled to conclude that although we have made good headway against the perils of mine pollution, we have yet to mount a meaningful attack against the menace of mind pollution.

What I'm referring to is the flood of filth that is swirling about us—engulfing the minds of young and old alike.

True, there always have been dirty books. But never have I seen such a mess of muck as that which is today transforming many of our book stalls and magazine racks into pornography pits.

Frankly, I am appalled by the way the smutsmiths have perverted freedom of the press into a license for licentiousness. And I am disturbed by our inability to curb them.

Our courts have ruled that freedom of the press does not include obscenity.

BLAME THE READERS

But when it comes to defining what's obscene, our courts have waseled and re-waseled so much that even a decent man is tempted to resort to the latrine language they have condoned to tell them where to shove their decisions.

The courts, however, are not alone to blame. After all, what keeps the purveyors of pornography in business are not so much the courts as the customers.

And there obviously are plenty of goggle-eyed customers—of all ages—panting in the wings to explore the clinical details of the latest sex-plots of the horizontal heroes of a cesspool society.

Some of the smutsmiths try to pass off pornography as literature. And we reward them by elevating their slush to the best-seller lists!

Others make no pretense about their wares. Witness this excerpt from a letter a pulp pornographer sent to prospective writers several years ago:

"We are starting a new line of paperbacks and need tough, hard-hitting, sex-action-filled books, geared to the demands of today's competitive market.

PSYCHIATRIC VIEW

"What we seek is offbeat sex, with emphasis on deviations. The sex must be as strong and as offbeat as possible."

One of my favorite psychiatrists, Dr. Max Levin of New York, summed up this sleazy business when he wrote in the Current Medical Digest:

"One of the uglier pimples on the face of our society is the pornography business.

"Unscrupulous publishers cater to the sex hungers of our people, and their lurid books and magazines are hot numbers on newsstands, in candy stores and wherever teenagers gather.

"These panderers of literary aphrodisiacs are lower than worms."

I can't say it any better. Except perhaps to note that the pimple has become a boil. Or maybe even a cancer.

A BILL TO MODERNIZE CERTAIN PROVISIONS OF THE IMMIGRATION LAW

HON. CLARK MacGREGOR

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced legislation to facilitate the entry as nonimmigrants of specially skilled foreign nationals and aliens of distinguished merit and ability into the United States for temporary employment or training.

This bill is designed to modernize certain provisions of the immigration law to bring them in tune with the increasingly international nature of our economic and cultural society.

Presently, a specially skilled foreigner can come temporarily to the United States to fill a university post, for example, only if the teaching post is classed as temporary. He cannot come to occupy the endowed chair of an educational specialty for 2 or 3 years, let us say, because the position is not temporary, although his tenure is. In other words, the position he comes to fill must be temporary in the sense that it will go out of existence in a short time.

This restriction results in the exclusion of aliens whose temporary services in permanent positions in hospitals, symphony orchestras, and both profit and nonprofit corporations as well as educational institutions would be of inestimable value to this country.

In this modern age we have many U.S. corporations with branches throughout the civilized world. They are truly international in the range and scope of their operations. Under present law there is no way, for example, by which such a firm can bring to the United States an alien official from a foreign branch to fill a permanent post for 3 or 4 years. It is an increasingly common practice for international corporations to rotate officials throughout the world for relatively short tours of duty.

Our present immigration law makes such practice very difficult if not impossible. Presently such firms are forced to bring in foreign officers as immigrants for permanent residence even though they do not intend to become U.S. citizens, but usually plan to return to their home country or move on to another foreign assignment. A wait of 2 or 3 years is now required before such an intending immigrant can be admitted. Thus, the desires of U.S. firms to bring in executives for training or short tours of

duty in positions of importance are thwarted and our economy suffers.

The same situation exists with reference to the temporary use by American hospitals, symphony orchestras and other institutions of persons of exceptional and outstanding ability. Under present law, we are often denied the economic, cultural, and educational advantages of the free exchange of international talent.

My bill will not only permit such persons to come temporarily to permanent positions, it will also broaden the "training" category of nonimmigrants desiring admittance to improve their techniques and skills. Presently only industrial trainees may come temporarily. By removing the industrial limitation, all fields of economic and cultural endeavor can offer training opportunities to aliens.

This proposed legislation contains safeguards to protect our economy and national security. In all instances the alien coming for temporary and short run service will be admitted only if unemployed persons performing such services cannot be found in the United States. Additionally, all such temporary nonimmigrant admissions—be they exceptionally gifted musicians and artists, physicians, business executives, professors of distinguished merit and ability, or trainees—must satisfy all the present rigorous requirements pertaining to health, character, and security clearance before admission.

I submit, Mr. Speaker, under my bill American industry, education, and culture will benefit through the international exchange of special skills and talents.

PROTECTION OF CONSUMERS' CREDIT RATING PROPOSED

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the public is only beginning to realize the immense power over individuals wielded by the more than 2,100 credit bureaus in the United States. With the use of computers and new transmission methods, it is now possible to retrieve and send a person's complete credit history to any city in the Nation in less than a minute.

I strongly believe that legislation is needed to protect the consumer against erroneous credit ratings and the unwarranted publication of credit information.

A special report featured on "CBS Evening News With Walter Cronkite," March 17, 1969, illustrated the serious problems posed by careless credit bureaus that ignore the rules set out by their national organ, the Associated Credit Bureaus of America.

The transcript of the telecast follows:

EXCERPT FROM CBS EVENING NEWS WITH WALTER CRONKITE, MARCH 17, 1969

CRONKITE. One area of recent concern to many people is the question of credit ratings and the invasion of privacy. CBS News Correspondent Mike Wallace investigated that question.

WOMAN. May I help you?

WALLACE. Yes, please. My name is Wallace and I'm starting a small business. We're not going to have an office to begin with, and I understand that you take telephone calls.

WOMAN. Oh, you want to use our address and telephone number?

WALLACE. Exactly.

WOMAN. Oh, yes, of course, we can arrange that. Do you know what the rates are?

WALLACE. No, I don't.

WOMAN. They are \$15 a month for both, and the only thing that you . . .

WALLACE. For, for both?

WOMAN. For both, mail and telephone service, per month.

WALLACE. I can have my mail sent here and my calls received here.

WOMAN. Exactly. That's right.

WALLACE. Fifteen dollars a month.

WOMAN. Right. The only thing that's required is that you fill out a form from the Post Office that permits us to act as agents and accept mail for you.

WALLACE. Understood.

This is where the experiment began, a building at 200 West 57th Street, in New York City. That is the home of Accurate Secretarial Service. The firm provides a business address for small enterprises that don't want to rent their own offices. We signed a standard Post Office form permitting delivery of mail through an agent. We filled in the name of our non-existent company, Transair Systems, and the nature of the business, systems consultants.

WOMAN. And would you also like some business cards?

WALLACE. Huh uh.

WOMAN. Just letterheads. That's 20, that's 24.15 for the letterheads.

WALLACE. So Transair Systems was in business, an office, a telephone number, and a letterhead. What we wanted to find out was this: Is it possible for a small, unknown firm having nothing to do with credit to obtain supposedly confidential credit ratings? How easy is it to crack the files of local credit bureaus around the country?

There are more than 2100 local credit bureaus in the United States. They collect and file information on the finances of persons living in their localities, information obtained from a variety of sources, from banks, department stores, employers, court records, to name a few. The local bureaus are joined together in a national organization. They exchange information among themselves and sell that information to clients, those clients being firms that are considering granting credit. According to industry spokesmen, that information is not available to outsiders.

John Spafford, Executive Director of Associated Credit Bureaus of America, talked with Reporter Norman Glubok.

GLUBOK. Could anyone who's interested buy a credit report on anybody?

SPAFFORD. No, sir, they could not. First of all, as I mentioned earlier, they have to be a bona fide creditor, and by that I mean they have to be in the business of extending credit to individual consumers. They go make an application to become a member of the local credit bureau. The local credit bureau will investigate them to find out that they are in the business of extending credit, and if they find they meet the qualifications of that bureau, they will sign a contract with that individual credit granter. And then, and only then, do they have access to credit information in the files of that bureau.

GLUBOK. Then in your opinion a person down here in Houston couldn't write to Chicago, for example, and ask for information about some Chicagoan—would he receive that information?

SPAFFORD. No, he would not. He would not.

WALLACE. Transair Systems, of course, had nothing to do with granting credit, because in fact it did no business at all. But we sent off letters to 20 credit bureaus around the

country, bureaus picked at random from an industry directory. In each case, we asked for a credit report on an individual, a name picked, again at random, from the local telephone book. We said we were considering granting credit to that person. Under the industry guidelines we should have been told to contact our local New York credit bureau, which could then have checked out our credentials.

That isn't exactly the way it happened. Out of that mailing of 20 letters, we received, without further question, full credit reports on ten individuals. We received them directly from credit bureaus in Norwalk, Connecticut, in Corbin, Kentucky, Huntington, West Virginia, Belvidere, Illinois, Fort Smith, Arkansas, Greenville, Mississippi, Bismarck, North Dakota, Blytheville, Arkansas, and Bowling Green, Kentucky. Two other local bureaus offered to send information if we would sign a contract with them. Three others reported they had no file on the individual requested. Four did not reply. Only two of the 20 referred us to our local credit bureau, the procedure ostensibly required by the industry code. So on that first mailing of 20 letters, we batted an even .500, in spite of assurances that it could not be done.

GLUBOK. And in your opinion it's not easy for people who are not entitled to information to get it?

SPAFFORD. It's impossible.

WALLACE. Perhaps you'd like to see what a credit report looks like. This is a composite. We typed up a report using entries from several of the reports that we received, and of course we changed the names and addresses so as not to identify the subjects.

The top half of the form gives general information, name, address, employment, income, size of family, that kind of thing. But the bottom half gets down to the crux of the matter, credit history. This column on the left shows the kind of credit involved, B for bank loan, F for finance company, D for department store, and so on. The form shows the highest amount of credit involved in each transaction, the amount remaining, the amount past due, if any. But perhaps the most significant column is over here at the right, terms of sale and usual manner of payment. Here, for example, I stands for installment payments, \$129 per payment, and that last number, one, is a code. It means the subject usually pays within 30 days. That's pretty good. But here, a code number, two, 30 to 60 days. Down here O stands for open account, and the code number, three, payments more than 60 days but not more than 90 days late. You'll notice the higher the code number the higher the credit risk, so this worst number of all, nine, is usually reserved for deadbeats. This man would have a hard time getting credit.

Then there is a section called public record. Here we show a collection agency record, a couple of lawsuits, and the fact that the subject was divorced and remarried. Up here, in small type, is a warning that the information is confidential. But in one case, the report from Greenville, Mississippi, there was an additional warning. It says right there in red ink under no circumstances should the subject be allowed to see or have possession or knowledge of this report or a copy of it.

We decided to try one more mailing, but to make it a little more difficult. There were three differences this time. First, we no longer stated that we were thinking of granting credit. We simply asked for a full credit report with no explanation why. Second, we no longer chose individuals at random. Instead, we chose persons who had complained to Congressional investigators about their credit problems. And third, although we didn't know it at the time, the industry had just issued new, tougher guidelines. They state that local credit bureaus must require contracts with clients in which the

client certifies that inquiries will be made only for purposes of granting credit. This time we sent out 28 letters, and, as expected we had a tougher time. Only one-fourth of the credit bureaus sent us reports directly. This one came from Boston, Mass, this one from Alma, Michigan, Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, Rice Lake, Wisconsin, Austin, Texas, Dallas, Texas, and this one came from Peoria, Illinois. The Peoria report had another of those special warnings attached. "Strictly confidential," it said, "don't subject yourself to libel suits."

But there were some bright spots. This time 12 credit bureaus referred us to the New York bureau, and one flatly refused to help us at all. Five did not reply, but three others said that they would help us if we'd fill out application forms and sign contracts. In one case we decided to see what would happen. The credit bureau of Dalton, Georgia, asked us to sign a written contract affirming that we were intending to grant credit and agreeing to keep the information confidential. We did so. The letter also asked us to advise what type of company we were. We replied, "We are a systems company." We mailed that off and within a few days received the credit report that we'd requested. It would seem that signing a written contract is not much of a safeguard; all the client has to do is lie. But seven of the 28 bureaus provided us with credit reports without even that precaution.

GLUBOK. What about your members who violate your rules, who give out information to people who are not entitled to it? Do you have any penalties?

SPAFFORD. We have some 30-odd membership qualifications and requirements, and any member who is found to be violating these and is, does not correct the violation, their membership is subject to cancellation, and we do cancel them on occasion.

GLUBOK. About how many members have you cancelled over the years?

SPAFFORD. Over the years I couldn't tell you; I would say it might average ten to 15 a year.

GLUBOK. Out of 2200.

SPAFFORD. Uh huh.

WALLACE. We found more violations than that just by mailing out 48 letters. Perhaps things will be better as the industry's new guidelines receive more attention. One would certainly hope that things will be better. In the meantime, Transair Systems has been quietly phased out of the credit business.

Mike Wallace, CBS News, New York.

SENATOR KENNEDY DEDICATES BOSTON'S CITY HALL

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on February 11, 1969, the new city hall of the city of Boston was dedicated to the people of Boston. This building is extremely controversial, both in Boston and I believe, in architectural circles around the country. But only its design and appearance are controversial for the construction of the new city hall indicates the beginning of a new era in urban growth and the commencement of new programs to end urban ills in the great city of Boston.

Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY dedicated the building and addressed himself to the problems of the city in his speech.

We all have warm spots in our hearts for certain places. For those of us from

the country, it may be a particular field or stream or hill, and for those of us from the city it can be that city or special places therein. The people of Boston love their home, for it is perhaps one of the most beautiful and certainly the most historically significant in the United States. She is a varied city—a port, commercial hub, home of the descendants of the first settlers and the newest immigrants. She reflects the contributions of every ethnic group to have come to this land of freedom. Her buildings and monuments tell the history of our Nation.

The senior Senator from Massachusetts is certainly a man of the world, but he is a man of Boston. I believe his speech on February 11 indicates the important position that Boston and the Commonwealth have in his life. Its history has affected him, helped to shape him, and has prepared him for his great undertakings in helping to solve the problems of the present and the future. Senator KENNEDY is an optimist and believes that we, and the people of our Nation, can solve our problems and end our differences if we truly care enough about our Nation and our neighbors. He sees the construction of a new building to house the seat of the city's government as a step toward ending those problems. It signifies the future, progress, and growth. I commend this speech to my colleagues and am happy to have it placed in the RECORD at this time. I also include a resolution adopted by the city council of the city of Cambridge, Mass., congratulating Senator KENNEDY for his timely and understanding remarks on the problems of the city.

CAMBRIDGE CITY COUNCIL,

March 10, 1969.

Whereas Senator Edward M. Kennedy recently delivered a thoughtful and engagingly personal address at the dedication of Boston's new City Hall (more distinctive than attractive in the opinion of many), and

Whereas His remarks included, in listing major municipal contingencies, the following excerpt: "If the City of Boston becomes a city for highways rather than for people then our problems will overcome us, Boston will have failed its heritage, will have failed its own people, its neighbors and the people who love it all over the world"

Whereas Senator Kennedy expressed his hopes and satisfaction in observing that a local "community council is making sure that people are consulted on where the Inner Belt should go", be it

Resolved: That the Cambridge City Council congratulates our Senior Senator from Massachusetts for his timely alert and commentary on the works and pomps of the lush urban assassins whose plans and biddings for thru-city expressways threaten to destroy our community way of life, and be it further

Resolved: That a copy of these resolutions be sent to Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Senator Edward W. Brooke, Speaker John W. McCormack, Congressman Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Secretary of Transportation John A. Volpe, and Francis C. Turner, federal Director of Public Roads and more recently nominated for the position of Federal Highway Administrator.

Attest:

PAUL E. HEALY,
Temporary City Clerk.

DEDICATION OF NEW BOSTON CITY HALL,
FEBRUARY 11, 1969

Senator EDWARD KENNEDY. I am happy to be here today and delighted to be able to

participate in dedicating—to the people of the city of Boston—this historic and impressive building. I am glad that this building is controversial. Every important building is controversial. The Parthenon was called "remote" because it was set upon a hill; and Fanueil Hall was called "a scar upon the landscape." I think we owe a debt of gratitude to those who had the vision to design this city hall and those who had the courage to accept the design. It adds a new dimension not only to the architecture of the city of Boston, but to the entire concept of what public buildings should be in the United States.

Boston is an old city, which has allowed the present to be imposed upon her without complaint. She is a busy city—the center of New England; she is a proud city—proud that she has been the stage of so much history; proud that she has been the gathering place for so many people from different lands and different heritages; proud that she has a river and a harbor; gardens and museums; beauty in her buildings and excitement in her streets. All of us are here today because we love Boston—each of us in our own way, with our own favorite places, our own special memories, our own private feelings of fondness.

My love of Boston began when I was a little boy. I would walk around town with my grandfather, Mayor John F. Fitzgerald. We would go to the Common where the British soldiers used to train during the Revolution. (When he was mayor the most distinguished people on the Common wore beards.) He would take me to Spring Street and show me where the city got its water; we would go down to the docks where the ships came in from Europe. Later my brothers and I used to walk up Hanover Street and through the north end markets; go out to East Boston to see the houses of the old sea captains; over to Beacon Hill to see the lights in the windows and hear the carollers on Christmas Eve. Each of us found special things that Boston meant to him.

Boston means something to many more than live within her city limits. This is where the growth of Massachusetts began. This is the place the people of Massachusetts and all New England look to as the center of action in communications and culture, in sports and entertainment, in business and fashion and modern life. When people from the towns around Boston go to other parts of the United States and to other parts of the world, and are asked where they come from, they do not say they are from Reading or Wakefield or Hingham or Scituate—even though that may be their home—they say they are from Boston. That is the name that is known and respected around the world. This is their city, their symbol, their mecca, even though their houses are in other towns.

Boston may not be the hub of the universe. It probably never was. But it is the hub of urban life for 15 million people, the center of thought and vitality for all New England, and that, we hope will be true forever.

The task we undertake, with the dedication of this building, is nothing less than making sure that Boston will be as powerful and positive a symbol of New England life in the future as it has been in the past.

This will not be easy. For it is obvious that all of the problems that afflict urban life in the United States today—the problems of change and growth and tension; of congestion and crime; of schools and budgets and medical care—and above all the problem of the dignity of the individual in a huge urban society—all of these problems have come to Boston as they have to other large cities. They are testing us, challenging us, calling on the best that we can offer for the future of us all.

Urban life in the United States has come to a critical point of decision, caught between

the narrowing walls of change and decay on one hand and, on the other, priorities created for another age. If we were to be told that our nation was in danger from without, and that enormous expenditures and sacrifice would be necessary to save it, there is no doubt what our answer would be. But at a time when our urban way of life is in equal danger from within, there is doubt what the answer will be.

Despite the dedicated effort of the public officials here today, and all that has been done by dedicated private groups and citizens, we know the things that Boston needs have often been ignored. They have been frustrated by lack of understanding, by dogged resistance to change, by bickering and friction, by the attitudes and prejudices of an older age. They have been crippled badly by advocates of violence and by those who prefer dissent and defiance for the sake of drama rather than as a means for change and progress. They have lost the support of those who see traffic and pollution and congestion as plagues to be suffered instead of evils to be overcome. And they have been blocked, most of all, by the spirit of resignation and cynicism and powerlessness on the part of so many people who have concluded it is far better to spend their money and their energy on their own private comforts rather than on the tasks of the community that affects us all.

These attitudes have not always prevailed. They are constantly challenged and progress has often been made. But if they do prevail, if the city of Boston becomes a city filled with crime; if it becomes a city lived in only by the very rich and the very poor, a city for highways rather than for people; if, over the next 50 years, it gradually becomes an all black city, rather than an integrated city; if our schools are not stimulating and our playgrounds are not adequate; if our harbor grows idle and the air above our streets grows foul; if the citizens of Boston come to feel that the greatest goal of government is the stability of the tax rate; then our problems will overcome us. Boston will have failed its heritage. It will have failed its own people, its neighbors and the people who love it all over the world.

But if the city of Boston can set about its tasks with the same spirit of cooperation and sacrifice that the patriots had, that the immigrants had, then we can be sure that Boston will be great forever.

This is the challenge to everyone who works in this building. This is the opportunity represented by the dedication of this hall.

I for one am an optimist about Boston and one who appreciates all that has been done. Meeting here, we should salute the beginning of the new Boston under Mayor John Hynes; and the important work of rebuilding continued by Mayor John Collins, one of the great progressive mayors of the United States. We pay tribute to the activities of the administration of Kevin White which have turned us away from group conflict and brought a new and imaginative approach to the problem of making the big city government responsive to the people. There are, as well, the continuing efforts of the many organizations that have served Boston for years—the Chamber of Commerce, which speaks around the country about our virtues as a place to live and work; Father Joyce and his Boston College Forum where the most difficult problems are examined with candor and intelligence; and all of those corporations and labor organizations that have been willing to invest hundreds of millions of dollars in the future of Boston as a center of commerce and industry.

Yes, there are difficulties all over Boston—but there are also signs of hope. When a city becomes as large as Boston has become, no impressive building, no city government,

can re-create by itself the sense of living in a community which people need so much. A community has to be a place where people can see and know each other; where children can play and adults can work in an environment that gives them satisfaction. I see hope, as well, for this, the most difficult part of urban living. I see it in Jamaica Plain, where the community council is making sure that people are consulted on where the inner belt should go. I see it in East Boston, where citizens are saving vacant lots so their children can play. I see it in Southie, where the people of a neighborhood created Sister Mary Veronica Park, as a shelter of rest in memory of a beloved lady. And in Roxbury, I see great hope in the beginning of the concept of community corporations, where black people come together to form businesses and build theatres owned and controlled by themselves—just as the fathers and grandfathers of those of us who are Irish or Italian or Jewish tried to do when they were new to the city.

And most of all, perhaps, I see the growing number of young couples, many from suburban backgrounds, who have decided to make their homes in the south end, and improve the neighborhood, rather than flee to the suburbs. They deserve our special thanks, for they have been willing to stake their futures and those of their families on their love of this city and on their vision of what it can be.

These activities are participation in its finest sense. They are the future of the city of Boston—a city not only of fine buildings and stores and jobs and education and culture but a city of neighborhoods strong and vibrant where people learn to know and trust each other once again, and work together in the tasks of better living. Each of the efforts I spoke about may be small, important only to the people involved and the people they touch. But taken together, they can be very large, and if they can be multiplied in every neighborhood and block in the city of Boston, it will be the greatest investment in the future of the city.

Boston was built in the early days by giving of herself. The earth from the hills was taken and used to fill in the waters, so that people would have room to live. Now each of us must give of himself to the tasks ahead, so that the hills of opportunity may rise again to where they were in the eyes of those who came here 330 years ago.

And so we dedicate this building with the confidence that city hall will not just be a center of the government but it will be a motive force in making Boston, in the fullest sense, a community once again, and by doing so to repay the confidence of those who have loved this city for all she has been to so many of us.

CAMDEN COUNTY COLLEGE: AFFIRMATIVE ACTION ON STUDENT DISSENT

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, consistent with my position—that student militancy can be no substitute for the rule of reason—I have occasion to recognize and commend the stand taken by the Board of Trustees of Camden County College, situated in the First Congressional District of New Jersey. While recognizing the right to dissent, the board has ex-

explicitly set out a "code of behavior" for all of the students at the college:

1. That dissent shall not interfere with the normal operation of the college.
2. That dissent shall not lead to the destruction of public or private property.
3. That dissent shall not interfere with classroom instruction. (Emphasis added.)

Violation of this code will result in suspension or expulsion from the institution and any nonstudent found to be engaged in activities contrary to the code will be prosecuted under the laws of the State of New Jersey. The deliberate utilization of the terminology "shall" and "will" in lieu of "may" makes the intent and determination of the Board of Trustees unmistakably clear. It can be said that the wording of the board's resolution is not so as to make it understood, but so that it cannot be misunderstood.

A word of praise is in order, too, for the conduct of those students who concede the point that their demands are more apt to be met by understanding if promulgated in the form of proposals with the honest desire to have them evaluated on their merits by representatives of the student body, faculty, and college administration. To challenge the authority of the administration to establish the curriculum, policies, and standards of an institution of higher education by use or threat of violence and intimidation is an outright admission that such an institution should be nothing more than a forum for shallow and arbitrary academic deliberations in the mistaken name of intellectual freedom. An education under these circumstances would be without foundation and substance.

For the benefit of objectivity, I include at this point in the RECORD the list of proposals of the Society for Black Cultural Awareness, as presented to the Camden County College administration, and the board of trustees' response to each; an open letter concerning the proposals from the president of the college, Dr. Otto R. Mauke; the board's resolution with respect to student dissent; and, an editorial from the Camden Courier-Post commenting on the board's action:

PROPOSALS OF THE SOCIETY FOR BLACK CULTURAL AWARENESS

["(P)" indicates proposal, "(R)" indicates response]

1. (P) We propose the acknowledgment of Black Martyr's Day, February 21, be recognized as a holiday with leave of absence from college.

(R) Black students were authorized to be absent without penalty on Black Martyr's Day February 21, 1969. This policy will be continued in the future.
2. (P) We propose the passing of the constitution for the Society for Black Cultural Awareness with no restrictions and all the benefits that accompany its passing.

(R) The Constitution for the Society for Black Cultural Awareness will be handled by the Student Government Association through normal channels.
3. (P) We propose social activities for Blacks, something that we can identify ourselves with, or the refund of our activity fees.

(R) Camden County College has one of the most active social programs in the State of New Jersey. These affairs are designed to meet the needs and taste of all of the groups on our campus and are available on a free basis to students upon presentation of ID cards.

4. (P) We propose a bus for students (day and evening) that have to walk Little Gloucester Road.

(R) We asked Public Service to provide bus service from the City of Camden to our campus in the morning with a return trip in the late afternoon. The request has been denied twice, but we are still pursuing this objective. We are planning to purchase a nine-passenger vehicle for all College use and we will provide service of the type requested on an experimental basis when the vehicle is available.

5. (P) We propose equal time on the radio station—Disc Jockeys installed with pay.

(R) The Radio Club is responsible for the operation of the campus radio station. The club is open to all students who may make their wishes known through their membership. All students are free to make known their tastes to members of the Club. Students are not paid for serving as announcers.

6. (P) We propose that this college hire Black personnel other than faculty that are qualified for their position.

(R) The College does not practice discrimination in its hiring policies. All qualified individuals regardless of race or creed are invited to apply for positions of all types on this campus. We have advertised several of our openings during the past two weeks and would appreciate receiving responses to these advertisements.

7. (P) We propose the removal of all "racist inspired" faculty and administrators in this college.

(R) One must define the term "racist inspired" and determine the means of testing for this particular characteristic. We would like the Faculty Association to deal with this item in cooperation with representatives of the black students and the administration.

8. (P) We propose seminars at this institute that correspond to urban problems of the Black community.

(R) Seminars dealing with the varied problems of urban life will be developed for initiation next Fall.

9. (P) We propose qualified Black instructors to teach Physical Education and Health: (a) recruitment of more Black athletes, (b) addition of a scholarship program.

(R) Qualified blacks are invited to apply for teaching physical education at Camden County College. Athletes of both races are invited to apply for admission. Our scholarship programs do not include athletic scholarships for students of any race.

10. (P) We propose that a board for the recruiting of Black and Spanish-speaking high school seniors be set up to recruit students from Urban Camden and Lower Camden County.

(R) We have had an extensive recruitment program for black students and Spanish-speaking students. We would be happy to receive recommendations of names and individuals qualified to assist the College in recruitment in these areas.

11. (P) We propose various lecturers to elaborate on racism.

(R) Lecturers on racism can be incorporated into the seminar program discussed in number 8.

12. (P) We propose that the college open its facilities for the community.

(R) No college in the State of New Jersey has been more community-minded than

Camden County College. Our facilities have been available and will continue to be available to community groups. Our extensive cultural series is available without charge to the general public.

13. (P) We propose a more concise and increased Black Section in the library.

(R) We have an extensive Black Section in the Library which is being expanded continually. A list of books available is attached.

14. (P) We propose that the students of the "100 Go-to-College" program be allowed to participate in all college activities.

(R) The "100 Go-to-College" students are permitted to participate in all activities on campus with the exception of athletics and student government. NCAA regulations do not permit non-matriculated students to participate in intercollegiate activities. The "100 Go-to-College" students have formed their own representative government.

15. (P) We propose the lowering of the College's food prices.

(R) A.R.A. will be asked to submit results of a survey to be conducted by that organization on comparative food prices. S.G.A. has been working in this area.

16. (P) We propose a course in practical application in the Black Ghetto.

(R) A course in Urban Sociology will be introduced next Fall.

17. (P) We propose jobs for all students on the campus.

(R) No deserving student has been denied financial assistance on this campus. Job opportunities are open to all who are interested regardless of race or creed.

18. (P) We propose that Black instructors that are qualified to teach African-Civilization.

(R) Qualified black instructors are invited to apply for teaching African-Civilization as well as other courses at Camden County College. The College has actively sought the services of such individuals since its inception.

19. (P) We propose the removal of the police officers patrolling the building at night, while college is in session, with their riot clubs.

(R) Security personnel are employed by the College for the protection of all of our students. No officer carries a riot club on this campus.

20. (P) We propose the capacity of classes be distributed evenly.

(R) The Registrar makes every effort to balance class size. Open registration procedures may create minor imbalances as students make their own section choices. This can be rectified by arbitrary assignment of students to course sections.

21. (P) We propose that the Black students, out of popular vote, be able to vote for three Black students that can truly represent them in the student government.

(R) All matriculated students who meet academic requirements are free to run for any position in Student Government.

22. (P) We propose a Black Financial Director for Black students.

(R) Financial aid must be centralized in one office for the purpose of coordination of the program and the recording of disbursements.

23. (P) We propose Black instructors to instruct Black Studies Dept. in the following: (a) History, (b) African linguistics, (c) art, (d) music, (e) politics.

(R) The HEW decision relative to Antioch College indicates that federal funding will be suspended where a college segregates black students even though black students have themselves made such a request. We will attempt to integrate into existing courses information relative to the preceding points where relevant and then to develop courses

dealing with the culture, art, language, and music of the African people.

24. (P) We propose that Black Guidance programs be set up for the Black students to help them in choosing the proper subjects in their particular curriculum.

(R) Counseling is an integral part of the community college philosophy. Qualified counselors of all races make a positive contribution in this vital area. Qualified black counselors are invited to apply.

25. (P) We propose that a Cultural Education Plan be established for the college and community.

(R) The contribution of all minority groups to American Culture is incorporated in the context of appropriate courses and will be expanded where possible.

OPEN LETTER FROM DR. OTTO R. MAUKE, PRESIDENT, CAMDEN COUNTY COLLEGE

MARCH 11, 1969.

"The members of the Board of Trustees, the faculty, staff and administration of Camden County College are interested in all of the students at this College—white and black, male and female, Christian and Jew and other religions. We are interested in serving the needs of all of our students and in maintaining the integrity of the College.

"For these reasons, when certain proposals were presented by black students to the administration last Thursday, it was decided to work jointly with representatives of Student Government and the blacks on these areas affecting the entire student body. At the conclusion of the meeting Friday it was decided by all present not to publicize these requests since it was generally understood that they could be resolved through existing government and academic structures. Because of the concern of all students and the general air of confusion following yesterday's faculty meeting, it was decided to make the proposals public at this afternoon's meeting.

"I believe that all of us working together can resolve issues on this campus without calling upon outside assistance or interference. I have faith in the students of Camden County College and this faith has been revealed by me in the past few days and upheld by them in their actions to date."

DR. OTTO R. MAUKE,

President, Camden County College.

RESOLUTION BY THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Whereas the Board of Trustees of Camden County College recognizes that the right of dissent is part of our American heritage, and

Whereas minority groups and majority groups share a wide spectrum of rights, privileges and responsibilities under the laws of the State of New Jersey and the laws of the United States of America, now therefore

Be it resolved that this Board does adopt the following code of behavior for all Camden County College students:

1. That dissent shall not interfere with the normal operation of the college.
2. That dissent shall not lead to the destruction of public or private property.
3. That dissent shall not interfere with classroom instruction.

Be it further resolved that any student who engages in such behavior shall be suspended or expelled; and that any non-student engaging in such behavior on this campus will be liable for prosecution under the laws of the State of New Jersey.

MAXINE COLM,

Chairman, Board of Trustees, Camden County College.

[From the Camden (N.J.) Courier-Post, Mar. 15, 1969]

THEY HANDLED IT WELL

Camden County College officials are to be commended for their warning to students that dissenters interfering with the school's normal operations would be suspended or expelled.

The ground rules have been laid down:

Dissent shall not interfere with the normal operation of the college, lead to the destruction of public or private property, or interfere with classroom instruction. Any student who engages in such behavior shall be suspended or expelled and any non-student engaging in such behavior on this campus shall be liable for prosecution under the laws of the State of New Jersey.

That position made known, the college officials handled the requests, made by black students at the college, with commendable understanding, restraint, and good sense.

A delicate situation was handled well as the trustees showed a disposition to begin seminars on urban life, accept black assistance in the recruitment of black students for the school, start a course in urban sociology at the school, develop courses dealing with the culture, art, language, and music of the African people, and in agreeing to other requests.

At the same time, the school pointed out it could not accede to requests that black instructors be hired or that black students be separated for black studies. That would be discrimination for blacks instead of against blacks.

The authorities made it clear, we believe, that they already have excellent policies concerning policing of the campus and the opportunities for jobs for students.

Dr. Otto Mauke, college president, also scores with his assertion that "all of us, working together can resolve issues on this campus" and that he has "faith in the students."

It is good, too, that all know the ground rules—that for disruptive demonstrations offenders must be prepared to suffer the consequences.

SILVER ANNIVERSARY

HON. WALTER FLOWERS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 20, 1969

Mr. FLOWERS. Mr. Speaker, Friday, March 21, 1969, was a significant date in the career of one of the most distinguished Members of this House. This date marked the 25th anniversary of service in Congress by the Honorable GEORGE W. ANDREWS, dean of our Alabama delegation.

It is a great honor for me to praise him on this occasion for his long history of effective service to his district, his State, and his Nation.

As a first-term Member of Congress and the newest member of in the Alabama delegation, I would like also to pay tribute to him for his kind and unselfish help to me. I am sure that his assistance in many ways has enabled me to begin serving my district in an effective manner sooner than might otherwise have been the case.

I salute our colleague, GEORGE ANDREWS, and wish him at least 25 more years of outstanding service.

BYELORUSSIAN INDEPENDENCE

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, in the last few months we have recognized the struggles of several small nations in their fight for independence. On March 25, those citizens of our Nation of Byelorussian origin, celebrated the 51st anniversary of their independence. Once again, however, we are faced with celebrating an anniversary of a fact which is, sadly, no longer a fact, but rather, has become a dream of hope.

During the decade prior to World War I, the Byelorussian people, who had been ruled by the Russians, began to redevelop their own national culture and language. This cultural revival was later to have distinct political relevance as well.

The outbreak of World War I created unique opportunities for those non-Russian peoples residing along the borderlands between the Russian Empire and Europe proper. The Byelorussians, like the Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Estonians, and others within the empire, seized the opportunity to establish their own national independence.

During the German occupation, during the war, the Byelorussian leaders were able to carry on their political work. Further, they were able to carry on the redevelopment of the cultural aspects of their nationalism.

During 1917 and 1918, the Byelorussian people constructed a democratic constitution, and finally on March 25, 1918, they declared their independence and set up a government at Minsk, the capital city. Although the existence of the Byelorussian National Republic was greatly dependent on the fortunes of the occupying military forces, it is generally agreed that the government made significant advances in the fields of education, culture, and social welfare.

With the end of the war and the dissolution of German Armed Forces, the Red Army advanced into Byelorussia, and on December 10, 1918, seized Minsk. In 1921, the Treaty of Riga divided the Byelorussian territory, and their national efforts were defeated.

Today, however, the 8 million Byelorussian people still hope, and it is appropriate that we commend them on their continuing efforts to become, once again, a free and independent nation. We must all continue to pray for the release of these captive nations, that they may once again stand with heads high in the world of free men.

**BISHOP JOHN J. WRIGHT HELPS
PLAN WORLD CONFERENCE ON
RELIGION AND PEACE**

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to call to the attention of the U.S. Congress and the American people the plans which are being developed for a world conference on religion and peace to be held in Kyoto, Japan in September of 1970.

We in Pittsburgh are especially proud that His Excellency John J. Wright, Bishop of Pittsburgh, is a member of the advisory committee planning for this conference. He has recently returned from attending a meeting of this committee in Istanbul, Turkey, where groundwork for the peace conference was mapped.

I want to compliment Bishop Wright and the other religious representatives on this fine example of international cooperation and on their concern and work for a peaceful world.

I submit the article from the Pittsburgh Post Gazette, 5 March 1969, that gives Bishop Wright's report on his trip. The proposed world conference on religion and peace can well be a major turning point in world affairs and religious history of our times.

The article follows:

**NEW THEOLOGY OF PEACE DUE—BISHOP TELLS
PLANS FOR WORLD PARLEY IN JAPAN IN 1970**
(By Thomas M. Hritz)

Bishop John J. Wright said here yesterday that a "new theology of peace" will emerge from a world conference on Religion and Peace scheduled to be held in Kyoto, Japan, in September of 1970.

The Roman Catholic prelate, who returned early yesterday from an advisory committee in Istanbul, Turkey, where groundwork for the peace conference was mapped, said a "solid passion for peace" now exists among religious leaders all over the world.

CITES "EXPLOSIVE" SITUATION

"The political situation in the world is sufficiently explosive and critical to justify intensive concentration on the problems of peace and utilizing the moral and spiritual resources of all religions to promote a climate of peace without which it would be impossible for the human community to survive with dignity and decency," he said.

Bishop Wright said the old imperial city of Kyoto was chosen as the site of the world forum so the conference will coincide with the world's fair, Expo '70, scheduled to be held there next year.

He added that Japan is a neutral country—both religiously and politically—where the Arab and the Jew can meet.

The bishop reported that the Japanese especially are looking to the conference as a source to a lasting world peace.

JAPAN OFFERS AID

He said that country's hideous experience with the horrors of the atomic bomb a quarter of a century ago inspired a desperate quest for peace.

The bishop added that Japan sent more representatives of its religions to the committee meeting than any other country.

It even offered to render financial aid to some African and Latin American countries who said they may not be able to afford to participate in the conference, he added.

Bishop Wright said representatives at the committee meeting worked in harmony. "We often found ourselves agreeing on many theological matters," he said, noting that Christians, Buddhists, Moslems, Hindus, Shintoists and representatives of other religions attended the meeting.

AN OIL REFINERY AT MACHIASPORT, MAINE, SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED IN FAIRNESS TO NEW ENGLAND CONSUMERS

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include the very timely resolution, recently adopted by the Massachusetts State Senate, urging the President to order an immediate increase in the present allocation of imported No. 2 fuel oil to New England and to establish an oil refinery at Machiasport, Maine.

The objective of this resolution is to provide a too long withheld measure of economic equity to the consumers in Massachusetts and throughout the New England region. I most earnestly hope that the President will see fit to promptly initiate the just action requested in the resolution, which follows:

RESOLUTION URGING THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO ORDER AN IMMEDIATE INCREASE IN THE DISCRIMINATORY ALLOCATION OF BARRELS OF IMPORTED NO. 2 FUEL OIL TO NEW ENGLAND AND TO ESTABLISH AN OIL REFINERY AT MACHIASPORT, MAINE

Whereas, The Consumers of home heating oil in the Commonwealth, as well as those of the other New England states, have been discriminated against for the past decade because of stringent quotas relating to the imports of No. 2 fuel oil; and

Whereas, According to the Massachusetts Consumers' Council the consumers of Massachusetts are overcharged forty-two million dollars annually because of the imposition of such quotas under the Eisenhower Administration; and

Whereas, Said Consumers' Council and the New England Council consistently presented the facts of such discriminatory policies before the appropriate federal bodies; and

Whereas, There has been no decision to rescind the executive order establishing such quotas; and

Whereas, Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall during his term of office reportedly indicated a willingness to recommend an allocation of 30,000 barrels a day of imported #2 fuel oil to New England; and

Whereas, The proposed Foreign Trade Zone in Portland, Maine could help to correct the inequities occasioned by the #2 fuel oil quota discrimination, by (allowing) making available an additional 90,000 to 101,000 barrels of #2 fuel oil in New England at reduced prices; and

Whereas, The establishment and operation of an oil refinery at Machiasport, Maine would relieve the shortage of #2 fuel oil for the consumers of heating oil in the Commonwealth in peak heating seasons and retard price increases of this necessity of life; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Senate respectfully urges President Nixon to direct the Secretary of the Interior and Secretary of Commerce to implement forthwith the Udall recommendations relative to the allocation of additional oil imports to New England; and be it further

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Senate supports the efforts of Senator Kennedy and other members of the Massachusetts Congressional delegation to gain approval of the application by the Maine Port Authority to establish, operate and maintain a general-purpose foreign trade zone in Portland, Maine, and a subzone for the purpose of oil refining in Machiasport, Maine; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be forwarded by the Secretary of State to the President of the United States, the presiding officer of each branch of the Congress and to the members thereof from the Commonwealth.

A BILL TO REVISE THE SELECTIVE SERVICE LAWS

HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a bill to establish procedures for the fair and equitable selection of qualified young men to meet the continuing military manpower needs of the Nation.

Let me state initially that I agree with the conclusion of the single most thorough public study of the draft, that of the Marshall Commission that "the Nation must now, and in the foreseeable future, have a system which includes the draft."

This is simply because our first concern must be to guarantee a continuing supply of manpower for national defense purposes and past experience has amply demonstrated that the draft provides such a guarantee.

In any revision of our draft laws I believe we must be concerned with flexibility so we can adjust to high or low manpower needs and with uniformity so that every young man will know to as great an extent as is possible at any time if and when he might be called to duty. We must also be concerned with fairness so that every young man in every population group can expect and get equal treatment. I further believe that we can achieve these goals by drafting the youngest first at age 19 and by drastically curtailing deferments with the choice for service made by a random selection system.

The bill I am introducing today would deal with the many problems raised by our present Selective Service System. In summary my bill's principal provisions are as follows:

First. It requires that the youngest—the 19-year-olds—be drafted first;

Second. It requires use of random selection to select those young men to be drafted;

Third. It provides for a 3-year transitional period in establishing the random selection system from among 19-year-olds;

Fourth. It eliminates occupational deferments except where ordered by the President;

Fifth. It permits students to postpone their exposure to the draft during the course of bona fide study, but does not permit this postponement to become an exemption;

Sixth. It discontinues this postponement feature whenever casualties in a shooting war reach 10 percent of those drafted in a given month;

Seventh. It grants conscientious objector status to atheists and agnostics, so long as

they are genuine pacifists, as well as to those whose objection is based on conventional religious training and belief;

Eighth. It requires the adoption of national standards and criteria in the administration of the draft law, and requires their uniform application;

Ninth. It prohibits use of the draft as a punishment for protest activities, by limiting draft delinquency to acts relating to a registrant's own individual status;

Tenth. It permits judicial review of questions of law regarding classification proceedings, and permits use of habeas corpus proceedings by those who comply with induction orders;

Eleventh. It restores the role of the Justice Department in reviewing conscientious objector cases;

Twelfth. It gives registrants the right to appear in draft board proceedings affecting them, and to be represented by counsel;

Thirteenth. It conforms our draft treatment of allens to our treaty requirements, as recommended by the State Department;

Fourteenth. It limits the term of the Director of the Selective Service System to 6 years;

Fifteenth. It prohibits discrimination of any kind in the makeup of any selective service panels which determine an individual's draft status;

Sixteenth. It calls for a thorough public study of a National Service Corps, in which individuals seeking nonmilitary service might fulfill their obligation of service to the Nation;

Seventeenth. It calls for a thorough public study of all aspects of a volunteer army;

Eighteenth. It calls for a thorough public study of military youth opportunity schools, which would offer special educational and physical assistance to those falling below induction standards who desired to volunteer for military duty;

Nineteenth. It calls for a thorough public study of the ramifications of granting amnesty to those young men who fled the country rather than face the draft;

Twentieth. It encourages use of civilians to replace military personnel in nonmilitary jobs; and

Twenty-first. It closes a number of loopholes in the present law.

I believe that each of the changes enumerated above is essential and must be enacted if we are really to reform our Selective Service laws to provide a fair, certain, and flexible system.

For example, under the present system, men between 19 and 25 years of age are drafted in reverse order of their age; that is, oldest first. The oldest-first system has been unanimously condemned by all who have studied draft reform, including the Marshall Commission, combat commanders, and the Defense Department. Obviously it forces young men to plan their careers and families in an atmosphere of uncertainty and unpredictability. Furthermore, the incidence of deferment rises sharply with age. According to a 1966 Defense Department study only 3 percent of classified registrants had dependency deferments at age 19 and only two-tenths of 1 percent had any form of occupational deferments. But at age 24, nearly 30 percent of all registrants were in just these two deferred categories. Consequently, a rising average age of induction multiplies the number of deferment decisions each local registrant faces.

It should be pointed out, too, that our military commanders have consistently preferred 19- and 20-year-olds because they are more adaptable to the combat training regimen.

That the youngest should be drafted first has had unanimous support of the Marshall Commission, the Clark Panel, President Johnson's special message to the Congress on the draft, and the report of the Senate and House Armed Services Committees.

Those who might be deferred for one reason or another during all or part of their 19th year would be draft eligible upon expiration of the deferment as "constructive 19-year-olds." Drafting the youngest first would be mandatory.

My bill contains a random selection system to determine who shall serve when not all serve and I believe this would do away with that inherent element of unfairness which is suspect in any system that must choose a few from among many. When a person is called upon to serve his country and risk the possibility of death or dismemberment, no one can presume to judge which life may be less valuable. As the system now works, each local draft board determines, with minimal national guidance, classifications, deferments and other elements of draft procedure; that is, who shall be drafted. It is imperative that we change this subjective system to an objective one of random selection, thereby creating a more equitable distribution of risk.

The need for a lottery is also clearly shown by the "imperative of numbers." Over the next decade we will have a pool of 820,000 eligible 19-year-olds each year from which 260,000 must be drafted. Thus even when the Vietnam war demands high draft calls as it does this year we will only be selecting one man from among four eligible and it is estimated that during peacetime we will have to choose only one man from among seven or eight eligible.

Briefly the random selection system I propose would work as follows:

Young men would be eligible for induction only so long as they were in the "prime selection group" and they could be in this group for no longer than a total of 12 months. Basically, the young men in this prime selection group would be 19-year-olds who met the mental, physical and moral standards for induction. Also in this group would be the "constructive 19-year-olds," those who were deferred for all or part of their 19th year, but who would be placed in the prime selection group upon the termination of their deferment. Only those individuals actually in the prime selection group would be subject to induction.

To effect the change from the present oldest-first subjective selection procedure to my proposed youngest-first random selection procedure, my bill adopted the 3-year transition feature recommended by a number of experts. Under its terms, those men 20 years and older and still eligible for induction would be phased into the prime selection group as follows: In the first year those over 24; in the second year those between 22 and 24; and in the third year those between 20 and 22. After the end of this 3-year transition the system would be fully operative and the impact upon those older than 19—primarily graduate students—would be largely minimized.

Occupational deferments would be discontinued under my measure unless the

President were to determine that the efficacy of our national defense required that certain occupations were critical and that those holding these occupations should be deferred. If he so determined, he would be required to identify the particular occupation and require deferments on a uniform national basis.

Student deferments, particularly when this country is engaged in armed combat, stand out as a major inequity. To meet this problem my bill proposes a number of changes.

High school students would be deferred until they finish high school as the law now provides. Upon graduation from high school they could enter the prime selection group at 19 or choose to go on to college thereby postponing their entry into the prime selection group. Upon completing college or at 25, these men would become "constructive 19-year-olds" and be within the prime selection group for 12 months. Thus, all those who did not voluntarily enlist would at some point in their 19- to 26-year-old span be in the prime selection group equally with their contemporaries.

So that no young man could use college to avoid a shooting war, my bill provides that student deferments would be discontinued when the number of casualties in a shooting war exceeded 10 percent of the number of draftees for 3 consecutive months. And when the discontinuance did take place, it would stay in effect for the following 12 months.

This discontinuance insures that when draftees face an appreciable risk of being sent to a combat zone, all young men must stand as equals at that particular time before the draft process. To permit some to elect to enter college and postpone exposure to the draft for 4 years while denying this election to others would be to continue one of our present system's worse features.

It is important to note that the discontinuance would not apply to students already in college or occupational training when the 10-percent figure was reached. These students made their choice to enter college or training not out of a desire to avoid being drafted into a shooting war because the shooting had not reached an appreciable extent when their decisions on whether to take up the option was made in the light of combat casualties.

My bill would make no change in our tradition of according conscientious objector status only to those conscientiously opposed to war in any form. However, it would repeal the amendment adopted in 1967 designed to overrule the Seeger decision of the U.S. Supreme Court. My proposal reinstates the language of the statute in effect before the 1967 amendments, a result which seems in conformity with the principle underlying the conscientious objector exemption—a genuine objection to wars in any form based on conscience.

Mr. Speaker, the need for draft reform is very clear. Our present law is patchwork and outdated. It provides neither flexibility nor fairness nor certainty. I believe we have an obligation to our young people and to the country to change it and I urge this Congress to react to this cry for change now.

JIM FARLEY GRADUATES AT 80

HON. JAMES J. DELANEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, the Rockland County Journal of Nyack, N.Y., recently printed an interesting article telling how the Honorable James A. Farley, elder statesman of the Democratic Party, and chairman of the board of the Coca-Cola Export Corp., received his high school diploma 64 years after completing his secondary school studies, at the age of 80.

Mr. Farley is a highly respected expert on international trade, and has for many years been acclaimed as one of this Nation's most astute authorities on American politics. His determination to succeed in life, regardless of his educational handicap, should be an inspiration to today's school dropouts, and other youth who experience difficulty with their studies.

The article by Scott Webber also contains some cogent observations by the distinguished former Postmaster General, which I think my colleagues will find of interest. Under leave to extend my remarks, the article follows:

FARLEY CAST IN NEW ROLE: THE GRADUATE
(By Scott Webber)

James A. Farley, a native of Grassy Point who rose to be Postmaster General of the United States and who has known 7 Presidents personally, always had one regret in his life: He never got his New York State Regents' High School Diploma.

Sixty-four years ago he took his English Regents and got a 78. But when his paper got to Albany for checking, the mark was reduced to 73, which meant he had failed.

"I didn't have enough sense in those days to go back and take the test over," Farley said the other day, noting that the oversight prevented him from getting his Regents diploma.

In the years that passed since the Class of 1905 left the Stony Point High School (now the administrative offices of the North Rockland Central School District on W. Main Street), Farley became Stony Point town clerk, supervisor and a member of the Assembly before joining up with Franklin D. Roosevelt as his 1932 campaign manager.

The new junior high school that opened in Stony Point in 1967 is named after him. On the day of its dedication, he told the assembled audience that the one big disappointment of his life was that he never got his diploma.

Then one day last summer, he was sitting next to the State Commissioner of Education, Dr. James E. Allen (soon to be the new U.S. Commissioner of Education), and in jest told him that he had a bone to pick with his department.

A few weeks ago Dr. Allen walked in to Farley's office in New York, where he is chairman of The Coca-Cola Export Corp., and presented him with the diploma, Stony Point High School Class of 1905.

Farley keeps active on the political front. He was a delegate last summer to the Democratic convention in Chicago and he sides with the efforts of the police to keep the rioters from breaking up the convention. He said the rioters had one purpose in going to

Chicago and that was to disrupt the proceedings by provoking trouble by any means necessary.

In 1936, Farley had accurately predicted that Roosevelt would carry all but two states. Last year Farley saw that unless the Humphrey-Muskie ticket got the support of the McCarthy, Kennedy and liberal elements of the party, it would lose to Nixon. And this is what happened, he says.

"I never will understand why they refused to back the candidate once the choice had been made," Farley added.

Because he knew the ticket would lose, he made no public predictions, he pointed out. Farley now lives in the Waldorf-Astoria where his neighbors have included Herbert Hoover and Douglas MacArthur.

While noting that some of Hoover's political judgment "might not have been too good," Farley said the former President was one of the "most dedicated unselfish Americans I ever knew" and a person with whom in later years he often had very friendly and frank discussions about politics.

Farley recalled that Hoover and Roosevelt were very good friends up until the time of the 1932 election, having known each other in Washington during the Wilson Administration. Roosevelt was the only person whom Farley ever heard call Hoover "Bert."

Pointing out that he knew Lyndon B. Johnson beginning in 1934, Farley said that the Vietnam War was his downfall. Roosevelt was hurt by the secret agreements made at Yalta; Johnson by the Vietnam war, which Farley personally believes was the right thing and something the President had to do.

(The walls of Farley's New York office are lined with autographed pictures of many of the people in public life he has known over the years, and quite a few of them are of Lyndon Johnson with warm inscriptions.)

Dwight Eisenhower would have been a third term President in 1960 except for the constitutional prohibition, Farley says. "No question about it, no one could have beaten him, not even John F. Kennedy."

Farley believes that Ike "made a good President" and "fitted into the demands of that period," adding that he is a "fine man whose place is secure in history."

MacArthur, whom he first knew in the early years of the Roosevelt administration when he was Army Chief of Staff, was "an extremely interesting conversationalist," says Farley.

Asked about proposals for making all postal appointments by Civil Service, Farley said he believes it will still be done by appointing those from the list who are members of the party in power, the system that he used when he was Postmaster General.

"That was the best system then and I still think so," he added.

His future plans? He wants to write another book about the Roosevelt years, explaining that when he wrote his book, "Jim Farley's Story," back in the 1940's, much of what can now be told couldn't be told then.

And on May 30, his 81st birthday, he will arrive at St. Peter's Cemetery in Haverstraw to visit the graves of his parents and then ride through Grassy Point, stopping at homes and calling on those with whom he grew up.

FEDERAL LAW TO BETTER PROTECT HOUSES OF WORSHIP FROM ARSONISTS NEEDED

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation to apply more comprehensive protection under

Federal law to houses of worship that are the targets of arsonists.

Although the Bill of Rights guarantees Americans freedom of worship and the Civil Rights Act of 1968 extends Federal protection to individuals whose civil rights—including the right to worship—are violated, Federal law only makes it a Federal crime to use explosives to destroy houses of worship.

Although arson is a common law crime, many States have adopted statutes directed at specific acts of arson that provide penalties with varying degrees of severity. My bill would close the gap among State laws and between Federal and State law, in those instances where States have weak or ineffective protection for houses of worship victimized by arsonists. This legislation—by extending the acts of arson subject to Federal jurisdiction—would provide stricter coverage in those States where penalties for certain crimes of arson may be nonexistent. And my bill provides a uniform standard for dealing with this serious problem.

Violence against houses of worship threatens one of our most basic rights; we must secure full protection of our freedom to worship.

THE SILENT MAJORITY SPEAKS OUT

HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, recently Rio Grande College in Ohio was the scene of an attempt by protesters to wreck orderly campus activity at this fine institution. The attempt failed because the school administration under Dr. A. R. Christensen swiftly enlisted the assistance of local law-enforcement officials and made it clear that disruptions would not be tolerated. Perhaps there is a lesson here that violence-plagued schools in other parts of our country might heed. A timely evaluation of the Rio Grande incident and of campus disorder in general was recently published in an editorial by the distinguished editor of the Gallipolis Daily Tribune, Mr. Hobart Wilson, Jr.

The editorial follows:

IT'S TIME FOR SILENT MAJORITY TO SPEAK OUT

Giving in to the anarchists—and there is no better word to describe the mindless militants who in recent months have made it quite plain their bag is to destroy, not create—is only asking for more of the same.

Tuesday, Rio Grande College officials let it be known that they are responsible for running that institution, not a handful (41) of student dissidents urged on by outsiders and controversial instructors.

We admire the Rio Grande administration for its stand, and back them 100 percent. We urge all Gallia Countians to do likewise.

In our opinion, it's a stand that will "catch on" across this great nation, because the majority of responsible American students attending college for a higher education, along with the taxpayers, are "fed up" with acts of vandalism, riots, demonstrations and other nonsense.

The academic back is stiffening, and it should be pointed out Rio Grande College is

among the first in the country to take such a stand. Other colleges have formed "counter-revolts" to combat the minority dissidents. One group calls itself SPASM—the "Society for Prevention of Asinine Student Movements."

The time has come for all of us to take a stand on today's problems, stop beating around the bush like a bunch of scared rabbits.

We will gladly be the first to speak out and tell you exactly where we stand.

We suggest student body president Michael Graham resign if he continues to favor the minority over the majority at Rio Grande College.

We are fed up to the gills with the publicity (and this is what radicals thrive on) given the militants, draft card burners, the acid heads and all their ilk, be they green, blue, black, white, or just plain yellow.

We are sick of the false aura of grandeur that we have permitted these people to assume through excess publicity.

Every time one of these public bleeders climbs up on his soap box and berates the United States, its laws, courts, enforcement and economy, he is doing it with our money.

Our taxes make it possible for him to exist without visible means of support. Our obedience to the law makes it possible for him to flout it. The willingness of others to serve under arms makes this country safe for him to point with scorn and burn his draft card.

We, as a majority of Americans, hold no brief for wrong in high places. We subscribe wholeheartedly to the doctrine of change. We know that growth is one of the inexorable laws of life. Grow or die. (In the past five years, under the capable leadership of Dr. A. R. Christensen, Rio Grande College has made its greatest progress ever in total development.)

But, we do not subscribe for one moment to the theory that every cockeyed nut, confused in economics, bewildered in politics, and pinked by "pie in the sky" has the right to tear down the government or our schools under which we live and learn by whatever means he may see fit.—Hobart Wilson, Jr.

EQUAL HOUSING—UNEQUAL TAXES

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, public housing at reduced rentals to indigent nonworking citizens subsidized by the taxpayers is most certainly charitable.

However, the same taxpayers who are already supporting an exorbitant load are awakening to the realization that once the Federal Government moves in and buys the housing developments it not only contributes to the inflation faced by the taxpayers but removes the real estate from the tax rolls. Too late the poor taxpayer comes to realize that he will be faced with even a greater percentage of taxes to compensate for the property's being taken out of the private sector.

One wonders how far the Federal planners will be permitted to go in this socialistic maneuver before there is no longer any taxable property in the private sector to subsidize the rentals or before the borderline worker gives up trying to pay his own rent and also

enters a Federal housing unit on the Federal dole.

I think our colleagues will find of interest a recent report indicating that HEW was now moving its tax subsidized socialistic experiment into Fairfax County and I present a clipping from the Sunday Star for March 23, and letters to the editor from the Star of March 26, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Sunday Star, Mar. 23, 1969]

FAIRFAX GARDEN APARTMENT—PUBLIC HOUSING FAMILIES MOVE INTO COMPLEX

While a controversy raged in the District of Columbia over the purchase of Regency House for public housing, Fairfax County quietly moved public housing families into what had been an all-white garden apartment complex near Baileys Crossroads.

Before the Fairfax County Housing Authority purchased the Spring Hill Apartments in October for \$1.12 million, neighbors objected to the acquisition as strongly as Upper Connecticut Avenue residents protested the District's plans.

Now, however, original tenants of Spring Hill, still living there, say the coming of public housing families has not interfered with their way of life.

One of them, Mrs. Alice McNey, who has lived there five years, even volunteered to act as resident manager for the housing authority.

WILL BE SORRY TO MOVE

"I will be sorry when October comes and I will have to move," she said yesterday. The authority gave the original tenants a year to find another home.

Mrs. McNey's opinion was echoed by 27-year-old George Deihl, another of the original tenants.

"The biggest difference now is that I can find a parking space easier," he said. Many of the public housing families do not have automobiles.

The garden apartment complex is located off Columbia Pike, one block east of Baileys Crossroads. Its three buildings have one efficiency unit, 26 one-bedroom units, 56 two-bedroom units and 13 three-bedroom units.

During the first two weeks after the purchase, about 15 families moved out.

"They were the ones who had objected the most," said Warren R. Nellis, executive director of the housing authority.

SIXTY-SEVEN FAMILIES MOVE IN

Since then 67 public housing families have moved in, 17 of them white, the rest Negro.

One of the original families who thought they would have to move discovered they could stay.

The couple, who live with their 8-month-old son in their two-bedroom apartment, had been paying \$130 in rent before the authority's purchase. But because their net income of under \$4,700 a year qualified them for public housing, they now pay \$80 a month.

Before the authority purchased Spring Hill, rents ranged from \$124 to \$185. Public housing families in the complex pay from \$33 to \$85.

Mrs. Donna Gibson, who is white, lived in a house in Centreville with her husband and four children.

"It had a bathroom but it was cold in the winter," she said. "When I heard about this public housing, I told my husband, William, that I was moving there and if he didn't like it, he didn't have to come. He came."

TENANTS ORGANIZE

A tenants association has been organized by the authority with Mrs. Sarah Ward, a Negro mother of two, as chairman.

"If we have had any problem it may be noise," she said, explaining that the older tenants, under their leases, had to keep rugs on their floors. This is no longer required.

However, Deihl said the public housing families have been quieter than the ones who moved out.

The newest family at the complex, Mr. and Mrs. Richard Jackson, their three children and Mrs. Jackson's uncle, moved into a three-bedroom apartment Friday. The Jacksons are Negroes. "We lived in a house in Vienna that was being torn down for an office building," said Jackson, who works as a laborer. "We couldn't find any place else but here to go," he added.

Mrs. McNey said the old residents enjoyed Spring Hill "because it was just like a small town. Everybody knew each other and got along fine—and now I think it's going to stay that way."

[From the Washington Evening Star, Mar. 25, 1969]

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR—REGENCY HOUSE

SIR: Your editorial endorsing the decision of Mayor Washington for the purchase of Regency House by the National Capital Housing Authority for Public Housing set another fire of resentment. It is not against the poor who will live there, black or white, but because the city finds it desirable to house them in a luxury building rather than one less expensive and more in keeping with persons of modest means. Thousands of citizens who have lived and worked in Washington many years and are now retired cannot afford to live in new luxury buildings and are wondering why public housing, regardless of where it is located, should be so lavish.

If the compelling reason for the purchase of Regency House is to go beyond Rock Creek Park to the west, and upper Connecticut Avenue in particular, that still does not justify acquiring one of the newest and most modern properties in the area. Some other way can and should be found to accomplish this objective.

GLADYS HARLEY.

SIR: Last year the real estate taxes, the largest single source of revenue in the District, were raised. Preparations are now under way for still another increase in real estate taxes. Paying increased taxes in conjunction with many increases in the cost of living in general is a hardship for many District taxpayers and of concern to everyone.

It is therefore of the utmost importance for the taxpayers of the District to be alert and informed as to how this money is being spent and to take effective action to prevent the use of tax money in ways that are not only grossly unfair to the taxpayer, but ruinous to the community as a whole.

I write to call to the attention of your readers the economic philosophy behind the purchase of Regency House for use for public housing. Many of your readers may consider this a matter of concern primarily if not entirely for the residents of Chevy Chase. On the contrary it is a matter of vital concern to every tax payer in the District because it is in line with policies stated by public officials and reported in the public press.

Regency House is a luxury apartment: swimming pool, air conditioning, high rent location, etc., etc. Using tax money to provide luxuries for people unable to support themselves is grossly unjust to the taxpayer and ruinous to the economy of the community as a whole. Only a minute fraction of the District's taxpayers can afford to buy swimming pools for themselves. A majority of the houses in the District are not air conditioned. Most District residents live in areas less attractive and otherwise less desirable than the location of Regency House. Yet public officials advocate and implement the strange view that the taxpayer of the District should provide for those who live not by their own labors but by the taxpayer's labors with luxuries which the taxpayer in the majority of cases cannot afford to buy for himself.

ELIZABETH BRITTON.

SIR: Very seldom do I disagree with your editorials, but the one regarding the Regency House shows you see but one side of the picture. Those of the middle and lower middle class who pay taxes and have for years cannot pay \$200 a month for an apartment and yet they are being told their tax money is to pay for others, who do not or have not contributed, to live in better apartments. This is enough to make anyone angry. Those who scrimped and saved to purchase homes in certain areas and build apartments for income are asked to sacrifice, for without a doubt the value of property is of less value once such a plan takes place. All one needs to do is look around D.C. and see the deterioration; it is a most sickening sight for those who lived here for many years.

LILLIE.

SIR: Your editorial support for the purchase of Regency House for public housing purposes needs further elaboration before your judgment can be condemned or even accepted.

Agreed that the price is comparable to that paid for recent prior acquisitions for similar public housing. Do you contend that such price is proper? You should be aware of testimony given the D.C. government in open hearing, by representatives of the Washington Board of Realtors, that there are many apartments of better than standard quality available on the present market at a price of about half the unit cost of Regency House. For the same outlay, twice the number of indigents could be housed satisfactorily. These available apartments are not concentrated in one locality; they have adequate dispersion, if that is a factor to you, which it is not to me. Communities of persons of similar circumstances and complexions are always the more harmonious.

It seems to me that you are advocating better than standard housing for indigents, so the sensible thing to do is to become an indigent in order to qualify for appropriate quarters, at somebody else's expense. This is not a matter of charity; it is the flaw of socialism, whether Communist or fascist type does not matter. I want no part of either. I do want to live in a compatible community of my own choosing and at my expense, whatever my income. And I would expect my government to protect that way of life, not charge me for its destruction howsoever indirectly.

EDWARD U. DENISON.

SIR: I don't agree with your editorial about the Regency House.

The purchase of the Regency House is taking our hard working D.C. citizens' good tax money away from the D.C. and spending it where we don't want it spent!

The Mayor and George Romney should and could at least find or build something more suitable for the elderly (would give some people work, too!) and in an area where they might be accepted, and in turn spend our tax money on something more relevant.

VALERIE W. TOMPKINS.

SIR: I was surprised and disappointed in the Regency House editorial which appeared in The Star. I did not believe that The Star could be so callous and so insincere.

To be really honest and fair with your reading public, the people living in Chevy Chase, and others in the vicinity of Regency House, would you write another editorial explaining your motives and showing the relationship of Regency House to where you and other top officials of The Star live? It is my observation that the proponents of this scheme do not live anywhere near the affected area.

There are two other aspects to the sale of Regency House for subsidized housing. First, it removes high rate taxable property to non-taxable status, and everyone knows that the

District sorely needs tax money. Our taxes have risen 60 percent in two years. Second, what about the cruelty forced upon the old people, think of the effect of forcing them to leave their present homes, surroundings, friends, and relatives to move into a totally new environment and a hostile neighborhood. All of the studies on retirement and aging show that old people cannot adjust to such a sudden wrench in their lives.

GUSTAVE BURMEISER (retired).

FUEL OIL COSTS: A GROWING BURDEN IN NEW ENGLAND

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the cost of home heating oil to New England consumers is inching upward at a rate unprecedented in this Nation's history. The giant domestic oil industry—an industry that has a veritable stranglehold on the New England market for petroleum products—has been increasing its prices at whim. Concentrating on the manufacture of lucrative products like jet fuel, the oil industry has created what can only be described as an artificial shortage in home heating oil. The industry, in turn, has used this shortage as a spurious justification for its steep and steady increase in prices.

New England—the regional market furthest from the oil industry's drilling sources—is paying the highest prices in the United States for petroleum products. These prices constitute a major financial burden for the New England consumer and threaten to drive out of business many small independent fuel oil dealers. Quite plainly, Mr. Speaker, the administration must act to rectify this situation.

Liberalizing revisions in the oil import quota system and swift approval of the proposed foreign trade zone complex near Machiasport, Maine, would go far toward achieving reasonable petroleum prices in New England. All available evidence—economic, financial, technological—demonstrates that the Machiasport plan would cut petroleum product prices by at least 10 percent throughout New England.

I, and my fellow Members of the New England congressional delegation, are continuing to urge President Nixon and Interior Secretary Hickel to take the steps necessary to put this plan into operation.

Just one index of the strong popular and legislative support for the Machiasport proposal in the resolution adopted by the Massachusetts senate this week calling for immediate approval of the plan. With permission, Mr. Speaker, I put in the RECORD at this point a copy of the resolution:

Whereas, The consumers of home heating oil in the Commonwealth, as well as those of the other New England states, have been discriminated against for the past decade because of stringent quotas relating to the imports of #2 fuel oil; and

Whereas, According to the Massachusetts Consumers' Council the consumers of Mas-

sachusetts are overcharged forty-two million dollars annually because of the imposition of such quotas under the Eisenhower Administration; and

Whereas, Said Consumer's Council and the New England Council consistently presented the facts of such discriminatory policies before the appropriate federal bodies; and

Whereas, There has been no decision to rescind the executive order establishing such quotas; and

Whereas, Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall during his term of office reportedly indicated a willingness to recommend an allocation of 30,000 barrels a day of imported #2 fuel oil to New England; and

Whereas, The proposed Foreign Trade Zone in Portland, Maine could help to correct the inequities occasioned by the #2 fuel oil quota discrimination, by (allowing) making available an additional 90,000 to 101,000 barrels of #2 fuel oil in New England at reduced prices; and

Whereas, The establishment and operation of an oil refinery at Machiasport, Maine would relieve the shortage of No. 2 fuel oil for the consumers of heating oil in the Commonwealth in peak heating seasons and retard price increases of this necessity of life; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Senate respectfully urges President Nixon to direct the Secretary of the Interior and Secretary of Commerce to implement forthwith the Udall recommendations relative to the allocation of additional oil imports to New England; and be it further

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Senate supports the efforts of Senator Kennedy and other members of the Massachusetts Congressional delegation to gain approval of the application by the Maine Port Authority to establish, operate and maintain a general-purpose foreign trade zone in Portland, Maine and a subzone for the purpose of oil refining in Machiasport, Maine; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be forwarded by the Secretary of State to the President of the United States, the presiding officer of each branch of the Congress and to the members thereof from the Commonwealth.

Senate, adopted, March 12, 1969.

NORMAN L. PIDGEON,
Clerk.

Attest:

JOHN F. X. DAVOREN,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

CUTS IN SMALL BUSINESS PROGRAM TRULY SHOCKING

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I am very much disturbed about the sharp cuts in the budget of Small Business Administration.

As we all know, this agency was set up some years ago as a result of the long continued, vigorous efforts of some of us in the Congress who are interested in the problems of small businessmen, with particular reference to their need for new operating capital or refinancing.

Throughout the years, the agency has helped very many small businessmen by giving them loans on reasonable terms, which, in many instances swung the balance between going out of business or

staying in business for these small concerns.

When I consider the many benefits that the Small Business Administration has brought to ambitious, hard working, imaginative small businessmen, and the valuable help that has been rendered in this regard in strengthening our free enterprise institutions, and in making it possible for many of our most ambitious citizens to take advantage of the incentive and opportunities that exist in our private economy, I am shocked that Congress should tolerate, let alone give impetus, to the cuts that have been recently made in the SBIC budget of Small Business Administration.

There has been very little funding available for this program since the beginning of the fiscal year July 1, 1968.

I am very reliably informed after careful inquiries into the situation affecting this agency that the curtailment of Government expenditures in fiscal year 1969 as a result of the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 resulted in a reduction of planned loan level to the SBIC program from \$30 million to \$8.7 million.

This amount of money permitted the SBA to honor and take care of only those sound applications on hand as of June 30, 1968.

The volume of applications on hand as of June 30, 1968, resulted from funds curtailed in the fiscal year 1968 when the planned lending level was reduced from \$55 million to \$24 million.

This amount was \$8.7 million less than requested to cover all pending approved loan applications on hand June 30, 1968, and, to my mind, this is a truly incredible and totally unjustified situation.

In an endeavor to cope with the situation, SBA itself has sought and obtained authorization to utilize a 100-percent default guarantee program to finance the SBIC loan requirements. This guarantee provides for a 7-percent-per-annum rate with no guarantee fee and with all servicing to be done by SBA.

In view of the current money market and after extended effort, as yet, I am advised that SBA has found no takers and as of the first of March or thereabouts, it has in excess of \$20 million in approved loan applications awaiting funds.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that it was ever the intention of this Congress to bring about a situation like this, and literally to starve an agency designed to serve and help small business, and to deny well-justified loans to small entrepreneurs and businessmen who have demonstrated clearly to SBA the soundness and feasibility of their loan applications.

This situation is all the more incomprehensible and incredible in the light of the experiences of the SBIC program during the past 10 years, since the last fiscal year has been its most profitable one in terms of SBIC viability and small business growth.

This has generated much interest in the SBIC program by the private sector desiring to enter the venture capital field. To think that adequate loan funds should not be available when this ac-

tivity occurred is indeed most unfortunate.

I do not believe it was ever the purpose of Congress when it acted on the so-called tax package deal, to make such shocking reductions in the funds for SBA leaving it in the position where it has such a large backlog of worthy loan applications pending and thus handicapping small business enterprise, in effect, nullifying the advantages and services of the entire SBA program.

I hope and strongly urge that immediate steps be taken by the committees involved in this matter and the Government to provide adequate funding and resources for SBA to do the job that has to be done for small business, and I urge immediate action be instituted to provide supplementary funds so that this agency can function, and take care of existing meritorious loan applications.

It would be a great mistake and an anomalous situation for Congress to strangle an agency like SBA, which is performing such valuable services for our free enterprise system and worthy small businessmen of the Nation.

CONGRESSIONAL REFORM AND THE DEMANDS OF THE COMPUTER AGE

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, the awareness of the need for legislative reorganization is growing, partly because of the realization that Congress, if it is to deal with the problems of today, must be willing to utilize new technology that can help to improve the decisionmaking process.

In an article for the December issue of "Technology Review," John Saloma, an associate professor of political science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has analyzed the implications of computer-based information techniques for the Congress and the Presidency in the next decade. He is optimistic that computer analysis can help Congressmen stay on top of the information explosion and develop a more rational strategy of problem solving.

Mr. Saloma's article outlines the possible development of these techniques in the legislative and executive branches of Government as increasingly more sophisticated machines become available. His analysis suggests that Congress will be faced with continual decisions regarding the use of newer and more sophisticated equipment.

This probability makes it all the more desirable for the Congress to establish a permanent Joint Committee on Congressional Operations, which would have the charge of continual review of new data processing and information retrieval systems.

The proposed Legislative Reorganization Act of 1969—H.R. 6278—which has been cosponsored already by more than 90 Members of Congress, would establish such a joint committee.

Mr. Saloma's article follows:

SYSTEM POLITICS: THE PRESIDENCY AND CONGRESS IN THE FUTURE

(By John S. Saloma, 3d, associate professor of political science, MIT)

(NOTE.—Is the demonstrated success of new information technology in business, industry, and private institutions transferable to the arena of public policymaking? The author avers that it is and supports a case for imperative action.)

The new directors of our political destiny whom we have sent to Washington will perform their duties for us with superior dispatch and wisdom if they call into use quickly the rapidly developing resources of new information technology. It is the thesis of this presentation that the availability of comprehensive information systems can today improve the quality and rationality of decisions reached in the political process. I believe further that with responsible support some of the impressive advances forecast for computer technology can by the mid-70's be adapted for the personalized use of the President, congressmen, and a wide range of public officials.

Computer-based analysis as it is refined over the remaining decades of this century will make possible an advance in human intellectual capacity comparable to the invention of language, arabic numerals, and calculus. With his new ability to understand the dynamics of complex organizations and social processes, the congressman of tomorrow will explore a range of problems previously beyond the grasp of his predecessors.

Decision-making, by one definition, is simply the "process of converting information into action." First-quality information is intelligence that is clear, timely, reliable, valid, adequate, and widening. It is information that lays a solid foundation for decision and action—the kind of intelligence a conscientious legislator must have whether it is technical information (defining the content of a policy issue) or political information (concerned with the relative strength of competing claims and the consequences of alternative decisions).

Mid-1970 is only six years away—is it possible that improvements in the legislative process from wide use of advanced data systems will actually be achieved by 1975? Studies by RAND Corporation experts suggest that by the early 1970's computers will be small, powerful, plentiful, and inexpensive. Computing power will be available to anyone who needs it, or wants it, or can use it either by means of a personal console connected to some large central facility, or by a small personal machine. Additional projections foresee, by 1975, a computer that will make possible automatic libraries able to look up and reproduce copy; by 1978, automated looking up of legal information, and the widespread use of automatic decision-making at the management level for industrial and national planning. By the mid-1980's, the computer will begin to realize its potential as a research tool through modeling and experimentation, as an integral part of the educational system, and in areas such as medicine and biological sciences. The chances are that technical advance will continue to outpace political applications. The issue is not whether Congress will adapt to this potential but at what speed. The sequence of acceptance may go something like this:

First, congressional resistance to computer technology, notably the failure to fund any central computational facility for use by the Congress, the failure to budget any allowance for congressmen to utilize other facilities, and the failure to provide analyst staff for the use of the committees and/or members;

Then, limited congressional acceptance of computer facilities and analyst staff with access tightly controlled by the individual committees and/or party leadership; and

Finally, open congressional acceptance, with all members enjoying "free" use of computer facilities and full access to staff and data resources. According to our assumed projection, Congress could have moved all the way to the third situation by the mid-1970's.

THE NEW CONGRESS—1975 EDITION

What would a Congress look like in this third stage of free exchange and availability of information? We can suggest a few intriguing possibilities:

1. The contributions of the individual legislator would be considerably enhanced. Although only minority of congressmen will choose to play the role of legislative inventor or watchdog, the effectiveness of such members will be enormously increased by computer-assisted techniques of search and analysis. Members will be free to "browse" through the data archives in developing and assessing legislative alternatives. Some legislators will hire professional analysts on their office staffs or acquire analytical skills themselves. While such legislative diligence will still be the exception, one can readily foresee a congressman sitting at a console in his office pouring over computer print-out into the late evening hours or over the weekend and cutting through the paper arguments and justifications of executive programs with penetrating lines of questions. The possibility of abuse also exists, but the weight of past congressional experience suggests that most congressmen will use such new investigative power wisely. In situations that invite adversary argument, alternative positions and points of view will be more thoroughly developed and cogently presented.

2. *Ad hoc* congressional study and work groups would freely form and disperse as new and challenging tasks arose at the interstices of committee power. Warren G. Bennis, Ph.D. '55, and others have suggested that transient work groups composed of interdisciplinary teams of highly skilled specialists will replace hierarchical bureaucracy as the dominant form of organization in the post-industrial society (see *Technology Review*, Apr., 1966, p. 36 and Apr., 1968, p. 37). The congressional milieu with its weak hierarchical structure offers a logical setting for such work groups. Congressmen who might lack the requisite skills or resources to tackle a legislative problem by themselves could easily pool their efforts. The work of study groups would be "colateral" to that of the standing committees, but would introduce a "helpful and needed resilience into the congressional posture," in the words of George E. Agree, former Executive Director of the National Committee for an Effective Congress. To the extent that such work groups succeeded and posed a competitive challenge to the existing committee structure, they might serve to improve the quality of committees generally. Standing committee leaders might seek to co-opt able young members, according greater weight to subject matter expertise. They might also advance talented members to subcommittee chairmanships faster than might otherwise have been the case. The committee system of Congress will still be organized in terms of the norms of specialization and reciprocity, but specialization will be much less dependent on the opportunity of one's initial committee assignment and accumulated seniority than it will be on the individual member's motivation and time commitment to mastering a given area of substantive policy and appropriate instruments for analysis.

3. While information systems afford new possibilities for specialization and increased committee power—especially in the area of legislative oversight or control of the executive bureaucracy—they should also afford possibilities to "democratize" committee power. Where limited information previously

conferred important advantages on those few individuals who had the legislative seniority and central committee positions to accumulate such information, now generalized availability of information and program analyses would enable junior committee members and interested congressmen not on the committee to gain a better understanding of the issues involved. The majority would have greater opportunity to influence committee action and to prevail against the committee on the floor when its action was not representative of the views of the entire membership.

4. Generalized information systems should enable Congress to satisfy both the necessity for specialization and the goal of comprehensive policy review. Where information on executive agency activities has been compartmentalized within the executive budget and the congressional committee system, it would now be available on a comprehensive basis. The "special analyses" of the federal budget already being developed by the Bureau of the Budget are a prototype of the kind of comprehensive information that congressional committees will be able to tap. Individual congressional committees, no longer limited to information within their agency jurisdiction, could become important points for government-wide program review and co-ordination. Where the President alone has had the information to develop a measure of agency co-ordination, congressional committees would now share that information, and the authority to use it, subject to the majority support of Congress.

RECOGNIZING THE IMPERATIVE

These desirable goals are not outside realizable range—already they are within the gun-sights of some forward-thinking legislators. A resonant note of anticipation can be heard on Capitol Hill. Members privately express the desire to be aware of coming problems so they can "gear up" for them. A few senators and congressmen already sense that information technology is the coming thing and are investing their own time as well as that of their committee and office staffs in developing closer familiarity with information systems.

Most articulate among spokesmen for congressional action is Representative Robert McClory of Illinois, who, during the 89th Congress, introduced the first bill in either House or Senate directly applying automatic data processing techniques to the work of Congress. In January, 1968, the legislative branch acquired its first automatic data processing installation—an on-line terminal system, installed in the American Law Division of the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress. It enables L.R.S. to record and store on magnetic tape descriptions of all bills and resolutions introduced in the 90th Congress. After reviewing the system, Mr. McClory anticipated that some of the next automatic data processing applications might be:

1. Daily print-outs summarizing the previous day's congressional action.
2. An automated index of congressional documents and legal periodicals.
3. Up-to-the-minute information on legislative issues scheduled for debate.
4. Vote summaries on bills already passed.
5. Status of legislation pending in committee.
6. Description of information stored on computer files in the executive departments.

Although several state legislatures have been well in advance of Congress in developing applications of the computer in the legislative process, the Washington atmosphere is now thick with interest. Committees of the Congress are giving increasing attention to A.D.P. possibilities; the Legislative Reference Service has developed several papers on the subject for congressional consideration; the General Accounting Office has installed

a new Systems Analysis Section in its Office of Policy and Special Studies; several privately sponsored Washington seminars have been held on information technology including those convened by the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, the Brookings Institution, and evening panels brought together by the Washington Operations Research Council and the Institute of Management Sciences.

A number of competitive dimensions in Congress are likely to accelerate acceptance of innovations in decision-making developed in the private sector or Executive branch: the built-in tension between authorizing and appropriations committees both eager to control program decision; the publicity incentive for committee and subcommittee chairmen generally to identify themselves with innovations and to push for their implementation; the perennial congressional fear that Congress is yielding initiative and authority to the President; party competition; and the generational divide between "activist" and high seniority congressmen. While there are many factors that will reinforce traditional ways of making decisions within Congress, change is inevitable if for no other reason than that Congress cannot afford not to follow the rationalization of Executive decision-making.

The real change in congressional attitude and skills will probably not be felt, however, until a new generation of political talent with practical experience with computers—through universities and the private sector—begins to enter Congress. This change will come sooner than most realize. One freshman congressman, formerly employed by the International Business Machines Corporation and a candidate for the doctorate in business/government relations from the Harvard Business School, Donald W. Riegle, Jr., of Michigan, caused somewhat of a stir in Washington in the fall of 1967 by sending then Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara a request for a matrix of 85 specific data items for which he (Riegle) had written a computer program. Another freshman senator with a combined engineering and law background, Howard H. Baker, Jr., of Tennessee, lectured the Association for Computing Machinery about the impending nuclear power breakthrough in breeder reactors that could produce power at almost zero fuel cost and the need for a much broader congressional overview and plan for the technological and social revolution that this implied. Senator Baker has been an articulate spokesman for a new Senate Select Committee for Technology and the Human Environment. However impressive individual examples may be, Congress as an institution has yet to experience the potential of information technology.

FIRST IMPACT: THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

Whether the Congress acts sooner or later to improve the legislative process by using new information technology, its most explosive immediate political impact will be within the Executive Branch. The rationalization of program choice through greater availability of information and a more careful and explicit statement of program objectives, alternatives, and results will move the locus of program decision toward the cabinet secretary and the President. More adequate information systems will permit some functional decentralization of subordinate program decisions although the thrust will be toward more effective policy control from the top. As the compartmentalized information resources of individual agencies are integrated into comprehensive information systems, political executives will have greater leverage over the bureaucracy. The new information technology will accentuate hierarchical control and reduce legislative bargaining within the Executive. The decision-

making process will accordingly become more closed.

The Executive Branch is already a leg up in A.D.P. on the Legislative through its recent experience with P.P.B.S. (Planning-Programming-Budgeting-System). The likely extrapolation of this experience is toward the development of a corps of highly trained professional "analyst" staffs within the Bureau of the Budget and the departmental secretary level. The power of these trained experts in the technology of information processing will pose new problems for congressional oversight. At a minimum, Congress will have to develop its own analytical staff if it is to monitor Executive decision-making. More important, it must watch for and correct new biases of specialization. Some observers question whether the new profession of systems analysis, drawing on multiple backgrounds of economics, physics, and engineering, can adequately deal with political decisions, over-all strategic planning, and public policy-making. Required instead may be more advanced professional knowledge and training that integrates the disciplines of political science and public administration with systems analysis, decision theory, and economic theory—i.e., political analysis.

Whatever their training, such well organized and technically sophisticated groups will gain power at the expense of less well-organized, less articulate groups. Political leaders who combine technical education and sophistication with good political judgment will enjoy an advantage over old-line politicians. The government bureaucracy as a whole, with continuous "inside access" to information systems, will enjoy an initial power advantage vis-à-vis the legislature, the general electorate, and nongovernmental groups. As it becomes more pervasive, the new information technology will introduce qualitative changes beginning in the Executive Branch and extending outward—in the nature of the American system. The need to make one's political objectives or goals more explicit within the budgetary process will expose more conflict and disagreement than Americans have been accustomed to. The chances are, however, that we will know much more about ourselves and our politics and that this will both ease and complicate the problem of building political consensus. If the Executive decision process limits internal bargaining, the Congress may gain an enhanced role in developing political consensus.

Three major consequences, therefore, are likely to follow increased rationalization of Executive decision-making, especially in the budget process:

1. Centralization of effective decision-making under the President and his chief cabinet officers;
2. Development of a professional "analyst" class within the government and the need to reconcile new forms of specialization with broader social and political perspectives; and
3. A more explicit, candid style of politics which may complicate the problem of achieving political consensus.

SOME PAYOFF PROJECTIONS

Let's project ourselves into the mid-70's, and beyond when advanced information technology has been widely adapted for governmental decision-making. We have suggested some of the changes this will bring at the level *systems politics* (the way decision structures are organized in both the executive and legislative branches of the federal government. What will be the gains or payoffs for the policy-maker himself? From analogies drawn largely from experience in industrial organizations, I believe the following projections of computer application to governmental decision-making to be neither exaggerated nor unrealistic for the potential of new information technology:

1. *Improved quality of information and information processing.* One of the most obvious advances that will be made possible

by the new information technology is increased quality of information (including factors such as relevance, precision, completeness, and timeliness) and quality of information processing (accuracy, speed, ability to handle complex relationships, flexibility, and potential for codification in standard rules).

The resource and delay costs to the individual decision-maker who has access to governmental information systems will in time be minimal. Assuming for the time being no political restraints on access, the decision-maker should be able, through proper specification, to locate all relevant information anywhere in the system almost instantaneously. Geographical and other forms of information "isolation" will end with a nationally (and eventually internationally) integrated information system. The inefficiencies and costs of information communication within human systems will be largely eliminated as many of the information processing functions of bureaucracies are assumed by programmed machines. The elimination of middle men between top officials and data gatherers or their replacement by top level data analysts will effect a major reduction in hierarchical distortion.

A vivid example of this potential of the computer to eliminate inefficiencies in information processing and retrieval is the current congressional concern with the "government dossier." Each individual citizen leaves behind him a trail of public and private records from the time of his birth. Much of this information is retained in the files of government agencies scattered around Washington and the country: income tax returns, applications for government employment, security clearance checks, social security and unemployment benefits, census data, etc. While access to some files is limited by confidentiality restrictions and limits of disclosure, it is still technically feasible to collect an enormous amount of information on a single individual.

On the positive side, the computer will give man the capacity to interrogate and reorganize massive data files almost instantaneously for social science research. Usable information which is accessible to decision-makers acting under time pressure should be increased by several orders of magnitude.

2. *Improved channeling of information—easing the problem of information overload.* In our foreseeable future there will always be more problems calling for the attention of a congressman than he can possibly consider. But with the computer the problem of information overload will be more subject to the control of the individual decision-maker. He will have the potential to get "on top" of his work. The computer can be programmed to provide top decision-makers with "exception" information demanding attention or action. The problem of management information, according to Gilbert Burek, is "not how to get information to the top, but how to keep useless information from coming to the top." Decision-makers may specify in advance what types of information they wish to receive on given subjects of interest as new information becomes available. Central libraries or document centers can then service the individual decision-maker according to his "interest profile" through a technique of "selective dissemination of information."

The computer will enable the decision-maker to specify one or more of several information formats and to reorganize data in terms of a desired format. Instead of being a largely passive recipient of information, the decision-maker will be able to interact with the data system using it as an active search mechanism as well. Whether he uses such control to enhance his legislative performance will depend on such human factors as courage, perception, imagination, sensitivity, and achievement motivation.

3. *Improved quality of the human decision process.* The computer has already demon-

strated its capacity to discipline human thought processes. It requires clear and precise instructions. It must be told in every detail what it is to do and it follows orders—even incorrect orders—with exactitude. The computer is not only enabling but forcing the modern executive to think more explicitly and analytically—to make more formal his decision-making process and specify his judgments. More advanced computer programs reduce the amount of necessary detailed instruction but reprimand the programmer when he makes an error. Eventually, as computer languages are continually simplified, men will "tell" the computer what they want and delegate to the computer the authority to "tell" them what they must do to get it.

4. *The capacity for systems thinking and systems analysis.* The analytical concepts and techniques associated with the new information technology—systems analysis, program budgeting—are not particularly new. What is new is the capacity of automatic data processing to make "operational" the concept of an organization as a total system. "Men are not good calculators of the dynamic behavior of complicated systems," according to Professor Jay W. Forrester, S.M. '45, who has pioneered research in industrial dynamics. "The intuitive judgment of even a skilled investigator is quite unreliable in anticipating the dynamic behavior of a simple information-feedback system of perhaps five or six variables," he writes. A computer can handle such a problem with relative ease.

Melvin Anshen considers this "enlargement of the total range of decision-making" as potentially the most valuable contribution of the new information technology to management practice. It is now possible for the first time for the human decision-maker to consider the total activity of an organization as "a simple integrated system." Within this system, a dynamic network of relationships can be discerned and measured, with feedback loops and forces for multiplying and dampening the effects of actions at earlier stages in the continuous process. Analytical techniques based on the programmed computer permit managers to simulate the performance of such a system and test its output under a range of changing variables within and outside the system. This technical advance is only one among many possibilities now available for extending the scope of decision-making."

5. *A lengthened time-perspective with greater opportunity for strategic planning.* The new information technology should effect important changes in the time perspective of the decision-maker. The amount of crisis decision-making, i.e., time spent in reacting to unanticipated crises, should be decreased by the development of better warning indicators and monitoring systems. Simulation will permit the economic preparation of major contingency plans. The management information cycle will be reduced significantly by real-time information systems. The concept of "feedback" defined as "the decision response to the state of the system" will be supplemented by a new concept of "feed-forward" relating to "decision responses to anticipated future disturbances of the subsystem being controlled by the decision-maker," in the words of Martin Greenberger.

The programming of routine decisions and the control of information overload through techniques of selective dissemination will both serve to free the decision-maker from the burden of repetitive operations and detailed information. The "remedial orientation" of incremental policy-making will be replaced by an orientation toward the future. The policy-making as opposed to the administrative role of the public official will be enhanced. The new information technology will draw the attention of analysts and decision-

makers to higher-level, longer-term problems.

6. *The breakthrough in collaborative research—"the on-line intellectual community."* The computer will enable or facilitate two types of significant advance in collaborative research—which in the long run may well be its greatest contribution to man's capacity for problem solving. The first of these gains in the cumulative storage and preservation of solutions—a kind of division of intellectual labor—and the second, in the potential for man-machine interaction.

New and more refined computer programs are constantly being developed, tested, and stored. The compiler allows the computer programmer to call, combine, co-ordinate and use routines or programs that are already perfected and stored in the computer. In theory, once a particular problem situation is solved, it is solved for all time. Other users of the computer network can draw on any approved program that is in the system. Given the virtually infallible memory of the computer, all gains or improvements in techniques of computation and analysis, no matter how incremental, are preserved until better techniques are perfected and may be retrieved, used and refined by contemporary and future generations of decision-makers.

Computers will rapidly take over most of the routine, repetitive decisions that can be programmed at the lower levels of government and other large organizations. Even in the area of nonspecifically programmed or ill-structured, novel problems, the computer will become a powerful tool. If most human decisions have an underlying structure, as disjointed, incremental, restricted in scope as that structure may be, in time computer programmers and analysts will discover and program the implicit decision techniques, rules, and coefficients. Already computer programs based on the analysis of past managerial behavior have proved more efficient than continued management practices (i.e., rules of thumb) based on experience. Most computer experts do not expect the computer to replace the human decision-maker but rather to extend his planning and decisional capacities through the continued refinement of man-machine interaction.

Even more significant than the steady development of computer programs is the advent in prototype form of "the on-line intellectual community" based on man-computer interaction and computer-facilitated co-operation among men in university setting. Carl F. J. Overhage and R. Joyce Harman, '45, describe the potential breakthrough based on the experience of Project MAC (research and development of Machine-Aided Cognition and Multiple-Access Computer systems) at M.I.T.:

"Because communication among men is fallible, and because heretofore men did not have effective ways of expressing complex ideas unambiguously—and recalling them, testing them, transferring them, and converting them from a static record into observable, dynamic behavior—the accumulation of correlatable contributions was opposed by continual erosion; and melding of contributions was hampered by divergencies of convention and format that kept one man's ideas from meshing with another's. The prospect is that, when several or many people work together within the context of an on-line, interactive, community computer network, the superior facilities of that network for expressing ideas, preserving facts, modeling processes, and information and the same behavior—those superior facilities will so foster the growth and integration of knowledge that the incidence of major achievements will be markedly increased."

Comparable networks will in time be available in business and government and between sectors of each of these communities

with overlapping research interests. The promise of man-machine interaction for pure and applied research is one of the scarcely realized but most staggering potentials of the new information technology.

OBSSTRUCTIONS TO THE INFORMATION REVOLUTION

Having thus surveyed some of the more impressive rewards that unquestionably await both managers and law-givers of government when they discover and develop the full potential of information technology, we must plant a few red flags along the computer highway. Lessening information constraints on and increasing the potency of analytical tools available to decision-makers will not remove many current dilemmas in decision-making. These limitations go well beyond information as such.

1. *The problem of values.* If we define politics as a struggle for control stemming from conflict over the direction of social life, over policy, it is clear that the central problem of politics is one of values, not information. Decision-making involves values at all stages. Choice activity especially requires levels, it may be possible to compare alternatives and choose a more efficient means for achieving an agreed upon objective such as disease control, improved maternal and child health care, or improved income maintenance. (Even this approach, it should be noted, ignores the problem of interpersonal comparison of utility.) But at higher program levels, can improved information help a decision-maker weigh major dissimilar program alternatives such as an anti-ballistic missile system or a domestic Marshall plan for the nation's urban centers? Only insofar as such information gives the President, the budget director, or the congressman better understanding of what X million dollars allocated to program alternative A or B will actually buy in benefits. In government, budgeting is a political activity and the problem of choice or allocation ultimately remains one of values.

The decision-maker's values will also shape his intelligence activity, i.e., finding occasions for making decisions, and his design activity—how he structures alternatives for choice. Data must be structured or organized before they become meaningful. Predetermined data-structures can help, but the decision-maker himself must constantly synthesize knowledge in an interdisciplinary fashion. He must interpret, project, and interconnect fragmented information. The political decision-maker has a natural tendency to select and adapt information and to screen out that which is "politically undigestible."

In a decision-making environment where resources are relatively plentiful (i.e., where economic criteria for resource allocation are less relevant) and where the decision-maker has the analytical and information processing capabilities to structure in advance innumerable alternative solutions, the value perspective of the decision-maker will become increasingly important. With these reservations, information can still make an effective contribution to decision-making. If we are correct in our estimate that computer-based techniques such as systems analysis and simulation will afford decision-makers in the Executive and Congress much greater understanding of complex problems, such as those of our urban centers, then the gains may be substantial. As social problems appear more susceptible to rational solution, it should be easier to develop a political consensus to do so. As to the final judgment on values, the American political system will continue to specify the goals and objectives toward which political decision-makers must move.

2. *The political use and abuse of information.* It follows from the preceding remarks that information systems in government may be used to serve the political purposes of the political actors who have the resources to con-

trol them. Information may be processed with conscious policy or partisan biases. Both information and analysis may be abused in the furtherance of specific political objectives. Bargaining and compromise will remain a principal feature of the democratic process although they may involve different participants and a new language.

Decision-making in government cannot be abstracted from the political system within which the decision-maker operates. How then can one prevent the President or program-oriented bureau chief from consciously or unconsciously biasing an information system that Congress must use? Can the same information system in Congress serve both Democrats and Republicans?

The answer lies in two directions. First, major data sources of the Federal Government, with multiple users, could be kept as "neutral" as possible through statutory control, reinforced by regular checks by inspecting authorities such as the General Accounting Office. Second, specialized users including the President, the Congress, and the party leaderships within Congress could develop their own private information systems in parallel with the central data system and in accord with their own needs. Through this differentiation it should be possible to keep the policy and partisan biases of central governmental information systems under control and to recognize explicitly the use of competing information systems for some adversary situations.

3. *Additional cost factors.* The introduction of information systems will mean some new costs as well as increased capabilities. The obvious immediate cost is that of capital, both for hardware (the basic computational facility) and software (the development of programs appropriate to the specific user). We suggest that this economic cost factor will rapidly decline in the coming decade or two and be minimal by the end of the century. A second cost factor is the need for much more highly skilled personnel. As already noted, a new profession of "analysts" will be needed in government. However, the computer will not necessarily become more "distant" from the lay-user, including the congressman. The educational and skill levels of the general population and "familiarity" with computers should also rise. And more advanced computer technology and programming should lead to the development of some computers that can be operated with relatively low skills. The decision-maker who wants to use the full potential of the computer of the future will offer will probably employ and work with specialized analyst staff.

Other "technical costs" must be anticipated in adapting information systems for government. These include: (a) a natural tendency towards greater reliance upon quantifiable data, (b) programming bias that may reduce the sensitivity of the system to new types of data and significant changes in the environment, and (c) the elimination of inputs—interpretations, opinions, and statements of self-interest—previously provided by intermediate level officials replaced by the information system. All of these tendencies suggest a new need for congressional oversight or review of the Executive. The computer improperly used could well lead to new rigidities in official behavior that would be inimicable to an open system of decision-making.

4. *The problem of final payoffs.* Anthony Downs, in a searching critique of the expectation of "urban-information-systems" enthusiasts, calls into question "the intuitively plausible but actually misleading assumption" that "better data in urban decision-making would have huge final payoffs, because . . . better information would reduce both the frequency and the magnitude of planning mistakes." Downs argues that three factors make it difficult to prove that better data will lead to more effective decisions: (a)

the extreme difficulty of measuring the effectiveness of decisions; (b) variances in measurable effects caused by factors other than data inputs; and (c) the problem of whose values to use in calculating payoffs. He concludes that many urban decision-makers will be reluctant to make large initial investments for what will "probably seem like only marginal gains in final payoffs."

The basic point is well taken—one must go beyond the technical payoffs of improved information in assessing the value of information systems in government. I am more optimistic than Downs, however, on three points: (a) the assumption that capital costs to users will steadily decline; (b) the possibility for controlled simulation of systems behavior; and (c) the cumulative effect of marginal gains over time.

5. *The power consequences of information systems.* Information systems have important power payoffs as well as technical payoffs. Their introduction involves relative power shifts among political actors. These power consequences of information systems greatly influence the form in which they are adopted and how they are used. For some, the threatened loss of power may be sufficient to lead to active resistance to the new systems.

Acknowledging these reservations, I am still persuaded that the combined and cumulative impact of the new information technology suggests some radical changes in the environment of governmental decision-making. The shift will be from a negative to a positive orientation toward problem solving. The incrementalist's view that "public policy problems are too complex to be well understood, too complex to be mastered" and that decision makers develop "a strategy to cope with problems, not to solve them" will be replaced with a more optimistic perspective. The decision-maker will be "on-top" of information. He will have analytical techniques and information processing capabilities that will give him new understanding of governmental and social systems and with this a sense that he can manipulate and control them. Where the incrementalists have rejected "the impossible prescription to be comprehensive" in favor of a more manageable strategy of "outright neglect," the new information technology will enable the decision-maker to develop a *more rational* and *aggressive* strategy of problem-solving. The distinction is fundamental.

CHALLENGE TO SEPARATION OF POWERS

While the application of information technology in government will have its greatest immediate political impact *within* the Executive (with important secondary consequences, as we have observed for the Congress), the longer term consequences of better information in government raise fundamental questions about the American system of separated powers. Congress and legislative bodies generally need *not* lose power to the Executive. The potential advance in information technology is theoretically equally accessible to *both* the President and Congress, with *Congress* standing to enhance its powers versus the Executive considerably. The central dilemma of American politics—how power should be organized in the American political system—will be faced once again, but this time in its starkest form.

The policy or control functions of the President and Congress will become less distinguishable as both develop the capacity to ask program questions and undertake analyses of data from the same generalized information systems or specially developed systems for their own use. One restraint on a fully developed congressional policy role in the past has been the unwillingness of Congress to build a parallel legislative staff bureaucracy. As a result, Congress has often had to "second guess" the Executive without the information to back its hunches. Now, as technology generalizes the availability of information, Congress can tap into Executive-based information systems, establish quality

controls, and develop more limited information systems for its own specific requirements. Program budgeting suggests the potential leverage that may accrue to Congress. The Executive bureaucracy, under the direction of the President and Budget Bureau, will structure program choices and undertake analysis of various alternatives. Congress will be presented with a program budget which may easily be rearranged by traditional line-item categories or into other desired formats. Congress will review program choices, evaluate analyses with its own analyst staff, and make its own determination of priorities. The process of making choices and analyses more explicit enables Congress to participate much more intelligently and vigorously, with a *limited* staff, in the decision-making process. In fact, there may even be a danger of too vigorous participation.

Will the President permit Congress to have access to the information resources and analyses of the Executive branch? Insofar as analyses are used, he will have to justify his program requests. Other background analyses and alternatives may not be presented to Congress. In such case, these would have to be duplicated by congressional analysts. (Congress would want the capacity to go beyond alternatives presented by the Executive in any event.) In fact, the effectiveness of implementation of the right of Congress to information will be a critical test in the future of the degree of congressional autonomy within a system of separated powers.

We can only speculate on the new definition of the separation of powers that will evolve. Distinctive presidential and congressional biases may soon develop in the decision-making process. We might expect the Executive to overemphasize the benefits of rationalization in program formulation and administration, to overvalue economic and technical criteria of performance. If, as some observers anticipate, the new information technology leads to "an increasing separation between operating missions, life-styles, and social roles for those institutions and individuals involved in rationalized activities compared to those involved in non-rationalized ones," Congress, representative of a society embracing both life-styles, would inherit the difficult task of mediating the impact of the former on the latter and restraining the tendency toward irrational and frustrated response. Congress would add elements of "political rationality," considerations of human costs and benefits to the decision-making process.

In this context, one rationale for the separation of powers—"systemic dissonance"—takes on new significance. We have suggested through this discussion that the revolution in information technology represents an almost immeasurable potential increase in man's knowledge—especially in his understanding of and ability to control his environment. The intelligent use of that knowledge and the power it confers is an awesome responsibility. In a political democracy it involves the democratic consideration of emerging technological possibility and consequence. The multiple perspective of the American system, the numerous points of access for developing, testing, and advancing ideas may ultimately prove to be among the greatest assets of American democracy in the future.

SPYROS P. SKOURAS: 75TH JUBILEE DINNER

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, one of the most extraordinary living Americans

is Spyros P. Skouras, whom I have had the privilege of knowing as a friend for a number of years. This year marks the retirement of Mr. Skouras after over 50 years of activity in the American film industry.

Not only has Spyros P. Skouras carved a name for himself as a pioneer of American motion pictures, but he has also given generously of his time, his extraordinary energies and his resources to the support of a wide variety of philanthropic activities, particularly those identified with his native Greece.

Spyros P. Skouras came to the United States from Greece as a young man and rose to a position of eminence as a business and civic leader in the classic American tradition.

Mr. Speaker, earlier this year I had the honor of being present at the Spyros P. Skouras 75th Jubilee Dinner held in New York City on January 28, 1969.

Outstanding persons from every walk of life, business, politics, the motion picture industry, education, and religion—were present to do honor to Mr. Skouras and to raise funds to build the Skouras Center for the Creative Arts at an institution very dear to Mr. Skouras' heart—Hellenic College in Boston.

Honorary chairman of the dinner was Mr. John J. McCloy and the honorary committee cochairmen were the following distinguished Americans:

Hon. SPIRO T. AGNEW, Hon. Nelson A. Rockefeller, Hon. William P. Rogers, Hon. John A. Volpe, Archbishop Iakovos, Rev. Dr. Leonidas Contos, Nicholas B. Macris, and Hon. John C. Pappas.

Mr. Speaker, I know that everyone present at the dinner to which I refer was moved by the eloquent remarks of the guest of honor on that occasion, and I insert at this point in the RECORD the text of the address by Mr. Skouras at his 75th jubilee dinner:

ADDRESS OF SPYROS D. SKOURAS AT THE 75TH JUBILEE DINNER, JANUARY 28, 1969

Mr. McCloy; Mr. Vice-President; Governor Rockefeller; Your Eminence, Archbishop Iakovos; Your Excellency, Archbishop Cooke; reverend clergy; Senator Javits; Senator Goodell; distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, your presence here tonight—and the kind words that have been spoken—have caused my heart to burst with joy and gratitude.

Just as we confess our inmost thoughts to our God—when we worship—listing them as carefully as we can—so I would like to list my reflections—very briefly—a kind of litany of thanksgiving.

AN IMMIGRANT'S LITANY OF THANKSGIVING

For the hand that led my brothers, Charles and George, and me to this land—I give thanks. Some of you in this room—not all, but some—will know what America has meant—and means—to an immigrant. The common words—*country, flag, citizenship*—have meanings and depth that cannot be expressed—but only *felt*.

Perhaps Plato most nearly expressed our feelings when he said: More honorable and righteous and sacred among the gods and wise men, above and beyond father and mother and all other ancestors—is the country . . . "Patria."

For my noble parents, noble though poor, noble though unlettered, noble though humble—I give thanks. I can still hear my mother's voice through the years saying: "Spyros, my son—patience, perseverance—and humility." These words have been my guides throughout my life.

For two brothers—my adelphi—such as few men are blessed with—and a relationship that was truly legendary—I give thanks. When each in his turn died, a part of myself was lost. Their memorial consists in the many friends they earned—many of whom are here tonight—honoring their memory as they pay me honor.

A HEARTFELT THANKS TO AMERICA

For the generous and warm-hearted people of St. Louis, Missouri—who welcomed us to this land—and embraced us in their city—I have a special feeling. It was there that my brothers and I first experienced America's love of democracy and were given the opportunities she offers to all who come to this wonderful land.

It was there that we received first-hand knowledge of the lofty ideals and ideas of the American people—who were always ready to aid the under-privileged people of the world. In the history of mankind, no other nation has ever so devotedly and unselfishly served people everywhere as the United States has done—and is still doing. To this country, I give my heartfelt thanks.

PRaise OF THE FILM INDUSTRY

For the high privilege of serving in one of the great guilds of our age, the film industry—I give thanks, not merely an industry, it is an art—not an art only—but an instrument of immense potential—to civilize and instruct—to elevate and refine—as well as to entertain.

To the people of 20th Century Fox—the New York office, the studio—to all those who are a part of that great company throughout the United States and in foreign areas—for their kindness and support over so many years—for their loyalty and devotion to the best interests of the company—I will be forever grateful.

DEEP APPRECIATION FOR FAMILY

For my beloved wife, Saroula—I give thanks—although she would not marry me until I had 45 theaters! We have experienced many happy moments—and some tragedies in our life—and we have shared them both—together.

For my four dear children—Daphne, Spyros, Diana, and Plato—and our 14 lovely grandchildren—I give thanks.

We are grateful to God for sending back to us our eldest grandson—George Fowler—who, after being wounded twice in Vietnam—is home again.

My wife—my children—my grandchildren—share in my happiness this evening—as they have throughout all the years.

THE BLESSINGS OF FRIENDSHIP

I give thanks for the blessing of friendship—for his eminence, Archbishop Iakovos, who enjoys my total respect as a spiritual father.

I owe, too, a profound debt to a giant of a man, a prophetic and holy figure—His Holiness, Patriarch Athenagoras—who this week marks twenty years as ecumenical patriarch in Istanbul—who is one of the two prime movers of church unity. The loving, spiritual guidance he gave me, showing the riches of my orthodox faith, have put me forever in his debt.

My thanks go, too, to the memory of the late Cardinal Spellman, who aided me in many ways and whose friendship I was proud to have. For many years we worked together for the Alfred E. Smith Memorial—on which I'm one of the trustees.

And thanks, too, to our beloved Archbishop of New York, His Excellency Terence J. Cooke, whom I have known for many years.

I think too of the late Rabbi Stephen Wise with whom I worked on many humanitarian causes, and of Rabbi Julius Mark with whom I have served on many committees.

To my dear friend, Senator Jacob Javits, I say thank you for all the work he does to

make life easier for the unfortunates and for his continuous fight for the principles of democracy—and for the efforts he has put in on the Javits Committee of the Greek-Turkish Economic Cooperation Project.

And to our junior Senator from New York, Charles Goodell, I thank you for a new and what I am sure will be a long friendship.

I am honored by the friendship of our Governor, Nelson Rockefeller, and his charming Happy, who honors us here tonight by her presence. For the Governor's thoughtfulness, and for his generosity to Hellenic College, I will be forever grateful.

To Mr. Jack McCloy—for being the chairman of this drive to raise funds for Hellenic College, I am more thankful than I can say.

And to John Pappas, who conceived this event, and who has devoted so much of his time to it and to Hellenic College—and to his brother, my friend, Tom—a heartfelt thanks.

GRATITUDE WHO WORKED TO MAKE THE EVENING SUCCESSFUL

And to some of the others who have worked so hard to make this affair such a success:

His grace, Bishop Silas—Father Leonard Contos, President of Hellenic College—Father Basil Gregory of the Archdiocese.

Dore Schary, the great motion picture and theatrical producer, and the President of the Anti-Defamation League.

Ellot Hyman—Chairman of the Board of Warner Bros. 7 Arts.

St Fabian—President of Fabian Theaters. Harry Brandt—President of Brandt Theaters.

Louis Nizer—Attorney and friend for many years.

General James Van Fleet—who will always have a special place in the hearts of all Americans—especially those of Greek origin.

Don Miller of the Chase Manhattan Bank. Joe Barkan of Prudential Lines and my colleagues at the United Greek Orthodox Charities—Nicholas Macris, Theodore Allis and Michael Sotirhos.

To all—and the many others—my heartfelt thanks.

A FINAL WORD

Finally, I give thanks to all of you who have honored me by coming here tonight. I have been involved with many projects—which have been a source of deep satisfaction to me—but this one is the nearest and dearest to my heart—for it symbolizes all the principles which I cherish.

I am happy because I consider the center dedicated tonight to be in the *Skouras* name—not in my name alone.

It will train the artists and craftsmen to develop the creative arts to their best potential.

My friends, this gives me satisfaction beyond any personal honor. You are helping fulfill my life's dream—to serve my industry, my country and humanity.

Thank you.

SOVIET NAVAL BUILDUP IN THE MEDITERRANEAN—PART II

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, on March 18 I inserted in the RECORD the first part of the four-part series on the Soviet naval buildup in the Mediterranean which appeared in the Chicago Tribune and was written by Michael McGuire of the Chicago Tribune Press Service. For some time now, military experts here in the United States and in

the NATO nations have expressed concern about the Soviets "peaceful" aims in this area. Distasteful though it may be, the Soviet goal of world domination is truly the motivating force behind such programs as the Mediterranean expansion. We can scan official Soviet statements to find reassurance that they are sincerely searching for peace, but one look at situations such as the present one in the Mediterranean tells the real story. One is reminded of the bank robber who extols the merits of the free enterprise system while the cashier hands him the money. Needless to say, the barrel of the bandit's gun is a thousand times more eloquent and self-explanatory than any statement he might make concerning the desirability of peaceful competition.

I place the article, "Assess Political Impact of Russian Fleet," by Michael McGuire, from the Chicago Tribune of March 17, 1969, in the RECORD at this point:

ASSESS POLITICAL IMPACT

(By Michael McGuire)

NAPLES, March 18.—Psychological and political effects of the Russian naval fleet in the Mediterranean deliver a more important impact in Europe and the middle east than does the military potential, Adm. Horatio Rivero, commander of NATO forces in south Europe, said here yesterday.

"Its presence has both political and military impact," said Rivero in an interview at his NATO headquarters. "I would say that in peacetime, however, the political and psychological aspects are the most important."

BELIEVES IT'S MANAGEABLE

"As long as we have the air superiority and total naval superiority that we have, I think this [military] threat is manageable," Rivero said. "I have more concern about the submarine threat which doesn't get publicity because you can't see submarines, you see surface ships. On the other hand, the submarines have very little political impact, but they have military impact."

Approximately 35 Russian naval vessels, including nine submarines, are in the Mediterranean at present. The presence of Russian warships in the Mediterranean started getting world attention when their numbers increased sharply after the 1967 Arab-Israeli war.

Last fall, the number of soviet naval vessels reached an all-time high of about 60, including 7 to 10 submarines, following the Czechoslovakia crisis. Later, the number gradually diminished to its present status.

COUNTERED BY 6TH FLEET

Countering the soviet in the Mediterranean are approximately 50 ships, 25,000 men, and 200 aircraft of the 6th fleet. Augmenting the 6th fleet forces are the navies of allied nations ringing the Mediterranean, which American naval authorities here said are improving constantly.

Military strategists have said the soviet surface vessels in time of war most likely would be obliterated quickly, in part because the Russians lack the air power which would allow those ships to survive. Also, it would be difficult for the Russians to deploy a large amphibious force.

First, they would have to bring such a force thru the Turkish straits, which could speedily be plugged. Second, a very large buildup of amphibious forces would still require them to have the air power in the area that they may not be able to muster.

HAVE CREATED CHANGE

In a psychological and political sense, the Russians already have created a change in the status quo thru their presence.

When the Israeli destroyer Elath was attacked by missiles fired from an Egyptian patrol boat in June, 1967, at Port Said harbor, there were Russian ships in the same harbor. Their presence prevented the Israelis from taking counter-action against the patrol boat unit if they had wanted to do so because it would have created a direct confrontation with the soviet forces.

"The mere presence of one soviet ship in a harbor causes another nation to make an evaluation of whether any move toward that harbor could cause retaliation by the soviets; thus you can see the political effect," said a senior naval officer attached to the American naval staff in Naples.

EXPECT NO U.S. ACTION

The Institute of Strategic Studies in London reported that the Red fleet rules out a repeat performance of the American landing in Lebanon in 1958 and makes unlikely American aid to Israel in case of a new Arab-Israeli clash. Soviet ships stationed in the vicinity might be a cause of confrontation.

From a psychological aspect, nations ringing the Mediterranean may have had little fear of the Russians when evidence of their power was not present.

If one of the NATO nations in the Mediterranean thought the Russian force was getting so strong, its leaders might think NATO forces would be unable to provide adequate defense. Out of fear, they might begin making friendly overtures with the soviets, resulting in increased trade and political submission.

SEE NEW KREMLIN POLICY

Some military experts predict the Russians' Mediterranean fleet is only the beginning of a new Kremlin policy aimed at challenging American naval supremacy thruout the world, a supremacy that forced the Kremlin to back down after sending missiles to Cuba and to accept Egypt's defeat by Israel in June, 1967.

"The Russians have learned that naval forces can be used as a form of diplomacy and for political pressure," Rivero said.

Many experts here believe there is a strong military basis to the Russian diplomatic interest in middle east. The Russians want the Suez canal to be open, a need that undoubtedly will not be realized so long as Israel holds Sinai.

"The Russians are highly interested in the Suez canal, their only way of passing thru to the Indian ocean, receiving supplies and reinforcements, and eventually linking up with the fleet they have at present operating in the Persian gulf," Rivero said.

"Probably, in this case, the political and diplomatic factors are largely the consequence of a military requirement," said Rivero, who is responsible for the NATO defense of Italy, Greece, and Turkey.

Also of concern to American and NATO naval forces are the auxiliary fleets [those of Yugoslavia, Syria, Egypt, and Algeria] equipped with a missile capability. Such vessels are called Osa and Komar class boats and are a speedier and more sophisticated version of the American torpedo [PT] boat of World War II.

"I believe that these two classes of vessel represent a real threat to our lines of communication," said Rivero. "This would be all the more true if Syria, Egypt, and Algeria were seriously involved against our countries.

"However," said Rivero, "these vessels' missiles have a very limited range whereby, if the vessels operate far from convoys and escorts ships, it is very easy to keep a check on them, especially by means of aerial observation, which is always intense in our units' operational area. The most important thing is never to be taken by surprise."

ALLIES WATCHED FROM AIR

Another naval officer said, however, that an Osa and Komar-type vessel could approach an allied naval warship by moving

amid one of hundreds of small fishing fleets in the sea. The naval authorities assert their ships would operate beyond the range of the Osa and Komar boats, some officers contend the boats might be able to obtain fuel, as well as cover, from the fishing boats with which it traveled.

Steady surveillance activity by Egyptians flying Russian manufactured reconnaissance aircraft also causes concern among the allied navies.

"These planes are equipped with highly sophisticated gear," said Rivero. "Whenever there is a NATO or 6th fleet exercise, they keep watch."

Asked if Russian crews manned the planes, Rivero said:

"I can say that you can hypothesize that due to the very highly sophisticated equipment in those aircraft that at least some of the crews probably are soviet, but you can't prove it."

The Russians use four Mediterranean ports (Algiers, Alexandria, Port Said, and Latakia in Syria) extensively, and one port (Tartus in Syria) to a lesser degree for repair and resupply, they depend mainly on anchorages, areas where the sea is more than 100 feet deep, across the Mediterranean.

RUSS KEEP INDEPENDENT

While tied in anchorages under relatively calm circumstances, the crews can carry out repair, load supplies, and rest. NATO authorities believe the Russian admiralty makes use of these anchorages in order to reduce to a minimum its having to depend on the good will of any other country.

The use of anchorages are said to be a great inconvenience in bad weather and rough seas, and can be a factor in limiting higher crew morale thru offering little exercise and eliminating the purchase of fresh foods in shore markets.

LACK OF BASES A PROBLEM

Among the anchorages most frequently used by the soviets are the international waters near the coast of North Africa off Alboran, Hammamet, and the Island of La Galite; one off Greece at Kithira; and one between Cyprus and the Levantine coast. An area east of Malta, known as Hurd bank, also is frequently used.

The lack of bases they can call their own poses a serious problem for the soviets. Many Europeans and American naval commanders are concerned the Russians may try to develop such a base at Mers-el-Kebir, the large naval facility at Oran, Algeria, which was turned over to that nation by the French in 1967 after they withdrew from NATO.

"Bases are not essential for a fleet operating far from its home ports, but without doubt they can greatly facilitate operations," said Rivero. "The soviets cannot do important maintenance in the anchorages which they have in the Mediterranean area. They can do more in ports such as Port Said and Alexandria, where their ships have free access.

USE PORTS AS THEIR OWN

"But the importance of a port also depends on the equipment existing and the supplies stored there," he said. "In these two Egyptian ports there are also docks which enable the soviets to carry out work on their ships' hulls. This is of course less than what the soviets could do at home.

In any case, the soviets calmly use Port Said and Alexandria as if they were their permanent bases. It does not much matter whether these bases belong to Egypt or to the Soviet Union, because the Egyptians give them a free hand. On the other hand, the soviets do not have this possibility in the western Mediterranean.

Asked if he thought the presence of the soviets at Mers-el-Kebir would be dangerous for the defense of the Mediterranean, Rivero replied:

"I don't think it would be any more dangerous whether they were there or not. The

great advantage for them would be that of being able to effect all their maintenance work and supplies in the western part of the Mediterranean, without being obliged to return to the eastern part each time. However, all this would not appreciably alter the military operation capability of the soviet fleet."

NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, our friend and colleague, Congressman JOHN L. OTTINGER, on March 1, 1969, made an address to the 33d annual meeting of the National Wildlife Federation in Washington, D.C. In his considered and thoughtful address, the gentleman from New York called for the creation of a Federal "environmental ombudsman" to protect our natural resources from damage and destruction by reason of actions of Federal departments and agencies.

So that my colleagues will have an opportunity to be familiar with Congressman OTTINGER's views on this matter, I include the text of his address at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

ADDRESS OF THE HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER, NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION—33D ANNUAL MEETING, STATLER-HILTON HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C., SATURDAY, MARCH 1, 1969

I am indeed honored to have been invited to participate in this 33d annual meeting of the National Wildlife Federation.

This is one of the really outstanding events of the year for all who are concerned with conservation of our dwindling natural resources and preservation of our threatened environment.

But this annual meeting has a particular and personal significance for me. First, because of the Federation's decision to honor the Scenic Hudson Preservation Conference as the Conservation Organization of the year. And second, because—by that action and by the agenda for this general session we are opening here this morning—the Federation is taking the lead in expanding the horizons of traditional concepts of conservation to include resource and environmental problems of the urban-suburban complex.

The honor to be paid to Scenic Hudson tonight is particularly gratifying to those of us who have been identified with that organization's long, and often seemingly hopeless, battle to save Storm King Mountain and the incomparable assets of the Hudson Gorge and Highlands.

For many years Scenic Hudson stood alone in asserting that a natural asset has a value over and above that which can be measured in terms of development potential. The Conference fought for the principle that this value is enhanced rather than diminished by the fact that the asset is a part of a growing urban complex.

Whatever the final outcome of the Storm King fight—and I am pleased to note that the odds have changed considerably over the past six years—Scenic Hudson will have made an important contribution to the national conservation effort and thereby to the quality of life in this country.

Through the decision of the Second Circuit Court, Scenic Hudson has established that the concerned public has a defendable interest in the disposition of a natural resource—and that government agencies have an affirmative responsibility to protect that interest.

Equally important, through its patient, persistent educational efforts, Scenic Hudson has created a new public awareness of importance of environmental factors in every action that we propose to take to meet the needs of our growing urban-suburban complex.

By honoring Scenic Hudson for these achievements, the National Wildlife Federation has helped to focus the attention of the conservation community on its vital problem and, as I am sure Secretary Hickel could tell you, that community has come to represent a very potent force in our society.

The environmental pollution generated by urbanization has a very direct effect upon the natural resources that have been the traditional objects of conservation concern. I doubt if there is any park, refuge or wildlife preserve that has not felt the impact in some way. It may come in a direct way from the growing volume of water pollution and air pollution. It may come from the effects of highway proposals, powerlines, industrial encroachment or just plain people pollution.

If we need justification for turning our attention to the wise conservation of urban resources, it is very simply stated: survival.

We have to face the fact now that we live in a finite environment. Perhaps there was a time when we had so much elbow room that we could ignore the limits of our resources. But now, our growing population and the tremendous technological development that is necessary to support it, are demanding so much of our environment that the end is, if not in sight, at least in mind.

Not only is our environmental system finite, it is also complex and its factors are closely inter-related. Everything we do can have a significant and unexpected impact on crucial environmental factors—often an adverse impact.

We hear a lot these days about the dangers of the "finger on the nuclear trigger" and its potential for the cataclysmic destruction of life on this planet. It is a very real danger and one that deserves a lot of attention. But I would point out that a nuclear catastrophe requires a positive, deliberate action—a decision to destroy.

Today, man has his finger on an "environmental trigger" which is, in the long run, no less real, no less dangerous to our survival than the nuclear trigger. And the environmental trigger can be pulled by accident, by indifference, by merely continuing to do the things we have always done in the same careless way. Each resource we squander, each infusion of pollution that we dump into our environment brings the apocalyptic day of reckoning closer.

Take a simple thing like transportation. One of the keys to making one of these vast new urban complexes work is the development of an efficient transportation system. Why should this be a conservation concern? Because our traditional approach to transportation, the highway, is rapidly assuming major proportions as an environmental threat.

We are caught in a vicious cycle. The more highways we build, the more we rely on cars, trucks and buses. The more we rely on cars, trucks and buses, the more highways we need to keep pace with our growing population.

In many areas, the citizenry already finds itself locked in mortal combat with this highway monster that would disrupt and even destroy their homes and communities.

In our cities the public health is seriously threatened by pollution from the internal combustion engine which accounts for two-thirds of the poison that we dump in our air. Even the most optimistic view of the effectiveness of abatement devices indicates that we would barely manage to maintain this unhealthy status quo if we stopped growing right now.

These are obvious and quite serious problems, but by no means the only ones.

Highways, for example, have a real, if unheralded, impact on water resources. Not just in run-off pollution but through actual curtailment of supply.

An important source of fresh water is the aquifer, the underground supply that is replenished largely by rain seeping into the ground. However, a growing amount of rain never gets there. It falls on highways, pavements or other run-off areas, is collected in sewers and carried directly into streams and rivers to be lost forever in the oceans. Major U.S. highways alone are estimated to cost us well over 335 billion gallons of water a year and the highways that are to be built by the year 2000 will cost another 1.5 trillion a year.

Viewed in light of the Water Resources Council's report to the President, this highway issue takes on new long-range significance. The Council warned that by the year 2010 the demand for fresh water will match the total available supply. We will then be able to expand our resources only by desalination, by a massive conservation effort, and by recycling and reuse.

The alternative to highway madness is the development of clean, fast, efficient mass transit. Yet today under pressure from the highway lobby we allocate \$2.5 billion to urban highways and only 7 per cent as much, \$175 million, to mass transit.

The lengths to which the modern highwaymen will go just to keep building are amazing and sometimes ridiculous. In some cities we are building highways over highways and in my own Westchester County the state highwaymen, having run out of space on land, now propose to pave a substantial stretch of the Hudson River.

Perhaps the ultimate absurdity was reported in a news item in the New York Times three months ago, which reads:

"Trenton—December 13—New Jersey's Department of Transportation is constructing an inter-state highway link that could wind up under water if the State's Department of Conservation and Economic Development goes ahead with its present plans to build a dam on the Passaic River . . .

"A spokesman for the transportation Department said its engineers had completed the designs for the highway two years ago. Conservation officials countered that plans for the development of the Passaic Valley had been under consideration for 35 years . . .

"(The) Commissioner of Transportation said that he was not completely familiar with the plans for the reservoir but it seems there will be a substantial impact on present and planned highway construction especially on Routes 78, 80 and 280.

"(The) Conservation Commissioner . . . could not be reached for comment."

Isn't that grand?

For the first time, it's the dam-builders versus the highwaymen, and the mind boggles at the consequences.

Fish ladders for commuters?

Spillways for the evening rush hour?

In the words of the late Henry Ford, "Let's you and him go fight."

Make no mistake about it. The highwaymen are no more than a modern version of the ruthless exploiters that would already have ravaged our forests and stripped our land in the name of economic progress if they had not been resisted by earlier conservationists.

Today we fight the same battle, this time in a complex new urban environment and for even higher stakes.

Of course, highways are not the only, nor even the worst, threat to our urban environment. Power plants, transmission lines, ill-considered land-use planning, industrial development, and hundreds of other actions, all pose challenges to the quality of environment that are at least equally serious.

But highways are illuminating in that they do provide a good illustration of the way thoughtless development that seems merely

irritating can eventually result in quite important environmental conflicts.

Even the very actions we take to protect our environment can themselves be perverted to environmental threats in the new, highly complex, urban experience.

Take waste treatment for example.

The main thrust of our waste treatment effort has been to reduce raw sewage to a level of purity such that it could be accommodated by the natural cleansing actions of our waterways. The process produces water that is rich in nutrients but deficient in the oxygen that is essential to keeping our waterways alive.

The cumulative effect of this effluent could well be to "kill" our rivers and eventually to turn them into noxious algal breeding grounds.

The simple fact of the matter is that the demands of new urban-oriented way of life are so great that we are continually embarking on small projects which taken in themselves have only minimal effect, but which taken in the whole add up to major environmental assaults.

It's interesting how each example of the issues of new conservation reveals significant parallels with the experience of the traditional conservation.

The key to the success of the earlier effort was convincing the general public that our resources were not limitless and that only through the wise husbanding of those left in our stewardship could we assure abundance for the future. Step by painful step, a legal structure was enacted to protect timber, land, recreation and scenic assets, wildlife and the other resources that could be identified as finite and threatened.

Considering the so-called frontier psychology of Americans which viewed such resources as pouring forth from a never ending horn of plenty for the express purpose of exploitation and development by man, this was no mean achievement. Can you imagine trying to persuade a frontiersman of the early 19th Century that he had to practice selective harvesting of resources or leave some area forever wild?

We are in much the same position today with regard to the developers and the essentials of our urban environment. Obviously we face a tremendous educational effort. And, in my opinion, our most important priority is to create a new legal structure that can provide the new protections that we need. Unfortunately, this is easier said than done.

In the first place, there is a great need for more knowledge and better dissemination of knowledge about the new threats to our environment that are being discovered by the scientific community. To achieve this end I recently joined with 90 Congressmen and 97 leading environmental scientists in the formation of an Ad Hoc Committee on the Environment.

It is my hope that this committee will give the scientific community the opportunity to evaluate each new legislative proposal and to alert lawmakers to possible adverse environmental consequences. The Committee will also provide an effective vehicle through which lawmakers can be informed of environmental issues which require legislative action.

Already this program has made significant contributions. As a result of the advice from the scientific community Senator Kennedy, Congressman Moss and I recently introduced legislation proposing a major revision of the Federal Power Act which we believe proposes the first effective and comprehensive environmental protections in the important area of power generation and transmission.

One provision of this new legislation sets forth a new concept in government. It creates a National Council on the Environment to act as "devil's advocate" on behalf of natural resources in Federal Power Commission proceedings. You might call it an "environ-

mental ombudsman." The Council consists of five representatives of the scientific and conservation communities appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate and will be wholly independent of the Federal Power Commission.

It will have its own expert staff and independent funding. It will have the authority to suspend Power Commission actions if it finds they would have an adverse effect on the environment. If, in the end, it is overruled by the Commission it would have standing in court to challenge the Commission's decision.

As envisaged in the existing legislative proposal, this Council would only have authority over projects covered under the Federal Power Act. However, I propose to introduce legislation next week which will expand the power of the Council to cover the procedures of all Federal agencies insofar as they can effect the environment.

As you are all aware, there are a number of proposals before Congress now to create Councils to advise or consult on environmental problems. These are simply not adequate to meet the challenge. If such a Council is to make an effective contribution it must have meaningful enforcement powers. I would point out for example, that a Council with such powers could well have prevented the current oil disaster off Santa Barbara, California.

As you know, the proposals for drilling in this area were opposed by many informed conservation and scientific experts. Interior Secretary Stewart Udall approved the licenses in spite of this opposition and against the advice of several of his Department's own top officials. In doing so, he bowed to pressure from the oil companies because they represent an effective constituency which can influence Interior's actions. The environment as yet has no equally powerful constituency to represent its interests.

The Interior Department, of course, is not alone in this problem. Practically every agency of the Government has a constituency that dominates its deliberations and actions. For the Federal Power Commission, it is private utilities. The Federal Highway Administration has the highway lobby; the Federal Aviation Administration, the airline industry. And so on down the list.

Each agency has a tendency to become the captive of the industry that it is to regulate.

To meet this problem an intervenor is required whose constituency is the environment and our natural resources and whose sole concern is their protection and enhancement.

The creation of a National Council on the Environment with the power to stay disputed Federal actions and to challenge adverse rulings in the courts would be an important advance to this goal.

Beyond such an intervenor, however, what is needed, in my opinion, is a broad new mandate setting the protection of environmental quality as a matter of national policy much as we set the protection of individual rights over and above all the rest of our legal structure in adopting the Bill of Rights as amendments to the Constitution.

To achieve this further goal, I have proposed a new constitutional amendment which has come to be known as the "Conservation Bill of Rights." Personally, I think it would be more accurately described as the "Environmental Bill of Rights." But by whatever name it is called, I believe that such a broad statement of national policy is an essential element needed to meet the environmental challenge of the future.

The proposal is not complicated. It merely recognizes the established and undeniable national interest in preserving and protecting the essential elements of our environment. It defines this interest as an individual "right" no less important than our rights to free speech, free assembly and due process. By declaring this as national policy we are

providing the most effective protection within our power. Each law, each governmental action would be subject to test against this standard: does it diminish the common interest in a livable environment? Any action which would endanger the individual interest in such essentials as breathable air, drinkable water or any other natural resource would be against national policy and subject to the same legal challenge as any abridgment of our other constitutional rights.

This general session today offers an exciting and promising new departure. We will have an opportunity to learn in greater detail of the specific challenges facing the urban environment. Our authority will be no less than Governor Theodore McKeldin who will draw upon his extensive experience first as mayor of one of the nation's leading cities and then as governor of one of our fastest growing states.

Then one of our foremost scientific pollsters, Dr. George Gallup, will give us the invaluable guidance in planning our course of action for the future by revealing a scientific measurement of public attitudes towards environmental problems. I am not privy for the results of this study but from polls I have had taken in my own Congressional District, I feel sure that you will be both amazed and heartened at the extent of the public demand for effective action.

The noted lecturer and writer, J. Lewis Powell, and air pollution expert, Dr. John Middleton, will give us an idea of what we must do to keep abreast of the new demands of our environment in this changing world. I am convinced that each person will leave this program with a renewed sense of the urgency of the challenge of the new conservation.

It is none too soon.

One of our leading biologists has recently reminded us that of all the forms of life that existed on this earth 99 per cent are now extinct and—to take literary license with the imperatives evolutionary theory—they were all trying to survive.

Man alone of all the species has the capacity to exercise control over his environment. Yet, as Dr. Ernst Mayer, director of the Harvard Museum of Comparative Zoology recently noted, "almost everything we do is harmful to the species and works against our survival."

Whether we pull the environmental trigger; whether we follow the well-traveled road to extinction or blaze a new trail to a better world through the enhancement and preservation of our great environmental assets is entirely up to us.

Thank you.

"BLOCKBUSTING" IN BALTIMORE

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, the great majority of Americans have either welcomed or peacefully accepted the movement of Negroes toward full enjoyment of equal rights. To better secure and protect these rights the last Congress passed additional legislation known as the Civil Rights Act of 1968, which includes a new Federal open housing law.

Among the many provisions of the new act of Congress is one designed to eliminate so-called "blockbusting" practices which make it illegal for anyone "for profit to induce or attempt to in-

duce, any person to sell or rent any dwelling by representations regarding the entry, or prospective entry into a neighborhood of person or persons of a particular race, color, religion, or national origin."

In this connection, the Baltimore Sun recently carried a very illuminating and interesting article entitled, "Blockbusting in Baltimore: Less Blatant and Rapacious," written by a gifted member of the Sun of Baltimore staff, Douglas Connah, Jr. This article is based on a paper he had presented at a seminar at the Law School of the University of Maryland.

Believing this article to be of such importance and interest to my colleagues as well as the general public, I, under unanimous consent, would like it to be reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The article is as follows:

BLOCKBUSTING IN BALTIMORE: LESS BLATANT AND RAPACIOUS—THE OLD PHENOMENON IS BEGINNING TO APPEAR IN SOME SUBURBS AS WELL

(By Douglas Connah, Jr.)

Between April, 1965, and July, 1966, a well-known Baltimore real estate speculator bought 25 row houses from white people along two blocks of the Alameda south of 33d street and sold or rented them to Negroes. Typical among the houses was one that was bought for \$6,500 and sold two months later for \$11,950.

In Baltimore county, during a six-month period in 1968, eight single-family houses were sold to Negroes in a single block of a once all-white subdivision off Liberty road.

Residents of some parts of Northwood have recently begun to notice speculators expressing renewed interest in their homes. This follows a decision by the state's attorney's office not to prosecute a speculator for admittedly breaking the city's anti-blockbusting ordinance.

RAPID TURNOVER

These are all examples of a common Baltimore phenomenon—the panic flight of white families and creation of Negro ghettos by the systematic sale of homes to Negroes only, with the encouragement of the real estate community, once the first Negro has moved into a neighborhood.

This is called blockbusting, using the term broadly. Ten years ago, a blatant, nakedly rapacious form of blockbusting flourished here and caused rapid neighborhood turnover until laws were enacted to curb it. Although this open phase of the practice seems to have passed its peak, a more patient, subtle form continues to drive out the whites, more slowly, but at a tidy profit, undisturbed by the law or real estate ethics.

Even today, when a Negro family moves in next door or across the street, Baltimoreans tend to think of the block as "broken," and real estate people regard it as fair game for stepped-up activity.

Stuffed with poor people

With the city's Negro population expanding steadily since World War II, the process of neighborhood change, and the deterioration that has often accompanied it, has tended to develop a life of its own that is hard to stop. The whites move to new suburbs, the Negroes of means follow to the abandoned older white suburbs and the poor Negroes and Appalachian whites expand the crowded inner city.

Houses once occupied by single families are bought by speculators, stuffed with poor people, and "milked"—allowed to deteriorate so badly that the neighborhood becomes ripe for urban renewal and the government pays the speculator back his original investment.

Then he takes his money and starts the process all over again in the next neighborhood up the road, into which the middle-class Negro settled when he thought he was escaping the slums.

IT IS NOT JUST AN INNER-CITY PROBLEM

This is going on today all through Baltimore, not merely in the inner city. Only a month ago, for example, the city housing commissioner, Robert C. Embry, Jr., announced an experimental program to curb blight in outer portions of the city—in Pimlico and Govans.

Furthermore, the leading edge of this process has not stopped at the city limits. Middle-class Negroes are now settling in newer Baltimore county suburbs. And although two elements of old-style blockbusting seem to be missing here—the speculative buyer and the rapid depression of property values—an almost hysterical atmosphere has gripped many white people, who are preparing to leave once again.

The classic blockbuster is a real estate speculator who specializes in neighborhoods he decides are ready to "go" Negro. Instead of acting as broker between a willing buyer and a willing seller, he buys the houses himself, then resells them or rents them to Negroes.

He works best in older neighborhoods, where mortgages are likely to be low and people receptive to cash sales. He makes his money by exploiting the fears and prejudices of white owners to induce them to sell for less than their houses are worth; by selling to Negroes at inflated prices; and by financing the sales himself on long-term, "buy-like-rent" land installment contracts.

Racial zoning ordinances

The blockbuster has been aided by many outside forces, beginning with the basic prejudice of fear of the white homeowner, and including the traditional, self-fulfilling, belief of the real estate community that Negroes lower property values; the reluctance of mortgage lenders to make financing available to Negroes, and the federal government's active encouragement, until relatively recent, of segregated housing.

Traditional efforts to confine Negroes included the use of racial zoning ordinances—Baltimore's, enacted in 1910, is believed to have been the nation's first—and racially restrictive covenants prohibiting successive owners from selling to Negroes and other minorities.

Although the Supreme Court quickly held racial zoning unconstitutional (in 1917), the restrictive covenant remained legally alive until 1948 and became so popular that it, more than anything else, molded today's widespread neighborhood segregation. It was reinforced by the federal government, since the Federal Housing Administration, whose creation sparked the post-depression building boom, insisted on the restrictive covenant (and even wrote a model covenant) as a condition to insuring mortgages.

"In-migrant Negroes"

Soon after new Negroes, lured by war-industry jobs, began moving into Baltimore during World War II, controversy broke out—not over whether to put them in white neighborhoods, but whether to provide housing for them at all. The following excerpt from a newspaper article of 1943 is typical:

"Washington, July 21—Senator [Millard] Tydings today joined those opposing the erection in or near Baltimore of a federally financed public housing project for 'in-migrant' Negroes, asserting there is 'no justification' for continued importation of Negro workers but on the contrary there is a 'surplus' of Negro labor in the area."

The Negroes kept coming, however, and they were faced with a housing famine. Throughout the 1940's, the Negro expansion was confined to older rowhouse neighbor-

hoods adjacent to the ghetto, but after the racially restrictive covenant was held legally unenforceable in 1948 and Negroes began to share in the post-war prosperity, the expansion poured into the middle-class inner suburbs, particularly in West and Northwest Baltimore.

This rapid expansion, aided by the speculators, did much to terrify the white population, which began moving to the counties in earnest. In 1955, the hysteria was real enough to bring a death threat to a man who had advertised an apartment house for sale in the Afro-American.

The man answered his telephone one night and a voice said: "If you sell that house on Talbot road to a colored person, I am going to have you killed by a professional killer and I mean it."

THEY FOUGHT BACK IN ASHBURTON

This kind of atmosphere made Northwest Baltimore easy prey for speculators. A typical target of blockbusting in the 1950's was Ashburton, a tree-shaded prewar suburb above Liberty Heights avenue, west of Hilton street. In 1958, about 10 per cent of its residents were Negroes; today perhaps 10 per cent is white.

Ashburton's first Negro was a high-school principal, who moved there in 1956. He was followed, not only by more Negroes, who were engaged in a legitimate quest for better housing, but also by real estate men.

Residents were harassed by a barrage of telephone calls, soliciting sales and warning that the neighborhood was "going colored." Dealers went from door to door; they mailed cards and circulars (one firm sent 2,400 panic circulars); they put up "For Sale" and Day-Glo "Sold" signs.

"The pressure is terrific," an Ashburton resident told a newspaper reporter at the time. "Sometimes a whole block becomes a garden of 'For Sale' signs. And once a house is sold they put up one of those big fluorescent orange 'Sold' signs. It's there all day and it glows at night. Sold. Sold. Sold."

Beginning to resist

Ashburton residents said they were not opposed to integration but they accused real estate firms of deliberately turning the neighborhood into a black ghetto. "The problem is not that a Negro finds a home; it's what some real estate operators do after he gets it," a lawyer living there said.

In the late 1950's people realized this was happening all over Northwest Baltimore, and they began to resist. They organized, they took legal action against one alleged blockbusting partnership, and they tried to attract citywide interest in their problem.

The key to neighborhood stability seems to be the white buyer, and searching for him became the aim of neighborhood improvement associations throughout Northwest Baltimore. They said this was necessary because real estate dealers wrote off a neighborhood as available only for Negro sales, and refused to bring prospective white buyers there, after any Negroes at all had moved in.

In 1958, a group of neighborhood associations and interracial organizations asked the Greater Baltimore Committee to help work for neighborhood stability, for the long-term health of the city. From this effort, an agency was formed to promote open housing in the metropolitan area—Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc.

The panic subsided, but the ghettoization of Northwest Baltimore continued, as it does today. "We thought we could stabilize if we could curb blockbusting and organize the neighborhood," Melvin J. Sykes, a lawyer who lived in Ashburton from 1954 to 1965, said recently. But other urban pressures followed the blockbusters: commercial land use increased; schools became overcrowded and fell victim to de facto segregation; people with children moved away, leaving large houses ripe for multi-family occupancy.

The Ashburton fight included an attempt to mount a legal counterattack against blockbusters, which produced the only Maryland court case on record with alleged blockbusting at its roots. It took place before any anti-blockbusting legislation was passed and utilized the power of the Maryland Real Estate Commission to suspend brokers' and salesmen's licenses for misconduct.

In September, 1958, members of the Ashburton neighborhood association filed a complaint with the commission against Manuel M. Bernstein and Warren S. Shaw, partners in the Manning-Shaw Realty Company and the Eutaw Realty Company. The gist of the charges was that Manning-Shaw deliberately placed a Day-Glo "Sold" sign at a house at 3800 Grantley road which Eutaw owned, but had not sold. The idea, according to the complaint, was to get real estate listings by scaring the neighborhood into thinking that Negroes had bought the house, since Manning-Shaw was widely known as a company specializing in Negro sales.

WIDELY PUBLICIZED CASE

On April 22, 1959, after a stormy series of hearings, the Maryland Real Estate Commission found Mr. Bernstein and Mr. Shaw guilty of having violated state real estate statutes against misrepresentation, bad faith and fraudulent advertising. Their licenses were suspended for three months, after the Maryland Court of Appeals sustained the commission's findings.

Although the case was widely publicized as a blockbusting case, the commission refused to consider the racial elements. The issue before it was whether, in fact, there had been a sale. At the time, there was no legislation against the common practices that constitute blockbusting—soliciting mass sales, inducing panic by telling people Negroes are "invading," and so on. But the storm of publicity generated by the Manning-Shaw case, and the realization of what was happening to the city's neighborhoods has led to a series of local ordinances.

In addition, the General Assembly enacted an anti-blockbusting statute in 1966, and Congress inserted an anti-blockbusting provision in the Civil Rights Act of 1968, as part of that statute's comprehensive open-housing laws.

Together, the local, state and federal laws seem to say:

1. Throughout Maryland, it is a misdemeanor to induce or discourage a sale on the basis of race.

2. In Baltimore city, it is generally a misdemeanor to solicit properties door-to-door, by telephone or by distributing circulars.

3. It is a federal civil offense to attempt, for profit, to induce a real estate transaction on a racial basis.

But the scope and constitutionality of these statutes are untested by court decisions, and not one in Maryland appears ever to have been held accountable for violating them.

In Baltimore, only one person has ever been indicted under the anti-blockbusting ordinance and that indictment was dismissed when the ordinance was held invalid in Baltimore Criminal Court in 1967. Last year, the City Council re-enacted the ordinance to cure the defect found by the court.

Decided not to prosecute

Upon signing the most recent bill, Mayor D'Alesandro said: "The big question will be with the enforcement of the law." That question is still unanswered.

Last September, it developed that the state's attorney's office had investigated blockbusting charges against a real estate man, had determined that he was violating the ordinance by passing out circulars and soliciting Northwood homeowners en masse, but had decided not to prosecute.

The dealer, whose offices are in Howard county, reportedly claimed ignorance of the

city ordinance. Nothing was ever said about the state statute.

The decision not to prosecute was made by Robert S. Fertitta, an assistant state's attorney, who was supported by the state's attorney, Charles E. Moylan, Jr., who compared the incident to juvenile cases in which youths are often let off with warnings.

Many persons who worry about blockbusting in Baltimore are inclined to read sinister motives into this incident. A more likely explanation, however, is probably that the blockbuster was not prosecuted because he was regarded as a "businessman," not a criminal, and the state's attorney's office has its hands full handling real criminal cases.

This is a familiar point of view in cases involving landlords and loan sharks and other persons who deal with the poor. But the decision not to crack down on the Northwood speculator is now said to have prompted other speculators to think they can return to business as usual.

THREE AREAS AND HOW THEY ARE FARING

Legally, open housing exists today, owing to last year's passage of federal housing legislation that within another year will apply to something like 80 per cent of the nation's housing, and to a Supreme Court decision last summer, which held that an 1866 federal law barred purely private discrimination in real estate transactions.

These developments deserve to be noted because for years, people have been saying that the blockbusting problem would disappear if only there were enforceable open-occupancy laws. The idea is that if there were some Negroes everywhere, there would be nowhere for scared whites to run. Whether this reflects reality remains to be seen.

Let us now see what is going on in three local neighborhoods today—the City College area, south of 33d street; Northwood; and the Liberty road area of Baltimore county. These sections represent three different aspects of the problem of neighborhood stability.

Numerous other parts of Baltimore face similar problems, however. A few weeks ago, for example, the Real Estate Commission received complaints that "unscrupulous real estate operators" are using "blockbusting tactics in an effort to scare homeowners into selling their houses in an East Baltimore neighborhood known as Ellswood Park.

South of 33d street, between Clifton Park and Memorial Stadium, is a typical old Baltimore neighborhood of row houses 40 to 50 years old. It is speculator's territory these days. Many of the houses were either fully owned by their long-time occupants or subject to low mortgages, which made them sitting ducks for the pressure of depressed-value cash sales.

White people in this kind of neighborhood are particularly vulnerable to the speculators because they often are old and alone. Their children have grown up and left. Their houses often are the only thing of value they have accumulated. When they see the black tide advancing up the hill one street at a time, it becomes easy to give in to the loud, insistent men with cash in their pockets.

Donald J. Miller, associate director of Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc., recalls one widow in the stadium area who was visited by a speculator shortly after her husband died. He pounded on her door, screamed about "the niggers coming," offered her a price and told her it would drop by a thousand in a week. "She was really shaken because of her future," Mr. Miller said. "This was her security in life, and now she was going to lose it."

The change started at the Harford road end of the Alameda about five years ago and has worked its way row by row almost to the next major boundary—33d street. A year ago, 32d street between the Alameda and Hillen road, was just beginning to feel pressure, and there were no "For Sale" signs yet on Chilton

street or 33d street. Today, 32d street is predominantly Negro, Chilton is under heavy pressure and the south side of 33d street is sprouting "For Sale" signs.

When he resells, the speculator actually gets even more than is shown, because he usually creates a ground rent where none existed before. Capitalized at 6 per cent, a \$96-a-year ground rent adds another \$1,600 to the purchase price. However, many poor persons have no notion that a ground rent may be redeemed for its capitalized value after five years, and even if they did, they would not have the money. So they go on paying for years and years.

Some neighborhood leadership to try and stop this sort of thing is being exerted through the churches, which have formed an organization called Homestead-Montebello Churches, Inc.

St. Bernard's Catholic Church, for example, at Gorsuch avenue and Independence street, behind Eastern High School and west of Loch Raven boulevard, is in an area still mostly white but already looking over its shoulder. Vincent Quayle, a Jesuit theology student at Woodstock College, who has been helping to organize the neighborhood, says that one investor has recently bought 23 houses in this area and is dividing them into two-family apartments.

Northwood has been edgy about Negroes for years. Thousands of row houses, built after World War II, sweep northward to the city limits between Loch Raven boulevard on the West and Hillen road and Perring parkway on the east. They are well-built, well-kept houses, with club basements, and are priced in the \$10,000-\$15,000 range. Curving streets, front and back yards, and plenty of trees and other greenery give Northwood a more suburban character than the city's older row house neighborhoods.

Some recent incidents

Long before there was any direct pressure from south of 33d street, Negroes were moving into the Cold Spring lane-Alameda area just west of Northwood. In the early 1960's, real estate people were predicting that Northwood would be "gone" in 10 years.

A 1966 Chamber of Commerce profile of the larger Northwood-Govans-Ramblewood area listed as its ethnic characteristic "a growing Negro market." It said the area's Negro population would rise from 7.3 per cent in 1960 to 15 per cent by 1975.

Some recent incidents in Northwood will illustrate what seems to be happening there:

1. A man advertised his house for sale and several speculators called him, offering what were described as "ridiculous" prices. The upshot of their advice was: You had better take it; "they" are coming.

2. A man went from door to door canvassing for a charity drive one night not long ago. Once inside a house, he indicated his main interest was in buying real estate, and he reminded his listeners that some Negroes had moved in down at the end of the block.

3. On one major street, a landlord bought a two-apartment house for \$7,300. The tenant in the upstairs apartment, who had lived there five years and whose rent was \$75 a month, was notified that the rent was being changed to \$27.50 a week—an increase of about \$35 a month and an indication that the new landlord wanted whites out.

Easing the pressure

Blockbusting in the Northwood vicinity started in the mid-1950's in the area around Cold Spring lane and the Alameda, where row houses built soon after the war were placed adjacent to an older Negro "island" settlement. The blockbusters went to work in the area bounded by the Alameda and Loch Raven boulevard, Cold Spring lane and Woodbourne avenue, a section of about 2,000 houses. The area today is about 80 per cent Negro.

The city's anti-blockbusting ordinance is said to have eased the pressure on Northwood after 1960 (indicating that even though there have been no prosecutions, the law has perhaps had a deterrent effect), but it has never quite gone away. It started up again after the city's only blockbusting indictment was dismissed in 1967 and is reportedly on the increase since the recent decision not to prosecute the Howard county real estate man.

Northwood seems to be betting heavily on community organization to supply political muscle to lobby for its interests, whatever they may be. Led by an interfaith group of churches, and inspired by the example of Saul Alinsky, a sociologist-organizer from Chicago, Northwood and neighboring communities are forming the North East Community Organization, a mass-base group with plans for a paid staff.

Fifty Negro families

Various sections of greater Northwood have been formed into neighborhood improvement groups, and although some of these exist on paper only, others are functioning.

The Perring-Loch Improvement Association, for example, consists of 1,800 houses between Loch Raven boulevard and Perring parkway, and between Belvedere avenue on the north and Hartsdale road on the south. This section is said now to contain about 50 Negro families.

The first Negro, a dentist, moved there in 1962. On his street, only one or two other Negro families have moved in since then, but on another street, panic struck after a Negro law student settled there about four years ago. Now his block is predominantly Negro. About 60 houses in the Perring-Loch section were sold last year, 15 of them to Negroes, according to a neighborhood real estate dealer.

COUNTY'S GHETTOS HAVE SIMILAR ROOTS

When Baltimore county's government officials stop and wonder 8 or 10 years hence how it was that a Negro ghetto grew up in their western suburbs, they will not be able to say they were not warned. The beginning of that ghettoization is taking place right now and has been closely followed by the county's Human Relations Commission.

In some ways, the racial patterns now evolving in Baltimore county are the most interesting of all to observe—not because they are different from what has happened in the city, but because they are so similar: A Negro, pursuing the American dream, manages to buy a house in a county subdivision. After he moves in, real estate activity is stepped up and, one by one, the houses on the block are sold to Negroes. The more the Negroes move in, the faster the white people leave.

There are differences in the county pattern—mainly the absence of speculative blockbusting and the apparent stability of property values. But gradually—"very systematically," says a Negro suburbanite—the whole subdivision will move toward all-Negro status.

"BUT THEY'RE SCARED"

At first, the white residents try to stop it. They organize; they search for white buyers; they appeal to the county government and the real estate industry—in short, they do the same thing people in Ashburton and Windsor Hills tried to do 10 years ago. But eventually, as more and more white people move away and the number of Negroes increases, they become gun-shy and come to feel they have been sold out not only by the real estate men but also by their own neighbors.

The atmosphere generated by this sort of experience puts terrific emotional pressure on people. "The homeowners are all sus-

icious of one another," a resident of Robin Hills, a 60-house development off Liberty road, said at a public meeting conducted by the Human Relations Commission in 1967. "Some people won't tell if they are going to sell their houses. They are ashamed of what they're doing, but they're scared."

More recently, residents of a still all-white development ringed by integrated ones told county officials that as soon as the first Negro bought a house in their development, from 24 to 40 houses would go up for sale the next day.

Within the last five months, Robert M. Thomas, chairman of the Baltimore County Human Relations Commission, has warned the County Council emphatically that the county's most serious racial problem is the one of neighborhood stability and that concentrating Negroes in a few "broken areas is likely to lead to later deterioration of community services, school segregation—and all the old problems people are running from the city to avoid.

Such warnings do not seem to trouble the County Council. The Human Relations Commission has tried to keep councilmen informed of the situation for several years and, as long ago as 1966, suggested that the council ought to give it a full-time executive director, who could work with neighborhoods that were having stability problems. Last year, the commission made a budget request for a full-time executive director.

Out Liberty road

The council's response was to cut the commission's budget instead of adding to it, after groups like the National State's Rights party and the White Citizens' Council complained of the commission's work.

"I can only conclude," Mr. Thomas said in a public statement at the time, "that while the County Council wishes this commission to continue in existence to serve as a shield and buffer for the county government in the troublesome area of race relations, it does not wish this commission to have any positive, effective educational program of its own to help prepare the county for the inevitable changes of the future."

The county neighborhoods under pressure are west of the city limits, extending roughly from Woodlawn to Pikesville. Liberty road is the spine, in a logical extension of the movement out Liberty Heights avenue. (The invisible county line has proved to be no barrier, to the dismay of many people who fled across it 10 years ago.)

Negroes have moved into some subdivisions as far out as Old Court road. There are thousands of houses in these neighborhoods, typical post-war, FHA tract houses—split-level, ranch-style with few trees and many charcoal grills. So far, the relative number of Negroes is very small, but there are enough of them to make the area fair game for real estate activity.

Occasional signs of panic

One typical neighborhood of about 70 houses that was all-white in 1965 had 21 Negro families by the summer of 1968. Another, with 200 houses, was all-white in 1966 and had 20 Negro families by the spring of 1968. Still another, one of the first to get Negroes, was integrated in 1964, by last spring, 30 of its 100 houses belonged to Negroes.

This rate of change seems a good deal slower than the turnover in older city neighborhoods where speculators concentrate, but the point is that, no matter how gradually, whites eventually move away, and only Negroes take their place.

Housing integration first came to the Human Relations Commission's notice in 1964, when scattered calls began coming in—someone's window has been smashed by a brick here, someone's door smeared with paint there. Occasional signs of panic and rumors of blockbusting broke out through 1965.

At the beginning of 1966, things picked up considerably and have been increasing ever since. In one large subdivision numerous complaints were made against real estate men over what the residents felt was persistent harassment. For Sale signs went up in many areas, and many meetings were held, both with the nervous residents in an effort to ease the panic, and with real estate men to persuade them to take down the signs and stop soliciting.

THOSE WHO WAIT ARE VULNERABLE, TOO

If there is one recurring theme that runs through the descriptions of people living in subdivisions into which Negroes have moved, it is that real estate men descend like locusts wherever a Negro has settled. The common complaints are that they refuse to show houses in integrated areas to white buyers and steer whites to other neighborhoods, that they advertise for these subdivisions only in the Afro-American, that they canvass in person, send out postcards, put up rows of "For Sale" signs.

"We are experiencing much pressure from realtors," a resident of Robin Hills said at a 1967 meeting. "We have mail solicitations and telephone calls. . . . Now they are saying a house has to be sold to colored because the whites won't buy. They say we should sell immediately before the area becomes all-colored. Some of us have posted signs saying 'This house is not for sale,' but it isn't doing much good."

"I called one realtor and said, 'Stop. You're creating panic,'" the president of another neighborhood association said. "She replied, 'Everyone else is doing it; all the big companies are doing it.' To us, open housing means for sale to anyone but to realtors it means colored only."

From time to time, the real estate people take down their signs and stop soliciting, after appeals have been made to them, and the panic eases for a while. They are persistent and give way to resistance, "but they always come back," says a Negro resident of a county subdivision who moved out from Ashburton two years and has watched the whites slowly but steadily move away.

PROSECUTION DIFFICULT

Last September, Samuel A. Green, Jr., the Baltimore county state's attorney, took public notice of the problem, warned real estate dealers that blockbusting "won't be tolerated" and reminded them of the state anti-blockbusting statute. He said that most complaints he had received dealt too much in "generalities" but that he was considering two specific complaints for prosecution.

In a telephone conversation almost two months later, Mr. Green said all cases so far had been too hard to substantiate. He asserted that he was sincere about prosecuting blockbusters, "if I get the necessary evidence," and that he had not been making idle threats. However, he expressed the opinion that the root of the problem was that "an overwhelming number of people don't want to live next to Negroes."

Real estate men, even thoughtful ones, are prone to lay the blame where Mr. Green did—in the lap of the prejudiced white homeowner. It seems clear that the problem does begin here, and that some talk of blockbusting is simply an expression of fear about any Negroes moving in at all.

If this were all there was to it, one could say that people who sell at a loss and run get nothing more than they deserve. But it seems equally clear that people who are not so prejudiced and are willing to rise above their fears are often afraid, not of having Negro neighbors, but of what will happen to the neighborhood once Negroes arrive.

Too many people have seen precisely what happens: Everyone eventually gives up on it—real estate dealers, mortgage lenders, local government agencies, the school sys-

tem—and abandons it to the people who can profit by deliberately disrupting it.

And it also seems clear that many members of the real estate community, even if they cannot be called blockbusters themselves, encourage this fear and prejudice—by steering Negroes into and whites away from certain areas, by assuming open housing will not work and by refusing to question old assumptions about property and race.

What do they mean?

So even the least prejudiced homeowners get tired of fighting this kind of pressure. No one who has been through a neighborhood turnover once wants to go through it again.

There does not seem to be a need for new laws (unless the slums speculator could be outlawed—but an apparent attempt to do this was stricken from the 1966 state anti-blockbusting statute). The meaning of current laws is uncertain since no one is enforcing or interpreting them.

Some vigorous prosecution might help, but there is no sign of any. It may be that the stock excuses are true—it is too hard to get evidence, and the laws are easy to evade—but evidence does not seem to have been a problem in the case of the Howard county speculator.

It is not yet clear how open-housing laws are going to affect neighborhood patterns. They may cause more panic; they may be ignored.

Follow the leader

The process of neighborhood change has been a dramatic demonstration of a certain kind of black power—the power to terrify a whole population into leaving at great cost. But the power is not in the hands of the blacks, for whom the system is also costly. The power belongs to the speculators, who can choose almost at will (and apparently indefinitely) what neighborhood to "change" next.

One is tempted to conjure up a vision of a great, never-ending game of follow the leader, with the white man out in front, running as hard as he can one step ahead of the middle-class Negro in Bermuda shorts, himself one step ahead of a slum landlord dragging a fatherless welfare family along, the whole group spreading out Liberty road, out Reisterstown road, out Loch Raven boulevard, with the government man bringing up the rear, cleaning up everything with urban renewal. In time we may arrive at a condition predicted only half-jokingly by a Negro suburbanite: An all-Negro county and an all-white city.

VIETNAM VETERAN IS REFUNDED MAGAZINE SUBSCRIPTION DEPOSIT PAID TO "SWEET TALKING" SALESGIRLS IN HAWAII

HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, last week I described an incident involving magazine subscription sales practices in which a Vietnam combat veteran was "sweet talked" by two salesgirls in Hawaii into signing sales contracts for 8-, 10-, and 12-year magazine subscriptions.

The sales approach used by these salesgirls violated the magazine subscription sales industry's self-regulatory code of ethical practices in a number of respects but that fact did not prevent the sale from being made.

It is this type of failure of self-regulation which I am convinced cries out for correction by effective Federal legislation.

My files are literally filled with clear examples of violations going on throughout the magazine sales industry day after day after day. Although refunds are made and fines may be levied by the industry's self-policing agency, Central Registry, after the violations are exposed, this has not halted these violations from occurring again and again under slightly varied circumstances at another time and perhaps another place.

I should like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point the letter I received from the sales company involved, Publishers Continental Sales Corp., as well as a letter directed to that organization by Central Registry:

PUBLISHERS CONTINENTAL SALES
CORP.,

Michigan City, Ind., March 21, 1969.

HON. FRED B. ROONEY,
Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ROONEY: Thank you for your letter of March 18th and for sending us a copy of the press release dated March 18th.

Please be advised that we have refunded in full to the American Serviceman, Stan Garis of Kunkleton, Pa.

We have instructed our crew manager in Hawaii and all other sales people that this sales practice must be discontinued immediately and should we receive any complaints similar to the above, we will refund in full.

Very truly yours,

MABEL GRAY,
Subscription Department.

CENTRAL REGISTRY OF MAGAZINE
SUBSCRIPTION SOLICITORS,

New York, N.Y., March 24, 1969.

MR. WALTER H. LAKE, JR.,
President, Publishers Continental Sales
Corp., Michigan City, Ind.

DEAR WALTER: I am sure your attention has already been called to remarks reported in the Congressional Record made by Congressman Fred B. Rooney on the House Floor last week.

I am now in receipt of a copy of the letter that Congressman Rooney has written your agency under date of March 18th, together with copies of your receipts A 855510 and A 855516, each in the amount of \$259.00 of which total Stan Garis, RD #2, Kunkleton, Penn. 18058, paid the two girls \$169.00. CR records show that Jacque Haggellen is registered in CR as an authorized representative of PCSC in the crew of David L. Taylor, but we do not have a registration for Michele Laurendeau.

The seriousness of this situation cannot be over-emphasized, Walter, and warrants your immediate attention.

Will you please tell us of the action taken to prevent this type of solicitation by these persons and others of the crew and of your follow-through with the manager concerned.

Since this solicitation involved stemming, a violation of the CR Standards of Fair Practice, a refund obviously is in order.

Please let us hear from you in full detail as quickly as possible.

Sincerely,

BOB,
Secretary.

DRUGS UNDER MEDICARE: HOPE
FOR THE ELDERLY

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, today elderly outpatients covered under medicare are faced with major drug requirements. Prices of these drugs are rising with breathless rapidity, placing major strains upon the limited incomes of these older citizens. It is a situation which must be alleviated, and can be through a natural extension of medicare to include drugs in their generically prescribed form.

Today I am introducing legislation to relieve those persons not now covered by medicare of the catastrophic burden of prescription drug costs. Under the present program, prescription drug costs for patients under continual hospital care are covered by title XVIII. They are not covered for outpatients—persons not continually housed and cared for in hospitals, but who live at home, under varying degrees of drug medication. Their lives often depend completely on drugs they must take. It has too often been revealed that because of the astronomical costs of drugs, elderly patients have often denied themselves basic necessities such as food, clothing, and housing of even a minimal nature.

In 1966, more than half of the elderly men and women living alone had income of less than \$1,500. Eleven percent of elderly families and 53 percent of elderly individuals in the nation received less than \$30 weekly. Another 30 percent of each category had incomes of between \$30 and \$60 weekly. These are the total resources our elderly citizens had to obtain food, clothing, shelter, and all other necessities, including drugs.

It is best to bear in mind that these are not people seeking a "free ride." Almost always they have lived useful, working lives, and are now attempting to make retirement income cover necessities like drugs, whose prices are being stretched like chewing gum.

Private insurance is definitely not meeting needs brought about by these rising prices. A Task Force on Prescription Drugs established by HEW in 1967 found that only 9 percent of older persons had any protection under private insurance plans. It was also found that private insurance met only 2.8 percent of all nonhospital and nonphysician medical care expenditures. We can now see that some type of protection for the elderly against rising drug prices is imperative. My legislation amends title XVIII of the Social Security Act to extend regularly provided prescription drug coverage to outpatients in the same manner as to those now covered by existing legislation.

Additionally, it requires that only drugs prescribed by their generic name be covered. This is an initial attempt at

providing guidelines for physicians and drug companies in pricing drugs more equitably.

My bill in no way restricts the physician in what drugs he prescribes. It only asks that the drug be prescribed by its generic rather than commercial name. Nor does it in any way restrict the pharmacist in filling the physician-prescribed drug. Most important of all, it in no way restricts the patient in his choice of either physician or druggist.

Mr. Speaker, none of us are immune from eventually being placed in exactly this situation. The most beautiful word in our language is compassion. It is not pity. It is not meant to be patronizing. We are simply being asked to understand the realities of an unjust and unbearable situation affecting millions upon millions of older Americans. It is incumbent upon us to act.

MAN AND HIS ENVIRONMENT

HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, the ABC Television Network recently broadcast a program called "Three Young Americans in Search of Survival." This program, sponsored by Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing, portrayed the activities and concerns of three young Americans in relation to their environment. One young man is a graduate student at Utah State University preparing a recreation plan for the southeast corner of Utah. A second young man is a gang worker in Philadelphia working with street gangs. A young lady is a conservationist with a special interest in the marine environment.

Each one of these young people demonstrate their concern with the negative aspects of our environment, whether inadequate education, misuse of natural resources, or contamination of our air and water. And through their activities they work to solve these problems.

This program was particularly timely. We have just witnessed a major pollution disaster off the coast of California. We also face a serious shortage of lumber needed for the construction of housing. And our youth is in turmoil, searching for better answers to our pressing problems. I insert the text of this program in the RECORD for the information of my colleagues:

THREE YOUNG AMERICANS IN SEARCH OF
SURVIVAL

(Broadcast over the ABC television network,
March 17, 1969)

Produced, written, and directed by Stephen Fleischman.

Narrated by Paul Newman.

PAUL NEWMAN. We are going to spend the next two hours with three young Americans involved in the search for the betterment of man and his environment. With them we are going to explore the most compelling problem facing the human race—survival. This is Gary Smith.

GARY SMITH. And I'm studying the past to see where some species have stepped out of the parade so to speak and disappeared, and extincted themselves.

PAUL NEWMAN. Gary's a graduate student at Utah State University. He's 26 years old. He has a commitment to the physical world around him at a time of crisis in the balance of life. This is Harold Haskins. He's 32. He's a gang worker. He is also Associate in Community Planning at Temple University in Philadelphia. His hope and belief in America is reflected in the work to which he is committed—making his community as good as any in the United States. This is Mary Margaret Goodwin.

MARY MARGARET GOODWIN. It's not a question of being on the verge. We have fallen off the cliff and our only hope is through a conservation program, quickly, which will hopefully land us on a ledge halfway down.

PAUL NEWMAN. Mary Margaret is 30. She's a student of marine environment and a conservationist. She is concerned about water quality and the future of aquatic and land animals threatened by man's encroachment on nature and committed to working for the survival of an endangered species—man himself. This program has to do with the interrelationship of all life—plants, animals and the community of man. Our fate is closely linked with the fate of every living organism on this earth. There is an inner connection between the timbering of a 1000-year-old virgin redwood and a black child in a ghetto where a tree does not grow. There is a connection between a man-made system and a natural system between a city and a forest and the life within them.

MARY MARGARET GOODWIN. I love to dream dreams, but as soon as you finish the dream, you come back to reality and unless you can take a dream of, of what kind of a world you would like to live in and, make it a reality, dreams are hopeless.

HAROLD HASKINS. Maybe I have as much hope as some people and I know that I have more hope than many people now, especially many black folks, and my interest is to be able to show society some program that can make it on its own merits.

GARY SMITH. Time's run out for America, there are no more frontiers, you must kind of step back now, instead of looking toward the frontier, we must look to the interior, we must look interiorly within ourselves and with our relationship, our personal relationship with the environment around us. We must return to this old idea of the love of the earth as our mother, and must give her the necessary respect, that she can sustain us, and we can sustain her.

(Gary Smith, singing, "This Land Is Your Land.")

PAUL NEWMAN. The river, once known as the Grand, now called the Colorado, is a strand of water that winds through five states and flows fourteen hundred miles to the sea. It is also a strand of history, of beauty and of controversy that has touched the lives of millions in the southwest. The states of Arizona and California have fought over its water rights. They will again. Battles have raged over the dams built on the Colorado and they will again. Its cutting edge sometimes a mile deep slices a cross-section of geologic time in the canyon walls. The Colorado River also cuts right through the middle of Gary Smith's research study area. Gary is a graduate student at Utah State University, working toward a master's degree in recreational development.

GARY SMITH. I'm basically a creative person, I think. I like to write music, I like to write articles, and work with a camera, things like this. I have a great love for nature, and a great concern for what we've done to her. Well, this is a kind of ironic thing. To get through graduate school I found it necessary to enlist in a branch of the service. The only service that would give

me enough time to finish my master's degree was the Marine Corps. They granted me about eight or nine months extension. So, I enlisted in officer's training program hoping that I will be able to finish up my master's degree by this December 30. But, whether I do or not, that's another question.

PAUL NEWMAN. Gary must write a paper, a thesis on his research project. He must contribute new and creative thinking on recreational planning in his study area—the southeast corner of Utah.

GARY SMITH. The southeastern corner of Utah is one of the wildest and most remote, rugged areas in the United States. From an aerial view, from flying over it in the Canyon and looking down from an airplane, my God, it's unbelievable. The tremendous ruggedness and the tremendous amount of rock sculpture that's gone on there. When you go into a place like Chesler Park, or you go in a place like the maze or you fly along in the evening time about 50 feet off the deck the visual assault that takes place there, is just unbelievable—the colors, the shapes, the forms, the silence. That country is so big, out in the canyon country of Utah, it is so big and indescribable, that I think the sun has to sort of sit and rest on the horizon for a while before it finally goes down. After I become acquainted geographically from the air, I also like to become intimately acquainted with the area on the ground. I like to feel it. As a recreationist specialist, I have to know, for instance, how hot it is, how comfortable a particular area would be for a person who wants to camp there. So therefore that necessitates on-the-spot checking, on site analysis, as we would call it, jeeping, hiking, or driving through the area, and stopping at various points of interest, and getting out of the car and studying these areas on the site. Well, do you think people should go through there slowly or 80 miles an hour?

TEX McCLATCHY. Well this is kind of what I'm talking about. You put a paved road through here and they'll never see what we're seeing.

GARY SMITH. Yeah, it's nice a lot of times to stop and talk to people because, essentially, that's who you're developing the area for—is people. Through past experience as a naturalist, and a wilderness patrolman for five summers, I think this is probably my greatest source of decision-making information because I kinda get an idea what people really want.

Well, you're not advocating complete grazing of the national parks system are you?

CHARLIE REDD. Of course, I would like to.

GARY SMITH. It's nice to go in and ask them questions, and perhaps see your own philosophies kind of unfold within somebody else. Maybe see either something that you believe is contradicted, or maybe supported. If at any time we start preserving attractive land in the United States, whether it's a national parks system, a recreation area, in a wilderness area, or something like this, we have to also remember that our land must supply the wants of people. Now, when you're dealing with large in-holdings of what you might call wilderness land like this and you begin developing a large recreation system within this kind of country, you have to be in tune with this environment, you have to know what you're dealing with and you have to avoid making what are called irreversible decisions. We try to govern our decisions so that we will not put a road in some place where some day we might wish that we hadn't—you want to pull it out. That is, you don't want to—in your planning you don't want to make a mistake that you're going to have to correct 100 years from now or 50 years from now.

HAROLD HASKINS. And what we're trying to do now is get into the community development in such a way that these guys have housing, develop housing for their families—

mothers and fathers—black businesses, entrepreneur stuff where they can really take care of business for their own community. Service industry, export industry, meaning simply want to get some factories, or something enough to get two or three hundred people employed out of this neighborhood. You know what this neighborhood looks like, it's a shambles.

PAUL NEWMAN. Harold Haskins, gang worker, Associate in Community Planning for Temple University in Philadelphia, takes a visitor through the ghetto. Sidney Poitier, movie star, writer and film producer, is also an American involved in the problems of the urban poor and the urban black.

HAROLD HASKINS. We need some help, we need help from everybody, and I know that you're interested and we need your help too.

SIDNEY POITIER. It, yes, well I think that—the help is where the problem is. The help has to come from the established community, the establishment, and I don't think, personally, that the establishment is that interested in helping the ghettos. You see, it somehow seems to me that the establishment has the attitude, the opinion, that ghetto life is apart from the total structure of city existence. Consequently, they don't have a sense of being part of a total whole and recognizing that a portion of the total whole is diseased, and they are subject to the deteriorative process the same as the people that are standing around here.

HAROLD HASKINS. Right.

SIDNEY POITIER. You see, you can multiply this ghetto here by every major city in the country and if you take, you take New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Washington, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Atlanta, Boston and on and on you will find that hundreds of thousands indeed millions, of people are trapped in this kind of a circumference.

PAUL NEWMAN. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, one of America's oldest cities—first capital of the United States. One of the most historic cities in the country with some of the worst slums of any city in the country. Philadelphia has a fine program of restoration for America's historic shrines but there are dwellings that haven't been renewed since the Revolution. If blight is the current curse of America's urban centers, Philadelphia has more than its share. North Philadelphia is about the nation's largest black ghetto, and planner and landscape architect of the University of Pennsylvania, Ian McHarg, says of it:

IAN MCHARG. I think they should be described as disaster areas. I think they should be evacuated immediately. They're a blemish upon the American concept, the whole American dream, the origins of the United States cannot tolerate this indictment which is represented by Bedford Stuyvesant and Harlems and North Philadelphia. The place is scabrous, rancorous, and I mean it's permeated with unhappiness and disappointment and misery and abjectness. The place smells of fear and horror and oppression. I don't know, I don't think there is enough art, there is enough intelligence or art in all of architecture, landscape architecture and planning in the United States to be able to redeem these places. And why should we bother?

JEROME "SLACK" JOHNSON. This is where we've been living all our lives. We want to stay there. We want the people who live there to stay there also. I mean, we want our community the way it is now. We want it to stay that way. The only thing we want is better housing, better stores and so on down there. We want the same people to stay down there because they've been living there all their lives.

PAUL NEWMAN. This is a scene from a film called "The Jungle." It tells the story of gang life in a black ghetto. It was produced by a North Philadelphia fighting street gang. Harold Haskins was the "project con-

sultant." Evacuation of the ghetto may be a simple answer. But there are those who live and work in the ghetto day after day to make it viable. Harold Haskins is one of those. A city is not unlike a forest or a field or a seashore. It has its own web of life and the forces within the system are interrelated. A city is made by men. The laws which govern its functions are made by men. The principles of its life are made by nature. The least used natural resource left to man is man himself. Harold Haskins works in two worlds—from the streets of the ghetto to his office at the Health Science Center of Temple University.

HAROLD HASKINS. Community Planning. This is Harold Haskins. Hi!

PAUL NEWMAN. Harold Haskins was instrumental in turning a fighting street gang into a business corporation. He saw young men going to waste—their energies misspent.

HAROLD HASKINS. I wanted a group that's been labeled hostile, angry, and a group that really had been in trouble. And Twelfth and Oxford was the group that I picked. I got together with a number of the members of the, of the leadership hierarchy, and we sat down and talked about the possibility of making a film. They knew nothing about it and neither did I. So finally we began to shoot in the streets. And the young men, after they saw their first rushes, really became interested in film-making. For ten years, I've been working with gangs, and for eight of those years I didn't have any kind of answers. I saw a lot of futility but a lot of talent, a lot of ability, a lot of frustration, and what bothered me was I had no answers, and I was motivated, like it was an obsession with me to try to find a way to have these guys realize something that they could call their own. And this opportunity to make a film, the one we made called "The Jungle," was the beginning of it all.

JEROME "SLACK" JOHNSON. My attitude towards this film-making thing and the corporation wasn't too cool. Because I didn't like it. I mean, I was still in gang war and things. I wanted the gang war. I wanted to do, you know, a lot of things that I shouldn't have been doing, you know. And Harold Haskins convinced me that this corporation thing could work, if we stick together.

GARFIELD PEACOCK. Like and I don't know if I would be in jail the next day or in school or what, you know. But now, like you know, I have responsibilities now for the corporation. I have things to do, you know.

JAMES "COUNTRY" ROBINSON. After the movie was finished we knew that everybody couldn't be film-makers so we started coming up with more ideas about the things our neighborhood needs.

JEROME "SLACK" JOHNSON. We want playgrounds, we want nice stores, we want teenage nightclubs to keep the people off the streets, we want adequate laundromats. That's something we don't have down there. We got one laundromat. It took two days to get your clothes done. And, as far as other black people, we want to set the goal. You see, because, I mean, I'm not trying to brag on the Corporation, but people have already told me that, if we do what we say we want to do, we can set a forefront for the rest of the black people and they try the same thing.

PAUL NEWMAN. Dr. Paul Ehrlich—

DR. PAUL EHRLICH. There are a great many places where we have raw sewage just being dumped into inland waters and into the ocean. This means that we are really very close on the margin of epidemics and things like hepatitis. And, oh, by the end of the century we're going to be very sick people by that time, should we survive that long.

PAUL NEWMAN. There is a new breed of conservationist in America. They are concerned young people, concerned about the future, concerned about the possibility of their children or their children's children having a future. One such American is Mary

Margaret Goodwin. She is a conservationist, a student of marine environment, a researcher in water pollution. Her life and work revolve around water, and the range of her activities mirrors the complexity of man's relationship to this vital resource—water. Her interest extends from the purest marine environments and how to preserve them to polluted areas and what can be done to rehabilitate them. Dr. Donald Pritchard is oceanographer of the Chesapeake Bay Institute at Johns Hopkins University.

MARY MARGARET GOODWIN. Why is it, Dr. Pritchard, with our vast fund of scientific knowledge, and with our technical capabilities in our modern society, we cannot control these problems of pollution? Whose fault is it, really?

DR. DONALD PRITCHARD. Well, I think it's your fault and my fault and the—everyone who might be watching us. Man just doesn't want to accept the responsibility or doesn't want to blame himself.

PAUL NEWMAN.—The Chesapeake Bay is one of her research areas. A major estuary, a nursery area for fish and shell-fish is threatened by the increasing pollution. Mary Margaret is also Field Director of the Caribbean Conservation Association working out of St. Thomas in the U.S. Virgin Islands. She is as much at home underwater as she is on land.

MARY MARGARET GOODWIN.—My diving is really an extension of my land ability and the fact that one cannot be concerned with island ecology and not be able to survey the underwater sites as well as the land sites. Simply, you can't separate water and land ecology when you're dealing with an island. As a conservationist, I'm particularly keen on preserving undersea life really because I love it so much. It hurts me very much to see the destruction occurring, particularly on some of the coral reefs. And the fact that man is an integral part of his environment. He has his role to play in relationship not only to plants but to animals, to the land, to the sea and to the air. When I'm in the air flying from island to island I have a very good overview of the kinds of industrial problems that are being created for pollution and destruction of marine habitats, as well as the destruction of some of the great beaches in the Caribbean, which after all is what supposedly brings the tourists. And the industrialization of these islands is going to destroy this marvelous natural environment that people come to relax in. When you land, in St. Thomas and suddenly you're hit by the sounds of tourists and the cars and so forth and it's really no different than being in any city as far as I'm concerned. When I go down-island through the Leeward Islands, the Dutch Antilles and down through Dominica St. Lucia, down towards St. Vincent and Barbados, I begin to relax a bit more because the further away from this area of St. Thomas that you get, the closer to nature you can get.

Frequently I have the opportunity in my conservation work in the Caribbean to photograph for documentary purposes some of the great wildlife scenes. In Barbuda I saw one of the greatest sights that I think I probably ever will see—the mating and nesting of the frigate birds. I'll never forget those incredible wings on those frigate birds, soaring over and over and over and around this area. I had never seen a frigate bird nesting before. I had no idea that what really appeared to be a big red balloon on their chest, like a piece that hangs down from a turkey, that this would puff up like a black speckled red balloon and this to me was the most incredible sight in the whole world. It would be my hope to get the Antiguan Government to guarantee that it will be made into a bird and wildlife sanctuary. You may never be able to come back to this spot and do this again, because within a year or two years or five years, this area, like every other area in the Caribbean is going to be developed and pos-

sibly destroyed unless people who care about nature can do something to help.

(Gary Smith sings—"Colored Crayon Morning.")

GARY SMITH. For myself I feel very fortunate that I could be raised in an area where there was less confusion. I could look out upon the world scene and at the same time I could withdraw into a rather uncluttered society like wilderness. I could withdraw, personally, into wilderness. And by simplifying, by cutting out city streets or this mass confusing pandemonium that exists around, I could withdraw to some of these areas and reflect interiorally.

PAUL EHRLICH. Ecology is the science that studies organisms in their environment. The relationship between organisms and their environment, is the way it's usually defined. And, of course, human ecology would be the relationship of man to his environment.

PAUL NEWMAN. At Stanford University, biologist Dr. Paul Ehrlich.

DR. PAUL EHRLICH. And one of the saddest things about Western culture is that it's based on a Judaeo-Christian idea of man dominating nature. You know, the earth was made by God for man to dominate and use. And, unfortunately, the biological facts are that man has to live within nature. We haven't risen above the very basic biological laws. We still have to eat food and breathe oxygen and depend on the nitrogen cycle and so on for our very existence.

IAN MCHARG. There's a closed cycle of oxygen, carbon dioxide, a closed cycle of water and a closed cycle of food, and the question is, is that the way the world works, and the answer is, you're damn right, that is the way the world works. Man is a plant parasite.

GARY SMITH. Ecology means the study of one's house. Ecos in Greek I believe means home, and ology means the study or science of one's house or one's surroundings. In the broader sense this entails quite a bit you see, it entails every type of relationship, every relationship you have within your environment. It deals with the plants, the animals, with your social aspects, the people you deal with, anything that you do. Each organism or species of nature has survived and existed today because it has been successful in competing for an environmental niche, or zone, or an area where it can successfully out-compete other plants or animals. In the desert it's very well illustrated where certain plants have been able to grab hold of a piece of land and hold onto it, and keep other plants from invading this, because this plant is more adapted to surviving under the environmental conditions that are found around it. As we gain in altitude, we see a great change in the types of species that we run into, plants that are used to living where there is more moisture available, we see more abundance of plants growing in closer cooperation you might say with each other, more complex plants, in some respects, high water loving plants like your firs and spruce.

IAN MCHARG. So that when one looks at a tree, looks at a plant, looks at the birds, the thing to do is to say, be, live, grow, breathe, so that we may breathe, live and grow. And the same is true—one picks up a handful of soil, a decomposer you see, that reconstitute all the wastes during life and the waste of life after death, and without them, you know, life would be impossible, because there is the return stroke in the cycle of the universe, and so one has to say to the decomposers, be and work, that we may be and live. When an organism finds an environment which is propitious and adapts that environment to make it more propitious, more fitting, and adapts itself to accomplish a creative fitting, then it's likely that organism will have over evolutionary time have been successful. It will have survived and in a shorter period of time and it will be healthy in the present. And where you

find an environment which is unfit for an organism, where the organism cannot make the environment more fitting, where it cannot adapt itself to accomplish a creative fit that that organism over evolutionary time will not have survived and will have failed, and if this is so, we can start examining cities in terms of pathology. That is if you see a place where there is a high incidence of physical social mental pathology you say this is the area of the destructive misfit, that is the environment is unfit for the organism, the organism cannot make the environment fit and so we can start from pathology you see, and I would say if you find such areas and they do exist, I'd put up markers. They're unfit for human life.

PAUL NEWMAN. The life of a city can be compared to the life of a living organism. One person trying to make the city more fitting for human life is the Director of Philadelphia's City Planning Commission, Edmund Bacon.

EDMUND BACON. I think that in terms of the city it's extremely important to make a distinction between two basic aspects of it—the one I might call the organic structure, which is comparable in the body to the eyes, the lungs, the nervous system and so forth, which is a system with central organs that give form and function to the entire thing. In this area, are for example, the community centers, the churches, the schools, the neighborhood shopping, the branch libraries and health centers, and these are focal centers that make community life possible. And in strong contradiction to this is the flesh of the city which is the residential spread which moves through all of these organic centers, and the flesh of the city in my opinion, has got to be thought of as a series of individual cells which have their own life of creation and decay and I think this failure to think in these terms is one of the great problems, of all approach to the city problem. Every single structure in the city, whether it's your house or mine, is continually going through a simultaneous process of recreation and decay.

LARRY MORRISON. I think it's important that Ed Bacon is going to the Area-Wide Council meetings. I think it's important that Mayor Lindsay gets out and walks the streets of Harlem.

PAUL NEWMAN. Larry Morrison, City Planner in the Philadelphia Commission, is working toward getting people from all neighborhoods involved in planning their communities.

LARRY MORRISON. We can no longer afford to have the rigid separation into planning boxes throughout the city. We've gotta have involvement across scales and across problems. We've got to orient our planning around issues, around specifics instead of around functions that no longer have any meaning. And I think that, when this happens, it'll be a lot easier for us to reconcile both the natural needs and the human needs that we face.

PAUL NEWMAN. If we are to accommodate human diversity, the community must be responsive to all of its people. Harold Haskins brought a fighting street gang into a constructive relationship with the Philadelphia Planning Commission. The film, "The Jungle" brought the 12th and Oxford Street gang and Harold Haskins to the attention of the Commission.

HAROLD HASKINS. I met some of the city planners, and they were interested in doing an experiment with me, in which we would employ, or they would employ a number of the young men from 12th and Oxford to teach them basic planning. They could be dropouts. They could be anything, in that regard. One of the very basic things that this experiment shows is that first of all, we picked a group of guys who now are working for the planning commission and who are involved in the planning of their own com-

munity. The gang in Philadelphia, in North Philadelphia in particular, is a highly organized institution, that has been overlooked by many people, especially planners. And one of the first maps they drew after we talked about community development, was this gang map, that sort of defined the areas of all the gangs in North Philadelphia—like Eighth and Diamond, Commack-Diamond, or 12th and Poplar, 10th and Thompson, because many of these boundaries have been in existence since 1930. Many of the members of this group had brothers and uncles who belonged to the same gangs. These young men have lived in the street all their lives, and frankly, have banded together because they've had to protect themselves. And one of the interesting things that I want to mention here is that, when they first talked to me, Twelfth and Oxford, they thought I was trying to break them up. They said to me, "Haskins, Social workers can't break us up, our mothers and fathers can't break us up, teachers can't break us up, the police can't break us up, so you can't break us up." So this simply means that their institution can go from the graffiti on the walls in the neighborhood to the graffiti on the walls in prison. And they come back with more status in their own group. So, in effect, my interest was to just turn this group over, intact as it was, not break it up. Each gang has a runner, and a second runner, and a third runner. They're the leaders. Then there's a war chief and a warlord, who are people who handle the mechanics of gang war.

GANG MEMBER. J. P., man, why didn't you come with us?

J. P. Oh, man, I was getting my groove again, man.

GANG MEMBER. Oh, man, shut the hell up. HAROLD HASKINS. And then there's a council, which is a group of young men who decide on the issues that govern this group. And this council is stronger, in effect, I dare say, than the families in which these young men come from. And this hierarchy is as plain as any corporation or any kind of business or anything.

PAUL NEWMAN. A fighting street gang was transformed into a business corporation. The 12th and Oxford Street Film-makers Corporation was formed. Each week the corporation's Board of Directors meets in the board room of the Philadelphia City Planning Commission. Jim "Country" Robinson is Chairman. Decisions are made regarding the corporation's film-making, real estate, small business and community betterment concerns. Harold Haskins?

HAROLD HASKINS. You have many, many youth that you see walk on the corners who could be channeled in the same directions.

LARRY MORRISON. Harold Haskins played the most significant role in everything Twelfth and Oxford's done. He was able to help the fellows realize that the abilities and the energies that they were devoting to gang warfare and other activities, could be redirected into another area of endeavor.

HAROLD HASKINS. It's a known fact, that in Philadelphia, the ratio in terms of male Negro youths between tenth and twelfth grade—drop-out rate is about, at least forty per cent. And most of the schools in North Philadelphia, high schools and junior high schools, are controlled by gangs in terms of territorial boundaries. Then if you placed, for instance, a new school in the heart of the Zulu nation you come up with the possibility that that school will be controlled by the Zulus and the other members of the community who live in the general community, especially males, will drop out of school, and not attend that school, because they have to fight their way to get there, they have to fight their way while they're in there, and fight their way home.

LARRY MORRISON. There is one other thing in how we are going to take care of this one. One important thing is employment, at least as far as the people up there are concerned

is how many of the people who work there are from the North Philadelphia area.

JEROME "SLACK" JOHNSON. Well, when we go in to talk to the owner of the building, or the manager, and they give us the number of employees they have there, we can ask him to give us an estimate of how many people they have living in the area.

LARRY MORRISON. What do you think, Country?

JAMES "COUNTRY" ROBINSON. I don't think they'd cooperate with you. You're crazy. They're not sayin' who's working for them 'cause they don't want to take the time out. You know, when people doin' their work and the people go around and ask the employer where you live.

LARRY MORRISON. If that's the situation, how're we gonna deal with this problem?

JAMES "COUNTRY" ROBINSON. One way might be possible—if you ask the man, or catch him on lunch breaks, twelve o'clock. Colored people do not want you to disturb them at their employment while they're doin' their work. And that's a known fact.

EDMUND BACON. We've learned an enormous amount from them, simply practical things like a precise definition of the edges of the turf. They have certainly enriched and deepened our concept of the social structure of the city, and of the dynamics of neighborhood leadership, and I believe that they have learned from us something quite new to them, which was to visualize their own concern about their own environment as being a part of a bigger thing.

HERMAN FULLER. Since we started our corporation we bought a couple of properties. We own a house on Commack and Susquehanna and we have people living in there. And we are starting a laundromat in our own community.

POLICEMAN. And we've had numerous occasions to have contact with the 12th and Oxford organization, but it seemed to have improved now that they've been redeveloping the neighborhood. Everyone seems more or less taking more of an interest in their houses since all these different developments had started. It seems like it's sort of a challenge to keep up with each other's residences.

LARRY MORRISON. I was able to develop some appreciation of what the causes of the problem were. But I think it was through Harold that myself and others that have been involved with Twelfth and Oxford, have been able to see what some of the specifics, the nitty-gritty really are, of how we work ourselves out of this. And, I don't think there's any magic potion except that there's gotta be communication between the races, and there's gotta be a commitment too, once we get beyond the racial hangups, to getting down to fundamental problems of economic development and education. I think that's what Twelfth and Oxford's about. And I just consider myself very fortunate that Harold Haskins happened to think that myself and others at the planning commission were capable of relating to the guys in a way which would help them do what they wanted to do. The role that myself and other people like Riggs Parker and Jay Scherer who are in business and law, play, is that of a technical advisor. And what's evolved is, is a planning package of expertise, with no middlemen involved. I think Harold Haskins always makes the point that what he is trying to do is to get the guys on the corner in direct communication with the institutions.

PHIL GALLIGAN. By the way, Back Bay has got instructions, as per your instructions, that no one is to purchase a print of that film without your approval.

JAMES "COUNTRY" ROBINSON. That's all right, we settled that at the last Board meeting.

PHIL GALLIGAN. Okay, I'm all through. You got anything more you want to ask?

JAMES "COUNTRY" ROBINSON. We've got some showings coming up.

HAROLD HASKINS. That's a \$200 showing plus \$65 expenses for 3 guys. We got offers to bring the film and the young men, because one of the instrumental things I wanted to do was to make sure the guys traveled with their film, to give them exposure to the larger society, so to speak, but also to help other people understand them, because I'd like to make sure that people begin to understand each other, as much as possible. The guys got involved in traveling quite a bit. They've been to California a number of times and have been all over, and they never would have gone without making this film. This film gave these guys mobility. And, athletics gave me mobility, and I saw that I had more or less the experiences of traveling around and playing ball and meeting different people. And this gave me an opinion about people and life and, that young men who are locked in to an immediately neighborhood to protect their turf, never really get the chance to experience.

JEROME "SLACK" JOHNSON. Well, let me start with what Harold Haskins told me. Like, he was the one that came up with the idea, that, wherever the film go, some of the fellows go with it. Now, the reason why he told me this, because, he says, this is exposure. And, when you're being around people that you think is society, you get used to 'em, he said, you get used to talking to 'em, walking with 'em and being with 'em, you know. Instead of saying, this man is taller than me. I'm down here, and he up there. Now, anywhere I go—I don't care if the President of the United States—I can talk to him the way I want to talk to him, because he's just a man just like I am.

HAROLD HASKINS. Jerome Johnson, Slack, is in our book, out of sight. He's one of the first young men to go to the City Planning Commission to learn base maps and he is the planner for the group, the physical planner for the 12th and Oxford Film-makers Corporation. He's also the real estate man who negotiates.

JEROME "SLACK" JOHNSON. The status on the 1223 property. I haven't collected rent there since September 29 because of the repairs that was needed. I told the people that live there, the tenants, that rent wouldn't be collected until repairs were started.

JAMES "COUNTRY" ROBINSON. You say you told the people that no rent would be collected until repairs were made?

JEROME "SLACK" JOHNSON. No, until repairs were started.

JAMES "COUNTRY" ROBINSON. Until repairs were started. Did they agree to pay the rent when repairs do get started?

JEROME "SLACK" JOHNSON. Yes.

JAMES "COUNTRY" ROBINSON. You think that was a wise decision?

JEROME "SLACK" JOHNSON. I think it was.

HAROLD HASKINS. David Williams, Bat—they call him, Bat—is the actual leader of the group.

DAVID "BAT" WILLIAMS. Well, my job is the president. I guess my job is more than one job. My job is like going around, making sure everybody else get their jobs done, I mean, showing the film and talking to people, you know going all around, traveling all over.

HAROLD HASKINS. He's the kind of a guy who knows all of the operation of the gang. He and Country together make a beautiful combination because Country, now becoming the corporate director kind of guy, and Bat being the gang leader kind of guy, sort of get together and get business taken care of. Because, whatever the corporation cats don't take care of, they make sure the gang cats do. Country, Jimmy Robinson, is a very quiet guy, basically. He's the second runner, or the second leader of the group. They call them runners. He is basically one of the real supporting thinkers of the group, one of the guys who really gives the group its direction in certain areas, especially in this

corporation. And he emerged logically as the spiritual, inspirational leader of the corporation.

JAMES "COUNTRY" ROBINSON. Most of the guys they want to do things right, and want to do something constructive. But, some of 'em, maybe now and then, you might, you know, have to get on their back, every now and then, and remind 'em, or something like this. And, in a real sense, you know, like, I might be, you know, on their back of the idea of doing something.

JOHN LEE. You got a assignment. You say you sent that guy a letterhead? Right?

JOHN LEE. Right.

JAMES "COUNTRY" ROBINSON. The guy say he never received it.

JOHN LEE. No?

JAMES "COUNTRY" ROBINSON. The guy say he never received it.

JOHN LEE. Well, I gave it to my sister to mail off for me.

JAMES "COUNTRY" ROBINSON. You gave it to your sister to mail off. The guy say he never received it.

JOHN LEE. Well, I don't know what happened to it. It must have got lost in the mails.

JAMES "COUNTRY" ROBINSON. Must have got lost in the mail.

HAROLD HASKINS. John Lee is one of the influential guys in the group, and he's sort of a, aesthetic type of guy. He's, he's an artist. He loves to paint. Recently he's become quite active in taking over the operation of the laundromat. And this will be the first business, per se, and he's got a lot of responsibility, and he sees his role now as being manager of this corporation's laundromat. David Leach is probably one of the best fighters. He's a militant guy and, he doesn't mind defending the creed and the credo of 12th and Oxford. He, in effect, is the guy who handles the sticky business. He can do a number of things well. And we don't talk about what he can't do too much, but he's the enforcer.

DAVID LEACH. Like if another gang moves on one of our boys or a couple of our boys they come down and tell us. They scream gang war and then when the war lord take over then and tell them how to go down and what way to go down and what kind of guns and things we going to use and how to use them. Now I'm just a businessman but I'll fight if I have to.

JAMES "COUNTRY" ROBINSON. Peacock, he'll make a report.

GARFIELD PEACOCK. I have a report to make? **JAMES "COUNTRY" ROBINSON.** Yeah. On that press showing.

GARFIELD PEACOCK. Who was talking? Because they had different people talking on different subjects.

HAROLD HASKINS. Garfield Peacock is a very talented young man. He's the cameraman for our film, "The Jungle." In fact, hopefully, he'll become a cameraman in the Film-makers Corporation. There's a few other guys. One of 'em's called Skinny Butch. His name is Forest Outing. He is one of the young men who took a course at Price-Waterhouse, to learn accounting. Fat Butch, or Carlton Coleman is the other accountant. So we have Fat Butch and Skinny Butch, who are the financial wizards of our group. Herman Fuller is our music man. He wrote a song that goes like this, for the new movie: "I got my shirrtail out, and my hair all conked with grease. I got my khakis on, and they don't need no crease. I want to go to school to learn the Golden Rule, but I hookey every day. The teachers wonder what's wrong with me. That's why I am in Boon today." (Herman Fuller and group singing "Shirrtail.")

PAUL NEWMAN. Herman Fuller who wrote the song "Shirrtail" draws on experiences from ghetto life and the language of the ghetto. His feelings and his talent are being recognized in wider circles. The establish-

ment, in present planning, now takes into account the factors in the community that have decisive influence in making a program work, such as the strong organizational structures of street gangs. The human ecology of this city is in better balance. The man on the corner relating to the establishment—the establishment relating to the man on the corner. The impact—the potential for a new American future.

HAROLD HASKINS. I think we're really on the road now of the company, or the corporation, becoming self-sufficient. And since my role is to pull back further and further as I go along with the guys, I'm seeing that now I can get involved in the normal, everyday operation of maybe being a husband and a father as opposed to being just a father to over a hundred guys, which is a pretty difficult role to play. Community Planning. Hi. I'm being interviewed by ABC. Yeah. That's my fiancée.

YVONNE BOOKER. Oh, yes, he loves to play football. He says they get out there—they call themselves the 'has-beens' and the 'never was's'—and they all get out there on Sunday and they think they're doing something.

MR. JOSEPH HASKINS. He always had the idea he wanted to be something. He used to always tell me, he said, "I'm going to be a good help to you someday, I'm going to be a man," and I'm proud of him, real proud of him.

MRS. JOSEPH HASKINS. I don't understand his work too much, but I know he's doing good work. Everybody talks to me they say that he's doing wonderful work and tell me to tell him to keep it up and so he's doing real good.

PAUL NEWMAN. In the last month of President John F. Kennedy's life, he said to a college audience "Look forward to the day when we will build handsome and balanced cities . . ." The remaining years of this century hold unlimited promise for man to realize human potential. It has been a failure of our society to see our cities, our wilderness, our water and air diminished by our predacious use. The diminishing of our environment has also diminished our lives. We can invade our waters by dumping biologically active waste materials and raw sewage into them. We can uproot our trees to make way for a super highway. We can burn waste materials and envelop ourselves in unbreathable air. We can do all these things if we want to. The greater commitment, however, is an inspiring dream of a common plan to build and preside over an environment which includes and interlocks human relationships. Such is the commitment of Harold Haskins, Gary Smith and Mary Margaret Goodwin.

The land is tired, the air is used, the waters are fouled. They have aged before their time. Man has been a predator of his own environment. We damage the promise of a future with each sunrise. Tomorrows are scarce. If men are to decide their own destinies and the destinies of tomorrow's children, then shouldn't they love that which supports life? The land, the sea, the air are one—they are the gifts to man's existence. The secret suicide that we are committing by polluting our environment is no longer a secret. It's premeditated self-destruction. There are seven hundred and seventy-one million acres of land in the United States owned and administered by the Federal Government. These public lands belong to all the people. A good part of this is national forest and national park land. The national park idea is a major and unique contribution by the United States to the whole concept of the preservation of natural wonders, beauty and wilderness. In this caravan on a field survey trip in a wilderness area of southeastern Utah, are representatives of the agencies responsible for our public lands.

GARY SMITH. We have so many diverse interests there and management agencies. For instance, we have, Forest Service, the Na-

tional Park Service, the Bureau of Land Management, State Highway Department of Utah, State Fish and Game Department, the Utah Parks System. We have tremendous variety of different management agencies in the area alone. This is not counting the tremendous vested interest groups that are down there. In the past we've had a lot of friction between agencies. There's been a great deal of conflict. We take a virgin area like this and we look in the past. We look at Yosemite slum, national park, we look at the bumper to bumper traffic jam in Yellowstone, and we look at the mistakes we've made in the past with regards to recreation planning, and we try to learn from these.

PAUL NEWMAN. As population and commercial interests mount, there are strong pressures from many directions on those who must make decisions about the use and management of public land. Every day in our nation, irreversible decisions are being made. Some good, some bad. All of them affect our future for generations to come. Gary Smith is here to study the making of two decisions, both irreversible, for his research project—one that has already been made, one in the process of being made.

GARY SMITH. This interagency field trip, with regards to road location in Canyon Lands National Park would make available this beautiful, lush green forest areas for people to withdraw to, providing climatic relief. And so, through this coordinated planning among agencies, you look at the recreation, or the development, for instance, of Canyon Lands, not in a vacuum, but with the outlying areas, also, trying at all times to plan your decisions in such a way that you won't regret them in the future.

PAUL NEWMAN. From his observations of overlapping and conflicting jurisdictions in the field, Gary traces the process of decision-making from its branches to its base. He makes a trip to Washington, D.C., to further his research.

(Gary Smith singing "Something Big.")

GARY SMITH. My trip to Washington helped me get a perspective about how plans that are being made out here on the ground are carried up through the channels to the final approval of the people on top. Coming from the sticks, so to speak, into a maze or a network of offices that exist in Washington, like, say, for the Department of Interior was quite staggering and at first it seemed quite impersonal and complex, quite un-understandable and unfathomable. I was amazed at the extreme complexity of our form of government. This complexity, of course, is confusing to me. I often wondered as I wandered from office to office, and talked to some of these men in high places, how anything really gets done.

Secretary STEWART UDALL. I'm a little more skeptical about roads than I was six or eight years ago. I think you've got to have them in the right places.

GARY SMITH. I didn't really expect to have had the opportunity to interview someone as busy as Secretary Udall. You see, the Secretary of Agriculture and Secretary of Interior wield a tremendous amount of power. They've been accused, sometimes of having too much power, being too unresponsive to things on the ground.

Secretary STEWART UDALL. We've made a big mess out of things, in my judgment, this century. I think the country's much less livable. It's much less inviting than it was, say, in the year 1900.

GARY SMITH. It helped me gain a perspective on how the decisions and how the information filters up to his position and what his viewpoints are, what would possibly be done to the areas I'm working in, from the command position—before a lot of irreversible decisions are made, in this area. That is, before we've made mistakes like we have in the past in our land management programs.

PAUL NEWMAN. The Glen Canyon Dam is a monument to the irreversible decision. It is one of the five major dams on the Colorado River, from Utah to Southern California. It pinches off the river at a narrow point just below the Utah State Line and backs the water up one hundred and eighty-six miles to form Lake Powell, the longest man-made lake in the world. The dam was built to generate hydro-electric power, and for flood control and water conservation. But, if in the long view of history, the Glen Canyon Dam may prove to have had only temporary economic value, since the lake is destined to be silted up eventually—then will the irreversible decision have been worth it, in undating an American scenic wonder for its other major purpose, a recreational haven for boaters, swimmers and fishermen?

GARY SMITH. Lake Powell forms what you might call the water-based recreation heart of the area. Lake Powell will provide a boater's paradise, now it's built. And yet, Lake Powell is more than a recreation area. It's a magnificent lake. It's a huge lake. Yet, at the same time, Lake Powell represents a controversy, which I was interested in.

NARRATOR. Dr. Paul Ehrlich?

Dr. PAUL EHRlich. Do you flood beautiful valleys and so on, in order to be able to have maybe a million or two million more people somewhere, and to put off the day of reckoning one step further? Because, whatever else you know about population, you know sooner or later the growth has to stop.

Secretary STEWART UDALL. It's one of these excruciating problems where you have to have to reconcile values. And you have to weigh the long term national interest in terms of protecting against the values that would be gained by some plan of development. This is essentially what you're confronted with. And when you, when you look at something like the Grand Canyon which is irreplaceable, I think the preservationists were essentially right. That you might do something that appeared to be good now, but if you had a dam that filled up with silt in even two hundred years, well, the people two hundred, even three hundred years from now, they have an interest in this. And what will they think if we build something that is simply an enormous silt bed and we destroy the canyon which was a unique thing in terms of the world as a whole?

GARY SMITH. Lake Powell was bitterly fought and opposed by preservation groups like, for instance, the Sierra Club. They, they felt that the dam could not be justified economically by the electricity it produced or the water it saved. And they felt that it was destroying a very beautiful, irreplaceable part of American geography, with regard to Glen Canyon.

Dr. PAUL EHRlich. It was once said to me that the Army Engineers have a beaver complex and won't be happy until they have thrown a dam across every gutter in the United States. And one of my friends suggested that what, since we pay farmers not to grow food, that we ought to pay the Army Engineers not to build any more dams. Any dam is a stop gap measure as far as water supply is concerned, among other things, they silt up. I mean, dams are, as I think most people realize, temporary structures. And they only have a certain useful life. And, pretty much, we've dammed the areas that ought to be dammed in the United States.

PAUL NEWMAN. In Los Eden, a side canyon, flooded by the rising waters of Lake Powell, Gary Smith talked with John Flannery, an official of the Sierra Club, a preservationist group that fought the building of the Glen Canyon Dam.

GARY SMITH. I'm kind of interested in the Sierra Club's position on, in the contest for this area.

JOHN FLANNERY. Well, it's tough. We're in a battlefield where, where we took a beating. And I think if places were appropriately named, this is the closest thing we've come to a canyon today. The rest of Glen Canyon is drowned. It was a beautiful place. It's not an aquatic desert, I feel. This is destined to go underwater about what, another hundred feet?

GARY SMITH. A hundred and forty feet.

JOHN FLANNERY. And the beauty will be gone. It will be like riding through small hills, areas of small hills.

GARY SMITH. Why'd you lose it? Why'd you lose the battle?

JOHN FLANNERY. We lost it because we got into it too late. And, at the time the battle was on, we were too small. And, we pretty well agree on this. And we wouldn't let it happen again. There's the example of the loss. I think that tells the whole picture of Glen Canyon. We've lost a whole ecology. The wild life has drowned. The trees are drowning. Who knows how many forms of life, unique forms, are lost in this inundation.

GARY SMITH. Do you think that the Bureau of Reclamation doesn't think and isn't concerned?

JOHN FLANNERY. Oh, they think. Certainly. But they have one point of view, normally. They're thinking about water supply just like the Corps of Engineers is thinking about damming rivers. We're not thinking about that. We're thinking about the good for the American public in the years to come, and the losses to man. We're down to ten per cent of our country in wilderness and every compromise that we make is a loss that can't be brought back. What's going to happen here in two hundred years, when this is a mud flat? Well, the problem is, with almost all of our protected lands, our Federal lands in this country is that, when you put a road in, then the agency is not satisfied, with that road. They want to put another road off, and then soon after that they have a series of roads.

And then they want to put in camp grounds here and there and there and there. And pretty soon, that wilderness is gone; that feeling of wilderness is gone. You've got motor boats, and you've got cars running all over the place.

PAUL NEWMAN. An irreversible decision in the making. Gary Smith is an involved observer in the decision over a proposed road into the wilderness area of Dark Canyon. Should a paved highway be put through an area of wild and exquisite beauty? And if so, where, and how should it be built?

GARY SMITH. There was a lot of controversy on this trip, mainly from the fact that Canyon Lands National Park has been in existence for four and a half years and there still isn't a road into it. And the people of Utah who will derive some economic benefit from this national park are concerned because they've made investments around the area. And they were consulted, and they helped push the park proposal through Congress with regard to the original road location. They were all in favor of this original road. Now, all of a sudden, things grind to a halt. The road doesn't go in. In fact, the road's changed, in favor of a road that will take many more years to build and will come in from the south.

DICK SMITH. What it takes for people to enjoy it. I mean, some of these people might enjoy just driving in and looking around in their cars.

BATES WILSON. This is fine, Dick. They can do this. Not everybody is gonna' come in from U.S. 160 to Squaw Flat. And I think you're gonna' find you're gonna' have a lot of traffic in from the South.

PAUL NEWMAN. Bates Wilson, Superintendent of Canyonlands National Park.

BATES WILSON. As a matter of fact, may be more than you're gonna' get off of U.S. 160,

because they're gonna' be feeding in from Bryce, from Zion, from Grand Canyon, from Glen Canyon.

MAN. We can work together because this scenery doesn't stop at the park boundary.

MAN. And the visitor couldn't care less.

MAN. Well, again, we're gonna' have multiple use, but we're gonna' segregate this land as to what we think is in the best public interest as to whether we allow grazing, whether we allow hunting and so on, will be determined upon the characteristics of the country and its capabilities to provide the kinds of goods and services that people want. We can't make these projections into the distant future, but we think we know, generally, what they want now. And I don't think we should, should plan any road that would take people through this country fast. This is an unusual country, and they should spend some time and we shouldn't build speedways, in my opinion.

TEX McCLATCHY. But the masses probably wouldn't go along with your comments, I don't think. The masses—you got to eliminate it to the per cent, like Bates says, that want to see and enjoy this kind of country. If you turned it over to the masses and asked them, they'd put that short road, just like you started now, that's right.

BATES WILSON. I think we're gonna' have something for everybody. We're gonna' have something for the guy in the pink Cadillac—a great deal. I think he's gonna' be able to drive in and get a terrific experience. But we're also gonna' have something in Canyon Lands, and you're gonna' have it here, right here, where the guy who wants to get out and get away from the carbon monoxide, and get away from the rat race, can do it.

TEX McCLATCHY. But I'm worried about the masses.

BATES WILSON. Because you're worried about the dollar.

TEX McCLATCHY. Right!

GARY SMITH. The original proposal had a road located in the park that was greatly favored by community interests and people like this who have an economic interest in the area. Now, Bates Wilson is Supervisor of the National Park and members of their engineering staff, and people like this from San Francisco, with the National Park Service decided that the original road proposal endangered too many of the prime park qualities. In other words, to put a road in there, they would be destroying more scenery than it would be worth to put a road in. So they began looking for an alternative road location to help avoid what they considered a bad judgment.

PAUL NEWMAN. Gary Smith has learned that our wilderness areas are fast disappearing. The pressures of population growth are putting greater demands on our national parks and forests for recreational use. Mining, ranching and timbering interests want increasing acreage for development and have opposed most of the conservationist pleas for setting aside wilderness land. Representing the Utah Mining Association, Miles Romney says:

MILES ROMNEY. It is forecast that by the year 2000 we're gonna be consuming three times the amount of minerals in this country that we're consuming today. And in the major portion they come from the land, and in the major portion they will continue to come from the land, and if the access to the land is continually blocked off, we're gonna find ourselves in real difficulty in developing the resources that are anticipated will be needed to maintain our way of life, our standard of living, and our production complex that we have in this country today.

GARY SMITH. We have to have timbering. We have to have logging. We have to have mining, grazing. And the only way that we can effectively justify locking up lands in a wilderness condition or within national parks, is that we can provide for the material

wants of our people on the rest of our lands. In other words, so that the productive aspects of our lands can justify setting aside the pristine. Now, through coordination and through cooperation, and planning on a regional basis, I believe that we can achieve most of these needs.

PAUL NEWMAN. Mary Margaret Goodwin is Field Director of the Caribbean Conservation Association.

MARY MARGARET GOODWIN. What are we going to see today?

PAUL NEWMAN. Bob Brody is a marine biologist. Mary Margaret is an expert swimmer, a scuba diver and an underwater photographer—skills that she uses in her work. They are here, at Chocolate Hole, off the coast of St. John in the Virgin Islands preparing to go underwater.

MARY MARGARET GOODWIN. Loudy Bottom with little patches of sea urchins all over the place. We're hoping to make a documentary file of still photographs of the natural and wildlife resources for each of the islands.

PAUL NEWMAN. They are studying a living coral reef in the lagoon that may be threatened by future development of the area.

BOB BRODY. It's starting to happen in the harbors and in the rivers in the States and in other places in the world. It's beginning to start to happen here in the Virgins. We're destroying our natural communities to the point where they can't come back by themselves. Man is an interferer at best, in any environmental situation, and changes that environment all the time. Some of the changes are for the good and some are for the bad. And the more we change even in-shore areas like the reef areas, the more we are eventually changing the balance of nature—the chemical balance, the biological balance in the sea. But the changes that exist are frequently irreversible, or we can't say that we will ever be able to go back to where we were before or that we will be able to produce as much for our use as we had before. And how long this change can go on—probably not very much longer before we start to show some really drastic major effects.

PAUL NEWMAN. Pollution of inland waters as well as the ocean is another of Mary Margaret's concerns.

MARY MARGARET GOODWIN. I feel very embarrassed as a human being when I walk along a beach or when I fly over a harbor or when I go over a bridge and see water which is so brown with pollution that you know that no amount of major scientific creativity will ever be able to bring this water back to the living thing which it used to be. I don't really think it's possible to walk on very many beaches either in the United States or in the Caribbean without putting your foot into a mass of tar.

DR. PAUL EHRLICH. The only remaining problem as far as the water supply, at least in California goes, is whether we run out of quantity or quality first.

PAUL NEWMAN. Dr. Paul Ehrlich.

DR. PAUL EHRLICH. Two things are happening. We are exhausting water supplies that built up over a very long time in our water tables. We are lowering our water tables and using up what might be thought of as fossil water. That's one thing we're doing. And, of course, when you do this it can have permanent effects because in areas near coasts when you pull the fresh water out of the ground salt water from the sea intrudes and permanently ruins the water-bearing areas. And then, of course, we are polluting our waters in great many ways.

IAN McHARG. In Philadelphia we drink something which I normally describe as a—

PAUL NEWMAN. Professor McHarg.

IAN McHARG (continuing). Rather brown liquid which consists of a soup of dead bacteria in a chlorine solution. And this, of course, is what most of us drink. We really have a soup of dead bacteria.

DR. PAUL EHRLICH. In the lower Mississippi they say that every glass of water you drink has been through eight people already, and I can believe it.

IAN McHARG. We operate on the presumption that you have to dirty water before you can drink it. Because it's dirty you have to super-chlorinate it in order to kill all the bacteria. And, you know, we are posing enormous problems to ourselves and some of these are really quite tragic.

DR. PAUL EHRLICH. Many of our pollution problems have come from too much organic matter, manure and fertilizer going into them, which creates a rather complicated process which leads to the end of the stream or lake as a source of fresh water. This is largely what has happened to Lake Erie, for instance.

IAN McHARG. Well, Lake Erie is now commonly reported as septic. The Delaware River gets to be septic quite often, as the condition where there is simply no oxygen and where only bacteria can live. The great Florida aquifer, you know this is a major source of ground water which serves all of Florida, is drying up. I was down in Po County recently and I found that lakes have fallen about ten feet in ten years. Again, this is a prodigality of unbelievable dimensions. You know, this is a geological resource of water which is being dissipated for very, very small gains.

PAUL NEWMAN. Mary Margaret Goodwin, investigating pollution by industry on the Chesapeake Bay, finds some industries are making an attempt to produce without polluting—but the results are still too little and the efforts perhaps too early to judge. She visits the Bethlehem Steel Sparrow's Point plant, one of the largest steel mills in the world. In this sensitive and controversial public relations area, the Bethlehem Steel Corporation has been willing to discuss the problems of pollution and its control frankly. Manager of Environmental Quality Control—Dr. Allen Brant.

MARY MARGARET GOODWIN. Dr. Brant, what are the major water pollution problems for the steel industry?

DR. ALLEN BRANT. In the first place, the most important pollutants in the steel industry are, first, solids, in the nature of particulate matter. They're largely scale, from the blooms and from the material that is going through the rolling mills and the rolling operations. In addition to that there is the dust that is collected in some air pollution control facilities and collected in wet collectors, which then pollute the waters, so it's very fine dust, but all being, essentially iron in nature. The second major pollutants is oil. We use a lot of oil, of course, in lubrication, and also, in some of the mills, and some of it gets into the water-courses. And thirdly is the acid. There are all varieties of acid, but principally hydrochloric and sulfuric acid. The three major problems in the steel industry. Steel is the backbone and the sinew of our society. It takes the use of 25,000 gallons of water to make a ton of it. If we want nine million new cars a year and all the trappings of an affluent society that this implies we are going to rob nature. We have not learned to afford a modern economy without polluting our bays and streams and fouling some air—at least, not yet. But nature has a way of striking back. Dr. Paul Ehrlich.

DR. PAUL EHRLICH. Ecologists have been worried for a long time about the possible consequences of an accident in our off-shore oil drilling operations. Their worst fears were confirmed on Midnight, January 30, 1969 when an oil drilling operation produced a very large leak of oil into the Santa Barbara channel off Santa Barbara, California. This leak lasted for some eleven days—it poured out roughly one-thousand gallons per hour of oil into the environment—it coated many hundreds of square miles of the sea. It befouled many, many miles of beach

and it certainly will prove to be an ecological disaster for the wildlife in the area. Unfortunately, it is not just the loss of a few birds. It is the disruption of a very important ecological system. It is one more example of how we are threatening the sea as a unit and we are threatening our ability to get food from the sea. It will be many years before the ecological balance in the area can be restored.

PAUL NEWMAN. Off Florida's coast, south toward Cuba to Puerto Rico, and down to the Northeastern coast of Venezuela are a chain of islands known as the West Indies. Hundreds of islands, large and small, some populated, some barren, form a 1,500 mile long web, with 65 principal islands supporting the 25 million native inhabitants. It is said "there are seven seas"—but for man, there is only one sea, one ocean. All the oceans of the world are interconnected.

MARY MARGARET GOODWIN. There are Dutch, there are Spanish, there are Portuguese, there are English, there are French. It's really a very international group of islands. And when you try and put all of these people together and come up with sound conservation policy it's very, very difficult.

PAUL NEWMAN. This was the first America, the America discovered by Christopher Columbus. He found a land untouched by civilization. These are the Virgin Islands, three of which are now United States territory. Since their discovery, they've had a history of exploitation and conquest. The most recent conquest of St. Thomas started with the invading tourist.

MARY MARGARET GOODWIN. Isidore Palewonsky is a business man, an ardent conservationist, here in St. Thomas.

ISADORE PAIEWONSKY. I happen to have been a member of the planning board here for 15 or 16 years and we have always got to be a year ahead of the bulldozer and two years ahead of the subdivider, because unless we put in rules and regulations for them they violate every rule and regulation, which they could not do in places where they came from. They figure this is virgin territory and no one should stop them. And I think a real danger to these islands is not from the little shacks that you see on the hills but from these bulldozing, subdividing, so-called builders who rush into the picture to build West Indian Levittowns. And before you know it your trees are gone, and the green spaces are gone and the beaches are polluted. Here we're not aware of these things until we suddenly find they are dumping raw waste right into your harbors, and they're dumping everything that they have on board into the harbor. They make of our beautiful harbors I should say a receptacle for receiving waste. And all of the conditions that people run from they re-create in this area because your pollution comes from people and congestion.

MARY MARGARET GOODWIN. The reason I think we have to do something is because St. Thomas is going to become the key to the over-spill into all of the rest of the Caribbean. And unless we can control what's happening in St. Thomas, the same thing will just go on throughout all the islands. It's a question of American and Canadian interests coming into the Caribbean and taking everything they can in as short a period as they can, and then walking out leaving nothing but devastation in their wake and, the native people are left with nothing.

PAUL NEWMAN. Dr. Arthur Dammann of the Virgin Islands Ecological Research Station—

DR. ARTHUR DAMMANN. It would be easy for St. Thomas to become one big mass of concrete and houses, you see, and I think if it did that it would lose all the qualities that it has that make people come here now. Well, with respect to the role of man in his environment there is really no need to separate man from the sea anymore than you separate him from the land. Man, of course, is a

land animal but the relationships between the ocean and the land mass and the things that live on the land and that live in the sea are still there and man will enter the sea and take his place there the same as he has on land, probably never to the same extent because it still is a very hostile environment as far as man is concerned. But we have to remember, of course, that man probably modifies his niche and occupies the niche of other organisms more than any other organism. And this is where the problem comes, is when he eliminates a niche that some other organism occupies and that organism is gone. Economics largely dictate this. The pressures of population and the fact that people, developers in order to exist have to do things the most economical way they can, and I don't agree with that. I think that uneconomical means should be employed many times.

DR. PAUL EHRLEICH. We are going to have to get rid of the idea that a river running past somebody's back yard is something that he or an industry is free to dump any kind of garbage into. We are going to have to see to it that polluters pay to clean up their own pollution. It's really pathetic. You hear about some plant which has destroyed an entire river and after ten years of litigation it gets fined \$200, you know, a huge multi-million dollar industry. Well, the fines are going to have to move up to multi-million dollar. And you take the money that you extract from the big polluters, and believe me they'll stop polluting very fast when you start hitting them with ten million dollar judgments and so on. And you pump that back into cleaning up the environment, as well. A tremendous amount can be done in the United States and elsewhere to control environmental problems.

PAUL NEWMAN. If economics is a determining factor, it can also be used to improve environments. It is the consensus of scientific opinion today, that we can use our natural resources in a rational way. We can no longer take without returning. We can no longer use without restoring. One example, the new facilities of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation. Dr. Allen Brant.

DR. ALLEN BRANT. If we were starting with a new plant, as for example, our Burns Harbor plant, of course, it would be different. In the Burns Harbor plant, there are, for example, three different steps for treatment. Primary facilities are available directly at the sources, wherever the polluted water first flows out of an operation, there's a primary treatment operation there. All of the effluents from the primary treatment facilities then are conveyed to a common, one, central, secondary treatment plant, and then, from there, they go to a terminal lagoon, which is a seventy-five acre pond, in which all of the water flows through, very slowly. Consequently, the discharge from that is very clear. You can be sure that it'll be clean, because of the checks and balances that we have in the system.

PAUL NEWMAN. The human spirit yearns for relief from the frustrations that come with jammed living and masses of people attempting to do the same thing at the same time. The locked-in-ness of human habitation carries with it consequences of human behavior. We are building a world which is becoming unsuitable for human life. A world of concrete and steel. If the human spirit seeks nature as a place to regroup its energies then we must suffer the consequences of shrinking refuges for people. The fragments of wilderness left to man will soon not exist for our children.

MARY MARGARET GOODWIN. My heart really breaks for the children that grow up in the United States in the future, and will never know these sort of things unless we do something to conserve them. I know that my children won't be able to grow up in that kind of environment, where I can take them to vast

areas of wilderness, and they can go and learn and live and have the same kinds of experiences that I had as a child in the wilderness.

Secretary STEWART UDALL. I think we all have a stake in the wilderness. And I'm all for the small wilderness near the big cities. We've done too little of that. I'm not willing to settle for the idea that somebody may get to see the Grand Canyon once in their old age. I think we have a lot of superb little grand canyons and superb scenic areas and seashores right near the big cities that we could save where people can enjoy the out-of-doors. But what we're talking about is the welfare of man, the health of man, his mental health, his well-being. The more we drive man into an environment which is unclean and noisy and we put more and more pressures on him, I think we're inviting disaster in the long run to mankind as a whole.

HAROLD HASKINS. There's a lot of lack of communication about what beauty is in this world and one of the biggest problems that everyone agrees upon is that the ghetto and the community is ugly. The Grand Canyon would be relevant if they had enlightenment to see why it is but there is no contact. There is no bridge between here and there and this is the same problem with black and white society—no bridging and great big canyons in between.

PAUL NEWMAN. Our shrinking wilderness is only a part of the ecological crisis man is facing. The Greeks saw problems as parts of a whole. They mastered the art of interrelatedness. It would seem that today we have lost touch with this reality. We view too many of these problems separately. Somehow the city and its people, the forests and their organic life, the seas and their aquatic life, share a life cycle—a balance that is the key to our common survival.

DR. PAUL EHRLEICH. I think the most important lesson to be learned from ecology in general, perhaps, for humanity in general is you don't get something for nothing. And when you disturb a situation at one point, you almost always get a reaction at some point you hadn't anticipated. We have made the world so small as an ecological system, as a human system, that we know that when you intrude at one point on it, you're gonna get reactions in another place. If you go into a situation and you put poison out to kill one animal, you'll find that, besides killing that animal, you'll do thirty-seven other things you hadn't expected, of which thirty-five are very bad. And, I think that, what we need is a systems approach, the kind that's used in systems ecology, to the entire planet. We can no longer continue pushing on one thing without thoughts about what's going to happen to the rest of the system. You can't think of pesticides simply as something which kills our competitors. You've got to think of it as something which also helps to poison us, turns down the photosynthesis in the sea, gets rid of predatory birds, all of which have other effects. And, until we can get people to do the real accounting on these problems—until you can make them see that a dam does something more than pile up water behind it—that it changes water tables, and it changes ecological situations and so on—until you can get them to looking at the entire picture, the very complex interrelationships, you're not going to win the game.

IAN MCHARG. We have got to be eternally grateful to these people who have cared enough to ensure that certain areas have not been totally destroyed, and as long as there is an enormous destructive impetus in the world, then we depend enormously upon the preservationist. In a better world instead of oscillating between these extremes of absolute preservation on the one hand, and limitless destruction on the other, one wants to find a position where you realize that man in fact can be the steward, and

again, those people who care a great deal about religious injunctions in this matter, can see in the second chapter of Genesis the injunction to dress a garden and keep it, and I think this conception of man in fact is a steward, is a husbandman of the earth, is a better one. Not a preservationist. Not a destroyer, but a husbandman.

Dr. PAUL EHRLICH. The President's Commission on the world food problem which was basically a very cheery group—they didn't, they didn't even consider environmental deterioration—said that, without population control starting now, the situation is hopeless. We have a finite planet. We have finite water supplies. We have finite food supplies. We have finite resources. We cannot, therefore, have infinite people. So, then you come down to the question, well, where do you stop your population growth? You've got to stop it sometime. Do you want to go on until the United States resembles India or China, or do you want to stop it now, while we still don't have to have eight years ahead reservations to go into Yosemite Valley, and where we still have a chance of seeing some green, and where people who would like quiet, or don't want to live in a big city, have an opportunity not to live in a big city. Let me point out to you that if current trends continue, in seventy-three years every person in the world will live in a city of a million or more. So, as population increases, you increase the chance of thermo-nuclear war. When you consider the ecological effects of a thermo-nuclear war, the soil sterility, the material that will be lofted into the atmosphere, the increased erosion polluting the sea, the rays of radioactivity, it's quite conceivable that mankind could become extinct. When you have the world's largest population and the world's weakest population in all of history, and you have jet airplanes that can carry sick people from one end of the earth to the other in a matter of days, you have the potential for a colossal world-wide pestilence of some sort or another. We know that viruses become more virulent when they circulate in large populations. So, you could very easily have a death rate solution to the population explosion which would consist of a massive die off of humanity from a virus plague which spread over the entire earth. Then we have the situation of the under-developed world going further and further into famine, instead of maybe ten million people a year dying of starvation as happens now, that could escalate to fifty or a hundred or two hundred million a year or even more. Now, in this country, we could probably bring our population growth to a halt very rapidly, if we wanted to. But that's the critical question. Do we want to? Do enough people recognize the problem, and are they willing to do what's necessary to solve it?

IAN MCHARG. We now exist, and we exist with the plants, the animals the other micro-organisms who are the co-tenants with us in this phenomenal world today, in cooperative venture, which contains their dreams and our dreams. So we cannot preserve and we cannot destroy because this is our own inheritance. All we can do is manage, and we cannot manage very much. We can only manage insofar as we can. But man can be the enzyme of the biosphere. He can be an agent which is a constructive agent.

GARY SMITH. This love of the earth is nothing new. The Indians used to have beautiful philosophies about that. Let me see. Perhaps an extreme example would be a quote from the Nez Perce Indians. Chief Joseph is a favorite subject of mine and you might be interested in hearing what their philosophy was. Their whole religion was built around a love for the earth. These people looked at the earth as their mother. And we, in turn, as a modern society, must start looking at the earth as a mother and we must treat her with the respect as we do our mother. But

these people in their earth/mother type of philosophy talked about dreams. They were great visionary people and they say here: "You ask me to plow the ground. Shall I take a knife and tear my mother's bosom?" And they say, "You ask me to dig for stones. Shall I dig under her skin for her bones?" "You ask me to cut grass and make hay and sell it and be rich like white man. But how dare I cut off my mother's hair?" And these primitive, so-called ignorant people were concerned with what the white man was doing to the earth at that time, because they had lived successfully in balance with their environment. They had taken from the land just what they needed and they put back what they needed. They saw people coming in using practices that alarmed them. So, they were a small voice at that time, the American Indian. We inundated them, we drowned them, we trounced them, we defeated them, we raped them and now we're doing the same thing to our environment.

PAUL NEWMAN. With the Apollo Eight flight, earth-man for the first time has been able to step back and physically view his world from space through human eyes. He has finally seen his world objectively. The dream of Galileo, of Copernicus, of every dreamer and scientist of the past and recent past, of Einstein, of Shapley, has become a reality—and the reality, how accurately imagined! As astronaut Jim Lovell put it at that indescribable moment from space: "... in the vast loneliness up here on the moon, it's awe-inspiring and it makes you realize just what you have back there on earth. The earth from here is a grand oasis in the great vastness of space." The earth, indeed, is a very small planet. Each of us can see for himself now how finite our land—our air—our water. Even the number of grains of sand in our world is a finite number. With this vision, how clear it has become that any destruction of earth resources, by war or any other destructive act, even carelessness in its use, is an act hostile to life's well-being, a crime against humanity and every other form of life on earth. We are living in an age of danger but it is against life's drive to allow our earth to become like our moon—a dead planet. There are alternatives to doom. The growing consensus accepts as imperative to man's survival, the establishment of an equilibrium between population and resources. Diversity of life in nature is a prerequisite for the continuation of man's existence on earth. The problems of having a diverse and balanced existence for man are staggering. Perhaps, just perhaps, we are capable of meeting these challenges by our commitment to the future. This is the commitment of three young Americans—and surely must be for all Americans today.

SEXUAL REVOLUTION

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, seemingly the academic leadership have adopted the totalitarian policy that the educable youth of the United States become the property of the State. Educating the mind in science, philosophy, and mathematics now ranks secondary to sex.

The whole sordid mess can but damage the direction of the next generation and greatly aggravate the already serious moral crisis in our country which has resulted from an overexposure of sex excitement and encouragement.

Our educators should see by now that the sex crisis was not caused by lack of knowledge but rather by our youth being prematurely exposed to lewd and sensuous movies, TV, and magazines, all of which in turn can be attributed directly to the action of the U.S. Supreme Court hampering the ability of a community to establish and maintain a wholesome moral environment.

Will sex education offer any remedy to a cause or merely serve to aggravate an effect?

Mr. Speaker, the Dan Smoot report for March 24, and a copy of the lawsuit filed by the Mattachine Society of Washington, D.C., against Internal Revenue Service follow:

[From the Dan Smoot Report, Mar. 24, 1969]

THE LUST FOR MORE IN SEX EDUCATION

An article in the September 9, 1967, issue of *The Wall Street Journal* says, in essence: Sex education is coming to the nation's schools at a rapid clip; PTA groups (national, state, and local) have asked for it; the National Education Association and the American Medical Association have endorsed it; the federal government supports it financially; SIECUS (Sex Information and Educational Council of the U.S.) has been established to promote it; big corporations are spending millions on the planning and production of teaching materials for it.

In January, 1968, the Joint Committee of the National School Boards Association and the American Association of School Administrators issued a statement saying:

"School systems throughout the United States are presently being pressured to offer courses in sex and family life education. . . . Well-intentioned groups . . . are eager to reach the school-age population of over 50,000,000 young people."¹

The Joint Committee was not criticizing sex education, as such, but was objecting to adding it as a special, or categorical, topic to overburdened public-school curricula. The joint Committee thinks sex education should be integrated into a comprehensive program of health education in all grades from kindergarten through high school.¹

In October, 1968, Dr. Mary Calderone estimated that SIECUS had distributed, in one year, 61,000 kits of sex-education materials to educators, PTA groups, medical associations, and others.²

In an article in July-August, 1967, issue of *Children* (periodical published by the U.S. Department of HEW, Dr. Eleanor Braun Luckey (special consultant to HEW's Children's Bureau) says:

"Community agencies, youth organizations, churches, and schools are all scurrying to initiate programs of sex education—sometimes called family life education, boy-girl relationships, or interpersonal development. . . .

"Nevertheless, the goals of sex education are not altogether clear. . . ."

"What's Happening," an article in the November, 1966, issue of *American Education* (periodical published by the U.S. Department of HEW) also noted the nationwide scramble for sex education now in the public schools. The article mentioned SIECUS, National Education Association, American Medical Association, and the National PTA as organizations which can help establish or improve sex-education programs, and provide materials for classroom use. The article cites, as the exclusive reason for the intense interest in sex education, the alarming increase in illegitimate babies born to teenage girls and young women, and the spiraling incidence of venereal diseases among teenagers, especially boys.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Doubtless, most parents who want sex education in schools naively believe it will help reduce sexual promiscuity among youngsters—or, at least, help them avoid some of the harmful consequences of promiscuity.

Professional sexologists sometimes promise that sex education in schools will help reduce premarital pregnancies, abortions, and venereal diseases among teenagers; but they also admit that the promise is false.

In an article published by *Reader's Digest*, June, 1968, SIECUS board member Lester Kirkendall, speaking of sexual activity among youngsters, says:

"And if present trends continue, premarital intercourse will almost certainly increase. The need for sex education, therefore, is that much greater."

This clearly implies the promise that sex education will help reduce the volume of premarital sex activity among young people. Elsewhere in the same article, however, Kirkendall says:

"Most people have the vague hope that it [sex education in schools] will somehow cure half of the world's ills—reduce casual sex experience, cut down on illegitimate births, eliminate venereal disease. To be perfectly blunt about it, we have no way of knowing that sex education will solve any such problems."

One pamphlet which Lester Kirkendall uses in some of his sex-education lectures is entitled "An Experiment in Sexual Communication Between Youth and Adults." He conducted the experiment at the University of Oregon, when he was on the faculty there as a sexologist. He got seven young men to sit as a panel and discuss their actual experiences in sexual intercourse—before an audience composed of men and women, teenage boys and girls.¹

In lectures to mixed groups, Kirkendall sometimes uses a four-letter obscenity meaning sexual intercourse.²

Dr. Mary Calderone (executive director of SIECUS; a grandmother in her middle-sixties; niece of Carl Sandburg; daughter of Edward Steichen, a well-known photographer; graduate of Vassar; a Quaker; a member of the Family Life Committee of the National Council of Churches) also uses four-letter obscenities in lectures to mixed groups, including teenagers. Her excuse is that "euphemisms" in sex discussion are dishonest.³ She says, for example, that it is wrong to tell five-year-old children that the father "puts" or "places" the seed of a baby in the mother. To illustrate the "correct terminology" to use with five-year-olds, she describes the sex act, in detail, using explicit terms, naming the sexual organs involved, explaining their role and use in coitus.^{4,5}

Calderone and her fellow sexologists in SIECUS say children should be taught that self-gratification is a normal, expected, almost-universally practiced, and often helpful manifestation of sex.⁶

SIECUS advocates "responsible sexuality" (or "situation ethics") as a guide to sexual conduct—which means that any kind of sexual activity is good if participants feel good about it. Conversely, SIECUS holds, religious taboos and society's conventional moral codes about sexual behavior are harmful because they create repressions and feelings of shame about sex.

SIECUS sexologists must know (if gullible parents, PTA leaders, and school officials supporting school sex programs do not know) that the SIECUS kind of vulgar, permissive, amoral sex education, far from curing any of "the world's ills," can only have a debasing effect on young people. There is statistical proof of this, not only in Sweden where the SIECUS kind of sex education has been compulsory in all grades of all schools for ten years,⁶ but also in the United States where such official debauchery of school children is relatively new.

The November, 1968, issue of *Today's Health* published statistics revealing that incidence of venereal disease in recent years has risen 78% in the United States, 123% in California. California has had more of the SIECUS kind of sex education than any other state.

The SIECUS sex-education program was begun in Anaheim, California (Orange County), public schools in 1965. In 1966, 300 Orange County girls had to drop out of high school because of pregnancy—30 of them from junior high schools. In 1967, the Orange County Public Adoption Agency was receiving three or four unwed mothers a day—the youngest unwed mother reported being age 13. At a home for unwed mothers in nearby Los Angeles, one out of every five was from Orange County.⁷

A line from a news article in the March 2, 1967, issue of the *Anaheim-Fullerton Independent* sums it up:

"The new sexual morality is leaving a broad trail of heartbreak in Orange County."

Jo Hindman, in a column on "School House Pornography" in the February 27, 1969, issue of *The Eagle*, sketches a picture that is beginning to emerge throughout the United States:

"An increasing flood of revoltingly crude and pornographic material, mislabeled as 'education' by some school hierarchies, continues to trigger childhood tragedies: unwed pregnancies, illegitimate births, incestuous brother-sister attacks, abortions and venereal diseases—welling from the bog created by the too young knowing too much too soon."

Leading parents to expect benefits, which SIECUS officials know sex education in schools will not produce, is only one SIECUS stratagem. There are others.

SIECUS board member Lester Kirkendall denounces opponents of sex education in schools as a "fringe group of dissidents who do not think rationally"; who "have hangups about sex" because they think sexual behavior should be guided by moral codes and religious prohibitions, not understanding that "morals are relative" and that the only valid "moral" restriction on sexual activities is concern for "exercising responsibility toward another person." He says parents become traumatic about their youngsters engaging in sexual activity, because they do not realize that premarital sexual intercourse, even for children, is all right, provided "consideration is given for the partner."⁸

Kirkendall says sexologists can, however, slip sex education into school curricula without unduly alarming parents, if they will start with the premise that all children receive some sex training by simply living. "Any school," he claims, "is fully warranted in saying that it is 'expanding and improving' rather than 'starting' a sex-education program. The public is less afraid of expanding than of innovating. . . ." He suggests weaving sex education into regular school courses, in preference to establishing it as a separate course, because, he says, "the more sex education can be set within the normal program the less it will be singled out as unusual and threatening."⁹

To school officials who want separate sex-education courses, Kirkendall says: "Don't say that you are going to start a sex-education course. Just sneak it in as an experimental course and see how people react." Once school officials sneak sex education in "experimentally," they should never retreat, Kirkendall says. He advises: "Always move forward. Say that you are going to enrich, expand, and make it better. The opposition can't stop something that you have already started."¹⁰

And, he urges: "Go to your PTA and get support. That's where the power lies."¹¹

An insatiable lust for more seems to be trait of many sexologists. No matter how bad a sex-education program may be, there are

always some sexologists agitating to make it worse.

In England, where sex education in the schools is already of the "frank" variety recommended by SIECUS in the United States, a producer of sex-education movies plans to make, for classroom use, the kind of film that, in the United States, is generally shown only at stag parties and is still outlawed in most states and barred from interstate commerce by federal law: a film showing a nude couple engaged in coitus. Frank Sandy, chief of Brodie Educational Film Strips, Ltd., which supplies educational materials to 10,000 schools, says:

"We are looking for a young, married, church-going couple of fine moral character for our film. The film is intended for an audience of 15- and 16-year-olds."

"We feel that a film like this is the best way to give sex instruction to children."¹⁰

Several London school authorities are "reserving judgment" on the proposed film. They do not yet know whether to use it in schools.¹⁰

In Sweden, sex education in schools seems to have gone the limit; but that is not far enough for some sexologists. In April, 1967, Tore Robertson, 24-year-old public school teacher in Stockholm, said every good high school needs a sex room, where teenage lovers can seek respite from the daily school grind. A powerful student organization branded the suggestion "idiotic." Robertson said this was merely a temporary setback, because "future schools will have such rooms."

What's happening in England and Sweden is a harbinger of things to come for the U.S.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Leaflet published by the Joint Committee of the National School Boards Association, available free from the U.S. Office of Education.

² *The Daily Oklahoman*, Nov. 12, 1968

³ *Anaheim Bulletin*, Dec. 20, 1968

⁴ *Saturday Evening Post*, June 29, 1968

⁵ "Goodbye to the Birds and the Bees," by Dr. Mary S. Calderone, *American Education*, Nov., 1966; *Masturbation*, by Warren R. Johnson, SIECUS Study Guide No. 3

⁶ "Debauching Our Children," *The Dan Smoot Report*, Mar. 10, 1969, pp. 37-40 (available at prices listed below)

⁷ *Anaheim-Fullerton Independent*, Mar. 2, 1967; "School House Pornography; Road to Pre-Marital Sex," by Jo Hindman, *The (Yakima, Wash.) Eagle*, Feb. 27, 1969

⁸ "School Sexology Plans Charted at Hush-Hush Session," by John Steinbacher, staff writer, *Anaheim Bulletin*, Dec. 18, 1968

⁹ "Some Practical Suggestions For The School Starting A Sex Education Program," by Lester A. Kirkendall and Helen M. Cox, *Children*, July-Aug., 1967

¹⁰ *Parade*, Oct. 6, 1968

¹¹ *Tulso Daily World*, Apr. 5, 1967

IN THE U.S. DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

CIVIL ACTION NO. 752-69

Franklin E. Kameny, Washington, D.C., and the Mattachine Society of Washington, Washington, D.C., and the North American Conference of Homophile Organizations, Kansas City, Mo., plaintiffs, against William H. Smith, Acting Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Internal Revenue Service, Washington, D.C., defendant.

Plaintiffs, for their complaint against defendant, herein allege:

1. Plaintiff, Franklin E. Kameny, a citizen of the United States, is a resident of the District of Columbia. Plaintiff, the Mattachine Society of Washington, is an unincorporated organization existing under the laws of the District of Columbia. Plaintiff, the North American Conference of Homophile Organizations, is an unincorporated organi-

zation existing under the laws of the State of Missouri. Defendant resides in or may be found within the District of Columbia. This action concerns questions which arise under the Constitution of the United States. The matter in controversy exceeds, exclusive of interest and costs, the sum of Ten Thousand Dollars (\$10,000). Jurisdiction is based upon 28 U.S.C. §§ 1331 and 1361 and § 11-521 of the District of Columbia Code.

2. Plaintiff, Kameny, is a homosexual by inclination and by life-style. Plaintiff, The Mattachine Society of Washington, is a civil liberties, information-education, social-service organization dedicated to improving the status of homosexuals. Plaintiff, the North American Conference of Homophile Organizations, is a nationwide association of approximately twenty-five organizations similar to The Mattachine Society of Washington and is working in behalf of the entire United States homosexual community.

3. William H. Smith is Acting Commissioner of Internal Revenue. In accordance with policies and delegations of authority made by the Secretary, U.S. Treasury, he is responsible for the promulgation and administration of the rules of conduct for Internal Revenue Service personnel.

4. This suit is brought to compel defendant to revise § 1942.31 of the Internal Revenue Service Manual as contained in the "Rules of Conduct for Internal Revenue Service Employees" (Rev. 10-63) in order to make it clear that Internal Revenue Service employees may associate with persons believed or known to be homosexuals, whether or not in connection with official Internal Revenue Service business, without jeopardizing their employment status with the Internal Revenue Service. Because of the inhibiting effect on employees of the Internal Revenue Service of § 1942.31, plaintiff, Kameny, an admitted homosexual, is deprived of his right under the First Amendment to the United States Constitution to associate freely and openly with any person employed by the Internal Revenue Service. Also, because of the inhibiting effect on employees of the Internal Revenue Service of § 1942.31, plaintiff, The Mattachine Society of Washington, and plaintiff, The North American Conference of Homophile Organizations and its member organizations, are denied their right not to be deprived of liberty and property without due process of law as provided in the Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution.

5. The Internal Revenue Service has a rule of conduct, which, among others, may be found in a pamphlet entitled "Rules of Conduct for Internal Revenue Service Employees" (Rev. 10-63), and which provides:

"Except in connection with official business, employees may not associate with individuals or groups when the association tends to discredit, directly or indirectly, the character, reputation, or integrity of the employee or of the Revenue Service. Unjustified association with persons who are believed, or known to be connected with illegal, immoral, or reprehensible activities, is forbidden because the association by the employee might tend to connect the employee or the Service with such activities of these persons. Employees should bear in mind that they will be held responsible in the event of adverse publicity stemming from, or connected with, their association. Section 1942-31."

The Internal Revenue Service uses § 1942.31 of its Rules of Conduct to interrogate, discipline and/or terminate the employment of Internal Revenue Service employees who are alleged or have been found to have associated (other than in connection with official business) with persons alleged or known to be homosexuals.

6. In interpreting and applying § 1942.31 of the "Rules of Conduct for Internal Revenue Service Employees" (Rev. 10-63) to pre-

clude Internal Revenue Service employees from associating with homosexuals, except in connection with official business, with violation of such rule subjecting Internal Revenue Service employees to interrogation, disciplinary action or termination of employment with the Service, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue is effectively denying plaintiff, Kameny, a homosexual, his right to associate with any or all Internal Revenue Service employees. Internal Revenue Service employees' rights to associate with plaintiff, Kameny, are denied to them by the inhibitory and chilling effect of § 1942.31 and, a *fortiori*, plaintiff, Kameny, is denied his right to associate with such employees. In effect, the Internal Revenue Service's action results in a kind of "American Apartheid," directed not at Negroes but at homosexuals.

7. As a result of the effect of § 1942.31 (see "5" above), The Mattachine Society of Washington and the member organizations of The North American Conference of Homophile Organizations are denied the right to receive contributions from, and grant memberships to, Internal Revenue Service employees. Because The Mattachine Society of Washington and The North American Conference of Homophile Organizations and its member organizations, although being lawfully constituted and lawfully operating organizations, are dedicated to improving the status of homosexuals and contain as members numerous homosexuals as well as heterosexuals, contributions to, and membership in, the Society or any of such similar member organizations by an Internal Revenue Service employee would immediately subject such employee to interrogation, disciplinary action by, or termination of employment from the Internal Revenue Service.

Wherefore, plaintiffs pray that:

1. The Acting Commissioner of Internal Revenue be enjoined from interrogating, disciplining and/or terminating the employment of any Internal Revenue Service employee solely because he is alleged or found to have associated with a person alleged or known to be a homosexual.

2. The Acting Commissioner of Internal Revenue be ordered to revise § 1942.31 of the Internal Revenue Service Manual contained in the "Rules of Conduct for Internal Revenue Service Employees" (Rev. 10-63) to make it clear that Internal Revenue Service employees may associate with homosexuals, whether or not such association is in connection with the official business of the Internal Revenue Service.

3. Plaintiffs have such other and further relief as may be just and proper.

Dated: March 25, 1969

WILLIAM L. SOLLEE.

WHEATGROWERS THIRD ANNUAL CONGRESSIONAL BREAKFAST

HON. THOMAS S. FOLEY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, this morning Mrs. MAY, my colleague from Washington and I had the very great pleasure and privilege of attending the Third Annual Wheatgrowers Congressional Breakfast sponsored by the National Association of Wheat Growers, Great Plains Wheat, Inc., and Western Wheat Associates, USA, Inc.

These annual meetings provide an excellent opportunity for wheatgrowers and Members of Congress to exchange

ideas and maintain solid lines of communication and understanding, and I want to commend and congratulate these three fine organizations for making this possible.

On the program this morning was a presentation by John Thomsen of Mansfield, Wash., president of Western Wheat Associates, USA, Inc., and a member of the Washington State Wheat Commission. Mrs. MAY and I feel that Mr. Thomsen's remarks merit the attention of all our colleagues in the House, and include his statement in the RECORD for their consideration:

REMARKS BY JOHN THOMSEN, PRESIDENT, WESTERN WHEAT ASSOCIATES, USA, INC., AT THE THIRD ANNUAL CONGRESSIONAL BREAKFAST, WASHINGTON, D.C., MARCH 26, 1969

Senator Goodell, Congressmen, Guests and fellow wheat producers. I would like to make a few brief remarks which, I hope, will help emphasize the importance of our wheat market development program.

Western Wheat Associates is a regional organization directly representing the wheat producers in Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, and Nebraska. Great Plains Wheat, representing six additional wheat states, contributes to our program. Our only objective is to expand and maintain the markets for U.S. wheat in Asia.

The twelve states represented by wheat growers here this morning produced 80% of the wheat grown in the U.S. last year. More than anyone else, we know how vital our wheat exports are to our economy, because of the direct relationship to our income and our personal lives.

Today, U.S. wheat exports are reeling from the effects of increased world production of wheat and other food grains, intensified competition for dollar export markets and decreased programming to PL 480 countries.

Just two years ago, there was an almost universal belief that there was not enough food to feed the hungry world. This philosophy has suddenly changed to recognize the world surplus of food grains relative to an effective demand. The present world oversupply of wheat can be directly related to almost ideal weather conditions, improved varieties, greater fertilizer usage, better farming practices and increased acreage.

In 1968, world wheat supplies reached 305 million tons which was 10% above the previous year and 7% over the 1966 record. Stocks are building up as import demand has slackened. The United States, Canada and Australia have been joined by Argentina and France as major wheat exporters. Even countries that were once deficit—such as the U.S.S.R., Spain, Sweden and Greece—are now exporting wheat.

Total world wheat trade this year may be the lowest since the 1962 crop year when it was under 44 million tons. World trade peaked in the 1965 crop year at over 62 million tons and has steadily decreased since then. This year it is expected to fall below 50 million tons.

These factors and others will reduce our wheat exports this year to some 80% of last year at the present rate. Obviously this is one of the major contributing factors to the disastrous level of farm income and our narrowing balance of trade position. Last year, wheat shipments were valued at \$1.3 billion—one fifth of total U.S. agricultural exports. The very size of wheat exports—which normally run well over 50% of our production—indicates their importance to the domestic supply situation.

The current wave of protectionism is a definite threat to our export outlook. Such policies would almost certainly lead to retaliation from abroad—which is authorized under the General Agreement on Tariffs and

Trade. Since food imports by a majority of the countries are closely controlled by government regulations, wheat would be particularly vulnerable since tariff restrictions could be easily applied and regulated.

Clearly, we need to redouble our efforts to develop new markets and increase our share of existing markets for U.S. wheat abroad. We cannot allow other exporting countries to "skim off the cream" leaving us as residual suppliers.

The "challenge" to help ourselves was first accepted by American wheat producers some 15 years ago. The pioneers of this program, some of whom are in this room today, foresaw the need to expand foreign markets to provide an outlet for our excess production capacity. We banded together into associations, and then commissions, and assessed ourselves to raise funds in a grass roots self-help program.

Foreign wheat market development is a joint effort between all of us here today. We producers contribute our own dollars through local and regional organizations. The U.S. government contributes foreign currencies, generated by PL 480, which are administered by the Foreign Agricultural Service of the U.S.D.A.

Positive and clear cut success has been achieved in many of the world wheat markets. Wheat is one of the world's most important foods. It is by far the most widely traded food internationally, but there are many countries in the world where we have barely scratched the surface.

The per capita consumption in Thailand is only 2 pounds of wheat per year compared with our 115 pounds. Africa is a sleeping giant that is slowly awakening and must be fed. The Middle East and Eastern Europe could again become major markets for U.S. wheat once the political considerations have been settled. We must fight to maintain our position in the European Economic Community where trade barriers are hampering our efforts. Much more can and must be done if our industry is to survive.

In the meantime our priorities—which are limited by personnel and funds—must be directed toward those areas which show the greatest immediate potential. We cannot, however, afford to neglect the many countries which are slowly emerging as prospective customers for *the best wheat in the world*.

The marketing of wheat is a fluid situation. It is influenced by climate, economic and political considerations that change weekly, monthly and from year to year. The changing situation in turn influences what we can do in a specific country at a particular time in market development. The key to success is to be alert to these changes and to be equipped with the proper resources to take advantage of the circumstances.

On behalf of Western Wheat Associates, I would like to thank each of our guests for taking the time from their busy schedules to join us for breakfast this morning.

Thank you.

GARY JOB CORPS CENTER VISITED

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, last week members of the House Education and Labor Committee conducted an onsite inspection of the Gary Job Corps Center in San Marcos, Tex. It was a rewarding trip, and I believe those who made the tour gained valuable insights into a highly successful operation.

Briefly, I would like to share the experiences of this trip with my colleagues; because, in the coming weeks, Congress will begin hearings that will determine the future of the Job Corps, OEO, and all programs involved in the war on poverty. Any congressional action will bear heavily on the social and economic welfare of this country. Because this program is at the threshold of crisis, I would like to briefly share the experiences of the tour of Gary.

The real story behind the congressional tour of the Gary Job Corps Center last week will be told and retold in testimony and hearings during the coming weeks in both the House and the Senate.

The congressional factfinding team, led by ranking members of the House Committee on Education and Labor, was openly enthusiastic by what they found in San Marcos.

It was, of course, a great source of pride to me and other members of the Texas delegation to host the group that visited Gary, particularly in light of the significant accomplishments of the center in regard to efforts of rehabilitation of young men.

Committee members were not hesitant to point out that they were impressed with the work of Gary officials in administering the lowest costing per Corpsman operation in the Nation. Time and time again, my colleagues confided to me that they felt the Gary operation was reason enough to see why I had been a longstanding and strong supporter of the Job Corps idea to educate and train the uneducated and unemployed. What the touring lawmakers saw was proof of the concept that it does not necessarily take a Ph. D. to be a good cook, mechanic, welder, clerk, or stone mason. They saw in fact, not policy or theory that the disadvantaged of our Nation can be turned into useful citizens; citizens, who after completion of training, become taxpayers instead of tax eaters.

Center director, Wallace Dockall, and his staff did an excellent job presenting the facts—cost figures, academic accomplishments, training procedures, and the like to the committee. These figures and the firsthand impressions of a highly efficient residential vocational training center will form the core of debate among lawmakers, whose decision it will be to continue operation of these training programs in the immediate years.

Members from the committee who made the trip were: Congressmen ROMAN PUCINSKI, WILLIAM FORD, WILLIAM CLAY, JOHN ERLBORN, and ORVAL HANSEN. In addition to these Members, several from the delegation were in attendance: JIM WRIGHT, HENRY GONZALEZ, Senator RALPH YARBOROUGH, and a representative from Senator JOHN TOWER's office, Paul Reeve.

Several staff members also made the tour from the Education and Labor Committee—William Gaul, Austin Sullivan, William Henderson, and John Buckley; from the Senate Labor and Welfare Committee—Bob Harris and James Guest; two Senators on that committee were also represented—Bill Bechtel, from Senator GAYLORD NELSON's staff

and Sam Culberson, from Senator GEORGE MURPHY's staff.

In abbreviated form, Mr. Speaker, I would like to share highlights of the remarks made by Corpsmen, staff directors, and members of the inspection party. I would call your special attention to the following welcoming remarks made by two of the Corpsmen. They are the simple and honest statements of two young men who asked for—and received—help:

WELCOME—BREAKFAST, MARCH 21, 1969—REPRESENTATIVE, CORPSMAN'S ASSEMBLY

Good Morning Ladies and Gentleman: On behalf of the 3,000 Corpsmen and myself, I would like to welcome you to the Gary Job Corps Center, and I hope your stay will prove to be a pleasant one.

I am Earl Matthews of the Corpsman's General Assembly. I have been enrolled at Gary for 13 months and my vocation is Drafting.

Prior to my enrollment in Job Corps, I had to leave school with a 10th grade education. I worked several jobs as kitchen help, and the pay ranged from \$1.00 to \$1.25 per hour. After consideration I enrolled in Job Corps.

I now have a GED and I am working on a trade and the ability to get and maintain a job which will enable me to become a better citizen.

Just as Job Corps has helped me, it has helped thousands of others. Therefore, I sincerely believe the program should be maintained and I hope that you share my belief.

We are all so glad that you came today to visit our Center. If any Corpsmen can be of assistance to you during your tour or to answer any of your questions, please feel free to call on any of us. We are proud of the Gary Center, and we enjoy showing it to our guests—especially to such a distinguished group like you.

Thank you very much.

WELCOME—LUNCHEON, MARCH 21, 1969—CORPSMAN ARMANDO LIMA, PRESIDENT, CORPSMAN'S ASSEMBLY

In behalf of the Corpsman's Assembly and the 3,000 Corpsmen at Gary, it is my pleasure to welcome you to our Center. It is our hope that you will enjoy your visit to Gary and to the great variety of trades that, thanks to each of you, we are able to learn and prepare ourselves to face the world.

I'm a Cuban refugee who came to the United States in June, 1962, to the Catholic Welfare Bureau in Miami. It's a program for Cuban children without parents—and I spent four years in it going to school from the 8th to the 11th grade. I had to drop out of school at that age because the program only goes up to the age of 18. I found a job and started going to night school to finish high school, but it became too hard for me to work 8½ hours and go to school 4 hours so I had to quit night school.

By this time I heard about Job Corps from a friend and decided to join. I did so with the idea of getting ahead and having a better future and getting my GED.

In August I was sent to Camp McCoy in Wisconsin where I took welding as my vocation. Six months later OEO closed 16 camps in which Camp McCoy was one. Because of my record of improvement in every field, I was given three choices of transfer into other camps.

I decided on the Gary Job Corps Center in San Marcos. I have now finished the welding program and have started on a second trade—Machine Shop, which I'm now planning to finish. But this is not my last goal—I am working on my GED to be able to get a scholarship for college in order to become a vocational counselor.

During this time of 19 months in Job Corps, not only have I gained knowledge in Metal

Trades, but in the complicated society of human relations and the English language. Thanks to Job Corps and the good people who run the Government of the United States, many hundreds of teenagers like me have found a second opportunity for living, have made it successfully and are now a part of that big society willing to help make this country a great nation.

For those teenagers, and myself and the 3,000 Corpsmen here at Gary, I am proud to say thank you, and hope that you find in Gary the true facts of the great need for this kind of program in our Nation.

Thank you very much.

The remarks from these young men set the stage for the tour of Gary facilities, which included the upholstery shop, advanced welding, reading lab, math lab, masonry work, heavy equipment operation, dorms, cafeterias, and other areas.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I would like to include a brief factual summation of Gary prepared by Dr. O. J. Baker, executive secretary, Texas Educational Foundation, Inc.—the nonprofit operation behind the success of Gary:

The following information is respectfully submitted with regard to Corpsmen placements and follow-up studies from the Gary Job Corps Center.

We invite your attention to the data contained in the attached chart which reflects the percentage of those who have completed their training and are employed in the skills for which they were trained.

You will note that in Fiscal Year 1968, 83% of the 3,524 Corpsmen processed for employment were hired, and that 58% were employed in the skills for which they were trained at Gary.

In addition, 698 entered the military service, returned to school or entered colleges. While these men were not actually working within their job skills, it must be noted that their overall training here provided them with the necessary entry-level qualifications for equally worthwhile endeavor.

Also, our records show that 610 more job placements are still pending verification. This means that we have not received notification from various employment services on that number. (Center policy is to write the employment service if such verification is not received within three months after a Corpsman leaves. Other follow-up procedures are initiated every six months.)

It is entirely possible, therefore, considering the school-military placements and those pending verification, that the percentage of young men working at jobs for which they were trained at Gary in 1968 could more accurately be estimated at approximately 70%.

In the first six months of Fiscal Year 1969 our records show a total of 71% known to be employed in their job skills, with a possibility of reaching 80% or more, considering non-verifications and school-military placements.

Among those who are not working within their job skills, our surveys reflect two major causes for the change: 1) many Corpsmen enter the program at age 16 and upon completion of their training may not be acceptable to employers in certain jobs. Generally they will accept interim employment until they are a year or two older; and 2) some choose to relocate, usually nearer their hometowns, and will accept whatever employment is available to them at the time.

What appears to be of greater significance than the fact that these young men may not all be employed in the identical job skill they followed at Gary, is the fact that such large numbers of them have learned how to work and are employed.

We know you will agree that while a particular skill is important to success, equally important and often much more difficult to accomplish is the necessary motivation to

achieve, proper attitude, social skills and behavior necessary to get and hold a job.

Indications are, however, that this center is making steady progress in the area of placement on jobs to utilize job skills, and we will continue to work for further improvements of this as well as in all other phases of our operation.

Two phases of our program that bear mentioning are Driver Training and General Educational Development (GED). Since opening four years ago, 4,832 Corpsmen have completed the Driver Education Program and presently over 200 Corpsmen are completing driver education each six to eight weeks. To date 1,765 Corpsmen have completed the GED program and are equipped with high school equivalency certificates. There are 592 Corpsmen presently enrolled in the GED program. Both of these programs add to the employability of the young men.

As always, we are grateful for your interest in the Gary Job Corps Center and are happy to offer any further information you might desire.

Sincerely yours,

O. J. BAKER,
Executive Director.

At this juncture, Mr. Speaker, I think it appropriate to include the remarks of Dr. Arleigh Templeton, president of TEF, and president of Sam Houston State College at Huntsville:

WELCOME TO GARY

Mr. Chairman, members of the congressional committee, staff members, members of the press, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen: on behalf of the Texas Educational Foundation, Inc., prime contractor for both the Gary Job Corps center for men and the McKinney Job Corps Center for women, it is my sincere pleasure to welcome you to Gary.

You are having lunch today where the first job corpsmen sat down to their first meal here at the center just a little more than four years ago on March 3, 1965.

None of us knew then, certainly not those first frightened young men who entered this building, what history would say of Job Corps—not even what the papers would say the next day.

In these four years after some 16,000 men have passed through our gates and approximately 12,000 have been placed on jobs, the papers have been full of their actions, sometimes the sensational actions—which I can tell you as a college president, are fewer per capita than in other institutions of education. Many thousand words have been written questioning the cost of training; the effectiveness of the training; staffing; members of Congress; and I suppose anyone who has ever supported the Job Corps program.

As far as what history will say about Job Corps, it is still too early to say. But I know what I would like for history to reflect. I would like first for the record to depict vividly and accurately the kind of young man or woman who enters Job Corps. (Underprivileged, under-educated, abused, health problems, dropouts, etc.)

I would like not to take any short cuts to the end of a stay in Job Corps, but to follow day by day as people daily struggle with the almost insurmountable task of turning this kind of youth around, bringing him inch by inch along the way—catching him when he slips back and starting all over again.

Then I would like very much to see a true comparison between the lad who entered this center and the one who left. In my opinion the one who came in without a skill and left here, perhaps not with the greatest job skill, able to make the most money, but with a desire to get a job for the first time in his life—any kind of job—to feel perhaps the world is not such a bad place after all, who

can read better, do simple arithmetic, have respect for authority, look better, feel better—know about clean clothes, sheets on the bed and how to eat with a knife and fork. And likely he will never return to the street. I think a \$4500 price tag on this is a fair price—if not a bargain.

Then I would like also for history to footnote these facts that while flower children and protesters, demonstrators and rioters are running rampant in all parts of the country, 3100 men at the Gary Center . . . and, of course, thousands more in Job Corps elsewhere, are going right on with their training with a bare minimum of disturbance—something like one-half of one percent—ever getting into any kind of trouble.

These are some of the things I would like to see counter-logged for posterity.

In closing I would like to say again that we welcome you to this center today. It has been from among such visitors that we have made our best friends—people who bother to come and see what goes on, rather than speculate from afar. Hopefully you will feel free to make any recommendations for improvement where you see a need. This is what we consider to be the finest form of support. We appreciate suggestions in any way that will in turn help us to do a better job of helping the young men and women that are out of school and out of work to become responsible and productive citizens.

As we in Congress well know, Mr. Speaker, Job Corps centers have not always been well received by their foster communities. When this happens, it is a tragedy and a waste. Fortunately, this is not the case in San Marcos. The following remarks were made by the mayor of San Marcos:

WELCOME—NOON LUNCHEON, MARCH 21, 1969—ELLIS SERUR, MAYOR, SAN MARCOS, TEX.

It is not only a pleasure but a privilege to extend official greetings from the City of San Marcos to this distinguished group of guests of the Gary Job Corps Center. While Gary's location lies beyond the legal limits of our City, I welcome you to the Job Corps Center to, for in many important respects we consider Gary a very real part of our community.

It has been four years since this fine installation opened, and we in San Marcos feel that its operation has performed a great service to the many young men who would otherwise have no opportunity to learn a trade and become useful citizens and taxpayers. Citizens of San Marcos have seen the value of this program, and we feel that the cost of operation has been government money well spent.

We have had excellent cooperation from Dr. Baker, Mr. Dockall and the entire Gary staff. They have shown a great interest in our community, and have performed many services for which the people of San Marcos are indeed grateful.

I have toured this Center a good many times in the past years, and every time I have been impressed with the type of training that is offered in the various departments, as well as the efficiency of the instructors and counselors. I have no doubt that the Gary Job Corps is the best staffed center in the nation. There is no doubt why it is considered the most outstanding of all the Job Corps Centers in the United States.

I sincerely hope that this fine Job Corps program will be continued by our government. The rehabilitation of the thousands of young men who have come here to learn a trade has been well worth the cost.

It is my pleasure to be with you.

Obviously, we had a full day. This capsule summation barely hits the high spots of the day's activities. There is much more that could be told; the in-

dividual stories of the boys, their successes upon leaving Gary, the dedication of the staff, and more. If it were possible, I would have each Member of Congress personally tour Gary before reaching a conclusion about the future of the Job Corps. Once the facts are in, the dissension diminishes in rapid order.

At the conclusion of the official trip, a separate visit was made by Members to visit President Johnson at his ranch. This was not on the official agenda; it was merely a social call. Mr. and Mrs. Johnson graciously received the group, although it meant the President had to rearrange a rather busy schedule. We found him hale and hearty and thoroughly enjoyed a drive through the hill country as only he can show it. It was a privilege and a thrill, especially for those in the party making their first visit to Texas.

RESIDENCY VOTING ACT

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced the Residency Voting Act of 1969. This bill is designed to enable citizens who change their residences to vote in presidential elections.

Voting is a fundamental right of our democratic system of government. As a nation, we have done much to secure the right of every American to vote. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was a milestone in securing the franchise for all our citizens.

Even though we have done much, more still needs to be done. Today there are still millions of Americans who are still deprived of their right to vote because they have moved their place of residence from one locality to another. These otherwise eligible voters are effectively disenfranchised because they are unable to satisfy the lengthy residence requirements which are now in effect in many of our States and localities.

The bill I have introduced today provides that a citizen who is otherwise qualified to vote under the laws of a State or political subdivision may not be denied his right to vote for the President and Vice President of the United States if he has been a resident of that State or political subdivision since September 1 preceding the presidential election. The citizen would, of course, have to comply with any voter registration requirements to the extent that they provide for registration after September 1.

The effect of this particular provision of my bill will be to establish September 1 as the uniform qualifying date for presidential elections. State and local residency requirements would then be limited to a maximum of about 60 days.

The September 1 qualifying date does not solve all the problems, however. It does not improve the lot of those citizens who move their residence after September 1, but before the date of the presidential election. To prevent these citi-

zens from being disenfranchised, my bill contains a provision which states that if a citizen has begun residence in a State or political subdivision after September 1 preceding the presidential election, he shall be given the opportunity to register and vote in person or by absentee ballot in the State or political subdivision from which he moved most recently.

My bill would require that many States alter their election laws with respect to the residency requirement. However it would not in any way abrogate the legitimate interests of the States in maintaining their voting rolls up to date and preventing vote frauds.

Another section of the bill I have introduced today addresses itself to the problem of arbitrary disenfranchisement among another group of citizens—those temporarily residing abroad. All too often these citizens are denied the right to vote because of State registration requirements particularly those which call for registration in person. All but two of the States presently provide for voting by absentee ballot but only 12 States permit absentee registration for citizens unconnected with the Federal Government or the Armed Forces. Thus many private citizens such as businessmen, teachers, and students are disenfranchised because they are unable to register in person. My bill would remedy this situation by requiring any State which permits absentee voting in a presidential election to provide an absentee registration system as well. In doing so this bill will reinforce legislation enacted in the 90th Congress which amended the Federal Voting Assistance Act of 1955 to recommend to the States that they extend to their private citizens who are temporarily residing abroad the right to register and vote as absentees.

On May 25, 1967, President Johnson declared in "The Political Process in America," a message to the Congress proposing legislation to strengthen the political process:

This nation has already assured that no man can legally be denied the right to vote because of the color of his skin or his economic condition. But we find that millions of Americans are still disenfranchised—because they have moved their residence from one state to another. The people's right to travel from state to state is constitutionally protected. The exercise of that right should not imperil the loss of another constitutionally protected right—the right to vote.

An analysis of the voting results of the 1960 presidential election, the last election for which studies are available, shows that between 5 and 8 million eligible voters were deprived of their right to vote because of unnecessarily long residency requirements in many States. Almost half the States, for example, require that a citizen be a resident for 12 months prior to qualifying to vote for the only two nationwide elective offices—the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the United States.

Public participation in government is the essence of democracy. The voting process is democracy's ceremonial, its feast, its great function. No government can survive if it does not heed the public will. The American system has endured for almost two centuries because the

people have become more and more involved in the process of governing. But government has a continuing obligation to make sure that the maximum possible number of people take part in this process of governing. Mr. Speaker, my bill will take a long stride toward this goal by allowing citizens who change their residences to vote in presidential elections

SECRETARY SHULTZ CONTINUES TO WIN PRAISE

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Secretary of Labor Shultz continues to win praise on his reorganization of the Manpower Administration. I would like to include as a part of my remarks the following article by Richard J. Levine which appeared in the Wall Street Journal on March 21, 1969:

GOP REORGANIZERS OFF TO A START

(By Richard J. Levine)

WASHINGTON.—Labor Secretary Schultz was greeted by good-natured laughter as he prepared to brief the White House press last week on his plans to streamline the Labor Department's cumbersome Manpower Administration.

On the Secretary's right stood an organization chart so complicated that even Mr. Schultz was forced to concede, with a grin, that the tangle of lines and boxes resembled "a wiring diagram for a perpetual motion machine."

It was an apt description. The Manpower Administration—which spends some \$2 billion a year in running an ever-expanding array of job-training programs plus the U.S. Employment Service and the unemployment insurance system—has grown into a massive maze. Within are found all the ills of bureaucracy: Overlapping functions, clogged chains of command, petty jealousies, an overriding instinct for survival.

An effort last fall by Mr. Schultz's Democratic predecessor, Willard Wirtz, to alter its structure failed dismally. Yet less than two months after taking office the Republican reorganizers have revamped the Manpower Administration.

To do so, Mr. Schultz—strongly backed by the White House—moved quickly, consulted widely and compromised modestly.

It is too early, of course, to tell how well the reorganization will accomplish Mr. Schultz's primary objective: More efficient delivery of manpower services at the local level. Yet even if the bureaucrats partially succeed in frustrating this long-range goal, the streamlining itself is a substantial achievement.

Moreover, in an Administration pledged—as President Nixon has said—"to eliminate duplication, to consolidate functions (and) to bring better management to all areas of the Federal Government"—it takes on added significance. For the techniques used in the Labor Department may well be applied elsewhere.

The Nixon people eliminated the Bureau of Employment Security, an old-line agency that administered the U.S. Employment Service and the unemployment insurance program and never fully adapted itself to meeting the needs of the disadvantaged. The tax also fell on the Bureau of Work-Training Programs, which ran such efforts as the Neighborhood Youth Corps and Con-

centrated Employment Program. These and related activities will now reside in a newly established U.S. Training and Employment Service.

The reorganization went into effect March 17 at the national level, just six weeks after the Secretary ordered a review of the Manpower Administration's structure with an eye to making major changes. The speed limited the opportunity for opposition to build.

However, the key element in the reorganization was Mr. Shultz's willingness to discuss his plan with concerned individuals and groups, including governors, state employment security officials and the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Affairs. This was not happenstance; Mr. Shultz was well aware that last fall governors and state employment officials, fearing that abolition of the Bureau of Employment Security would lessen their influence in Washington, thwarted the Wirtz plan by taking their opposition to the White House (President Johnson ordered Mr. Wirtz to abandon his reorganization after it had already been announced in a press release).

The states were "very much concerned" with the Wirtz plan because "it was sprung on them without consultation," says a source close to state manpower officials. "It was a high-handed approach to reorganization."

To allay the fears of the states, Mr. Shultz created a new post, Deputy Manpower Administrator for Employment Security, giving State Employment Security officials a high-level voice in the Department and helping the Secretary sell his plan.

While the reorganization of the Manpower Administration is hardly a headline-grabbing event, Labor Department officials consider it an important "preliminary step" to any consolidation and re-packing of individual job-training programs, and that would make headlines.

Indeed, as White House aide Stephen Hess observed recently, Republican administrations "seem especially fascinated by structural changes in Government. . . . It may turn out that the most important achievements of the Nixon Administration will be structural or institutional."

JACKSONVILLE, FLA.—ALL-AMERICA CITY

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT
OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, my hometown of Jacksonville, Fla., in the Third Congressional District, was greatly honored when the National Municipal League and Look magazine selected the Nation's largest city as an "All-America City."

Look magazine said in announcing the honor:

The award goes to Jacksonville for the vigorous action of its citizens in bringing about major improvements in their city, and thus setting an example of good citizenship to the nation.

I congratulate the city officials and city fathers of Jacksonville on this outstanding honor. Jacksonville, to paraphrase what Paul in the Bible said of Tarsus, is "no mean city." It was Alcaeus who wrote:

Not houses finely roofed or the stones of walls well-bullded, nay nor canals and dockyards, make the city, but men able to use their opportunity.

In Jacksonville, men are making their opportunity for the over 550,000 citizens, and the "Bold New City of the Nation" is facing the future with new vigor and freshness. I commend to the House of Representatives and to the Nation, the Jacksonville story, as reported in Look magazine, and also editorials from the Florida Times-Union and WJXT-TV of Jacksonville, Fla.:

[From Look Magazine, Apr. 15, 1969]

ALL AMERICA CITIES: JACKSONVILLE, FLA.

A tourist driving south along the coast, sampling the Southern charms of Charleston, S.C., and Savannah, Ga., is in for a bit of cultural shock at the next rest stop. Jacksonville seems hardly a Southern city at all. Unsoftened by storybook romance, and too far north, and too far from the Gulf Stream, to share Miami's resort climate, Jacksonville has chosen instead to vie with Atlanta as the center of commerce for the Southeast. So far, Jacksonville claims only to be "the commercial, financial, port, cultural, medical and urban heart of northeast Florida and southeast Georgia," just for starters. Surrounded by quiet countryside, with no metropolitan area of over 50,000 people within a hundred miles, the city has built a skyscraper-studded skyline and a population of half a million. Jacksonville is where the action is, all kinds of action. "If it's action you want," the man at the Chamber of Commerce purrs to visitors without specifying further, "you can find anything you want in Jacksonville."

The serious action steamed up in 1966, when a grand jury of 23 citizens indicted eight high city officials, charging them with a total of 104 separate criminal acts committed out of the line of duty: "Many of our city officials have apparently considered the city government as their private business, with a never-ending source of revenue." Bleeding Jacksonville's boom for all it was worth, the government had so starved the city's schools that they were discredited. Jacksonville was ready for reform. The grand jury prescribed: "Such a governmental structure must be changed." As early as 1965, 23 city leaders had called for a study of the local government. The resulting commission had recommended a completely new system, consolidating city and county under strong mayor-council leadership. Consolidation had been defeated before by suburban voters who wanted no part of the city's mess. The black community was also wary, for its near-majority in the city would be diluted by suburban whites. But this time, with scandal fresh in mind, a volunteer citizens campaign rallied the voters. On October 1, 1968, the new city of Jacksonville was born. With the whole 827-square-mile county now in city limits, it could add to its credits the title of "World's Largest City."

Mayor Hans Tanzler, who stepped down from the bench to head the reform ticket, warns that consolidation itself is no solution to Jacksonville's problems. The "World's Largest City" can hardly escape big-city problems, aggravated by Jacksonville's long history of mismanagement. But the new government is moving to meet the problems on all fronts: providing money to bring the schools back up to standard; planning a sewer system to service outlying areas and control a serious water-pollution problem; and promoting job-training programs. After almost falling apart, Jacksonville is beginning to pull together.

[From the Jacksonville (Fla.) Times-Union, Mar. 21, 1969]

AN HONOR BRINGS A CHALLENGE

Selection of Jacksonville as an All America City by The National Municipal League and Look Magazine is an honor for the community. It is also a challenge.

Already "on the spot" as a showcase of

consolidation, the city now must measure up to the confidence shown by the bestowal of the "All America" accolade. Like a football team rated highly in the polls, Jacksonville will be expected to win the contests in which it is engaged.

If the community reaction is as forceful in meeting praise as it has been already in meeting adversity, then success is more than a mere probability.

The city's claim to the All America recognition was presented by J. J. Daniel who headed the committee which recommended the form of the new government and then fought for its creation.

Daniel made no attempt to gloss over the city's problems. He emphasized, however, the moves being made to meet and conquer them.

"We are," said Daniel, "a stronger people for our ordeal. We have experienced a political renaissance and the determination that flows from this rebirth will equip us well to solve the problems of urban civilization of the 21st Century."

The emphasis placed by Daniel and by the committee of judges on citizen action, on community action, was perceptive and proper. Without the active interest and participation of citizens within a community, there is no cure for community ills nor is there hope for the fulfillment of community dreams.

Not only did the case for Jacksonville include the change in government but another aspect was stressed in the presentation—neighborhood self-improvement programs, a project to upgrade skills in the labor market and the like. This is community action at the grass roots where community action bears the best results.

While on the subject, it is proper here to extend congratulations to the Georgia port city of Savannah, Jacksonville's neighbor, sometimes a commercial rival, and now fellow All America City, Savannah was honored for "pace setting programs" in the area of race relations.

Savannah, says Look Magazine, "has under way a highly-successful self-help project for cleaning up and rehabilitating its Negro slums. Originated by a local bank president, the Savannah Plan has involved thousands of citizens, black and white. . . ."

After an initial dramatic cleanup plan which involved a broad spectrum of the citizenry, the program in its long range phase is "furnishing sympathetic loans to the poor for home improvement and ownership and to small businessmen in the area."

Over the years, the two cities have been known to lift an idea or two from each other and in this instance, each might profit by finding out more about what the other is doing and perhaps emulating it.

It would indeed be ironic if Jacksonville and Savannah—so long regarded in Miami and Atlanta as stodgy and resistant to progress—were to develop new and demonstrably successful approaches to some of the core problems of the nation's cities.

That very challenge, however, is the one that has been posed by the award of the "All America City" designation.

[From WJXT-TV, Jacksonville, Fla., Mar. 20, 1969]

ALL-AMERICA CITY

Jacksonville's selection as an All-America City is recognition of a remarkable achievement in local government. With consolidation, Jacksonville has the envious opportunity of abolishing the duplication, waste and buck-passing that handicaps local governments across the country.

The All-America honor salutes the reform movement that established a government carefully designed to cope with the terrible problems that plague American cities.

As in every other city, there are a lot of things wrong with Jacksonville. Jacksonville has shameful slums and discredited schools,

polluted air and water, poverty, crime and almost all the other ills that have caused the crisis in our cities.

But consolidation provides Jacksonville with the unique advantage of a community-wide approach to solving problems. No longer are the too-tough-to-solve problems being blamed on the government across the street, no longer are they being swept under the rug.

That determination to right the things that are wrong with Jacksonville has made consolidation a controversial government. It will probably become even more controversial as it fulfills the promise of meaningful local reforms.

The public's willingness to approve consolidation is one of the best things that ever happened to Jacksonville. As the years go by, more and more people will realize just how necessary it was to reform the structure of our local government so we could get on with the business of improving Jacksonville.

This was a WJXT Editorial.

ATLANTIC RICHFIELD OPPOSES CONTINUANCE OF GASOLINE GAMES

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, during the 90th Congress, the Subcommittee on Regulatory Agencies of the Select Committee on Small Business of the House of Representatives, held hearings on the use of games of chance in conjunction with the marketing of automotive gasoline. Subsequently, we recommended that the Federal Trade Commission take steps to correct the abuses we discovered with respect to the use of so-called gasoline games.

During the FTC hearings on this subject my distinguished colleague, Congressman SILVIO O. CONTE, the ranking member of the subcommittee, and I appeared before the Commission urging that they utilize section 5 of the Federal Trade Act to prohibit the further use of games.

We had anticipated monolithic opposition to this position from the major gasoline refiners. It was, therefore, particularly pleasing to learn that the Atlantic Richfield Co., had joined us in our position. Because of its broad interest to the Members of the House, I include the Atlantic Richfield statement, as submitted to the FTC on this subject, at the conclusion of these remarks.

Atlantic Richfield is to be commended for taking this position in behalf of the public interest.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT BY L. M. REAM, JR., ATLANTIC RICHFIELD CO., AT FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION PUBLIC HEARINGS ON GAMES OF CHANCE IN THE FOOD RETAILING AND GASOLINE INDUSTRIES, WASHINGTON, D.C., MARCH 19, 1969

Mr. Chairman, and members of the Commission, my name is L. M. Ream, Jr. I am Executive Vice President of Atlantic Richfield Company. I am in charge of the Products Division, which is responsible for all domestic oil marketing, manufacturing, supply and transportation activities of the company.

I do not appear here today to debate the Commission's proposed trade regulation rule

or the legal status of games, themselves. Earlier in this proceeding, Atlantic Richfield, through its attorneys, submitted a statement commenting on the Commission's proposed rule. At that time, the company stated that we took no position on the merits with respect to the use of games of chance as a promotional device in the marketing of gasoline, but we did criticize certain procedural features of the proposed rule.

It is Atlantic Richfield's belief now that there remains little competitive or economic justification for use of games. We believe that the interest of the public, of the Commission, and of our industry would best be served if the promotional use of all games of chance were eliminated.

I wish here to emphasize two points: *First*, I necessarily speak from the vantage of a gasoline marketer; I do not have sufficient information to judge whether the same considerations are applicable to other industries, where the use of games has also been prevalent. *Second*, I am speaking only of the type of games that have been in widespread use during the last several years and on which the Commission has focused in this proceeding. We believe that whatever action is taken by the Commission should be sharply delimited to these games only. Any broader action would place unwarranted restrictions on a wide variety of promotional activity as to which no question of legality or fairness has ever been raised.

Certain realities emerge from the current controversy: The value of games has steadily diminished; it is now doubtful whether they have any real utility for the future. Recurrent attacks have undermined the public's confidence in the fairness of games. Continued use of games will almost inevitably engage the industry in wasteful conflict with the Federal Trade Commission and state regulatory authorities. Thus, on the most pragmatic level, we conclude that some formula or procedure should be developed to phase out games of chance at the earliest practical time.

Atlantic Richfield has used games since 1966. In a very basic sense, the practice has been defensive. The competition was using games of chance; it was necessary to arm Atlantic Richfield's dealers to compete on an even basis. Any other course would have placed our dealers at a heavy competitive disadvantage. We acted in good faith; to the best of our ability and knowledge, our games have been administered fairly. Our dealers have always been free to accept or decline games. We have never, directly or indirectly, coerced our dealers or otherwise imposed any improper pressures upon them to participate in games. But recent history, we think, now records the obvious fact that the widespread use of games in gasoline marketing has become self-defeating. The impact of one company's game promotion is only to neutralize the games used by its competitors.

Very simply, Atlantic would like to give up games. We take this occasion to declare our immediate willingness to do so. But if it were feasible to achieve this result by unilateral action, we would not be here. This is an industry-wide problem and the cessation of games must be brought about by an industry-wide solution.

Because of obvious antitrust considerations, we cannot explore whether other companies also might like to dispense with games of chance. Matters so vitally touching upon inter-company competition are clearly not appropriate for discussion among competitors. Therefore, it seems apparent to us that if game promotions are to be terminated, it will require action by the Federal Trade Commission.

The proposed trade regulation rule plainly does not accomplish this—it presumes only to regulate games, not to eliminate them. While one witness in these hearings has suggested that rigorous enforcement of the

proposed trade regulation rule might constructively result in a discontinuance of games, because of the difficulties of compliance, we suggest that such an oblique approach merely confounds the basic question.

Nor do we believe a trade regulation rule flatly prohibiting games is the appropriate method for accomplishing an end to games. Almost certainly this will result in lengthy litigation attacking both the reasonableness of the rule and the Commission's authority to issue it. I am advised that in connection with an earlier trade regulation rule proceeding, the Chairman of the Commission estimated such litigation might consume up to four years, during which period, of course, the rule would not be effective* and games might well continue.

We suggest that the Commission consider a different industry-wide approach to the problem, utilizing established voluntary procedures.

Based upon its staff report and the evidence generated in these hearings, the Federal Trade Commission might issue a public announcement of its policy and enforcement intention with respect to the use of games of chance. Such an announcement might state that in the Commission's view the use of games of chance as a promotional device in commerce was contrary to the public interest and should be terminated within a stated period of time. The announcement would clearly advise all companies continuing to use games after the stated date that they might be subject to proceedings under Section 5 of the Federal Trade Commission Act. Combined with the announcement would be an invitation to all those who have used games to file with the Commission, prior to a stated date, assurances of discontinuance under the Commission's established procedures.

It would then be clear that those who contemplated the continued use of games did so with the plain understanding that they might be called to account in a formal Federal Trade Commission proceeding. Any company determined to go ahead would thus have full opportunity to defend its practices. However, any such proceeding would be particularized as to that company and would not involve the different legal issues raised by the promulgation of a general trade regulation rule.

What we propose is, of course, simply suggestive of how the Commission might resolve this difficult situation expeditiously and without lengthy, tortuous litigation. Other voluntary procedures may commend themselves as well. I am advised that on a number of earlier occasions, where the Commission has concluded that a prevalent industry-wide practice should be terminated, it was able to accomplish that result through prompt, simultaneous voluntary action of industry members. Those precedents may also be instructive here.

*Hearings, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives, June 23, 1964, p. 132:

"Representative HARRIS. If you proceed with this, and a proceeding is started by the industry or anybody, what would be your estimate as to the length of time it would take to resolve the litigation?"

"Chairman DIXON. If the industry or interested party should seek out the avenue of going to a district court and seeking an injunction to enjoin us from proceeding to put into effect this rule, and, accordingly the review goes up through the circuit and possibly to the Supreme Court, and if the procedure were approved by the Supreme Court, we would still have the possibility that the rule would be violated. If that rule was violated then we would start back toward the final day of cease and desist and perhaps again a review. I would think 4 years, sir."

ANTIPEACE DEMONSTRATORS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 26, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the shenanigans of the so-called antiwar militants expose their true goals as being antipeace.

With 33,000 Americans already dead and a prolonged war attributed at least in part to the vacillations created by the Ameri-cong it is becoming more and more obvious to the mothers and dads that the antipeace demonstrators are but prolonging the war perhaps in the hope of wearing down the American people, demoralizing our morale but ever encouraging the Communist enemy not to negotiate peace.

The greatest militaristic threat in our land today comes from the falsely named antiwar demonstrators.

Mr. Speaker, one such Ameri-cong war encouragement session was recently held here in the Nation's Capital promoted by a tax-exempt foundation, and I include a report by Alice Widener from Human Events for March 22, 1969, as follows:

FIG ON A PEACE PLATE

(By Alice Widener)

A disgrace happened at the First National Convocation on "The Challenge of Building Peace," held by the tax-exempt Fund for

Education in World Order, at the New York Hilton this month. Not an American flag was in sight at the luncheon gathering of two thousand pacifists. But Viet Cong flags were hanging from the balconies at both ends of the Grand Ballroom all during lunch, during introductory speeches made by officers of the Fund, and during speeches made by Chet Huntley and by United States Senators J. William Fulbright, Jacob Javits and George McGovern.

Until a handful of militant demonstrators made TV news by heckling Sen. Fulbright and striding onto the dais to put a pig's head on his plate, not one of the persons on the dais, including the three U.S. Senators, said a word of protest. When they did voice objections over the microphone, it was to denounce "the poor taste" and "undemocratic behavior" and "discourtesy" of the hecklers and demonstrators. Not one of the senators demanded over the loudspeaker that the Viet Cong flags be removed from the premises.

Though the main theme of the Hilton meeting was supposed to be "peace," it actually was an anti-ABM system and anti-Viet Nam war propaganda affair. There were morning and afternoon discussions on subjects such as "Is America Becoming a Militaristic Society?" and "Can We Build an Effective Constituency for Peace?" and "Are National Self-Interest and World Peace Compatible?"

Among unchallenged statements made at the convocation panel discussions were:

Rev. William Sloan Coffin, Jr., chaplain, Yale University: "Marx was essentially right when he said religion is the opiate of the people."

Betty Goetz Lall: "We must work up enough lobby so that it becomes competitor

to the defense establishment. I learned in the Soviet Union last year that they have a new approach to the international law of disarmament. They said, 'We will add treaty by treaty and the sum total will become international law.' . . . I offer it as a possible substitute for limiting offensive and defensive weapons.

Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner: "Just as we can unilaterally escalate, we can unilaterally de-escalate. I would like to invite my Russian friends to come over here and see some empty missile holes. Even if they didn't reduce, maybe we can. Maybe we can have a disarmament treaty by ourselves; maybe we can have two peace races, one between ourselves with the Armed Services Committee and one with the Soviet Union. . . . The U.S. pioneered both offensive and defensive systems. . . . The U.S. is running an arms race with itself."

Howard Zinn, professor of government at Boston University: "At this moment we are the Italians, the Japanese, the Germans, of 1936. We have the title 'robber of our time.'"

Richard M. Pfeffer, Fellow of Adlai Stevenson Institute, research Fellow at University of Chicago Law School: "America is an imperialist power. We should withdraw from Viet Nam unilaterally and immediately. We have failed to understand Mao Tse-tung, one of the great men of our century."

Well, that was about the drift of the Hilton Peace Convocation. Nobody said a word in praise of the United States, not even the United States senators, and not one of them said a word over the microphone about the absence of the American flag and presence of the Viet Cong flag.

Breathes there an America, with soul so dead, who never to itself hath said, "Can these be our own, our native sons?"

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Thursday, March 27, 1969

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Reverend Earl S. Cox, Colonial Beach Baptist Church, Colonial Beach, Va., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, our Father, we come this day with grateful, but unhappy hearts. Grateful for the free land in which we live, unhappy because many still live without the freedom that we know. We ask that Thy spirit strive mightily with the leaders of all nations as they seek means whereby all men might live free and at peace with one another.

Impress upon our minds that we must first be at peace with Thee. That freedom exists only as it exists everywhere. That the strength of our Nation lies in the integrity of her people. That peace is born out of righteousness.

Lord, today is ours. Give special strength and wisdom to those who lead our Nation. Fill them with Thy spirit that Thy will might be done. We make our prayer in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, and for His sake. 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. 8508. An act to increase the public debt limit set forth in section 21 of the Second Liberty Bond Act.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 714. An act to designate the Ventana Wilderness, Los Padres National Forest, in the State of California.

THE LATE MRS. HAMILTON FISH

(Mr. WEICKER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. WEICKER. Mr. Speaker, we were all saddened this morning to learn of the tragic death of Julia Fish, wife of Congressman HAMILTON FISH of New York.

To our esteemed colleague and his children, may I express the heartfelt sympathy of his freshman colleagues of the 91st Club and indeed, all Members of this House. May the good Lord in whose arms Julia rests give strength to sustain him during this time of great sorrow and a time which is, indeed a time of our sorrow.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the distinguished gentleman from Connecticut yield?

Mr. WEICKER. I yield to the distinguished minority leader.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I join the gentleman from Connecticut in expressing to HAM FISH and his family our deepest condolences. It was my privilege to know Mrs. Fish and to see her many times during 1968 and subsequently. She was a wonderful wife and a wonderful mother. Her loss will be deeply felt by all.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEICKER. I yield to the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, the hearts of all of us go out to our colleague and his children who have been the victims of such a tragic accident. We were all shocked when the news of Mrs. Fish's death reached us. May God be with her family during this time of sadness.

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WEICKER. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. HUNGATE. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, as one of the colleagues of Mr. FISH in the Committee on the Judiciary, we have all quickly come to know him, and he is an extremely able man. We all extend sympathy to him at this time.

TAX BENEFITS FOR SERVICEMEN

(Mr. WOLFF asked and was given permission to address the House for 1