

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER:
LEADER IN PEACE AND WAR

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, a great void has been left in the American scene with the passing of Dwight David Eisenhower, President, General of the Army, and citizen.

General Eisenhower's presence and his counsel were reassuring to the Nation even after his years of public service. He was regarded by millions as an anchor to the bedrock traditions and principles of our great Nation.

In memory of his passing, I herewith place in the RECORD my recent newsletter, Capitol Comments, because of the interest of my colleagues and the American people in this great American.

The newsletter follows:

DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER, PRESIDENT AND GENERAL: A TRUE PATRIOT, A GREAT HERO, A NATURAL LEADER

(Capitol Comments by JOE L. EVINS, Member of Congress, Fourth District, Tennessee, Apr. 7, 1969)

Volumes of eloquent eulogies have been given in our country and throughout the world in tribute to the memory of the late Dwight David Eisenhower, President and General of the Army.

My personal eulogy must include my vivid recollection of meeting General Eisenhower in southern France during World War II. He, at that time, was Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Europe, and I was a major serving under his command. General Eisenhower was warm, friendly, with a magnetic personality and the famous, engaging smile that became his trademark. He projected sincerity and interest as we met.

Later when he was "in command" as President and I was serving in Congress we met on a number of occasions, including several special, memorable occasions at the White House. He was always the same warm, genial person—a natural leader of men.

President Eisenhower's life was filled with a record of magnificent achievements. He was the first American General to head an army that included troops from many nations, and he was masterful in pulling together these troops into a powerful instrument for freedom. As a military leader, he led our Nation to victory for freedom. As President, he led our Nation into a time of peace, ending the Korean conflict and establishing a period of tranquility. His Administration was a period of calm, quieting the fears and frustrations of our people.

One of his outstanding domestic achievements was the inaugural of the great interstate highway program which is continuing under construction. This great system of limited access highways is comparable to the autobahn highway system in Europe and has expedited safer travel throughout much of our Nation.

President Eisenhower enjoyed the confidence of the people. He was loved by the people—and he loved the people. He had a special sense of the greatness of America and its traditions, and he believed fervently in the vital importance of preserving, promoting and perpetuating our cherished American way of life. The fact that both political parties sought him as their Presidential

nominee attests and testifies to his greatness as a natural leader.

We do not yet have the full historical perspective on the Administration of President Eisenhower—time will tell this story. However, we know that the American people felt comfortable and safe with President Eisenhower in the White House. Dwight David Eisenhower will be missed—a friend of the people has gone.

DISTINGUISHED NEBRASKA ALUMNUS IS DIRECTOR OF AMA'S INSTITUTE FOR BIOMEDICAL RESEARCH

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the University of Nebraska is entering its second century of service to the people of my State.

One of its many distinguished graduates is George Wells Beadle, Ph. D., former president of the University of Chicago and a 1958 Nobel Prize winner in chemistry for his research in genetics.

Dr. Beadle has now become director of the American Medical Association's Institute for Biomedical Research in Chicago, which contributes importantly to the diversity and competition that has given the United States such a commanding position in biological science and technology.

The Institute for Biomedical Research sponsored its first international symposium March 24–28 in Chicago. More than 40 scientists from areas throughout the world were scheduled to participate in the program on neurobiology.

In his annual report, Dr. Beadle said construction of a permanent facility for the institute adjacent to the University of Chicago campus will probably be completed in another 3 years. During the interim, research continues in the AMA's headquarters building in Chicago.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the organization and Dr. Beadle for their significant contributions to the overall strength of the science underpinnings that have done so much to give the United States world leadership in this area.

I call to my colleague's attention the following article from the AMA News on the American Medical Association's Institute for Biomedical Research which is financed entirely by private funds:

INSTITUTE REPORTS RESEARCH ACHIEVEMENTS

Preliminary plans for the construction of the American Medical Association's Institute of Biomedical Research adjacent to the U. of Chicago campus are complete and working drawings are being prepared by architects, says George Wells Beadle, Ph.D., director of the Institute.

The working drawings, when complete, will be considered by the AMA Board of Trustees for approval. Dr. Beadle said construction will probably be completed in about three years.

Meanwhile, research continues in laboratories of the AMA headquarters building in Chicago. Programs have been planned around

the objectives of providing new and more effective diagnostic and therapeutic methods to aid medicine's understanding of the causes and mechanisms of disease.

SIX DEPARTMENTS

It has been four years since the Institute began active research. Following organizational developments and department expansions, the Institute currently has six departments in biomedical research.

They deal in studies of neurobiology, molecular biophysics, experimental medical ecology, regulatory biology, virology and immunology, and animal research.

Dr. Beadle, president emeritus of the U. of Chicago and a Nobel Prize winner in 1958 for research in genetics, told *The AMA News* that although there are many other laboratories conducting biomedical research, the AMA-supported Institute contributes importantly to the diversity and competition that has given the United States such a commanding position in biological science and technology.

He noted:

"It is important that the more than 200,000 members of the AMA feel a sense of involvement in the creation of the knowledge that underlies all medical practices. With their severe limitations in both time and energy, keeping up with recent developments in the related sciences is an almost impossible task."

PRIVATE FUNDS

He emphasized that the Institute's programs and projects, and construction of the new facility are being done by private funds. None of the projects receives any federal funding, whereas many other institutions accept matching funds through government educational programs.

Dr. Beadle states in his annual report:

"AMA members can justifiably take pride that their support of the Institute contributes significantly to the overall strength of the science underpinnings that have done so much to give the United States world leadership in medical knowledge and medical practice."

The AMA Institute sponsored its first International symposium March 24–28 in Chicago. More than 40 scientists from areas throughout the world participated in the program. The first symposium was on neurobiology, the study of the nervous system as it occurs in various animals.

CEREBELLAR STRUCTURE

The Neurobiology Dept. is headed by Rodolfo Llinas, MD, PhD, who organized the symposium. His department is currently devoted to the study of structure and function of the cerebellum.

Its three major programs are:

The study of the anatomy and physiology of cerebellar evolution.

Physiological and morphological basis of cerebellar control of peripheral receptor organs.

Functional and structural changes in the cerebellar cortex following viral and genetical lesions.

Through such studies, remarkable progress has been made in working out the precise and enormously complex neural circuitry of this part of the brain, Dr. Beadle said.

The Dept. of Molecular Biophysics, under Dan. W. Urry, PhD, is involved in relating the changes in shapes of enzymes and other biologically active proteins such as hemoglobin and hormones as they participate in their specific biological functions.

As an example, recent work in Dr. Urry's laboratory reveals by a sophisticated optical method how hemoglobin carries oxygen from the lungs to other parts of the body.

The activities of Clyde R. Goodheart, MD, and his associates in the Dept. of Virology

and Immunology are largely directed toward learning how cells become cancerous. There are now known many instances in which the change from normal activity to that characteristic of malignancy is brought about by viruses, Dr. Beadle said. The so-called adeno viruses are especially suited to such studies, he added, for they multiply well, produce identifiable changes in tissue culture cells, and are otherwise readily investigated by the methods of genetics.

The Dept. of Experimental Medical Ecology, headed by Howard A. Schneider, PhD, is interested in identifying and learning more about substances active in small amounts in protecting mice against the bacterium that causes typhoid. This is of special interest because it is neither a vitamin nor an antibiotic, Dr. Beadle explained. It is called a "pacifarin," and occurs in small quantities in some natural foodstuffs. Its isolation is difficult both because of its low concentration and because it is increasingly susceptible to destruction during purification.

GAPS IN KNOWLEDGE

"It is well known," Dr. Beadle stated, "that the regulation of the biological activities of cells, tissues, and organs in animals often involve hormones. But in our knowledge of the manner of action of these regulatory substances, there are large gaps." Oscar M. Hechter, PhD, and his associates in the Dept. of Regulatory Biology are investigating the ways in which different cell types discriminate among various chemical signals, such as those of hormones, and then selectively respond to particular ones among them.

The experimental animal facilities of the Institute are among the best in the nation, the Institute's director said. George R. Collins is responsible for their design, operation, and constant improvement. Many animals must be kept free of certain bacteria and other specific pathogens. This requires special precautions such as specially designed cage filters, as well as constant skillful surveillance, Dr. Beadle explained.

REMARKS OF FRANK JAMESON, FORMER NATIONAL PRESIDENT OF THE NAVY LEAGUE

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, the former national president of the Navy League, Frank Jameson, gave an excellent speech last month to the San Diego County Navy League Women's Council. I would like to include the text of that speech, and an editorial from the San Diego Union, commenting on it, in the Extensions of Remarks in the RECORD, so that Mr. Jameson's remarks may be read by everyone:

Is America fatally infected? Are the riots, the campus revolts, the anarchy, transient things that will pass, or is this a fatal disease, now entering into the terminal stage?

These are the questions that many are seeking answers to.

There is no doubt that the growing phenomenon of violence is affecting the United States and threatening social order. Public faith has been shaken in some of our basic beliefs.

Part of the madness we are surrounded with today is the direct result of our American way of life, but most of it is universal.

Some of America's instabilities flow from our virtues. America is the world's most open society, most socially fluid and the most

ethnically diverse. These virtues do not necessarily lend themselves to stability. They do give us strength, vitality and progress—along with tensions and friction.

We are the most technically advanced and changing society in the world today. Millions have been divorced from the stable farm life by new machines. Millions more were displaced as automated equipment replaced muscle. Added to this is the invention of television and the impact it has had on our society.

Yet today's violence and anarchy are not uniquely American. The list of cities hit hard by students, workers and others is worldwide: Calcutta, Berkeley, New Delhi, Watts, Columbia University, The Sorbonne, Prague, Peiping, Stockholm, West Berlin and Madrid are but a few. In this assortment of nations are capitalists, Communists, Socialists and Fascists, tropical and northern, Asians and Europeans.

Each place has its own provocations and specific issues. There are no common traits of economics, politics or ideologies. Consider two of the locales of violence, France and Sweden. Both of these countries have planned economies and extended welfare. Both are outspokenly anti-United States on Vietnam. France is color blind to its many Negroes; Sweden hasn't any.

This means the instability cannot be understood in these terms, analysis of contagious violence by issue seems fruitless; yet there are common denominators running through the madness. They are massive and widespread, they involve social and technological change. There has been mass saturation and exposure to the communications media and basic changes in old ideas about interpersonal relations.

Look at the infections as a whole. All link to change. Knowledge used to double every 2,000 years, now it's probably 10. For good or ill, knowledge enriches and disturbs, produces and uproots. Take a basic invention that required 10 lab years to develop. If it affects human behavior, adjustment simply cannot keep pace.

Society has developed a case of galloping "future shock." The bomb, the pill, the computer, the satellite, the transplant: the oldest of these is a generation, others came within the year, and all have shaken behavior patterns, old ideals—stability.

Think what these have done to the familiar patterns of life, the ideal of God, the importance of history, the role of education, sexual relationships, distinction between the sexes, the family. For 10,000 years, human life was organized around job and family. Both are now struggling to survive a headlong rush to the future.

Take today's "secure" job: it may not outlive tomorrow. It may be the victim of the twin invaders, technology and "systems." The lifetime profession is also becoming a new for any professional to keep up with new kind of rat race with too much that is properly.

Yesterday, fairly precise ideas about these questions existed. Today there is no similar precision, no consensus to be found, in fact, new answers are not yet available, some questions are unasked. What can the old social mores mean against these hammer blows?

It is just this that disturbs so many: the fury of the anarchy, the irrational hatred of the values the society used to live by, an indifference to all history and what it means to any nation.

The United States has seen some of such rejections in earlier decades. But the reaction never struck so hard at the accepted values. It's this anti-morality that stumps society's defenders the most.

Add to this the massive perfection of modern communication, which "involves" television viewers in all that happens, but provides no compensating way for the viewer to do something. Recall just the sheer hor-

ror of both Kennedy murder film clips to appreciate what involvement without participation can create.

Put it all together and it makes for a grim picture indeed. A culture in dissolution, the new one still trying to be born. And, no glimmer of an answer to the urgent question, "how long?"

Thus, I return to the original question that I asked at the beginning of my speech, "Is America fatally infected?" Is it therefore time to write the sad prognosis, "incurable." Is the United States society another Rome, falling prey to its own affluence, a rotting culture with the barbarians waiting for the carcass?

I say no, I believe it is time to re-examine America's virtues rather than its vices. We have a right to demand that our society be measured by its achievements not by its shortcomings.

We must cast off the most massive guilt complex in history and think positively and urgently about solutions to the nation's problems that beset all of us.

Individual responsibility and self-reliance, guided by sound moral judgment and strict adherence to the law, remains the cornerstone to America's greatness in the years to come.

I object to the irresponsible, unfair and dishonest image that has been painted of our nation and of our generation by John Kenneth Galbraith, Senator Morse, Senator Fulbright and others who have called ours a sick society and a sick generation.

These charges are unfair, unjust and untrue.

I have no apologies to make for my country or for my generation.

Never before in history nor in any other land have people accomplished so much, given so much and asked so little.

Four times in one lifetime we have involved ourselves in foreign wars. We have poured the flower of our manhood and the fortunes of our citizens into these battles against aggression, injustice and tyranny.

We have never coveted a single acre of land nor sought to add a dollar to our national wealth.

Quite the contrary. We have used our material strength and financial fortunes to bind the wounds of the vanquished and we have given aid and sustenance to the impoverished in a hundred nations around the world, friend and foe alike. In fact, since World War II we have spent over \$125 billion dollars in foreign aid.

We have battled, too, for progress and betterment on the home front.

In one generation we have conquered or controlled diphtheria, small-pox, typhoid, polio, measles, tuberculosis and pneumonia. No longer do these ancient scourges sweep across our land leaving death and tortured limbs and minds and hearts in their wake.

We have built more schools and colleges and hospitals and libraries than all other generations since the beginning of time.

We have trained and graduated more scientists, doctors, surgeons, dentists, lawyers, teachers, engineers and physicists than did our forbears for a thousand years before.

We have done more to bring dignity and equality and opportunity to all minority groups than any other generation has ever done in any nation since the dawn of history.

We have raised our standards of living and lowered our hours of work. Luxuries that were beyond the dreams of princes and potentates a generation ago are now available to all our people.

The automobile, the radio, the telephone, the airplane, the computer, television, antibiotics and a hundred other miracles have come to full flower in one generation.

We have taxed ourselves unmercifully to bring hope and health to our sick, our indigent, our young and our aged.

Each year our personal gifts to private charities exceed \$14 billion dollars.

Don't let anyone sell you the idea that ours is a sick society. It's far from perfect, but it is also far and away the most enlightened, most unselfish, most compassionate in the history of the world.

Let those apostles of despair who preach hate and disorder and discord take a look in their own mirrors.

Let them ask themselves what they have done and what they are doing for the betterment of their loved ones . . . their nation and the world.

I know what our generation has done. I'll stand on our record. We may not have scored as high as we hoped. But we scored higher than ever before.

And—the end is not yet.

There is still work to be done. There are still challenges to be met. There are still hopes to be realized. There are still goals to be attained.

They'll not be attained by the preachers and teachers of despair. They'll not be attained by sniffing flowers or staging love-ins or hate-ins.

They'll be attained by the unsung heroes of every generation. The workers who can dream. And the doers who can hope. They'll be attained by the men and women who cherish our Nation's glorious past . . . who hold their heads and hearts high. . . . The men and women who have faith in our way of life; men and women who believe in a better and brighter tomorrow and are willing to work to that end.

Those that think the American people can be cowed and our system of political representation wrecked, are likely to be disappointed. True, it is an unique system and we are scarcely entitled to blame any nation for not having one like ours. It concerns the citizens deeply only on a limited number of occasions . . . mostly when the President is to be elected. The electoral process is accompanied by unnecessary amounts of ritual ballyhoo, but when the final returns are in, it is amazingly accurate in the picture it provides of the people's mood.

Any discussion of America today would not be complete without a few comments on campus revolts.

You can forgive a great deal where college students are concerned and I suppose that some of us would like to shrug off today's revolts and demonstrations as just another manifestation of the "panty raids" of my own youth. The truth is quite different and, although I can't recall anything very uplifting about "panty raids," I would say that the truth today is more squalid.

First of all, I would like to say that I think there is in existence a total nationwide conspiracy to disrupt the campuses across our Nation. These disturbances are found not only at Berkeley and San Francisco State but also at Columbia, Duke, Iowa State and at the Universities of Illinois and Wisconsin.

I think that the hard core of the radicals, who are constantly in appearance at the campus demonstrations, seem intent on destroying the system of higher education and in using university campuses as staging areas for the spread of their own political philosophy. I think that this philosophy which condones violence and disruption, and which disregards the rights of other students, is incompatible with the foundations of our democracy.

I also know that problems of this nature don't go away but they must be dealt with . . . and dealt with firmly.

We have had countless examples of attempts of college administrations to negotiate with these dissident groups. They have received nothing more than a slap in the face for their efforts. An example was at Berkeley when the administration announced acceptance of the black studies program that the student's third world liberation front had been striving for. The student front pronounced itself supremely uninterested and

switched to demands for a Black-Latino-Amero-Asian-American Indian studies program instead.

When the president of City College of New York emerged from the administration building to announce to 100 Negro and Puerto Rican students affirmative answers to all their demands . . . they barreled past him without listening. They kicked in the door of his office and spent several hours littering the carpet floor with cigarette butts and sampling his office liquor supply.

This type of conduct and disrespect for authority cannot and must not be allowed.

Governor Ronald Reagan and Governor Warren P. Knowles of Wisconsin are two of the Governors who have taken a very strong stand against militant students.

The acting president of San Francisco State, S. I. Hayakawa, and Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, of Notre Dame both have taken positive action to preserve the university atmosphere. I would like to quote part of a letter written by Father Hesburgh to Vice President Agnew, pertaining to the student unrest. I quote: "The best salvation for the university in the face of any crisis is for the university community to save itself by declaring its own ground rules and basic values and then enforcing them with the widest and deepest form of moral persuasions for the good life of the university, and consequent moral condemnation with academic sanctions for any movement against university life and values . . . especially violence, vandalism and mob action which are the antitheses of reason, civility and the open society which respects the rights of each and all."

The sooner that more of our college administrators follow the lead of the good Father, the sooner our campuses will return to normal.

There is no doubt that the vast majority of university and college students are attending school to obtain an education, but the big majority of college students have neither the urge or the power to stop campus turmoil. The few who attempt to fight back are met with apathy on one side and threats from the other side. The general attitude that prevails is . . . let George do it . . . I am not involved.

At one time it used to be the goal of most students to take an active part in running for office as class president or as a class officer. Today, this is passé. However, there are definite indications that the majority of students are becoming fed up with the actions of the minorities and are about to take positive action.

I hope by now that you are asking yourselves what can we do individually and as a great Nation about all of this.

There are a number of important steps that we must take.

First, we must stiffen our backbones, thrust out our chins and crush out our national guilt complex.

Second, we must reject the idea that there is something outmoded about law and order, codes of ethics and moral behavior and the willingness to exercise individual responsibility.

Third, we must act to strengthen family ties and responsibility. A general relapse of parental authority and the family role as the center of daily life is as tragic for the rebellious college student as it is for the ghetto dweller.

Fourth, we must bring America back to work. It does not make sense to know that there are thousands upon thousands of people receiving public assistance for their living needs right here in San Diego, while thousands of jobs go begging. It is time to clear off those relief roles . . . not brutally or ruthlessly but methodically and compassionately in a manner that restores dignity and self-respect and at the same time gives a little relief to the rest of us. If job train-

ing or re-training is required it should be made possible, but above all we must correct the frame of mind that finds it easier to accept a handout than to go to work. Employable people should be employed because people working are people rewarded and people rewarded are proud people.

Fifth, we must begin to exercise business power as an anecdote to black power and student power or Government power. Business and professional men must act instead of react and seek solutions for all these problems that our Government has tried for a very long time to solve without very marked success. We must learn to anticipate the changes that lie ahead. We must clean up our air and water, must find and carry out programs to train the unemployable and eliminate the ghettos. We must exert moral leadership that takes the ball away from the extremist and disciples of violence, and restore faith in our society.

Sixth, we must stop the ever increasing influence of Government. Civilian employment in the Federal Government is now well over 3,000,000 people. The Federal Government is spending at a rate of \$335,012.21 a minute, or approximately \$20,000,000 an hour every hour of the day, seven days a week.

Let us stop apologizing for the success of free enterprise, but instead work at spreading and sharing those successes.

Let us stop apologizing for America's wealth and power. Instead let's use it aggressively to attack those problems that threaten to explode the world.

[From the San Diego Union, Mar. 23, 1969]

AMERICA IS TRULY GREAT: EXHIBITIONISTS DISTORT THE VIEW

Considering the small number of anarchists in the United States of America and the volume of noise they make, rarely have so few fooled so many for so long.

As Frank Gard Jameson told a meeting of the San Diego County Navy League Women's Council last week, it is time to set the record straight.

"I believe it is a time to re-examine America's virtues rather than its vices. We have a right to demand that our society be measured by its achievements not by its shortcomings," added the former national president of the Navy League of the United States.

Look at those achievements! Compare them with any other nation's.

The people of the United States have in this decade fought four wars to counter tyranny, dictatorship, totalitarianism and injustice. In the process we have made freedom possible not only for ourselves but for millions of other persons in the world. We have helped the sick—people and nations.

"Never before in history nor in any other land have people accomplished so much, given so much and asked so little," Mr. Jameson said.

At home we have in this century conquered polio, smallpox, diphtheria, pneumonia, and tuberculosis.

The United States should be proud, not apologetic, over the great accomplishments in education. More than half of all Americans have graduated from high school; more than 6.5 million are in college today. No other nation can come close to this achievement.

We can find pleasure in the fact that Americans privately contribute nearly \$15 billion a year for worthy causes and charities; that 50 million Americans donate their time to philanthropies.

It is an over-concern rather than blase attitude that has made Americans approve through Congress a 126 per cent rise in federal social spending to a total of \$59 billion a year.

We can stand tall on the fact that the average family has father and mother who have been married 22 years, and is happy and close-knit.

The agnostics are loud, but the fact is that nearly half of all America can be found in church each Sunday and 94 per cent of adult Americans believe in God.

Our virtues are endless. Book buying has doubled in this decade. There is a boom in culture from San Diego to Broadway and from Santa Fe to Cherokee, Iowa.

Since the turn of the decade more than 4 million Americans have become new homeowners, and more than 5 million have become partners of free enterprise for the first time by buying stocks.

As Mr. Jameson said, "Let us stop apologizing for the success of free enterprise, but instead work at spreading and sharing those successes. Let us stop apologizing for America's wealth and power. Instead let's use it aggressively to attack those problems that threaten to explode."

A few of the people have been fooling most of the people too long, too often in recent years.

It is time for most of the people to set the record—and the nation—straight.

EXPANDING JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL AMERICANS

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the Secretary of Labor, George P. Shultz, appeared this morning before the Committee on Education and Labor to discuss the Labor Department's plans for the Job Corps.

This testimony reflects the thoughtful consideration given the Job Corps by the Nixon administration and I commend this statement to my colleagues for their information.

The decision to redirect the Job Corps in its delegation from OEO to the Labor Department is sound and deserves the support of this Congress.

The Secretary's statement follows:

STATEMENT BY THE HONORABLE GEORGE P. SHULTZ, SECRETARY OF LABOR, BEFORE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, APRIL 21, 1969

Mr. Chairman, Members of this Committee, I am glad to be here today to discuss with you our efforts to help to expand job opportunities for all Americans, and particularly the role of the Job Corps program in those efforts.

It is less than five years since the Economic Opportunity Act first came before this Committee. Since that landmark occasion significant forces have been set in motion by the Act's mandate to open "to everyone the opportunity for education and training, the opportunity to work, and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity." These forces have had a major impact on both our institutions and our expectations concerning the abolition of poverty. Within the Department of Labor there has been a profound change in the traditional tools used to promote the welfare of working men and women.

The Department today is much different than it was five years ago. We now administer manpower programs which open the way to self-help for over one million Americans. We have redirected our efforts so that top priority is given to the needs of the poor and the unemployed.

In embarking on this course, we have learned much more about what we can and

must do than we knew in 1964. We must build upon this experience and affirm our commitment to seek better solutions.

The strengths and weaknesses of individual manpower programs have become more apparent as knowledge has accumulated. We should use this knowledge to develop a national plan for action against poverty.

It is because we need a broader strategy to cope with the intractable problem of poverty in America, that President Nixon has asked the Congress for a one-year extension of the Economic Opportunity Act. During this year, the Administration will develop a plan for a carefully conceived approach to the problem of poverty in America.

For example, we expect, in the near future, to present a Comprehensive Manpower Act for your consideration. This measure will be designed to implement a coordinated national manpower policy by providing the services necessary to develop fully our manpower resources while assisting the individual worker to realize the full range of his abilities. The overall plan will integrate segmented manpower components into a unified and more effective system for delivering human resources services. Such a program reflects the concern of the President when he said:

"One of the primary goals of this Administration is to expand our knowledge of how best to make real progress against those social ills that have so stubbornly defied solution. We do not pretend to have all the answers. We are determined to find as many as we can."

As you undoubtedly know, we think that we have some constructive proposals to make in regard to the Job Corps. It is because I want to share our thinking on this subject with you that I would like to focus on the Job Corps today.

Two important considerations should be highlighted at the outset.

First, when the Job Corps was established, there were only 27,000 training opportunities for youth in all Department of Labor programs. In fiscal year 1969, the number of out-of-school youth served by the Job Corps and the programs administered by the Department of Labor will be 362,900. Under President Nixon's budget for fiscal year 1970 this total is expected to be 368,600—or an increase of 5,700 over this fiscal year. Hence, the reduction in the number of youths served in Job Corps during the course of a year will be more than offset by the increase in other manpower programs. Essentially, we have evaluated the overall design of our manpower programs and are suggesting a reallocation of resources among the programs to achieve better results in terms of benefits and costs.

Second, I pledge that every effort will be taken to afford each Job Corps enrollee in a center to be closed the opportunity to transfer to another center, to accept employment or to enroll in another manpower program.

In looking at the Job Corps it is important to understand that it was developed as one way to deal with a specific problem and was based on a limited set of ideas and a narrow design for dealing with the problem.

The problem was the large number of youths who drop out of school, many from vocational schools, without being adequately prepared for either further training or employment, and whose home or neighborhood environment prevented them from effectively utilizing other manpower programs.

The set of ideas on which this program was built include:

RESIDENCE

One central idea is that complete residential service is essential for the target population. The assumption is that these youths are so hampered by disruptive home conditions that they need a totally new environment in order to learn or acquire skills.

REMOVAL FROM COMMUNITY

The second premise is that the youth in the target group should be completely removed, not only from an adverse family situation, but a long distance from their neighborhood or home community.

INTENSIVE SUPPORTIVE SERVICE

Of equal importance is the belief that such youth need comprehensive and intensive supportive services. Here the premise is that work training alone will not remove all the obstacles to employment. The full range of services would provide for basic education, counseling, health services, pre-employment orientation and recreation.

SELF SUFFICIENCY

And finally, Job Corps has assumed that each residential center should be substantially self-sufficient and by itself provide the full range of services needed. The location of many of the centers promotes the concept of self-sufficiency.

In reviewing the basic ideas underlying the Job Corps it is clear that some have continued merit while others should be dropped or modified in the light of experience and recent developments in our manpower programs.

First, we support the contention that residential services are essential for many youths who otherwise lack the home environment necessary to sustain effective learning. We also agree that comprehensive and intensive supportive services must be a part of any such program.

Second, we believe that complete residential services are not essential for all who have been enrolled in the Job Corps.

In addition, residential services are not always best provided at a great distance from home and community. Nor should we continue to operate the Job Corps on the principle that it should be a self-sufficient entity divorced from the other manpower programs that have been initiated in recent years.

The General Accounting Office, after a careful study of the Job Corps, raised serious questions concerning whether the Job Corps was, in fact, reaching that client group it is designed to serve. It said: "A significant portion of Corps members have not met the qualifications generally considered necessary for participation in the program and the alternative of enrolling applicants in other less costly, and possibly more suitable, training programs, apparently were not always considered." GAO and others who have studied Job Corps have found that the main emphasis in recruiting is on "meeting quotas", not making a careful, considered decision that a costly residential training program is best for a particular individual. Moreover, the information necessary to identify those who need specific residential support is not included in the questionnaire used for selection.

This inability to identify and enroll those youths who specifically need residential support persists despite the disproportionately large expenditure of resources allocated for recruitment and selection. For example, in fiscal year 1969, about \$10 million was budgeted for recruitment compared to \$3 million for placement activities. This imbalance, and the difficulty in recruiting for the Job Corps generally, raises a serious question about the size and design of the program necessary to serve the target group.

One of the most significant factors limiting the success of the Job Corps is the short length of stay by corps members. In this respect, the long distance from home undoubtedly contributes to the high dropout rate and short length of stay. Men's and women's urban centers located in states which "import" Job Corps enrollees have 30-day dropout rates that average over 15 percent higher than the rates in "export" states. Similarly, the fact that 28 percent of those young

people who have been accepted for the Job Corps never arrive at a center supports the inference that a general policy of moving enrollees far from their home communities has impaired the overall effectiveness of the Job Corps. OEO studies also have shown that 70 percent of all corps members were homesick and felt the lack of emotional support derived from family living. Many younger corps members apparently would have preferred being enrolled at centers near their homes and this has already been recommended in one OEO study.

Although the dedicated men and women who have operated the program have introduced useful innovations, it remains true that the Job Corps design does not respond selectively to the differing needs of youth. For example, it does not provide residential support for those who may need it within their own communities. Moreover, it is poorly coordinated with a total manpower program which has both increased in magnitude and improved in quality over recent years.

To build on those basic premises which have demonstrated their worth—the need for a residential component in manpower programs and a full line of services—two major changes in program design are necessary. Implementation of this new approach should go far to overcome significant weaknesses in the present Job Corps approach and practices while making good use of the constructive attributes of the Job Corps concept.

First, the Job Corps will be made an integral part of a comprehensive manpower system, rather than continued as an essentially separate program.

Such integration will greatly benefit every element of the overall program and reinforce the strengths of Job Corps. Its unique residential services will be woven into the total design of the ongoing programs. This should improve recruitment, screening and selection practices, more precisely identifying those who have a special need for residential services as against other available alternatives.

For example:

Job Corps would be a part of the Cooperative Manpower Planning System (CAMPS). This will permit the use of a wide spectrum of services as an alternative to, or in coordination with residential centers.

The capabilities of the Job Corps centers could be tied into the Concentrated Employment Programs, affording another tool with which to address the work-training problems of young people. Presently, 82 individual CEP's have been funded, including virtually every major city in the country.

Youth who are already in manpower programs such as MDTA or NYC and who are identified as needing residential support, would be able to get it.

Employment opportunities available through the National Alliance of Businessmen JOBS program could be tied directly to the job needs of graduating Corpsmen. The recent expansion of this program to 125 major cities will open a great many new job opportunities. The budget proposed by President Nixon for fiscal year 1970 includes a goal of 140,000 training and employment opportunities under the JOBS program.

In short, instead of standing in splendid isolation, the Job Corps would be supported by and lend support to all other manpower programs.

A second major change is to direct part of the Job Corps resources to new organizational forms, particularly smaller "inner-city or near-city" residential centers.

While Job Corps has had in the past a few experimental centers, on the whole its structure has remained unchanged. Thus, the Job Corps is comprised of very large men's centers housing several thousand youths and located about 40 miles from the nearest city; smaller women's centers housing from several hundred to a thousand girls; and small men's conservation centers located in the

country. Great flexibility is needed in the kinds of residential manpower programs necessary to meet the varying needs of young people.

Our plan for improving the operation of Job Corps would provide for the establishment during fiscal 1970 of new centers located in or near the city and designed to serve primarily the residents of the city.

Some of the centers would provide work training for enrollees in a residential setting close enough to the city to permit week-end commuting home.

Some would be located within the city and provide training for residents of the center and also nonresidents who need training and supportive services, but not the domicile facilities.

Other centers would provide distinctive residential service for young unmarried mothers and could include, or be linked to, child care service.

Some would provide mainly residential and supportive services with training furnished by other components of manpower programs administered by the Department of Labor.

In developing the new centers we will be as flexible and imaginative as possible. We will try to utilize the best aspects of the Job Corps experience as well as drawing upon our own experiments with residential centers. In any case, we will continue to review our efforts in this area so that we may modify the program as appropriate. A policy based on the status quo will result in inertia and not innovation.

In addition to questions of policy and emphasis, the Job Corps has been beset by a number of important operating problems. First, the Job Corps has demonstrated serious deficiencies in its ability to retain enrollees for the duration of the specified program. Experience in calendar year 1968 indicates that almost 40 percent of the enrollees dropped out in the first 90 days. For the men's urban centers, this early drop-out rate was 38 percent, for the conservation camps it was 41 percent, and for the women's centers it was 34 percent. Ultimately, only 24 percent of enrollees completed their program at the conservation centers, 43 percent in the men's centers and 38 percent in the women's centers. These data reinforce the judgment that the Job Corps, as presently constituted, has not been able to retain many enrollees for a period of time sufficient to derive a full measure of benefits from the program.

Second, job placement, a central practical, and measurable goal of all manpower development programs, has not been outstanding in Job Corps. This consideration is highly important for a very expensive, high unit cost, residential training program.

According to OEO reports, approximately 67 percent of the young men leaving Job Corps centers are placed in jobs, return to school or join the military service 90 days after they leave. The rate in individual centers varies from slightly more than 40 percent to almost 85 percent. This aggregate placement rate for women is 54 percent. Placement success, more than anything else, depends upon the ability of the center to motivate the young people so that they complete their training program and are equipped for useful employment.

As part of our overall package, we contemplate changes that should ameliorate the problems of retention and placement:

By reducing the number of enrollees who are transported long distances from their homes we should cut down dropouts and, at the same time, make it possible to develop specific job opportunities for the corps member while he is still at the center. In this manner, the corpsman will have greater incentive to complete his course of training.

The center itself will be required to take the initiative in securing placement services. This would involve developing individual placement plans for each corps member. The

services of the Local employment office in counseling and job development would be available. The center itself may engage in job development and placement work. This activity will be greatly facilitated in the proposed new centers which will be located in or close to the labor market in which the corpsmen subsequently seek employment.

More "gate houses" and readjustment aids would be provided corps members when they graduate. Relocation assistance could be provided under existing Department of Labor programs to corpsmen who wish to move to labor shortage areas after they graduate.

The essential point is that these kind of employment assistance facilities are available in other manpower programs and by bringing Job Corps into a comprehensive manpower development system they can be made more effectively available and tailored to the needs of individual corps members. Both the training and placement process should be enhanced as a result.

Weighing all of these considerations, we are unable to support a decision to retain the present size and character of the Job Corps. Our plans for revising Job Corps are dictated, not by any arbitrary desire to reduce cost without regard to quality, but by the necessity of acting upon an evaluation of the Job Corps in relation to the other manpower programs that have been developed since its inception.

Recent discussions of the Job Corps have focused on the closing of existing centers. I recognize that such actions inevitably will excite controversy and concern. However, it is important to keep a perspective of the overall magnitude and direction of our overall manpower program. The Job Corps is one of a wide variety of public programs designed to prepare young people for their life's work. This Administration has reviewed the manpower development effort proposed for FY 1970 by our predecessors. We have looked at all of the manpower programs and have proposed a change in the mix of training opportunities for young people and other persons served by manpower programs. Our analysis lead us to conclude that the size and scope of the Job Corps should be substantially changed. Once overall program levels and mix were determined, it was necessary to establish criteria for evaluating the various centers and camps at some distance from their home communities.

After discussions with OEO staff we selected criteria which in their—and our—judgments are meaningful measures of the performance of the centers in achieving their objectives. The criteria were those OEO had used in the past; the data for each criterion were compiled by Job Corps and covered the entire calendar year 1968.

The criteria are:

1. Average operating cost of the center per enrollee man-year.
2. The average length of stay, in months, of enrollees at the center.
3. The 30 day drop-out rate at the center.
4. & 5. Average reading and math gains by the enrollees. (Sufficient information was not available from the women's centers to permit valid comparison, however.)
6. The percent of tardiness that were placed 90 days after leaving the center. This criterion was given twice the weight of the others because it measures the end product of the centers' efforts.

We then ranked each center according to how it compared with centers of a similar nature for each criterion. To bring the program down to the planned level it was necessary to close about one-third of the larger centers and two-thirds of the conservation centers. The larger reduction in the conservation camps reflected our concern with the performance and program design of these units. We kept, however, the 32 best-rated conservation centers to accommodate the

need for residential training facilities for youth from rural areas which lack such resources and for urban youth for whom training for outdoor occupations will be beneficial.

Similarly, we selected the best men's and women's centers as determined by the rating system. Only one exception was made: Poland Spring which was marginal in the ratings, was selected for closure upon the advice of the OEO.

We do not anticipate the demise of the Job Corps, rather we seek to improve its quality and relevance to the realities of the labor market. If we are successful, there will be an improvement in the acquisition of marketable skills and job placement. As part of our proposal there will be 30 new inner-city or near-city residential manpower centers established, providing opportunities for 4,600 youths (in man-years) and capable of recruiting, training, and placing them entirely within their home State or urban area. Both types of new centers have already been tried on an experimental basis by Labor Department and have indicated considerable promise. The net effect will be to create a more flexible capacity to deal selectively with the differing needs of enrollees.

The annual cost of this new initiative is estimated to be \$24 million for fiscal year 1970. The announced closing of the existing units and additional savings will result in a net reduction for the year of \$100 million in the Job Corps budget. However, it should be kept clearly in mind that total training opportunities for youth under all manpower programs administered by the Department of Labor will increase during the fiscal year 1970.

As reconstructed, the Job Corps will offer a wider range of services to young people. The mix of centers will have the following proportions:

1. Comprehensive regional residential skill training centers will be retained for those for whom full-time residence away from home area and family is necessary. These centers will also provide manpower services to youth largely from sparsely-populated rural areas which cannot support such programs. Four men's centers and 11 women's centers are proposed.

2. Conservation centers in rural areas will be operated for youths meeting extensive basic education preparatory to skill training, or for those who seek outdoor-work careers. The programs should lead more directly to placement in skill training or some specific occupational employment. Thirty-two conservation centers would be retained.

3. Near-city residential centers will be opened for those for whom only work-week residence away from home is desirable, with work-training geared to the specific occupational needs of the area served. Ten such centers would be opened.

4. For youths unwilling or not needing to leave their city, two types of in-city residential support are planned:

One is a training facility with attached residential support which provides training in one or several skills, both for residents and nonresidents. Five medium size centers are recommended.

The other is a small residence with no training facilities of its own. It will provide intensive residential support of training using other facilities in the community and will include tutoring, special counseling, shared work responsibility and other services not available in conventional training programs. Such support is designed particularly for high-risk youths who ordinarily have high dropout rates from training programs because of home and family problems. It is suggested that 15 small centers be developed.

It is our intention to examine the new ventures as scrupulously as the old, and to review the entire program throughout the coming year and beyond. When the results

begin to come in, we expect to evaluate them in a spirit of candor so that we can ascertain and make whatever further adjustments are necessary. Indeed, we have scrutinized programs already under the administration of the Department of Labor and have not hesitated to cut back and reshape programs where the evidence suggested it was necessary. Our proposed budget for fiscal year 1970 incorporates significant changes—both reductions and additions—in many important areas.

Earlier, I indicated that we will expand the opportunities for young people in FY 1970, notwithstanding the reduction in Job Corps. Although such aggregate figures are important, we must go further and concern ourselves with the individual corpsmen in the camps to be closed. Each corpsman must be afforded a constructive alternative.

Accordingly, telegrams have been dispatched to all affected centers, committing the Department of Labor and the Office of Economic Opportunity to the maximum possible help to Job Corps enrollees during the transition period. This commitment includes priority in referral to and participation in other manpower programs for each enrollee who does not choose transfer to another Job Corps center.

As a first step in carrying out this commitment, the Job Corps and the U.S. Department of Labor on Friday, April 18, requested State employment security administrators to assign interviewing staff to centers to assist in the transfer of enrollees to other centers or referral to suitable jobs, on-the-job or institutional training, Neighborhood Youth Corps or other manpower programs.

Our national manpower programs must give priority to those who have not shared in the promise and opportunity that are enjoyed by most Americans. We intend to press this priority with our full resources in the period ahead. An effective residential center component is an essential part of the program and we shall fully engage the resources and expertise of the Job Corps in that effort.

The process of evaluation sometimes leads to hard choices, but we believe that this process is necessary if manpower programs are to continue to serve as a bridge to economic opportunity.

RATING CRITERIA

Cost

This is the average operating cost of the center per enrollee man-year for calendar year 1968. The data were obtained from Job Corps. It was computed by Job Corps by dividing center operating costs by the average on-board enrollee strength obtained from the morning reports.

Operating costs include:

1. Enrollee expenses—clothing, subsistence, health, educational, vocational, morale, recreation and welfare services and supplies.
2. Operations and Maintenance—center utilities, maintenance administration, communications, motor vehicles.
3. Center staff salaries, benefits, travel and training.

Operating costs do not include:

1. Enrollee pay and allotments.
2. Enrollee travel.
3. Conservation work project supplies and equipment.
4. Center capital investment.

LOS (length of stay)

This is the average length of stay in months of trainees. It was computed by the Job Corps by dividing the total time stayed by the number of leavers and converting the resultant average LOS in days to months. Data were obtained from the Army Finance Payroll System.

Thirty-day dropout

This was obtained from the sum morning reports data which show the number of enrollees that leave within 30 days.

Read/math

These data show the average improvement achieved by the enrollees as measured by standardized tests.

The conservation center data show the average number of "milestones" gained by the enrollee. A milestone is a measure of the ability of the enrollee. There are 16 milestones in the reading program and 12 in the math program. Completion of the planned program indicates the enrollee is at the eighth grade level. An enrollee is tested at the time of his arrival and placed in the educational program at his own appropriate milestone. The data reflect the number of milestones the average enrollee has passed. Each milestone is roughly equivalent to about one semester.

The data for the men's urban centers represent the grade level improvement as measured by the Stanford Achievement Tests. The tests are designed for scoring by a computer. During part of 1968 this computer service was not available. These tests were hand scored and the scores reported to the men's center division of the Job Corps National Office. Similar data could not be obtained for the women's centers because some centers did not score or report the data during the time when the computer facilities were unavailable. Efforts were made by Job Corps to analyze some data that were available from the computer operation but this information was not used because of the very small sample size. (In one center the sample consisted of one individual.)

Placement

The placement data represent the percentage of individuals placed in jobs, in school, or the military within 90 days after leaving Job Corps.

In concept, after every individual leaves a center, no matter how short a time he has been there, a placement form is sent to the local State employment office (or comparable facility operated by a gate house or community service agency) in the youth's home town, or the town to which he is moving if he is not going back home. The last pay and allowance check is sent to the local office, thus creating an incentive for the youth to contact the office. The office then attempts to place the youth or followup if he doesn't contact the office. As soon as he is placed, the form is returned to the Job Corps national office. If the youth is unplaced after 90 days the form is then returned with an appropriate notation.

Because of the 90 day followup period, the placement data reflect information received during 1968 rather than placements made in 1968, or placements of individuals terminated in 1968. However, the placement data are reasonably representative of all individuals terminated. Currently placements reports are received for about 90 percent of all trainees. The 1968 placement data/1968 trainee data have a ratio of about 8 to 1.

EXPLANATION OF PROCESS BY WHICH JOB CORPS CENTERS WERE SELECTED FOR CLOSING

Job Corps compiles for each center six criteria which are considered to be meaningful measures of a center's operations. These are:

1. Cost: are expressed in average cost per enrollee man-year.
2. Length of Stay (LOS): expressed as the number of months an average enrollee stays in the center. This is a measure of the center's ability to keep enrollees in the program.
3. 30 day drop-out (30): expressed as percent of enrollees leaving before 30 days. Since an enrollee's first days are often critical to his future success in the program, this is an important measure of the center's effectiveness.
4. & 5. Reading and Math Gain: expressed in terms of the grade improvement of the average enrollee. These are important measures of the center's success since education is an important part of the Job Corps program.

Unfortunately, insufficient data were available from the women's centers to permit these criteria to be used in evaluating these centers.

6. Placement: expressed as percent of enrollees placed after leaving the center. (Placement includes job placement, entry into the armed forces, or return to school.) This is a measure of the ultimate effectiveness of the program.

Considering each type of center (men's urban, women's urban, mainland conservation and Puerto Rican conservation) separately, each center was ranked for its performance in each criterion. (Mainland conservation centers were separated into deciles

and the center given the rank of its decile.) The center with the poorest performance was given a rank of one, the next poorest two, and so on.

In evaluating the effectiveness of the Job Corps installations, the most important criterion is placement, since this measures the extent to which the program meets its objective. Therefore, the rank for this criterion was given twice the value of the ranks of the other criteria.

The ranks of the centers were then summed and the centers with the lowest rank scores were selected for closing. If two centers had the same score, the tie would be broken according to the placement record.

This procedure was used to select 59 centers for closing; two men's, seven women's, and 50 conservation, including three Puerto Rican conservation. The three Puerto Rican centers were not placed in competition with other conservation centers in the United States. They competed only with other Puerto Rican centers.

Special centers, such as the YWCA operation throughout the country, and the several E & D projects, were not subjected to this closure selection procedure because their uniqueness makes such comparison inappropriate.

Table 1-4 contain the data considered in making the closure selections.

TABLE 1.—MEN'S URBAN CENTERS

Center name	Enrollees, January 1969	Score	Selection criteria					
			Cost	LOS	30	Reading	Math	Placement
Kilmier.....	1,533	12	\$6,170 (2)	4.58 (2)	27.9 (1)	0.09 (2)	0.07 (1)	63.3 (2)
Parks.....	1,354	15	7,245 (1)	4.98 (4)	24.8 (2)	.05 (1)	.11 (5)	62.2 (1)
Clearfield.....	1,231	27	5,824 (4)	4.39 (1)	22.3 (5)	.12 (5)	.12 (6)	67.7 (3)
Breckinridge.....	1,460	29	5,966 (3)	4.61 (3)	22.5 (4)	.10 (3)	.10 (4)	75.4 (6)
Atterbury.....	1,599	30	5,547 (5)	5.46 (5)	24.2 (3)	.12 (5)	.08 (2)	73.7 (5)
Gary.....	2,922	32	4,035 (6)	6.85 (6)	21.3 (6)	.10 (3)	.09 (3)	72.2 (4)

TABLE 2.—WOMEN'S URBAN CENTERS

Center name	Enrollees, January 1969	Score	Selection criteria					
			Cost	LOS	30	Reading ¹	Math ¹	Placement
Moses Lake.....	402	14	\$5,950 (1)	4.61 (1)	16.3 (10)	.....	.....	40.8 (1)
Marquette.....	302	25	5,262 (13)	5.68 (4)	18.5 (4)	.....	.....	43.5 (2)
St. Louis.....	602	31	5,926 (2)	7.33 (14)	16.7 (9)	.....	.....	46.9 (3)
Huntington.....	338	32	5,560 (5)	5.21 (3)	19.7 (2)	.....	.....	53.0 (11)
Clinton.....	814	39	5,154 (14)	6.92 (10)	18.4 (5)	.....	.....	48.8 (5)
Omaha.....	823	40	5,082 (15)	5.85 (6)	17.1 (7)	.....	.....	49.1 (6)
Albuquerque.....	369	41	5,505 (7)	5.14 (2)	13.8 (14)	.....	.....	52.3 (9)
Poland Spring.....	1,051	42	5,516 (6)	5.88 (7)	20.1 (1)	.....	.....	60.5 (14)
Tongue Point.....	668	42	4,897 (17)	5.80 (5)	14.8 (12)	.....	.....	48.4 (4)
Guthrie.....	619	42	5,463 (8)	7.02 (12)	16.9 (8)	.....	.....	50.4 (7)
Cleveland.....	357	50	5,737 (4)	7.74 (15)	14.7 (13)	.....	.....	52.3 (9)
Jersey City.....	721	52	5,354 (11)	6.82 (9)	9.7 (16)	.....	.....	52.1 (8)
Keystone.....	464	58	5,365 (10)	6.96 (11)	18.7 (3)	.....	.....	73.1 (17)
McKinney.....	608	59	5,023 (16)	7.03 (13)	18.1 (6)	.....	.....	52.2 (12)
Los Angeles.....	331	60	5,844 (3)	7.91 (16)	11.1 (15)	.....	.....	59.6 (13)
Charleston.....	329	61	5,276 (12)	6.35 (8)	15.7 (11)	.....	.....	63.5 (15)
Excelsior Springs.....	363	75	5,422 (9)	8.65 (17)	7.7 (17)	.....	.....	64.7 (16)

¹ Sample insufficient to warrant comparisons being made.

TABLE 3.—MAINLAND CONSERVATION CAMPS

Center name	Enrollees, January 1969	Score	Selection criteria					
			Cost	LOS	30	Reading	Math	Placement
Oak Glen.....	145	12	\$6,878 (1)	4.31 (1)	29.6 (1)	1.34 (1)	2.07 (6)	47.3 (1)
Sly Park.....	117	12	5,452 (2)	3.84 (1)	37.1 (1)	1.56 (2)	1.27 (2)	58.4 (2)
Hoxey.....	116	13	5,864 (1)	5.55 (4)	28.2 (2)	1.49 (1)	.67 (1)	58.2 (2)
Ojibway.....	180	14	4,955 (4)	4.41 (1)	25.4 (2)	1.73 (2)	.98 (1)	59.2 (2)
Fenner Canyon.....	197	15	5,297 (3)	4.39 (1)	30.3 (1)	2.04 (4)	1.78 (4)	53.9 (1)
Malheur.....	100	17	5,602 (1)	4.74 (2)	23.3 (4)	2.18 (5)	1.64 (3)	58.0 (1)
Five Mile.....	149	18	5,129 (4)	5.04 (2)	26.2 (2)	1.55 (1)	1.66 (3)	60.5 (3)
Lydick Lake.....	171	21	5,369 (3)	4.90 (2)	27.4 (2)	1.64 (2)	1.28 (2)	64.9 (5)
Alpine.....	101	21	5,589 (1)	5.57 (4)	20.0 (6)	1.48 (1)	2.12 (7)	55.9 (1)
Mountain Home.....	160	23	5,380 (2)	4.51 (1)	20.3 (6)	2.54 (7)	1.67 (3)	59.1 (2)
Anthony.....	162	26	5,092 (4)	5.72 (5)	24.1 (3)	1.94 (3)	1.63 (3)	62.1 (4)
Wellfleet.....	92	27	5,409 (2)	5.79 (5)	25.0 (3)	2.59 (7)	2.58 (7)	50.0 (1)
Kingman.....	179	28	4,826 (5)	4.51 (1)	21.6 (5)	1.33 (1)	1.56 (2)	67.0 (7)
Vesuvius.....	97	28	4,949 (5)	5.87 (6)	28.1 (2)	2.28 (6)	1.80 (5)	59.7 (2)
Alder Springs.....	175	28	5,332 (3)	4.94 (2)	17.7 (7)	2.04 (4)	3.16 (10)	55.3 (1)
Luna.....	210	28	4,147 (9)	5.56 (4)	30.1 (1)	2.50 (6)	1.27 (2)	60.6 (3)
Pagosa Springs.....	88	29	5,667 (1)	5.85 (5)	14.3 (9)	1.89 (3)	1.89 (5)	61.0 (3)
Crab Orchard.....	89	30	5,974 (1)	5.89 (6)	25.0 (3)	2.34 (6)	4.01 (10)	59.4 (2)
Castle Valley.....	127	30	5,499 (2)	5.42 (3)	21.5 (5)	2.02 (3)	2.28 (7)	64.6 (5)
Eight Canyon.....	166	30	5,483 (2)	5.32 (3)	25.9 (2)	2.36 (6)	.95 (1)	67.1 (8)
Toyon.....	147	30	5,313 (3)	5.08 (3)	22.6 (4)	2.63 (8)	1.71 (4)	61.6 (4)
Clear Creek.....	198	31	4,834 (5)	5.70 (4)	20.9 (5)	2.14 (5)	2.05 (6)	61.2 (3)
Grants.....	190	31	4,058 (10)	5.54 (4)	23.1 (4)	1.51 (1)	1.52 (2)	64.9 (5)
Koko Head.....	200	32	5,603 (1)	6.94 (8)	21.6 (5)	1.64 (2)	2.34 (8)	63.7 (4)
Ottawa.....	148	32	4,778 (6)	4.49 (1)	27.5 (2)	2.10 (4)	2.00 (5)	66.7 (7)
Clam Lake.....	175	33	4,753 (6)	5.22 (3)	27.1 (2)	2.83 (9)	2.18 (7)	61.2 (3)
New Waverly.....	218	33	3,436 (10)	6.34 (6)	24.2 (3)	2.15 (5)	1.69 (3)	61.3 (3)
Frenchburg.....	96	34	5,018 (4)	7.10 (8)	31.4 (1)	1.93 (3)	2.33 (8)	64.2 (5)
Tremont.....	105	34	4,619 (7)	5.83 (5)	33.6 (1)	1.81 (2)	2.31 (7)	65.2 (6)
Mountainair.....	183	35	4,087 (10)	5.20 (3)	20.5 (6)	2.13 (5)	2.27 (7)	60.0 (2)
Kicking Horse.....	176	36	4,691 (7)	4.68 (1)	20.4 (6)	1.15 (1)	2.16 (7)	66.3 (7)
Acadia.....	117	36	5,175 (4)	5.86 (5)	13.3 (10)	2.61 (8)	1.25 (1)	63.5 (4)
Cedar Flat.....	129	37	5,144 (4)	5.49 (4)	18.1 (7)	2.61 (8)	1.37 (2)	65.3 (6)
Casper.....	157	37	4,863 (5)	5.26 (3)	14.4 (8)	2.53 (7)	2.06 (6)	62.9 (4)
San Carlos.....	167	37	4,694 (7)	6.65 (7)	15.9 (8)	2.75 (9)	1.71 (4)	42.3 (1)
Arbuckle.....	111	38	5,384 (2)	5.73 (5)	19.5 (6)	2.32 (6)	.75 (1)	69.0 (9)
Los Pinos.....	193	39	4,332 (8)	6.15 (6)	16.3 (8)	1.95 (3)	2.01 (6)	61.4 (4)
Blue Jay.....	113	40	4,635 (7)	6.48 (7)	21.2 (5)	1.89 (3)	2.11 (6)	66.0 (6)
Dickinson.....	144	40	4,759 (6)	5.66 (4)	23.0 (4)	2.89 (9)	1.98 (5)	65.1 (6)

TABLE 3.—MAINLAND CONSERVATION CAMPS—Continued

Center name	Enrollees, January 1969	Score	Cost	LOS	Selection criteria				
					30	Reading	Math	Placement	
Tamarac.....	172	41	\$4,427 (8)	6.07 (6)	25.0 (3)	1.58 (2)	1.76 (4)	70.5 (9)	
Hodgens.....	145	41	4,301 (9)	5.49 (4)	24.0 (4)	2.98 (9)	1.07 (1)	66.9 (7)	
Winslow.....	180	41	3,932 (10)	5.27 (3)	19.5 (6)	3.24 (10)	2.37 (8)	59.5 (2)	
Cumberland Gap.....	122	42	3,733 (10)	6.45 (7)	24.9 (3)	1.56 (2)	2.11 (6)	66.5 (7)	
Poplar Bluff.....	212	43	4,167 (9)	6.80 (8)	16.0 (8)	2.31 (6)	1.56 (2)	64.1 (5)	
Tillamook.....	165	43	4,900 (5)	7.77 (9)	23.0 (4)	2.12 (4)	1.11 (1)	75.8 (10)	
Catoctin.....	103	43	4,482 (8)	5.76 (5)	14.2 (9)	2.15 (6)	2.05 (6)	64.0 (5)	
Cispus.....	188	43	4,295 (9)	7.14 (8)	15.9 (8)	2.62 (8)	1.79 (4)	61.0 (3)	
Heber.....	179	44	4,776 (6)	6.27 (6)	13.5 (9)	2.26 (5)	1.76 (4)	67.0 (7)	
Mingo.....	105	44	4,519 (7)	7.01 (8)	24.4 (3)	2.51 (7)	2.27 (7)	65.8 (6)	
Oconaluftee.....	175	44	4,109 (9)	5.87 (6)	30.7 (1)	2.05 (4)	1.81 (5)	70.4 (9)	
Trapper Creek.....	169	44	5,368 (3)	4.90 (2)	20.4 (6)	2.90 (9)	2.67 (8)	68.6 (8)	
Pine Knot.....	211	44	4,182 (9)	5.34 (3)	22.2 (5)	2.64 (8)	1.67 (3)	67.5 (8)	
Great Onyx.....	205	45	4,198 (9)	7.20 (9)	22.2 (5)	1.72 (2)	2.33 (8)	65.0 (6)	
Anaconda.....	168	45	5,491 (2)	4.51 (1)	14.0 (9)	3.18 (10)	2.75 (9)	67.0 (7)	
Wolf Creek.....	188	46	4,708 (7)	7.95 (10)	17.9 (7)	2.02 (3)	3.00 (9)	64.0 (5)	
Marsing.....	134	46	5,251 (3)	10.05 (10)	30.1 (1)	4.72 (10)	3.64 (10)	66.1 (6)	
Branchville.....	107	46	5,080 (4)	5.03 (2)	17.9 (7)	2.40 (6)	2.79 (9)	69.0 (9)	
Curlew.....	137	50	5,193 (4)	7.18 (5)	13.8 (9)	3.24 (10)	3.44 (10)	63.9 (4)	
Boxelder.....	183	50	4,801 (6)	6.47 (7)	12.6 (10)	2.52 (7)	1.73 (4)	67.8 (8)	
Cass.....	106	50	4,589 (7)	6.89 (8)	15.7 (8)	2.42 (6)	1.57 (3)	69.7 (9)	
Weber Basin.....	182	51	4,481 (8)	6.71 (8)	16.9 (7)	3.64 (10)	3.75 (10)	63.9 (4)	
Arrowood.....	96	51	4,687 (7)	5.96 (6)	21.0 (5)	2.71 (8)	1.91 (5)	78.1 (10)	
Columbia Basin.....	170	52	4,789 (6)	6.47 (7)	13.4 (9)	3.41 (10)	3.16 (10)	64.3 (5)	
Goloconda.....	184	52	4,911 (5)	6.60 (7)	17.4 (7)	2.24 (5)	2.57 (8)	74.6 (10)	
Timber Lake.....	199	52	5,215 (3)	7.83 (10)	16.3 (8)	2.55 (7)	3.55 (10)	66.2 (7)	
Cottonwood.....	154	52	4,918 (5)	6.99 (8)	7.8 (10)	3.95 (10)	1.69 (3)	67.2 (8)	
Flatwoods.....	170	53	4,396 (8)	7.39 (9)	16.3 (8)	2.10 (4)	2.10 (6)	69.1 (9)	
Pine Ridge.....	103	55	5,280 (3)	7.48 (9)	6.9 (10)	2.55 (7)	3.59 (10)	67.6 (8)	
Roy Simcoe.....	189	55	4,869 (5)	7.43 (9)	13.1 (9)	2.59 (7)	3.10 (9)	68.8 (8)	
Blackwell.....	172	55	4,403 (8)	6.50 (7)	14.2 (9)	2.10 (4)	2.68 (9)	73.9 (9)	
Jacobs Creek.....	160	55	3,770 (10)	8.34 (10)	16.7 (7)	2.13 (4)	1.78 (4)	75.5 (10)	
Collbran.....	90	56	6,243 (1)	6.69 (7)	3.5 (10)	3.05 (9)	2.87 (9)	74.0 (10)	
Angell.....	109	58	4,799 (6)	10.78 (10)	9.8 (10)	3.39 (10)	2.09 (6)	63.0 (8)	
Ouachita.....	118	58	4,482 (8)	8.35 (10)	19.4 (6)	2.77 (9)	1.95 (5)	84.9 (10)	
Harpers Ferry.....	188	58	4,431 (8)	8.15 (10)	24.0 (4)	2.71 (8)	2.60 (8)	78.7 (10)	
Schenck.....	195	59	4,139 (9)	8.21 (10)	19.2 (6)	2.56 (7)	2.73 (9)	71.5 (9)	
Treasure Lake.....	165	59	3,970 (10)	7.51 (9)	13.2 (10)	2.60 (8)	1.40 (2)	80.0 (10)	

TABLE 4.—PUERTO RICAN CONSERVATION CENTERS

Center name	Enrollees, January 1969	Score	Cost	LOS	Selection criteria				
					30	Reading	Math	Placement	
Juana Diaz.....	192	14	\$1,348 (5)	6.76 (2)	3.33 (3)	0.74 (1)	0.82 (2)	17.0 (1)	
Vieques.....	118	20	2,242 (1)	7.03 (3)	7.14 (1)	3.49 (5)	1.07 (4)	41.5 (3)	
Guayama.....	128	20	2,111 (2)	10.06 (5)	4.00 (2)	2.20 (2)	1.08 (5)	41.2 (2)	
Arecibo.....	168	21	1,727 (4)	6.71 (1)	3.11 (4)	3.05 (3)	.38 (1)	51.6 (4)	
Rio Grande.....	130	29	2,103 (3)	7.31 (4)	2.47 (5)	3.13 (4)	.09 (3)	95.3 (5)	

THE 1970 CENSUS

HON. DONALD G. BROTZMAN

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing two bills which, in my opinion, will restore the credibility of the U.S. census as a necessary function of the Federal Government.

There is evidence of a growing disaffection among the American people with regard to the forthcoming 1970 Decennial Census—a situation which could compromise the effectiveness of the entire project.

In my mind, there are two very good reasons for this disaffection:

First. The American people resent the fact that they will be forced to answer highly personal and potentially embarrassing questions or else face criminal penalties ranging up to \$100 fine and 60 days in jail.

Second. There seems to be a growing fear that individual information divulged to census enumerators might later be used against them by Federal or private organizations. And in an age in which computerized "data banks" are being set up to provide a myriad of personal information about private citizens

at the push of a button, such fears are understandable.

The bills which I am introducing were drafted to remedy these two problem areas.

The first bill would remove criminal penalties for failure to answer all but the basic "headcount" questions of the census. These would include name and address, relationship to head of household, sex, date of birth, marital status, and whether a respondent is a resident or a visitor in a household. In addition, the 60-day jail sentence would be removed as a penalty for failure to answer; the \$100 fine would be retained so that the Bureau of the Census would have legal recourse to back up its gathering of those statistics which are essential to the Nation for planning purposes.

The second bill would increase the penalties for wrongful disclosure of information by employees of the Bureau of the Census. The penalties—currently limited to a \$1,000 fine and 2 years in prison—would be increased to \$5,000 and 5 years imprisonment.

In my opinion these bills will remove most of the fears and objections which the American people harbor under current census laws and practices. I urge that we enact these measures during the current year, inasmuch as the resultant changes would require some restructuring of the 1970 census mechanisms.

SALARY INCREASE

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, I have steadfastly opposed the recent Federal pay raises for Members of Congress and other top-level Federal officials.

An editorial, appearing in the March 20 issue of the Brainerd Dispatch, in the Minnesota Sixth Congressional District, indicates some of the opposition of my constituents to this pay raise.

I commend its reading to my colleagues:

SERVICEMEN, NOT CONGRESS, TO FEEL BUDGET PRESSURE

It may be hard to explain to men and women in the armed forces why a prospective pay raise for them is being dropped while other federal employes, particularly members of House, Senate and Cabinet, are receiving handsome pay raises this year.

The decision to drop the prospective new pay raise also comes at a time when the Nixon administration has been talking about dropping the draft and substituting a volunteer defense force for it.

Volunteers are going to be hard to secure if their pay raises are shunted aside while higher officials continue to receive large salary increases. Congressional pay now is fully competitive if not more than competitive

with industry and the President has had a 100 per cent increase in salary but the salaries received by men in the service still is far below what most of these men would receive in civilian life.

We ask them for a double sacrifice. They must give up months and years from their lives and at the same time receive less pay than they would receive at home.

It is true that a \$1.8 billion pay hike for men and women in service, approved earlier by Congress, will go into effect but an additional \$1.2 billion was promised. This \$1.2 billion pay boost now has been canceled.

Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird blamed "budgetary pressures" for his decision to drop the additional pay raise. No such term was used when Congressmen eagerly accepted the recommendation that their salaries be increased by percentages far greater than had ever been considered for members of the armed forces.

Congressmen voted themselves a pay boost of \$12,500, from \$30,000 to \$42,500 this year and are now considering hiking the pay of majority and minority leaders of the Senate and House from \$42,500 to \$55,000. Salaries of the Speaker of the House and of the vice president would be boosted from \$43,000 to \$62,500 and \$10,000 additional expense allowances would be granted. The salaries of Cabinet members also were boosted radically this year.

Possibly the Congressmen and other governmental leaders deserve these unusually large salary increases. Cost of living is going up.

But how about the servicemen. Has the cost of living remained the same for them and their families?

NEW YORK TIMES' SYSTEM ADAPTABLE TO CONGRESS

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago, I inserted in the RECORD a thought-provoking article from the Reader's Digest on the subject of congressional reforms. Part of the thrust of that article and my comments on same were directed toward the information explosion which we in Congress have not caught up with.

I recently came across an article in the April 5 issue of Editor & Publisher which explains at some length a new information retrieval system the New York Times is in the process of establishing. The system to be employed is considerably more sophisticated than the one which all Members were urged to see demonstrated recently at the invitation of the Clerk of the House; nevertheless, if we are to make use of the technology of our time, then certainly we should be considering the extensions and implications of any information system we might employ for this House. The article follows:

NEW YORK TIMES DEVELOPS PUBLIC INFORMATION BANK

The New York Times has announced the development of the Times Information Bank, a real-time, interactive retrieval system which make available vast resources of material to major research and reference libraries, government agencies, journalists, scholars, and other media, including broadcast networks, with speed, thoroughness and comprehensiveness.

"Initially, the system at first will serve the news and editorial departments of the Times, and eventually will be extended to include a wide range of clients requiring comprehensive, authoritative information," said Ivan Veit, vice president.

Veit said that the first input into the retrieval system will be abstract data from the New York Times Index beginning January 1, 1968, which are already on magnetic tape. Gradually, earlier selected data will be incorporated into the system at a planned orderly rate.

He said that data which predate the actual time when the system commences full operation in early 1971 will be drawn exclusively from the New York Times, whereas current data fed into the system will come from other sources.

"We envision the instantaneous accessibility of a gigantic store of background information on virtually every subject of human research and inquiry will prove to be of immeasurable value not only to major reference and research libraries, general business services and other media, but also to individuals engaged in all forms of research," Veit said.

"The New York Times intends to enhance its reputation through its information retrieval system, as one of the world's most reliable and authoritative sources of information. We feel the potential market for the services which the system will be capable of producing extends into many areas," he said.

"For example, the services could be put to invaluable use by government agencies engaged in social research scholars preparing such major documents as doctoral dissertations, general business services conducting research in specific areas, and journalists marshalling material for books and articles. The list could be extended to include the news and public affairs departments of radio and television networks, advertising and public relations agencies, and the research arms of philanthropic foundations."

Future expansion of the system input, he stated, will include storage and retrieval of photographs and other graphic materials, bibliographic citations of relevant books and other reference materials available in the Times Reference Library, and interface with other reference libraries and information centers using an automated system.

HOW IT WORKS

The heart of the Times Information Bank will be a third generation, real-time computer (IBM System 360/50) and software combination which will be designed for immediate computer-to-user response (time-shared) with a large number of remote terminals. A large, direct-access mass storage facility will be included to insure rapid handling of the large data base.

Linked with the computer will be an automatic device for the storage of microfiche containing images of actual clippings. The device will be capable of storing and rapidly retrieving the equivalent of 3.5-by-10.6 pages of newsprint. Other peripheral equipment will include a microform camera at Micro-filming Corporation of America, Inc., a Times subsidiary, for miniaturization of full text; input terminals—probably cathode ray tube and keyboard—and a computer-telephone interface for audio computer-to-user answer service.

It will be possible for the user, through the audio system, to query the computer directly and receive an answer. It will also be possible to use the audio system for placing calls automatically and answering inquiries that have previously been placed.

It will be possible for a Times staff member to request information from the Bank, and receive information on the screen within up to five seconds, including a photographic printout of the material requested. As many as 20 requests can be made of the computer simultaneously.

Provisions have been made for up to 43 cathode ray receivers' installation in the Times' 43rd Street building in New York, plus installations in other Times offices in other cities.

The computer and full text device will be installed at the 43rd Street location. Only a portion of the design memory size will be installed initially, with additions as the needs are forecast.

Remote terminals will be installed in the New York office of the Times, and editors, reporters and other personnel will be shown how to operate the retrieval equipment to receive both abstract and full text items stored in the system.

Ultimately, remote terminals will be installed at customer locations, and customers for the system will be trained in the operation, and will have full inquiry privileges. Output to customers, however, will be limited to abstracts, citations and a subset of the full text items in storage. Non-Times articles, information from early editions, and killed items will not be translated to customer terminals.

As of D-Day in early 1971, detailed abstracts of all material published in the New York Times and in a wide variety of other publications will be processed into the computer. An initial data base of earlier materials is readily available from the tapes of the New York Times Index which has been in a successful computerized operation since January, 1968. This operation has served as a pilot project for the enlarged system.

Gradually, earlier selected data will be incorporated into the system at a planned, orderly rate. These earlier data will be obtained from the Times morgue clipping files which will then be retired.

The Times, of course, intends to continue the operation of its morgue, eventually phasing out its existing clipping operation and adapting operation to accommodate the new retrieval system.

The future expansion of the system input is anticipated to include storage and retrieval of photographs and other graphic materials; bibliographic citations of relevant books and other reference materials available in the Times Reference Library; plus interface with other large reference libraries and information centers using automated systems.

The Times system is being developed under the direction of Dr. John Rothman, director of information services for the Times. International Business Machines Corporation and its Federal Systems Division have been retained to assist in the design and implementation of the system. Additionally, Arthur D. Little, Inc., the well-known research organization, will assist with market development.

HILL-BURTON PROGRAM

HON. ROBERT V. DENNEY

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Speaker, the president of the lay advisory board of Saint Elizabeth Hospital, Lincoln, Nebr., has recently forwarded to me a resolution which was passed unanimously at a meeting held on April 9, 1969. The board feels strongly about the necessity for continuing contracts for which the Government has already made commitments under the Hill-Burton program. The board agrees that the loan principle should apply to future projects and feels that it is a step forward. However, to cut off Hill-Burton funds on presently pend-

ing contracts would leave their institution some \$440,000 short of the amount to which the Government had committed itself at the commencement of the hospital's new construction project. Having received permission, I insert a copy of the resolution into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

RESOLUTION OF THE LAY ADVISORY BOARD OF ST. ELIZABETH HOSPITAL, LINCOLN, NEBR.

Whereas, Senator Jacob Javits of New York has introduced in the Senate of the United States Senate 1733, the purpose of which is to radically revise the Hill-Burton program and initiate a program to guarantee \$500 million a year in loans for hospital modernization and construction; and

Whereas, the effect of this bill would be to terminate all present contracts under the Hill-Burton program which would directly affect St. Elizabeth Hospital by terminating \$440,000 which was contracted for to the Hospital to construct its present new building now under construction;

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Lay Advisory Board of St. Elizabeth Hospital that while it favors S. 1733 so far as new construction not already contracted for is concerned, the effect of this proposal would have a devastating impact on the financing program for the new St. Elizabeth Hospital for which contracts were entered into with the government and reliance placed thereon several years ago, wherefore, this Board urges the Nebraska Representatives and Senators in the Congress of the United States to seek revision of the bill to honor the commitments into which the federal government has entered with St. Elizabeth Hospital and Mary Lanning Hospital and revise the bill to make it applicable to construction not already under contract with the government.

Respectfully submitted.

ST. ELIZABETH LAY ADVISORY BOARD.

IN RECOGNITION OF NATIONAL COIN WEEK

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, I would call to the attention of the House the approach of National Coin Week, sponsored by the American Numismatic Association, to advance the cultural and artistic aspects of coin collecting. National Coin Week's theme this year is "Coins: Links in a Chain of Peace."

Extending from April 20 to April 26, National Coin Week serves to emphasize the growing national and international interest in the age-old practice of numismatics, that is, the science treating of coins, their origin, technique of manufacture, history, mythology, and art. The field covers the coinages of all countries from the earliest times to the present day.

There is a commercial aspect to numismatics, of course. On one occasion an English collector realized the sum of £42, in exchange for a British gold stater of Epaticcus, and a silver penny dating back to the days of King Stephen's reign brought £40. But the profit motive is not the true basis of numismatics, by any means.

It is, primarily, an interesting study, requiring the concentrated application

of intellectual research and personal investigation.

In addition, it provides constructive satisfaction of the acquisitive instinct.

Its global nature furthers international understanding.

As a study of rare metals, it adds to knowledge of the unknown past and of the financial systems of nations that long ago disappeared from view.

Increasing perfection of the engraving process renders the coin a work of art, worthy of an intensive study and esthetic appreciation.

Investigation of the nature of the coin requires broader knowledge of historical matters of every kind.

It also requires an insight into the economics of the monetary systems of many lands.

In all, the study of numismatics is easily one of the most educational experiences imaginable, and the people who take it up cannot help but vitally increase their understanding of many mysteries of human existence on this planet.

It is a pleasure to salute National Coin Week, in the knowledge that here is a tradition both highly entertaining and highly instructive; a tradition of the kind that benefits those engaged in it and, by the very nature of the wholesome spirit expended, benefits also the world community itself.

CONGRESSMAN LLOYD MEEDS OFFERS THE NATIONAL TIMBER SUPPLY ACT

HON. LLOYD MEEDS

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Speaker, I have often risen in this Chamber to make my colleagues aware of a growing shortage of timber. In recent years this shortage has gone unchecked, and almost unnoticed.

Now that it is obvious that our national housing goals are in danger because of this shortage, there have been hearings in both Houses of Congress, and legislation has been introduced that I believe will solve the problem over the long run.

My own district has suffered in an unusual way, and the people I represent are delighted, as I am, with the promise of the National Timber Supply Act introduced today by the distinguished Member from South Carolina.

The recent high prices for lumber and plywood caused great concern here, and everywhere in the Nation. Hearings by the Banking and Currency Committee investigated the reasons for these increases very thoroughly, and I will not go into them in detail. But a portion of the testimony during those hearings concerned my district, and I would like to bring to the attention of this House a situation described in those hearings and about which I have personal knowledge.

In 1968 6 billion feet of sanded plywood was produced in the entire United States. Of this amount, 5½ billion, or over 91 percent, was produced by mills located west of the Cascades in Washing-

ton and Oregon, most of them in my district.

By law, only 350 million board feet of timber may be exported from Federal forests, as of January first of this year.

But the Forest Service allocated over 60 percent of this volume from this sanded plywood areas in Washington and about 30 percent from Oregon.

It is estimated that demand will exceed production of softwood plywood by about 15 percent this year.

Inevitably, there is great demand for the available timber. Prices for timber could not do anything but rise; there is only so much.

Then another factor was introduced.

The Mount Baker National Forest, in my district, had an allowable cut of 240 million board feet per year 10 years ago. In 1968 this was reduced to 164 million feet; this year it was reduced again, to 97.6 million feet—and more than a third of that amount was assigned to the export market.

Mills in my district that once counted on 240 million board feet now can obtain only 60 million feet from that forest.

For my district, this means bankruptcy for employers.

For the buyer who can obtain plywood at all, it means higher prices.

For the buyer who can obtain a home at all, it means higher mortgage payments.

And, as this situation is repeated in forest after forest, it means that the United States is not going to realize the goal of adequate housing for all its people.

The National Timber Supply Act, with its high timber yield fund, can reverse this situation. Passage of that act will make it possible for the Forest Service to increase the allowable cut immediately.

I strongly support this badly needed legislation and believe that it is in the national interest for every other House Member to support it as well.

RALLY FOR DECENCY

HON. BILL NICHOLS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, much has been written and said about the decline in morality and the increase in dissent among today's young people. But there is also a growing cry among our young people that all should not be condemned because of the actions of a few. A much publicized "Rally for decency" in Miami recently has led to the origination of many other similar rallies throughout the country. The ill-fated program in Baltimore yesterday was another example of how a handful of dissidents can spoil the good intentions of the majority.

Communities throughout my own State of Alabama are planning rallies to demonstrate their support for the majority of young people in America who love their country and are dedicated to

preserving the principles on which this Nation was founded. One such rally is being planned for Montgomery's Crampton Bowl on the evening of May 1, with the entire program being planned and presented by students from high schools in the Montgomery area.

Among those organizations which have pledged support for the rallies is the National Guard Association of Alabama which passed the following resolution at its State conference recently:

MONTGOMERY, ALA.—The National Guard Association of Alabama, holding its annual state conference recently in Montgomery unanimously endorsed the Rallies for Decency sponsored by youth groups throughout Alabama.

The Association representing some 1,650 Army and Air National Guard officers and every home town National Guard unit in Alabama commended the efforts of the Alabama youth in organizing the Decency Rallies. In a resolution passed by the Guardsmen they recognized the principles which the youths supported: Belief in God, Love of Country, Love of Family, Belief in the responsibility of youth, Respect and pride in oneself, Respect for all men, as the underlying principles of our national heritage.

The Association urged support of the Decency Rallies by all National Guardsmen and all citizens of Alabama.

SUBSIDIZED PRESS: POVERTY PROGRAM PROPAGANDA MACHINE

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, the excellent investigative-reporter Shirley Scheibla has brought to the attention of the public, through an article in a current issue of Barron's weekly newspaper, another example of the Office of Economic Opportunity flaunting the intent of Congress. Mrs. Scheibla's excellent and informative article deals with the increasing number and scope of newspapers—called newsletters—financed and directed by local war-on-poverty agencies. These newspapers are nothing more than subsidized propaganda which seeks to perpetuate the existing Government agency and its personnel. Some of these publications promote racism and civil disruption. At least one has referred to the work of a distinguished congressional committee as a "witch hunt and a shocking misuse of public funds."

If the report presented in the following article is true, and there is every reason to believe it is, then the only "shocking misuse of public funds" is the subsidizing of these newspapers by the Office of Economic Opportunity. As a member of the task force on poverty, I intend to ask the Office of Economic Opportunity about these "newsletters" when they next appear before the subcommittee.

SUBSIDIZED PRESS: THE POVERTY PROGRAM IS BUILDING ITS OWN PROPAGANDA MACHINE

(By Shirley Scheibla)

Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr. (Democrat, of North Carolina): "When the press is supported or subsidized by federal funds, it is disabled to perform its rightful function as a great interpreter between the government and the people. This is so because the press

is no longer free. On the contrary, it is enslaved and enslavement of the press will inevitably be followed by enslavement of the people."

WASHINGTON.—Commenting on the violence-ridden strike at San Francisco State College, a leading story in a San Francisco newspaper in February ran as follows: "The only reason the strike was called was as a last resort to bring out into the open their (the students') grievances and the present injustices and irrelevances on the campus of a school which belongs to this community. . . . The basic truth of the strike is the freedom of self-determination of students in their education versus the present misuse of the schools by irrelevant and outside political forces such as the office of the governor, state superintendent of schools and the like in trustees and such boards of directors who are totally alien to the needs and desires of Black and Third World students. The activities and grievances of the students deserve the sympathy of the local community."

CIVIL DISRUPTION

The publication which featured the story is The Spokesman, one of a growing number of newspapers published with the encouragement and financial support of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Issued by community action groups all over the country, many of the newspapers are promoting black militance, racial hatred, civil disruption, the cry of police brutality, community control of schools and colleges, and, not least, the war on poverty and all its works.

Congress has prohibited the use of federal anti-poverty funds for establishing or operating general coverage newspapers. However, OEO claims that the publications really are "newsletters," aimed at bridging "the communication gap often existing between the community action program and the people it serves."

According to a Public Affairs Handbook, The Printed Word, published by OEO last year and distributed to community action agencies, a publication is a "newsletter" if it "has a specific information objective and a limited audience," is not sold for profit, carries no paid advertising and is run by the local anti-poverty program. "Grantees," the Handbook declares, "are encouraged to publish newsletters or house organs which assist local anti-poverty efforts. These publications are generally financed under the administrative budget of the local agency."

Pictured in the Handbook, to illustrate what OEO means, is the front page of a "newsletter" called The Crusader, a product of the United Community Corp., top community action agency of Newark, N.J., which says it is "a free citywide community newspaper for the promotion of community action." Looking remarkably like a tabloid newspaper, the page carries a story about Newark citizens marching in front of the White House. In another issue, The Crusader called the McClellan Committee's investigation of the role of anti-poverty workers in Newark's riots, "a witch hunt and a shocking misuse of public funds."

The OEO Handbook also includes elementary instructions for publishing "newsletters." With OEO funding, the Community Action Training Institute at Trenton, N.J., has gone a step further by publishing The CATI News Man, which the subheading identifies as "A Manual—In Newspaper Form—On How To Produce A Community Action Newspaper." The essentials, it says, are community problems, angry people and publishing facilities. A good community action newspaper, it declares, "makes people mad."

Enlarging on the Handbook's idea of not selling the newspapers for profit, the manual advises soliciting donations. "Be sure you don't ask people to buy a subscription to your paper, since this will cause difficulties with income tax and licensing laws," it explains.

The Office of Economic Opportunity is so pleased with the work of CATI that it has asked the Institute to provide assistance to community action training centers all over the country, at federal expense, of course. (There are 10 training centers to serve over 1,000 community action centers.) While the exact number and circulation of community action newspapers in existence are unknown, it is abundantly clear that they constitute a vast propaganda network.

Specifically, anti-poverty newsletters churn out vast quantities of propaganda for the war on poverty. For instance, the TEOC News, published by the Tampa (Fla.) Economic Opportunity Council, Inc., recently declared that an independent OEO is an absolute necessity.

CHRISTMAS ISSUE

Referring to OEO, Community Action News, a monthly publication of the Knox County Economic Opportunity Council at Barbourville, Ky., said in its Christmas issue: "Our country cannot afford to risk an interruption of a program experiment which is the last link of communication between the poor and non-poor." An offer to fund the 1969 anti-poverty programs of Wayne County, Mich., at the same level as 1968 is unacceptable, according to a front page story in the Wayne County OEO Newsletter, a slick, printed publication of the Economic Opportunity Committee of Eloise, Mich.

"Do not panic with the coming of the Nixon Administration," said a recent Community Action Newsletter published by the Ninth District Opportunity, Inc., of Gainesville, Ga. "America," it declared, "is a country of compassionate people, and humanitarian programs will not be stopped by any administration."

Publications which have lavished praise on OEO projects include With the People, issued by half-a-dozen community action agencies in Chicago; the Neighborhood Journal, by Community Progress, Inc. of New Haven, Conn.; STOP Newsletter, by the Southeastern Tidewater Opportunity Project of Norfolk, Va., and The Advisor, by the Charleston County Economic Opportunity Commission at Charleston, S.C.

HAPPY BIRTHDAY, HUEY

Black power and race hatred are also favorite themes of OEO-subsidized journalism. On this score, the story on the San Francisco State College strike was not the only one worthy of notice in the February issue of The Spokesman. It also carried an announcement of a birthday celebration in honor of Black Panther leader Huey P. Newton, now jailed for allegedly killing a man in California.

Scheduled as a speaker at the Black Panther celebration was Kathleen Cleaver, wife of Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver. (Mr. Cleaver was jailed in 1968 after conviction for assault with intent to commit murder. He was paroled in 1966, but had his parole revoked in connection with a gun battle with Oakland police officers. Subsequently he was released by a judge who ruled Mr. Cleaver was "a political prisoner." This action subsequently was overruled; both California and federal authorities have been seeking Mr. Cleaver since December 27, 1968.)

According to The Spokesman, tickets for the affair were available at Black Panther Party Headquarters at 1419 Fillmore and More's Books, 1435 Fillmore, and for \$2.50 at the door. It added that part of the proceeds would be used for the Newton Cleaver Defense Committee and the Eldridge Cleaver Ball Fund.

The same issue sought contributions to the Malcolm X Educational Center, advised its readers to write or call the Black Draft Counseling Union and join the Welfare Rights Movement. In addition, it announced a community meeting to "amend the city charter to forbid the creation of para-military squads (by the San Francisco police). . . ."

Such inflammatory contents are nothing new for The Spokesman. In 1968, the February-March issue decried the jailing of Huey Newton for alleged murder and reported "some very significant ideas" of the Black Panthers, which included freeing Mr. Newton or bringing about "retribution," freeing of imprisoned black men not tried by their peers and exempting all Negroes from military service.

(The latest word on the Black Panthers came on April 2, when a New York grand jury indicted 21 members for conspiring to bomb five department stores, a police station and a railroad.)

A front-page story in the March-April 1968 issue of The Spokesman said, "Black people wake up; we are all in prison; we are all Huey Newtons. He may be doing time in jail but we are doing it in the ghetto." Signed by Adam Rogers, it declared, "If you want action, come join me in my fight for identity, equality, not civil rights, but human rights."

The Spokesman has accused the nation's cities of arming to carry out plans of genocide against black people, and said the U.S. is preparing concentration camps for blacks. It also quoted Richard Robers, executive director of the San Francisco Family Service Agency, as saying, "A civil war is almost inevitable unless the powers of white America face up to the fact that they have a responsibility to see that all children have some guarantee—decent economic income, housing, education and health assurances that exist for their own children."

Copies of all the aforementioned issues of The Spokesman are in the files at OEO headquarters.

In the same vein, the August 15, 1968, issue of the Marin City (Calif.) Memo, published by the Marin City Economic Opportunity Council, printed an editorial by Area Director James W. Coleman, who, after visits to Chicago, Detroit and Cleveland, found: "The social revolution continues to move across this nation. . . . There must be drastic social changes in the society now. . . . I talked to many black youths who still had anger and revenge for the white power structure" The same issue quoted black activist Dick Gregory as saying, "Riots are nothing new. They're just a ghetto version of a fire sale."

NEED POWER

"Power is the essential for the poor," according to the tabloid newspaper, The New Day, published by the Human Development Corp. of St. Louis. "If you want to beat the small store cheating you. If you want to keep 'the man' off your back. If you want to get a job. If you want to get decent housing out of the slum lord. You have to have POWER," proclaimed the March 1968 issue of The New Day.

From a sister publication in Elizabeth, N.J., comes a similar theme. The May 1968 Community Action News, published by Community Action for Economic Opportunity, Inc., carried a letter to the editor signed by Josephine Nieves, acting director of the Northeast Regional Office of OEO in New York, which said, "Jobs alone will not necessarily solve the problems of the poor in America since it is to a large extent a question of power."

The same issue featured a story which said that a teenage community action group had petitioned the city to incorporate black history into the regular school curriculum. Another story said, "The Black Power Conference held July 20 through July 23 was an inspirational and educational gathering." Among the proposals reported were "developing Liberation Schools, setting up a Black Teachers Union—Separate From The White Summer Camps for Blacks only, development of Black Political Power. . . ." The Washington Evening Star called that same conference "a festival of hate."

The tabloid newspaper, The Neighborhood Journal, states in its masthead that it is owned and operated by the five Denver community action councils and "funded by a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity." The September 20, 1968, issue devotes half a page to the views of "resident participants" in the Model Cities program. It charges that minority persons are abused when arrested, charged, jailed and sentenced, and calls for "greater protection from unjust police and judicial action" to command top priority after planning in the Model Cities program.

WASHINGTON DOESN'T KNOW

No one in Washington seems to know how many anti-poverty "newsletters" are being published, or how many more will be launched in response to OEO's Handbook. Besides those mentioned, others have come out of Long Beach, Calif.; Bridgeport, Conn.; Miami and Pensacola, Fla.; New York; Columbus, Ohio, and many Indian reservations. OEO headquarters have three filing cabinet drawers packed with samples of the newsletters.

Almost unbelievably, they are being distributed in slums all over the country without the knowledge of Congress. That body thought it had made its intent amply clear when it set up the Small Business Administration. Congress banned SBA loans to newspapers to avoid government interference with the press. In 1967 an amendment to the second supplemental appropriation act said flatly: "None of the federal government anti-poverty funds may be used for establishing or operating a general coverage newspaper, magazine, radio station or television station."

When he introduced the amendment, Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr. (D., Va.) stated: "I am unalterably opposed to government ownership or control of newspapers because it leads inevitably to government control of the news. I believe we have too much government management of the news already without this additional weapon being put into the hands of federal officials."

Enactment followed disclosure that WAMY-Community Action, Inc., of Boone, N.C., proposed to establish a newspaper and radio station with \$179,000 from OEO in response to OEO pressure to emphasize communications instead of job training. At the time, Senator Ervin commented that the proposal was wholly "incompatible with the free enterprise system and a free press."

Senator Strom Thurmond (R., S.C.) declared: "If every poverty agency were to get a 100% subsidy for the publication of its own propaganda—freed from the responsibility of business losses and restrictions—then a medium would be created to promote social unrest and dissatisfaction on a nationwide scale."

As noted, OEO maintains that the publications it now subsidizes are "newsletters" which do not engage in "general coverage," cited in the wording of the 1967 ban on subsidized newspapers. Newsletters or newspapers, the publications are only one segment of a vast OEO-subsidized propaganda network—encompassing television, radio, films and even speakers' bureaus—now in operation and growing daily.

PENNSYLVANIA'S STATE BASKETBALL CHAMPIONS

HON. JOSEPH P. VIGORITO

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. VIGORITO. Mr. Speaker, as Congressman from the 24th District of Penn-

sylvania I am extremely proud that this year's State championship basketball team comes from Farrell High School, Mercer County, Pa.

Superbly coached, this outstanding group of young men went through a near-perfect season, capped by victory in the western State eliminations and finally, this past weekend, by a resounding victory over the eastern champion in the State finals.

I wish to salute the Farrell High School Steelers for a great achievement. They have, without a doubt, proven they are the best basketball team ever to come out of Pennsylvania in many decades.

An editorial in the "Sharon Herald" paid a fine tribute to the team and its coach. Mr. Speaker, I include a section of it in the RECORD, as follows:

CONGRATULATIONS TO FARRELL

The Farrell High School Steelers, to the surprise of few, have done it again, and it is once again a proud day for the team, its coaches, and the entire community, its own as well as those others which are a part of the valley municipal complex.

In capturing for the sixth time—a record in itself—the state scholastic basketball crown, the team has brought credit and recognition not only to itself but credit and recognition to all of us. For this its members and coaches are due our thanks as they are deserving of our congratulations upon their achievement. If there were many among the 70,000 people who comprise the family of the Shenango Valley whose minds were not on the team on Saturday night, we would be most surprised.

As we noted on a previous occasion, this year's Farrell High School basketball squad was a great team which somehow seemed to stand apart from the many great teams which through the years have carried the banner of the school.

There were many reasons for this of course, and the sports buffs in due time will supply analysis far more competent than we can. But it seems to us, as we observed on that previous occasion, that a major reason for the distinction earned by this team was because it consisted of able men all rich in talent who played as a team and who were motivated by a singleness of purpose—to win. They played the game hard and they played it well, but more importantly, they played it together.

How else is one to explain the remarkable season which, with only a single defeat, saw the team climb to the very pinnacle? And even that lone defeat, at the hands of arch-rival Sharon, was something of a laurel for the Steelers. They gave Sharon a season which also long will be remembered; after all, how many teams in the Commonwealth hereafter will be able to lay claim to the distinction of having defeated the 1969 state champions?

THE FAULTY FUNNEL

HON. JAMES A. BYRNE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, recently I warned Robert Finch, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, of the inherent danger to our large urban centers in "funneling" Federal funds through the State governments.

At that time, I proposed "that the Federal Government make unrestricted, di-

rect grants-in-aid to those school districts which have shown a willingness to utilize their own resources."

Pointing to the suggestion of replacing categorical grants to school districts with block grants to the States, I stated:

This, in my opinion, would be a mistake, as there are too many instances of lack of understanding, at best, on the part of state governments toward the cities' problems in education and other areas. Moreover, block grants would simply breed more bureaucracy at the state level—something we do not need.

By coincidence, there appeared in the Philadelphia Daily News on April 17 an editorial written by James O'Brien, chief editorial writer for the Daily News, which presents graphically just what is happening to Federal funds channeled to the States. Under unanimous consent I include the entire editorial with this statement in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Mr. O'Brien's editorial concerns law enforcement and anticrime funds, but I suspect the situation would carry over into any other Federal grant to States.

He points out that Pennsylvania will get \$880,000 in Federal funds for law-enforcement planning.

And how much of that sum will go to Philadelphia?

Mr. O'Brien asks.

A big fat \$82,419.

He adds:

There are also reports that Philadelphia will receive a mere \$150,000 for anti-crime action programs out of \$1,400,000 (count 'em) coming to the state from the Federal Government.

He points out that Philadelphia will receive this puny amount despite the facts that the city has almost 25 percent of the State's total amount of serious crime; that its police department is more than double the size of the State police force; and that Philadelphia courts dispose of 40 percent of the serious criminal cases heard in the State.

This city—

Mr. O'Brien concludes—

has been shortchanged for so long and in so many ways by the rubes in Harrisburg that we could hardly be astonished by the latest outrage. Concerned citizens should bombard Gov. Raymond P. Shafer with protests but we cannot assure any results.

Mr. Speaker, this latest manifestation of injustice to the cities does not surprise me either; or anyone else who has been on the political scene any length of time. Inasmuch as it is the responsibility of the Congress to raise this money through taxation, I submit to you that it is likewise our responsibility to insure that in the end it goes to those areas which really need Federal assistance.

The editorial follows:

[From the Philadelphia Daily News, Apr. 17, 1969]

THE FAULTY FUNNEL

You could probably call it a classic example.

"It" is a classic example of the danger of funneling Federal funds through state capitals, especially Harrisburg.

In this instance, "it" is the distribution of Federal law enforcement funds for planning purposes. Pennsylvania will get \$880,000.

And how much of that sum will go to Philadelphia? A big fat \$82,419—that's how much.

If that does not disturb you how about this:

There are also reports that Philadelphia will receive a mere \$150,000 for anti-crime action programs out of \$1,400,000 (count 'em) coming to the state from the Federal Government.

We share the concern of the Crime Commission of Philadelphia at this wholly inequitable distribution of Federal funds.

As the Crime Commission observes, this allocation of funds completely ignores the incidence of crime in urban areas. For example, serious crimes in Philadelphia are almost 25 percent of the state's total.

As for other examples—this city's police department is more than double the size of the state police force, while Philadelphia courts dispose of 40 percent of the serious criminal cases heard in Pennsylvania.

This city has been shortchanged for so long and in so many ways by the rubes in Harrisburg that we should hardly be astonished by the latest outrage. Concerned citizens should bombard Gov. Raymond P. Shafer with protests but we cannot assure any results.

COOKEVILLE HERALD-CITIZEN ENDORSES CAMPAIGN TO HALT OUT-MIGRATION TO CITIES

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the Cookeville Herald-Citizen recently carried an editorial entitled "Tragedy of Our Times."

The article referred to two reports I had cited in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD earlier which point up the tragedy of millions of people being compelled for economic reasons to live in our major metropolitan areas when they would prefer to live in small towns and rural areas.

The Cookeville Herald-Citizen declares its support for H.R. 799, a bill which I introduced to provide tax incentives to business and industry locating and expanding in rural areas.

The editorial concludes:

In this electronic age, the age of the global village with instant communication and rapid transportation, one cannot help wondering when industrial America will heed the call and begin to spread out and give itself some elbow room.

The editorial follows:

[From the Cookeville (Tenn.) Herald-Citizen, Apr. 15, 1969]

TRAGEDY OF OUR TIMES

Earlier this year Congressman Joe L. Evins entered into the Congressional Record the results of two reports which, in his words, "underline the frustration of millions of Americans who are compelled to live in our big cities and metropolitan areas because of the lack of opportunities in many of our rural areas."

Rep. Evins reported that 82 percent of the American people would prefer to live in small towns and rural areas—if they could live anywhere they wanted to live. Only 15 percent chose the big cities.

The opinion poll was conducted by the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association by a New York research firm. The other

report was prepared at Rep. Evins' request by the Library of Congress.

The second report, Rep. Evins said, shows that metropolitan areas in big cities grew at a rate of 15 per cent while the growth rate of rural areas was 3.3 per cent.

Citing a decline in farm jobs—at a rate of 300,000 a year—the Library of Congress report concluded that 550,000 new jobs are needed each year if our young people are to be retained in their home area.

"The alternative is continued heavy migration from the countryside to the already overcrowded cities," the report added.

The reports that Rep. Evins placed on record truly tell of a tragedy in our times.

Big cities offer a magnetic attraction to the brightest and best educated of our rural youth. Anxious to pursue careers that challenge their talents, the youth leave the rural areas to the metropolitan cities. If they are successful, after years of pitting their nerves against the cities' noxious fumes, the traffic snarls and deafening roar of urban chaos, perhaps they will earn themselves a place in the suburbs. There, in a compromise with their urge to be free of the tensions of the city, they enjoy the comforts of a patch of lawn and a patio until it is time to ride the commuter trains back into the urban bedlam.

And if they are not successful, they live their lives out in crowded tenements, surrounded by thousands but friends of no one.

The alternatives, both for the gifted and the deprived, are few. One must work, and one must go where there are jobs.

Legislation, such as a tax incentive bill sponsored by Rep. Evins, can help play a part in encouraging new industry to locate in a smaller city, such as Cookeville.

But the statistics themselves offer another hope—they portend an eventual realization by industrial America that the small town is where the people's hearts are.

If people working together to manufacture a product are happier and well content to live in a small town, why not bring the industry to the people?

When this realization matures and bears fruit, the pendulum will begin to swing the other way.

In this electronic age, the age of the global village with instant communication and rapid transportation, one cannot help wondering when industrial America will heed the call and begin to spread out and give itself some elbow room.

EUGENE WILSON: TRILOGY ON AIR AND SPACE POWER

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, those who make great contributions for progress seldom publish adequate histories of the struggles in which they were participants. A notable exception was Comdr. Eugene E. Wilson, who, after a distinguished career in the Navy, resigned his commission, and rose to an eminent position in the aircraft industry.

Becoming interested in undertaking a broad study of air and nuclear policies through the efforts of Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal, Commander Wilson severed his connections with aircraft activities and devoted his full time to the study of the evolution of these policies, producing three notable volumes.

A book review of this trilogy by Capt. Miles P. Duval, Jr., U.S. Navy, retired, in the December 1967 issue of the *Explorers Journal* of New York, gives thumbnail sketches of their contents.

In order that the production of these highly important volumes may be more widely known to the reading public, I quote the indicated review as part of my remarks:

(NOTE.—Trilogy by Commander Eugene E. Wilson: *Slipstream*, 1950, 366 pages, \$5.00; *Wings of Dawn*, 1955, 175 pages, \$5.00; *Kitty Hawk to Polaris*, 1960, 231 pages, \$5.00. Literary Investors Guild, Palm Beach, Florida. Reviewed by Miles P. Duval, Jr. AcNR 1965, a frequent contributor to this Journal.)

Those who make history often fail to write the story of important developments in which they were leading participants. In this trilogy, Commander Wilson, whose life has covered the air-space age, and who was closely connected with aviation from 1924 to 1949 in responsible capacities, writes with the insight and authority of the professional in the fields to which he has devoted a lifetime of study and observation.

In *Slipstream*, which is largely autobiographical, one of its most moving parts is the story of the development of airpower in the U.S. Fleet, 1927-29, of which, as a young officer on the *Saratoga*, I was a witness. Reading his descriptions was like reliving those eventful years, which, in the perspective now possible, provided the foundation for victory in World War II in the Pacific.

In *Wings of Dawn*, Commander Wilson traces the evolution of United States air and space doctrine, attempts to demolish the assumption that Western civilization is doomed, emphasizes the Constitution of the United States, and hails its Preamble as stating our national purpose. One of its most moving features is his story of the helicopter as developed by Igor Sikorsky.

In *Kitty Hawk To Sputnik To Polaris*, Commander Wilson describes some of the efforts to bring air and nuclear power under control, to meet current threats to Constitutional liberty, and to provide a basis for the correct part of scientific research and technological development in the defense of Western Civilization.

Throughout this trilogy Commander Wilson gives generous tribute to those who, in significant degree, contributed, among them Dr. Charles E. Lucke, his former professor; Rear Admirals William A. Moffet and Joseph M. Reeves; Admirals William V. Pratt and C. W. Nimitz; and Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal.

Regardless of whether one concurs with all of his conclusions, the bringing together in proper perspective of facts of crucial importance as regards the evolution of air and space power which otherwise could be lost or distorted, is a major contribution to history, as well as fascinating reading for explorers, scientists, engineers, and historians.

SPRINGFIELD MAN IN HIGH POST OFFICE JOB

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, Ronald Barry Lee, a native of my home city of Springfield, Mass., has been named an Assistant Postmaster General to head the Post Office Department's new Bureau of Planning, Marketing, and Systems

Analysis. A remarkably able man, thoroughly schooled in both business and government, Mr. Lee will be responsible for planning more efficient and expeditious ways of running the Post Office Department. He is eminently qualified for the job. A West Point graduate, a former White House fellow, a full professor and assistant provost at Michigan State University, a Post Office Department expert in planning and systems analysis before joining the Michigan State faculty several years ago, Mr. Lee has demonstrated a wealth of administrative and technical skills. President Nixon could not have made a better appointment.

The Springfield Union last weekend published an article outlining Mr. Lee's remarkable career. With permission, Mr. Speaker, I include this article in the RECORD at this point:

SPRINGFIELD MAN IN HIGH POST OFFICE JOB

Ronald Barry Lee, Michigan State University professor appointed by President Nixon Thursday as one of three assistant postmasters general, graduated from Classical High School here in 1949.

His father, Kermit J. Lee of 51 Monroe St., is manager of the Longmeadow branch of Third National Bank of Hampden County. His mother is a secretary at DeBerry School.

Prof. Lee, 36, was New England boys tennis champion in 1950 while a student at Springfield College. That same year he was appointed to West Point, from which he graduated in 1954.

President Johnson named him a White House fellow in 1965 and he spent a year gaining experience in high government offices.

Lee is married to the former Joyce J. Thomas of New Rochelle, N.Y. They have two sons.

Lee rose to the rank of major after West Point and became chief of the Electronic Systems Section of the Army Materiel Command Headquarters in Washington.

He holds a masters degree in business administration from Syracuse University, studied Japanese and Spanish at the University of Maryland and completed graduate studies at American University.

In 1963 he was third prize winner in an international poetry contest.

He served in Okinawa for three years and in Vietnam for one.

Lee's father said Thursday night, "Naturally it's very gratifying to each and every member of the family. Now don't go putting in the word 'Negro' like UPI did today, just say 'merit.'"

"Nothing major happens in the Lee family without all us knowing about it and Ronnie had discussed the possibility of his appointment with me.

"If there is a swearing in, I think I would like to be present."

The father, who is a member of the Model Cities policy board here, became a bank guard after leaving his job as a waiter at the former Hotel Kimball.

He later became a teller and then manager. He has been an employee of Third National Bank for 26 years.

Assistant Postmaster General Lee has four brothers and sisters. Kermit, Jr., 34, is associate professor of architecture at Syracuse University. William A., 30, a graduate of the University of Massachusetts, is a supervisor with the New York City Board of Welfare. Judith, 24, is a products promoter with Lever Bros. in New York City and Deborah, 19, is a sophomore at Syracuse.

Lee's mother, the former Lillian Jackson, is a Springfield native, and his father is from Baltimore, Md.

THE NECESSITY OF FIRMNESS IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY AND READINESS IN OUR DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENT

HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, I have just returned from a visit to my district in southwestern Ohio. During that visit, I held two area community meetings to which the public generally was invited. Each was attended by over 300 people. In these meetings, a considerable period was set aside for questions from the floor. I answered these and allowed comments from the floor in connection with the questions.

At both of the meetings, there was discussion of the position taken by the United States in connection with the shooting down of the U.S. Navy plane in international waters off North Korea last week. The almost uniform reaction of those who spoke up and of others with whom I had an opportunity to converse at the meeting, was that the position taken by our country was morally correct and most likely to lead to a discontinuance of aggressive violations of international law against our Armed Forces, not only in the Sea of Japan, but elsewhere throughout the world. While some felt that a retaliatory strike, without further provocation, was justified, there seemed to be a general recognition that our responsibility in attempting to work our peaceful solutions to the crises in Asia called for the degree of restraint that we have thus far demonstrated.

Note was also taken of the cooperation and apparent desire of the Russians to cooperate in the search, and the establishment of the clear violation of international law which was involved. This was attributed, probably correctly, to the Russian self-interest in maintaining freedom of the seas in the area.

There was strong feeling that when U.S. units and personnel are sent into such an area of high risk, all possible protection should be made available, and there was an equally strong feeling that in the interest of safety of our own forces and of our allies in East Asia, intelligence-gathering missions in compliance with international law must be continued.

At these same meetings, there was protracted discussion of the administration's recommendation with regard to the development and deployment of the safeguard missile system. This decision was given very high marks by the great preponderance of those who attended. There were a number who opposed the safeguard decision who found that the crowd generally was very hostile to their views. While I provided answers to the questions of the system's critics, the majority of the people present also expressed support for the decision as a sound one likely to build the credibility of our deterrent capability and thereby to contribute toward positive disarmament discussion.

In other words, the sampling of public opinion of the people of my district who

attended the meetings would indicate strong support for the decisions taken by President Nixon on both of these issues. This is reassuring, for it demonstrates once again the restrained, yet committed, thinking of most Americans on the necessity of firmness in our foreign policy and readiness in our Defense Establishment. In the U.S. tradition, we are willing to let those who threaten and attack us have one strike, and even two strikes, but, as in our national game, on the third strike, you are out. The North Koreans and others who would engage in such attacks had best take notice.

HOSMER WRITES ON NUCLEAR POWER

HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, Electrical World magazine for April 14 carries that publication's annual round-up on U.S. nuclear power progress and prospects. One of the items in the issue is the following perceptive article written by our colleague, the ranking minority member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Representative HOSMER of California:

NUCLEAR DIFFICULTIES WILL BE SURMOUNTED—RANKING REPUBLICAN MEMBER OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY ASSESSES DIFFICULTIES FACING NUCLEAR POWER
(By Representative CRAIG HOSMER, U.S. Congress, representing 32d District of California)

Is nuclear power destined to become "Just a passing curiosity in the annals of history?" That phrase—from a speech by Brice O'Brien, General Counsel of the National Coal Association—caught my eye recently. The point he was making was that if we fail to develop fast breeder reactors, eventually we'll run out of uranium and nuclear power will become a museum exhibit.

I'm not quite that pessimistic. The development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy has been a high-priority national objective for almost 23 years now. And there can be no denying that it will continue to be such.

But Brice O'Brien's choice of words is useful to remind us that we do not yet have it made. Over-confidence about the future of nuclear power is a luxury we can't afford. The final success of this national venture will be determined as much by what we do in the next five or six years as what we have done in the past 23 years.

In this country today, there are only 13 operable civilian power reactors, capable of producing 2,723 Mw. Seven plants totaling 3,229 Mw capacity will come on the line this year. By the mid-1970's the total will soar to over 100 civilian power reactors generating more than 75,000 Mw.

If the nation's electric utilities can bring those new power plants on the line in an orderly fashion, and keep them there dependably, we will have succeeded. But it will be another matter if these new plants are plagued by a series of nicker-and-dime problems to the extent that the American public's growing appetite for power is unsatiated.

And there are other challenges ahead for the utilities. While they are engrossed with the problems of today—particularly bringing new capacity on the line—they also must come to grips with some major policy issues

which will affect not only succeeding generations of power production facilities but perhaps the entire structure of society in the period beyond the 1980's. The industry must make certain that it recognizes and meets the broader needs of society, beyond mere kilowatt production.

Last May, in a speech at the nuclear fuel conference in Oklahoma City, I said:

"I cannot fault the utilities for their enthusiasm for nuclear power. Basically, they are betting that the dynamism of the nuclear industry will continue to spawn technological and economic improvements and help alleviate environmental problems. Their hope is that five or six more years of experience will smooth out some of the wrinkles in the nuclear field, particularly on the regulatory side. I think it's a good bet—not a sure thing—but a very good bet nonetheless."

A recent annual report by Commonwealth Edison sums up what most utilities are looking for when they "go nuclear." It cites the following factors:

Reliability, safety and flexibility in meeting changes in load requirements;

Elimination of air pollution by an attractive and clean alternative;

Low cost, including nuclear power's more favorable economies of scale in large central power stations; and

Opportunities to enhance fuel economies through fuel fabrication efficiencies and skills learned by operating experience permitting improved fuel assembly arrangements.

Commonwealth Edison has had a generally positive experience with nuclear power. The Dresden-1 Station reached its 7.5 mills/kwh objective, and confidence was expressed it can break the 7-mill mark. But, Commonwealth Edison is a big utility which had the resources to be a pioneer, and it has developed a depth of experience and manpower which will be enormous value in its future nuclear expansion.

But one of the nagging questions which bothers the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and the Atomic Energy Commission is whether many newcomers to the field are fully aware of the short-term problems which may face them.

Over the long haul, almost all the reasons for going nuclear will prove valid. But the road may be rocky, and we want to make certain that utility management is taking the necessary steps to avoid brown-outs and related problems which could arise during the early 1970's when so much new capacity is scheduled.

LEAD TIMES ARE UNNECESSARILY LONG

I am confident that the utility management, by and large, is aware of the licensing and construction delays which seem to be so much a part of our early nuclear experience.

The AEC and the Joint Committee can help provide remedies for unnecessarily long licensing lead times. We can take steps to make certain that the regulatory framework is up to date, as the AEC is presently doing with an internal review of its licensing mechanism. Additional experience on the part of the reactor suppliers, the architect-engineer firms, the utilities and the licensing organizations also will help.

There are at least six factors which seem to have particular bearing on how nearly the original target date is hit: Score one "delay unit" for each "yes" answer:

1. Is it the first plant for the utility?
2. Is it the first plant for the manufacturer, or the first-of-a-kind?
3. Is it the first job for the architect-engineer?
4. Is it a non-turnkey job?
5. Are special licensing problems involved?
6. Are large engineering extrapolations involved? There also appears to be a loose correlation between construction delay and later plant availability rates.

Irrespective of their cause, the burden falls

squarely on utility management to anticipate shortages from delays in getting new plants on the line. They may have to arrange outside purchases, plan to postpone older plant retirements, and obtain whatever supplementary generating capacity they can lay their hands on. It won't come quickly or cheaply.

MATURING PERIOD MUST BE ANTICIPATED

Although utility management may be appreciating and anticipating the slippage problem, it seems to have little sensitivity to a further problem threatening to adversely affect the availability of nuclear megawatts, even after their new plants get on the line.

To understand it, one only need recall the situation which developed a few years ago when high temperature steam was introduced. In this case, as with most others involving introduction of a new technology, there proved to be a three-to-five-year "maturing period" during which problems inevitably arose. Plants were down unexpectedly, and reliability and plant availability simply were not up to par.

A shake-down period is the characteristic of any new technology, and achieving fully reliable operation during the first few years of plant life cannot really be counted upon. This has been the experience so far with the few nuclear plants which have been put on the line. To expect much more from the plants now under construction or on order would seem to be unduly optimistic. Plants on the line 80 percent or more of the time will be a characteristic of the last half of the 1970's, rather than the first half.

Utilities should come to appreciate the maturing-period problem as they now appreciate the slippage problem. In both cases, because large plant sizes are involved, large blocks of power have to be made up. Other losses will be commensurate with the amount of capital tied up in idle and unproducing capacity. This is more costly after a plant goes on the line than before, if for no other reason than that the capital investment has been fully made.

DOWNTIME COSTS ARE HIGH

American Electric Power Company's wise old owl, Phillip Sporn, now a consultant, has produced a thumb rule on the cost of downtime. He asserts that on a million kw nuclear plant downtime will cost its owner \$2 million per month. Others figure it as high as \$4 million per month or as low as \$700,000, depending on capital charges and the source of make-up power.

There is another category of nuclear costs that some utilities will incur, and will incur simply because management has not exercised the foresight to avoid them. These will arise from plant downtime traceable to poor workmanship, faulty materials or poor design.

QUALITY CONTROL NEEDS PROPER FRAME OF MIND

The problem, of course, is not that we cannot properly design and build nuclear power stations that meet cost, reliability and other requirements. The problem, as those of us in Washington see it, is that we may not have developed the proper frame of mind toward quality consciousness, or the quality control procedures necessary to guarantee that every plant is fully debugged when it goes on the line, and that every part and piece works right, works right the first time, and keeps on working right.

When a bad valve develops in a nuclear plant, the utility will find itself confronted with a new set of problems. In a conventional plant, such a minor problem may require a short downtime and perhaps a report to the plant superintendent. But the solution may be infinitely more complicated in a nuclear plant. And whatever the problem, it is certain to involve a sheaf of reports sent to the AEC, visits by compliance inspectors, and a variety of other time-consuming chores.

There are hundreds of components and thousands of sub-components both on the nuclear steam supply side and the conventional generator side of these plants. Substantially all of them must work properly and in unison with all others. Otherwise, down goes the plant and up goes an immediate requirement for a vast quantity of substitute power.

It is obvious that an appreciation of the cost of downtime versus the cost of assuring quality of material, workmanship and design should be on every utility executive's mind from the moment he first starts thinking nuclear. It should be on his mind every minute during design and construction. It is a matter that cannot be left to the simple expectation that the architect-engineer, reactor manufacturer, and component suppliers will do their jobs. As buyers, utility companies are no different than any others. They will get exactly the quality they are shrewd enough to insist upon—and no more.

In emphasizing the need for quality assurance, the AEC's director of reactor development and technology, Milton Shaw, points not to industry alone, but readily admits prior AEC shortcomings in this regard. Poor quality control factored serious delays, troubles and cost overruns into many earlier installations.

Consider the San Onofre nuclear power station, which after only minor difficulties has proved satisfactory on the nuclear side, but which has been plagued by a series of nit-picking non-nuclear problems. First, the turbine blades proved faulty, then certain power cable overheated; a fire resulted and more costly delay ensued. There are plenty of similar examples.

Outside of safety considerations, there is no greater need in the nuclear power business than for the highest possible degree of quality assurance. The cost figures I have cited should be reason enough, even if we did not have the national objective of high reliability. This lesson must be learned by every utility management, and it should be learned before commitment—not during construction or after a plant goes on the line. If it isn't learned from another's painful experience, it will be learned first-hand.

This is why the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy regularly sounds warnings and why AEC is planning a series of management seminars on the subject in the near future.

I am sure one thing the AEC will make perfectly clear in these seminars is that its licensing system is concerned with the safety of a plant, but the reliability and economics of the plant are the concern of the applicant utility. From the commission's safety standpoint, a plant can be safe and shut-down. From the utility's economic standpoint, it must be safe and running.

What is written above is simply a frank assessment of certain difficulties facing the nuclear power business. The conventional power business shares them in large degree. None are insurmountable. Some may be unique in character, but none are unique in magnitude compared with other problems facing other industries.

These difficulties will be surmounted and a base laid for a relatively trouble-free new round of large nuclear power plant orders. The growing pains of youth will be forgotten as nuclear electric technology and management skills mature.

THE FUTURE HOLDS NEW CHALLENGE

Already becoming visible are new challenges of the future to succeed those of the present. It is not too early to devote some thought to their nature and to make some preparations to face them.

Their outlines still are blurred, but these new challenges seem to arise from the nation's increasing awareness of and concern over its total environment—physical and sociological as well as economic and political:

A growing belief by alert corporate leaders that business, for its own survival, must assume greater responsibility for the social well-being of cities and their citizens is cited by the counsel to the president, Dr. Arthur Burns.

The remarkable growth in influence of the Sierra Club and similar organizations evidence widespread public desire for the conservation of non-urban areas.

Pollution and its ecological consequences are topics of general conversation, the thermal aspects of which the nuclear community has been made acutely aware.

By public demand, esthetics, as well as safety, increasingly are being made considerations in plant siting and power transmission.

These few examples and almost every day's news are harbingers of the new and changing climate of complex public attitudes to which utilities may have to accommodate during the years ahead.

My feeling is that the utility executive of the future will have worries beyond supplying dependable power at low cost, financing, moving his bright young men ahead in the service clubs, contending with regulators and urging his employees to help the united crusade. He may not go so far as to add a sociologist, and ecologist or an environmental engineer to the company staff. He may not retain consultants on art, esthetics and natural beauty.

But he may have to sharpen his own sensitivities in all these areas and more. He will have to respond to the wants and needs of the total community for his product. In doing so, he may have to respond to that community's many new desires. He will need to design, construct and operate his system—from the generating station to the ultimate consumer—in a manner which neither offends the total environment nor fails to uplift the human spirit.

And that's a big order!

INDIANA DUNES NATIONAL LAKE SHORE

HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter of interest:

CHESTERTON, IND.,
April 16, 1969.

Congressman EARL F. LANDGREBE,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR EARL: When I think of a National Park I think of wide open spaces with trees, mountains, streams and lakes, filled with wildlife; like deer, bear, squirrel, rabbit, ducks and fish and with all the other things that go with the unspoiled countryside.

It strikes me that the Indiana Dunes National Lake Shore is in the most stupid possible place for locating a National Park. Our National Government is spending exorbitant sums of money in an attempt to create a National Park between steel mills and railroad yards on handkerchief-sized parcels of ground. Right now the United States representatives are going through our area, buying business buildings and commercial enterprises which have been going for 40 years in order to knock down the buildings and turn the same into a National Park. It strikes me that the United States could get a lot more park for the money if the Park were located where a park ought to be. \$50,000.00 an acre is altogether too much money to pay for National Park land, especially when it cannot

possibly be anything but a terrible excuse for a park when it is completed. With all the wonderful spots in this country, where a National Park could be located to an advantage, why do some people want to destroy an already existing industrial area to create a park that cannot possibly be a park.

Yesterday afternoon I washed my car. This morning there was a 1/16 inch of industrial dust on top of the hood and roof of the car. This just is no place for a National Park.

I urge you to do all in your power to stop any further purchases of land in this area for a National Lake Shore. If this were stopped it would not be necessary to raise the National Debt Limit quite as much as it was raised the other day. If this National Lake Shore were stopped the United States would not have to go on paying interest on the money for an indefinite time.

I want to be understood that I am all in favor of having National Parks, but I want them at a place where they can be appropriately situated and properly used and where the people can get their money's worth from such parks. Not only is the National Lake Shore an utter and stupid waste of money which cannot possibly do any good as a park, but it further sabotages one of our country's prime industrial and commercial areas.

Please, let us stop it where it is.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

MALCOLM E. ANDERSON.

IT WONDERS ME

HON. EDWIN D. ESHLEMAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. ESHLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, I think my colleagues will be interested in some most important points raised in a speech by Mr. James H. Binns, president of Armstrong Cork Co., Lancaster, Pa. Mr. Binns looks objectively at the trends of the current decade and relates these trends to us as a challenge for our times. He has done this by utilizing a traditional Pennsylvania Dutch phrase which denotes skepticism in varying degrees. That phrase is, "It wonders me." I would like to introduce the remarks of Mr. Binns into the RECORD for the material is certainly worthy of consideration by the Congress as we seek to evaluate our efforts of the past in the process of determining new thrusts for American society.

IT WONDERS ME

As we approach the end of the current decade of the 20th Century, we can look back with some perspective on the '60s—look back and try to appraise objectively the emerging trends and development of this period in our nation's history. Dubbed as the "Soaring '60s" by the forecasters, these last ten years really have been more roaring than soaring.

The '60s were a decade of change—rapid change of such scope and magnitude as to challenge the imagination and defy prediction—change that affected every element of our society, its institutions, its basic concepts, its economic structure, its innermost standards of moral and ethical conduct.

From a technological point of view, it was a decade of great progress, marked by breakthroughs of fantastic implication, ranging from space exploration to heart transplants, to mention only two.

It was an age of great social and humanitarian effort in which we mounted gigantic programs at home to wipe out the injustices of discrimination and to ease the plight of the disadvantaged in our midst.

It also was an age of great dedication to the betterment of humanity's conditions abroad, an age in which we continued to share our wealth with less fortunate sister nations with generous grants of foreign aid.

With such an array of idealistic objectives and such a massive commitment of resources, we had every reason to expect the decade of the '60s to emerge as a golden age in our history. Unfortunately, our attempts at alchemy did not succeed—and I am afraid that the period is likely to go down in history as one more characterized by failures than by successes.

Incongruous as it may seem, I suspect that historians will characterize the decade of the '60s as being an undisciplined era—a period of fiscal, economic and military misadventure, a period of political inopportunism, a period of social anarchism. This is a far cry from the dreams of the New Frontier and the aspirations of the Great Society, and it's only natural that we ask ourselves why, where, and how did we fall?

Here in Lancaster County the Pennsylvania Dutchman, in the language of his forebears, has an expression of incredulity that I think pretty well summarizes our national state of mind today. That expression is, "It wonders me!"

It does wonder me—and I am sure it wonders you, too—that the means we have pursued proved so incapable of reaching the ends we desired. And that leads me to a number of specific enigmas.

It wonders me that in waging our war on poverty we came so close to vanquishing prosperity, or at least to undermining its fiscal and financial foundation. While the specific new war on poverty programs involved annual expenditures of only \$2-plus billions, they represented an add-on to an already inflated commitment.

The Economic Division of the Library of Congress, taking the data from the government budget documents, reports the total Federal expenditures for low income groups were \$11.9 billion in 1964, rose to \$22.1 billion in 1968, and are expected to reach \$24.4 billion this year.

Even these figures, large as they are, do not tell the whole story of government social-welfare spending. Taking into account all forms of government social aid—relief, social insurance, educational assistance, child welfare and vocational rehabilitation, veterans' benefits, housing aids, health and medical assistance—the Federal bill in 1968 was \$61 billion. State and local government outlays that same year were \$51.4 billion, pushing the overall government total to \$112.4 billion. Adding in the \$50.7 billion of private welfare outlays, the grand total in 1968 was \$163.1 billion, or 19.8 percent of the nation's output of goods and services.

Desirable as our assistance objectives were—and I certainly have no argument against their worthiness—the fact was that the spiraling costs of welfare have had to be superimposed on a mounting defense budget. And the result, which seems to me was quite predictable, was that we overheated our economy and created inflationary pressures which are highly threatening.

This inflationary spiral is frightening because once it begins to accelerate, it is not easy to curb. It creates a psychology that the trend is inevitable—a sort of hot-money mass hysteria which feeds on itself. Inflation is the faceless tax collector that levies its toll on everyone and everything—the individual citizen, business enterprises, social institutions and government—hazarding both domestic and foreign commitments.

Looking back, I think it wonders all of us that so many of our anti-poverty missiles

have been so badly off target that they have injured the very troops they were designed to support.

Inflation hits particularly hard at the poor or low-income people, and as such, represents an anti-poverty missile gone wild, and there are other similar examples.

In the field of low-cost housing and urban renewal, for example, we have for two decades been attempting to do it the Federal way, with laws and appropriations. The result has been that slums have been razed, but many thousands of poor have been left homeless. They have been forced to move into already overcrowded housing units. Their situation has worsened—not improved. In his book, "The Federal Bulldozer," Dr. Martin Anderson, now a Special Assistant to the President, says that from 1950 to 1960 approximately 126,000 low-rent dwelling units were destroyed in urban renewal projects. The replacement units that were constructed were less than one-fourth the number destroyed. And most of these were of the high-rent variety.

This is merely a case of history repeating itself. Back in 1884, England's great philosopher, Herbert Spencer, reported that the Metropolitan Board of Works—the 19th Century British equivalent of today's urban renewal programs—spent 1¼ million pounds to unhouse 21,000 persons and provide new homes for 12,000, leaving 9,000 homeless. These displaced persons, like their 20th Century counterparts, were forced to move into already overcrowded dwelling units. It wonders me that we can't seem to learn from history.

Another example of a legislative social missile injuring those it was designed to help is the Federal Minimum Wage Law. Steadily increased with the enthusiastic support of organized labor, it does little to benefit the skilled, but it does much to injure the unskilled by forcing automation and thus removing from the marketplace many of the only jobs that this latter group is qualified to perform.

The farm subsidy program is another example of a missile being off target. A hold-over from the Depression, with little justification for existence in today's world, it costs about \$7 billion a year, and millions of moderate- and low-income families are taxed to support it, to say nothing of paying higher costs for their food. And this hits particularly hard at the low-income or indigent families in our midst.

In the international field, it wonders we if we are too big or too little for the britches we wear. Whether we like it or not, we have accepted the dual role of banker and policeman throughout the free world. But I am not sure that we have accepted the responsibilities that go with these roles.

While we have been generous in our distribution of foreign aid grants, we haven't always really followed through to make certain that the aid was used for the purpose intended. And this simply isn't good banking practice. Moreover, as the keystone of the free world's financial structure, we have an international obligation to protect the security of the dollar; and I submit that that is something we simply haven't done.

With respect to our free world policeman's responsibilities, we are deeply involved in a major war in Vietnam—an unpopular war that has never been properly explained to the American people.

Another crisis threatens Berlin in the wake of Russia's ruthless invasion of Czechoslovakia.

And the embers of war continue to smolder in the Middle East.

The situation in Korea is far from tranquil—an uneasy truce that encouraged North Korea to feel strong and daring enough to challenge the United States with the shocking Pueblo incident.

The NATO Alliance is in disarray, and

there is increasing doubt as to the willingness of our allies to shore up the defenses.

Underlying the total situation is the nagging suspicion that Russia or China—perhaps both in concert—may choose some entirely new front to test our national will.

And that leads me to the point I would like to make: I am not at all sure the world believes we do have a national will. To the outsider, we are a divided nation—a nation of doves, a nation of hawks.

While our objective is peace, I can't help but believe that this divisiveness—this lack of a united front—is the biggest bar to peace that we could have. Without an unmistakable and clearly defined national will, I question our effectiveness as the free world's policeman.

Leaving the international situation, as a businessman, it wonders me that private enterprise has proved sufficiently enterprising to bear the shackles of governmental interference and monopolistic labor practices and still continue to move forward. Indeed, it's a tribute to the energy and ingenuity of the American businessman that despite these roadblocks and impediments, he's been able to improve both the quality and quantity of his production. The real question is how long can he continue to do so.

One aspect of government regulation of business that's not widely understood is the great restrictive power exercised by the quasi-judicial governmental agencies. A good example is the National Labor Relations Board which, by its decisions, has in the last eight to ten years virtually rewritten the labor law that Congress enacted.

Dr. Sylvester Petro, a widely respected Professor of Law at New York University, believes it is both unconstitutional and impractical to merge judicial power into an executive agency such as the NLRB. It is unconstitutional because judicial and executive powers are supposed to be separated, and impractical because the Board is acting in the dual role of prosecutor and judge.

Dr. Petro concludes by saying: "If Congress wishes to escape the fate of the British House of Lords, and to preserve the representative character of this government, it must respect and enforce the principle of the separation of powers."

Congress as now constituted is not likely to take corrective action. The majority of both the House and the Senate are indebted to and influenced by the lobby of big labor. Big labor has this great political clout primarily because unions and union political action organizations can and do spend millions of dollars in furthering the election of candidates who are friendly to their causes. This is a privilege accorded to no other group in our nation, and it represents a continuing threat to our concept of truly representative government.

On a broader scale, it wonders me how some people can feel that we can improve our society by destroying it. And we know that destruction is the prime aim of the extreme militants—the New Left and the Students for a Democratic Society. Leaders of SDS have quite frankly admitted that their goal is to tear down—to destroy—present day society, without having the slightest idea of what they would put in its place. They apparently just assume that something better will rise, like a phoenix from the ashes.

In recent years we've seen ample evidence that the forces of destruction are real and virulent. We've seen it in the burned-out sectors of dozens of our major cities. We've seen it in the burning of draft cards—in the desecration of the American flag—in hundreds of violent demonstrations. We've seen it in campus disorders that have disrupted classroom work from coast to coast, and in several instances completely closed great universities for periods of time. Yes, and we now see the forces of destruction spreading their influence to the high school level.

It would seem that SDS and New Left leaders have deliberately confused obscene profanity with free speech, have substituted mass violence for orderly dissent, have equated destruction with progress.

The real tragedy of all of this is that the maelstrom of destruction has engulfed many dedicated, gifted and potentially good young people—young people who should know the difference between right and wrong—young people from good homes who should recognize and understand that a society can be no better than its moral and ethical underpinnings.

In my judgment, these young people are the innocent victims of our modern philosophy of permissiveness—a philosophy that spawned a form of parental psychosis under which too many parents have come to believe that it may be harmful to Johnny's ego to let him know in unmistakable terms what's right and what's wrong.

These are the parents who, in effect, have subcontracted the upbringing of their children to the schools—institutionalizing, rather than personalizing their guidance during the formative years. And, unfortunately, too many of our educators have followed the pragmatic approach of conveying knowledge without understanding—teaching facts without historical or contemporary relevance—encouraging the spinning of fantasies of what might be without subjecting them to tests of reality.

In our modern-day world, we do little to equip young people to distinguish between what is morally right and morally wrong. And I can't help but believe that the fundamental fault lies with the parents in the home—parents who, knowingly or unknowingly, have abrogated their basic parental responsibilities.

It truly wonders me—wonders me deeply—that so many of us seem to feel that being free from responsibility, free from duty and obligation, free from accountability, is preferable to being free to be responsible, free to be accountable for one's own self-respect, free to be one's own man.

It wonders me that some 140 million middle-class Americans who comprise the great majority of our citizens—who represent the warp and woof of our society—don't recognize the responsibility of social and political involvement—personal involvement as parents—personal involvement as citizens.

Although our society represents the nearest approach to Utopia that mankind has ever achieved, it has its imperfections, its injustices, its smugnesses, its hostilities, and its very real perils.

If we were to emphasize the negative, a comparison of our trends with those which led to the decline and fall of Ancient Rome is frightening:

Excessive spending by the central government;

Unwillingness of the young to bear arms in defense of the country;

Widespread sexual immorality, which destroyed the integrity of family life;

The spread of effeminacy; and,

The disregard for religion.

Regrettably, many of those trends are evident in our society today. But there is one major difference between the society of Ancient Rome and that of our modern-day life. The Roman Empire's wealth came from the sweat of slaves and the loot of conquest—not from the innovative techniques that have resulted in increased productive output. Coupled with this was the utter scorn which the Romans—as well as the Greeks before them—had for the artisans and the tradesmen—the producers of their society.

In contrast, ours is a society of free men, and our affluence is the result of innovative entrepreneurship. It is a working society—a society that honors the producer and rewards him in proportion to his contribution—a so-

ciety that believes in the fundamental dignity of the individual, the inalienable rights of the human being, the sanctity of law and order as the only rational approach.

That kind of society is worth preserving, worth working for—not to maintain the status quo, but to continue to move forward, to improve, to recognize and correct our deficiencies through orderly, introspective individual commitment.

This we can do if we want to, and this we must do if we are to preserve the values we profess to hold dear.

What is needed is commitment by the now uncommitted—individual involvement and personal dedication to the solution of our problems and the enhancement of opportunity for all Americans.

With what is at stake, it should wonder all of us if we don't accept and prove equal to the challenge.

"THE REAL EISENHOWER," BY
FRANK L. KLUCKHOHN

HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of the House a review of a new book, "The Real Eisenhower," by Frank L. Kluckhohn. The review appeared in the Philadelphia Bulletin of April 10.

Incidentally, Mr. Speaker, I was astounded recently to read in a nationally syndicated column that the same Frank Kluckhohn was maligned without cause and by innuendo was accused of being a neo-Nazi. The charge, of course, is utterly ridiculous and without foundation. I have known Frank Kluckhohn since the days we found ourselves under attack on the cruiser, *Louisville*, during World War II, I as chaplain and he as war correspondent for the New York Times. As I recall those days, I remember that Frank received a high commendation from the ship's captain, Captain Hicks, as he left the *Louisville*.

The attack against Frank seemed to be directed against a new association he has formed along with such distinguished writers and reporters as Walter Trohan and Edgar Ansell Mowrer. The new group calls for the formation of a press ethics committee which I am certain we would all agree is an excellent idea.

Having received permission, the book review follows:

PERCEPTIVE STUDY OF EISENHOWER

(By Saul Kohler)

WASHINGTON, April 9.—Two weeks before General Eisenhower's death, Frank L. Kluckhohn and Donald Ackerman put the finishing touches on a biography of the former President, and the product was stored in a warehouse to await the inevitable.

As a consequence, even as the funeral was taking place, booksellers across the country were stocking their shelves with "The Real Eisenhower," a readable and highly informative little work which sums up the general-statesman-politician-educator in one sentence: "Ike was a very human guy."

Too often, when a national hero dies (or even while he still lives), his biographers attempt to give the impression he could walk on water. On the other hand, there often is

an attempt to be hypercritical in an effort to push the sale of books by injecting controversy where it doesn't exist and magnifying it where it does.

This is not the case here. As Kluckhohn, a long-time Washington correspondent for the New York Times and an even longer-time observer and participant in national politics, points out, one pays for leadership with the loss of friends.

So it was with Dwight David Eisenhower, who sometimes has been called a mediocre officer, an ineffective politician and a do-nothing President who avoided making decisions.

The biography notes that as general and as President, Eisenhower did what he thought was right, even though on several occasions he tried to protect the men he liked.

Kluckhohn himself was suspended for 10 days as a war correspondent by the supreme commander after writing something which Ike didn't like, yet the author displays an admiration for the man who came from the heart of America eventually to control its entire nervous system—and that of the free world.

When he left office, General Eisenhower was the most admired, and yet the most criticized, man in the nation. Despite the criticism, and despite the physical ailments which began to manifest themselves even while he was the tenant at the White House, he probably could have won a third term if he had wanted it and were it not for the constitutional limitation on the Presidency.

The biography points out that General Eisenhower made mistakes and President Eisenhower made mistakes. But it notes, too, that he was good for the country, and that he did what he thought right.

As a military commander, General Eisenhower could send an officer home or to another station if he so desired. As a politician he had to use other methods. To his credit, and to the credit of Mr. Nixon, the differences were resolved and teamwork prevailed.

Indeed, the general's indorsement of Mr. Nixon last year probably was what iced the cake for the President. This despite the national defeat in 1960 and the California loss two years later in a race for governor which almost everyone had urged Mr. Nixon to forego.

To General Eisenhower, the 1968 election was a final "win" and it embodied his sentiments that an individual cannot and must not reject what he considers to be a genuine desire by his party for him to bear the standard.

The biography quotes Churchill as having said of his political enemy Neville Chamberlain that the sincerity of a man is a shield to his memory, and with such a shield, he marches in the ranks of honor.

Because he was sincere—though a human guy capable of making mistakes as well as being the darling of a nation and a world—the biography concludes that Dwight Eisenhower was entitled to join these ranks—"as man, soldier and President . . . he always marched and always shall."

TRIBUTE TO ROBERT LEE'S PUBLIC SERVICE TO SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the task of securing sufficient water for southern California's ever-increasing populace, and protecting the water rights of the supplying agencies, has fallen to many

men over the years. It is a continuing battle which requires great dedication and determination, and I wish to remark now on one such individual who possesses those qualities in abundance.

The gentleman I refer to is Robert Lee, of Los Angeles, who retired this week as general manager of the Colorado River Association. This organization is composed of civic leaders who support the purposes and programs of the six public agencies which own rights to take water from the Colorado River for the benefit of some 10 million residents of southern California.

For the past 6 years Bob Lee has devoted immeasurable time, energy and talent to that job. Actually, his work for the association began more than 20 years ago, and it was about that time when I first made his acquaintance. Those were turbulent years for the Colorado River Basin States—quite unlike the comparative calm which blesses the seven-State region today. His efforts then and throughout the succeeding years were immensely helpful to me and my fellow members of the Californian delegation who had to carry the battle to Congress.

Bob saw much of his toil rewarded last year when S. 1004, the Colorado River Basin Project Act, was passed by the Congress and signed into law with the complete support of California. Now he has decided to devote full time to his principal position as assistant to the general manager of the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power.

So, while we may regret that he is relinquishing the association's reins, we can also be gladdened by the fact that he will maintain a lively interest in California's water problems. His expertise on Colorado River water matters, I might say here, dates back some 40 years, back to the start of the Boulder Canyon—Hoover Dam—project; the initiation of plans for the Colorado River aqueduct; the formation of the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, and subsequent milestones.

We will welcome his counsel and benefit from it.

FOSTER PARENTS DAY

HON. RICHARD FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, thousands of young people are indebted to the care they received from foster parents. For many of these young people, their childhood years would have been spent in various institutions, had it not been for the concern of foster parents.

Under the legislation I have joined in sponsorship, the third Sunday in October of each year would be designated as Foster Parents Day.

Not only would such a day serve as a day of honor for foster parents, but it would give our local officials who administer the program an opportunity to explain how the foster parents plan func-

tions, creating better understanding within the community. In addition, such recognition would give the foster parents themselves a feeling of being a more integral part of the department with which they work.

In view of the tremendous contribution which foster parents make to the youth of this country, it is my hope the Congress will take this opportunity to see that this program receives the recognition which would be provided through a national Foster Parents Day.

THE ANNUAL CONGRESSIONAL SECRETARIES DINNER DANCE

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, April 12, the Congressional Secretaries Club wined and dined and danced, honored one of their bosses and two of their coworkers at the annual Congressional Secretaries Club dinner dance, attended by more than 700 at the Shoreham Hotel.

Senator EDMUND S. MUSKIE, Democrat, of Maine, was "The Man of the Year," and received a plaque from CSC President Molly Parker, who is my executive secretary. The Senator remained throughout the long night and won many new friends, not only by his remarks extolling the virtues of the secretary corps on the Hill, but by his warm demeanor and obvious interest. As an adjunct to the Muskie award, Library of Congress Poetry Consultant William Jay Smith, who penned the inscription on the plaque, entertained with some sophisticated poetry and patter.

Roll Call Editor Sidney Yudain presented the Secretary of the Year Award to Ann Algott Sullivan, for some years an aide to Senator Carlson, of Kansas, and now with Representative KEITH SEBELIUS, of Kansas. Mrs. Sullivan became the 10th recipient of this award. A special Roll Call appreciation plaque was awarded to William H. Hackett, Cederberg, Mich., one of the founders of the CSC, who is retiring this year. Unfortunately, Hackett had left the hall, and the award was accepted for him by President Molly Parker.

Virginia Butler—Ways and Means—emceed the door prize proceedings, and the first vice president, Jim Gavin, banquet chairman, was the toastmaster. Comedian Mark Russell perked up the proceedings which, because of the cherry blossom festivities and parking problems, got off to a late start. Mark's material is made to order for the congressional crowd, which was enthusiastic.

I would like to include Molly's remarks and Senator MUSKIE's response in the Extensions of Remarks of the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests, My Friends: It is my privilege and pleasure to introduce to you tonight our "Man of the Year," Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine.

There is something very Lincoln-esque about Edmund Sixtus Muskie, and I wonder if his parents knew that he was going to be

"sixtus" foot and four when he was given that middle name. Senator Muskie's liberal philosophy, his deep concern for people, and his warm friendliness have helped him capture the popular imagination.

Senator Muskie began his political career when he was elected to the Maine House of Representatives in 1946, where he served as Minority Leader from 1949 to 1951. He made swift progress up the ladder and was the first Democrat to be elected as Governor of Maine; and then was the first Democrat to be elected to the United States Senate from that State, where he is serving his second term. This reminds me of the candidate who was so warmly winding up his speech with this statement: "And in conclusion, my fellow citizens, I want to state that I was born a Democrat, always have been a Democrat, and expect to die a Democrat." A heckler called back: "Not very ambitious, are you?" Senator Muskie is the man who has written all of the major legislation on air and water pollution. He is probably the most knowledgeable man in the Senate on the urban crisis. He is the "midwife" and sponsor of the Model Cities Bill. On the Machiasport Oil Port, he has been accused of pouring trouble on oiled waters. He offered to make an honest trade with Texas and Louisiana, when he said, "Let Maine refine oil, and we will let you refine maple sugar." Last fall, he was active as the Vice Presidential candidate, and he made the strongest impact of any other Vice Presidential candidate in the history of this country. Due to his sensitivity to other people's problems, he is the most sought-after public speaker in the country. He has already covered 27 states, the District of Columbia, England, Canada, and Japan. Since January 5th, he has made 60 major addresses, and he now receives about 600 invitations each month. You can understand why we are so honored to have him set aside time to be with us this evening to receive this award of "Man of the Year," which is evidence that a loser can be a winner.

Senator Muskie, on behalf of the Congressional Secretaries Club, I wish to present to you this award, which reads:

"The Congressional Secretaries Club is proud to present this award, 'The 1969 Man of the Year' to the Honorable Edmund S. Muskie, Senator, United States Congress, Democrat, State of Maine:

"When Senator Muskie came out of Maine
He stood so tall with a view so clear
He won a country if not a campaign
And became for all the man of the year.

"Molly B. Parker,

"President.

"APRIL 12, 1969."

REMARKS BY SENATOR EDMUND S. MUSKIE

When I learned that I was to receive your man of the year award, I was, of course, flattered.

My staff, curiously, thought it must be a practical joke. I reassured them. If the award were unjustified, I reasoned, it was their fault; there was a credibility gap only because they had done too good a job for me.

That appeared to satisfy them. I have found that a little flattery goes a long way, and as a modest man I am uncomfortable being excessive. You have to understand that I had thanked them all for their good work at my annual Christmas party—in 1959.

I am, of course, very dependent upon my staff. It is just in their own best interest that I don't tell them so. After all, one inflated ego in my office is enough.

Now that I have satisfied my own staff, the award gives me a vehicle for blackmail. They may not agree with your choice, but as long as the rest of you are satisfied, then I have the upper hand.

I must confess, it was a difficult last-minute decision to come here tonight. I was reminded that the President is in Florida and that the Senior Senator from Massachusetts

is in Alaska—the perfect time to seize the Government. In the end, however, my sense of fair play prevailed. The President already has enough trouble—planning the start of his administration, and Senator Kennedy has a revolt on his hands in Alaska.

Seriously though, each of us likes to be appreciated by those with whom we work. And on behalf of all my colleagues in both bodies I want to thank all of you—not that we already haven't demonstrated our appreciation this year. We thought so much of you and your good work that we voted ourselves a pay raise.

More than anything else, however, I am impressed that you picked a losing vice presidential candidate to honor tonight. I must say, the award does help compensate for the disappointment of last fall. But I can't help wondering who you would have chosen if Mr. Humphrey had won.

Incidentally, I understand that Vice President Humphrey also was honored by your organization in recent years. I trust your recognition is not a prelude to similar fates for others.

As I said, I am grateful for this award. No one knows Congressmen and Senators better than you—which causes me to marvel that you give an award at all. That you do so tells more about you than about those of us who you have honored.

Honestly, I think this is a case of the tail wagging the dog. If such awards are to be made, they should be presented by Congressmen to their Secretaries.

All of us, in large measure, reflect as much the quality of our staffs as we do our own talents.

The relationships between bosses and our staffs is unique. I doubt that any group of 535 men and women could be more demanding or hold higher expectations of performance by those who work with us.

I suspect that the degree of personal commitment, loyalty, and genuine affection, on both sides of the fence, is unmatched in any other profession.

In a very real sense, each office is a small business—an entrepreneurship. The dividends if there are any, are paid only every other year or every six years.

So we share always an uncertain future under demanding conditions and the pressures of time, performance and service.

In a real sense, therefore, all of you are partners in the legislative and political processes, and without you there would be no Congress as we know it today.

In this spirit I accept your award with appreciation and gratitude.

NEW APPROACHES PROPOSED FOR OVERCOMING RIGIDITY OF PRESIDENT PARTITION IN EASTERN EUROPE

SPEECH OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 15, 1969

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the fundamental American principle has been the self-determination of nations. In its name, mindful of the disappointing experiences of the last 25 years, we have to condemn as ineffectual and dangerously offensive the division of the world into spheres of influence among the major powers. Conceived at Teheran and Yalta as a four-power system, that master plan has further degenerated into a confrontation of the two super-

powers maintaining a precarious balance through mutual intimidation. Accordingly, instead of unification, the European continent was partitioned into two halves hostile to one another, and that deplorable split is enforced right now by unopposed armed Soviet intervention.

No lasting peace can be built on such foundation. The Soviet Union fails to support American endeavors to restore stability in troubled areas. For over 20 years Russia has sabotaged the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and has extended, instead of ending, the Russian military occupation of East and Central Europe. Seeds of new wars have been meanwhile planted in distant corners of the world, like the protracted partition of entire nations in Korea and Vietnam for the sake of expediency and an endless conflict has developed in the divided land of Palestine. Day-by-day conflicts are incited, sustained, and exploited by an obdurate Soviet Union, bidding her time successfully.

In these last 8 years we have suffered several painful reverses. The Cuban fiasco has undermined the validity of the Monroe Doctrine and has precipitated the alienation of France from NATO; the ensuing evacuation of the American rocket launching sites from Turkey prompted the latter to seek the friendship of the Soviet Union; the long coveted penetration of the Mediterranean area by the Russian fleet was arrogantly accomplished and threatens now to outflank our NATO allies. Eight years ago, our nuclear weapons were set up as far as a thousand miles to the east from the Soviet front in East Central Europe. The evacuation of that vital position emboldened Soviet generals last summer to push their divisions toward the Atlantic, to a line only 150 miles away from the French frontiers. At the same time, by the use of proxies, the Soviet Union cautiously retained her strategic initiative and avoided direct engagement of her own forces in any open war. While repeatedly causing abundant American casualties, our policies avoided a worse fate by damaging appeasement and withdrawals while losing friends as well.

Lasting peace cannot be established on a bipolar balance simply because our partner, Soviet Russia, is not a guardian of, but rather a formidable menace to international peace and stability. To placate the Soviet Union, we abandoned in Europe our policy of "liberation," and failed to come to the aid of the gallant Hungarian freedom fighters. Unreciprocated, the Soviet Union continued to set up its own revolutionary organizations inside the nations of the free world in order to create Communist "wars of liberation," and assessed them as "just wars." This concept was recently implemented by the so-called Brezhnev doctrine which exceeds in scope the arbitrariness of even Stalin's policy. With unparalleled arrogance, even a peaceful attempt to loosen the Soviet stranglehold inside the socialist nations by the peoples of these countries was beaten down. The concept of "just wars" against nations in the free world, implemented with the Brezhnev doctrine perpetuating Soviet domination, constitutes the final, all-comprehensive

Soviet blueprint. Unopposed by the United Nations and passed over lightly by the last administration, this theory threatens to develop into a new totalitarian international law tenet, tolerated by civilized nations.

Maintenance of the intolerable status quo in partitioned Europe cannot remain the guiding principle of our policy. No life exists if the possibility of change is excluded and the nations of the Socialist commonwealth cannot afford the loss of all hope of evolution, if violence is to be avoided. Hitler's rise to power may serve us as a warning.

Mr. Speaker, experts of the International Affairs Committee of the American Hungarian Federation, which represents most American-Hungarian societies and churches, have proposed new approaches for overcoming the rigidity of the present partition by raising in diplomatic negotiations the creation of a buffer zone consisting of some, if not all, of the Soviet satellites, Yugoslavia and Austria. They have recently submitted these ideas to the President, Secretary of State and the National Security Council and I trust that our policymakers will study them carefully.

THE KILMER JOB CORPS CENTER

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I strongly believe that the Nixon administration made a serious mistake when it recently announced plans to close 59 of the 109 Job Corps centers.

Last Thursday, I testified before the ad hoc hearing task force on poverty in opposition to the planned closing of the Kilmer Job Corps Center in Edison, N.J., which is located in the district I represent in the House.

A copy of my testimony is being inserted with the hope that it will not only reveal the inspiring record of achievement of the Kilmer Job Corps Center, but also help convince the administration and Congress that all Job Corps centers will remain open. Kilmer has enabled almost 5,000 victims of poverty to learn a trade, but it has also developed good citizenship.

Mr. Speaker, I also want to commend the chairman of the Education and Labor Committee, the able, dedicated, and compassionate gentleman from Kentucky, Representative CARL D. PERKINS, for his courageous leadership in fighting to keep the Job Corps centers open.

My testimony and other information follow:

STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I appear before you today with the earnest hope that you will fight tenaciously to keep the Kilmer Job Corps Center in Edison, N.J. open.

When I received official notification from the office of Labor Secretary George P. Shultz last Friday afternoon that the Kilmer Center would close by July 1st, I was greatly distressed.

I am absolutely convinced that closing the Kilmer Job Corps Center would not only be false economy, but would also be socially dangerous. All of the 1,700 young men 16-21 who are trained at Kilmer every year are victims of poverty.

Before they came to Kilmer, they lacked adequate education, practically all of them junior or high school dropouts. They lacked training. They lacked real confidence. They lacked hope. They were most bitter and frustrated young men with virtually no future. Their problems and plight remind me of what Oscar Wilde wrote: "Something was dead in each of us, and what was dead was hope."

But the Kilmer Job Corps Center changed a great deal of this. Hope was resurrected and since the Center opened in 1965, almost 5,000 trained young men have graduated, 80% of them gaining employment, ranging from welding to police work. You may be interested to know that 9 Kilmer graduates are members of the Police Cadets in Washington, D.C. In a few years they will become full-time members of the D.C. police force and will help the district meet one of its most serious problems: a shortage of policemen.

Kilmer graduates joined a society many of them once hated because they felt ignored and unwanted. Unfortunately, when the Nixon Administration announced that Kilmer would close, the old feelings of anguish, despair and dearth of hope returned.

According to press accounts, the main reason the Administration decided to close Kilmer and Parks, 7 women's centers, and 50 conservation centers, is economy. I believe that such "economy" is both false and dangerous.

Of course there would be a saving of dollars—a proposed net saving of \$100 million—but I believe that the ultimate economic and social cost would be much greater to the Nation, as the N.Y. Times editorial of April 10th pointed out, "... in crime, drug addiction and higher welfare costs" for the 11,000 disadvantaged young men and women who would be eliminated. This is not my conception of economy. Thousands of others who would have enrolled in the future also will be deprived of the chance to learn a trade and develop abilities that only need attention and interest to come to the surface.

Mr. Chairman, the Administration's press announcement last Friday mentioned that an estimated 250-300 young men would be trained in various cities throughout the country, including Newark, N.J. The new plan simply astounded me. First of all, even the figure 300 is so small, it is almost absurd. There are probably 300 disadvantaged young men in just a few blocks in Newark alone and I'm sure that other urban areas have those who hope to attend the so-called "mini-centers." What are they supposed to do until their turn comes—if it ever does? I hope I'm wrong, but I'm afraid that many of them would get in trouble—and if they do, it will, to some extent, be on the conscience of this Administration.

I want to cite the fact that Labor Secretary Shultz conceded in a newspaper that congressional approval is required to reduce President Johnson's last budget request involving the Job Corps (from \$280 million to \$150 million.) I will oppose such a cut. I am not against economy, but I don't want savings made that will cause human misery—and that is what the Administration's proposal would do if the Job Corps is reduced from the present 35,000 enrollees, to the proposed 24,000—a cut of 11,000 young men and women who are in desperate need of help. They need help and deserve a chance. Like every American, they want their place in the sun of human happiness and I'm not going to deprive them of this right. I'm not going to throw them into the shadows. I'm not going to desert them. I want to help them.

Kilmer enrollees have also aided the community, activities ranging from the rehabilitation of an armory for a recreation program in New Brunswick, to helping a Cerebral Palsy Center. One community was so grateful for the contributions of enrollees, that awards were made to them at a borough council meeting.

During the 1968 presidential campaign, Mr. Nixon promised to help get the unemployed "... off the welfare rolls and on the payrolls." I hope that the decision to reduce the Job Corps Centers will be reversed, not only for the sake of these troubled young men and women, but for the sake of this Administration, whose sincerity, compassion and purpose are at stake.

The Kilmer Job Corps Center was scheduled to celebrate its 4th anniversary yesterday, but since Secretary Shultz's announcement, there was no happy celebration, because a dream has perished.

One Kilmer corpsman had this to say when the closing was announced: "The Job Corps has given us a chance to reach an attainable goal. We have always heard to get a good job, we need a good education and now our future is threatened just as we were beginning to believe this." I'm sure that most of the enrollees feel the same way and 98% of the letters and telegrams I have received believe that the Kilmer Center should remain open. After visiting the Kilmer Center several times, I also believe with all my heart that it should not close. It has achieved so much—and would accomplish so much more in the future.

Mr. Chairman, at this point I want to request that editorials opposing the Job Corps cut be included in the record. From: the New York Times; the Washington Post; the Home News (of New Brunswick, N.J.); and a very moving and poignant article from the Home News entitled, "They're Closing Our Chance, Corpsmen Cry."

I would also like to insert general information on the operations of the Kilmer Job Corps Center. (See att.) It is a proud record—a record that should be continued. It is not too late for us to win this important and far-reaching fight, Mr. Chairman. It must be won!

Thank you for giving me the chance to testify before you today.

GENERAL INFORMATION ON THE KILMER JOB CORPS

The Kilmer Job Corps Center, operated by ITT's world-wide service associate, Federal Electric Corp., under contract with the Office of Economic Opportunity, is an outstanding example of the private sector, in partnership with the Federal Government, fighting one of the most serious battles this Nation ever faced—the War Against Poverty.

This Center, operated on a portion of the former Camp Kilmer Army Base, which gained its initial fame during World War II as a major Port of Embarkation for more than 4,500,000 troops going to and returning from the European Theater of Operations—and later as the major haven and reception center for the thousands of Hungarian refugees who fled from under the yoke of communist oppression in 1965, has once again become a refuge for the oppressed and disadvantaged—the thousands of inner-city and rural youths who have learned a meaningful trade and become productive, tax-paying members of our society.

Kilmer received its first busload of corpsmen on Feb. 11, 1965. Both these young men and the community in which they settled had a major job adjusting to each other. No one denies the first few months—even the first year—was a difficult time for both.

But adjust they did. Soon the residents in the community were inviting these young men into their homes for Sunday dinners and the weekend. The trainees, in turn, were

assisting the community by such projects as sponsoring a local baseball team for youngsters in the area, assisting the United Fund and March of Dimes through voluntary clerical and audio-visual work, making contributions to the Cerebral Palsy Center and serving as advisers to a Salvation Army sponsored Boy Scout Troop in the inner-city of New Brunswick.

They aided the Middlesex County Economic Opportunity Corp., the local Community Action Program by painting and refurbishing some of its neighborhood multi-service centers.

New Brunswick became the first city in the Nation to acquire a former National Guard Armory and the Job Corpsmen went to work immediately rehabilitating it for the community's use. The nearby borough of Metuchen, although not visited frequently by off-duty corpsmen, found it had friends at Kilmer when the Explorer Scout Posts at the center voluntarily assisted the borough in the preparation of a 10-acre parksite. The Mayor and Council responded in kind by hosting a dinner and special presentation of certificates of award to the corpsmen at one of their regular council meetings.

There have been close to 5,000 graduates and more than 4,000 job placements since the first corpsman graduated.

In an average training period of 7 or 8 months, Kilmer Job Corpsmen are prepared for entry level jobs in some 14 trades. These trades, through a system of benefit-cost analysis developed at Kilmer, are constantly checked for maximum anticipated wages in return for dollars spent in training.

The benefit-cost ratio for electrical construction, for example, is 2.65 to 1. This means that for every dollar spent on training a corpsman in this trade, he will have earned an estimated \$2.65 over a period of 5 years, beyond what he would have earned without this training.

Welding has a ratio of 3.04 to 1; machine shop (because it is one of the longer programs) has a ratio of 1.93 to 1. Light truck driving is 3.16 to 1; and if a corpsman elects to continue for an additional 12 weeks of training to become a tractor-trailer operator, the benefit-cost ratio rises to 5.28 to 1.

Kilmer is truly a place where the individual has the opportunity to change his life from one of failure to success. There is a sign at Kilmer which reads: "Any Boy Can Join The Job Corps: It Takes a Man To Stick With It."

The center's 14 vocational areas, reading centers, academic training, athletic and recreational facilities, in addition to its Student Government House of Representatives and residential living complex, guided group interaction, medical, dental and counseling services, provide a complete 24-hour day program for the corpsmen.

Perhaps the most unique of all the vocational areas is the Job Corps Police Training School at Kilmer, operated by the National Conference on PAL and Youth Activities (Police Athletic League), with Federal Electric Corp. supplying support services including academic teaching and counselling services. This program is expected to provide a major breakthrough in police-community relations, by taking young men out of the ghetto for training in law enforcement and returning them to the inner-cities to bridge the gap between the police officers and the disadvantaged.

The impact Kilmer has had upon the community must also be considered. Kilmer's annual payroll pumps \$4,780,865 into the local economy. The corpsmen's allowances provide for an additional \$46,000 per month, much of it spent locally.

During 1968, the Job Corps Center spent \$832,954 in Middlesex County alone with its general vendors. In addition, \$53,197 was spent in the 15th Congressional District for physicians and dentists. Local hospitals in

the county received \$48,435 for services rendered in 1968.

Center employees and Federal Electric contribute substantially to various charitable organizations, including the United Fund, local first aid squads and fire companies.

Kilmer, as well as the Job Corps and the entire anti-poverty program, has not been able to solve all of its problems in four short years, but it is testing and finding the new approaches we need to help our disadvantaged young citizens to find dignity and a sense of place in our abundant society.

Kilmer has its own dropouts. But it should be remembered that almost 100% of these young men were dropouts from the public school system and society before they enrolled at Kilmer.

Nearly half of the freshmen who enter our nation's colleges and universities do not complete their training. At Kilmer, about 45% do not complete a program.

It should also be remembered that more than 60% of Kilmer's corpsmen who were unable to earn more than an average of \$639 per year in part-time, lowest level jobs, are now employed and doing very well on their jobs, receiving starting salaries of nearly \$2.00 per hour.

The cost per corpsman year at Kilmer is presently running about \$5,700. However, this is for 24-hour-per-day, seven day per week, overcoming generations of deprivation, poverty, ignorance and prejudice.

As the Kilmer Job Corps Center of Edison, N.J. observes its 4th anniversary, many Americans salute its corpsmen, staff and management, and the American public, for helping to make the dream of nearly 5,000 young men come true in the great American tradition.

[From the New York Times, Apr. 11, 1969]

REORGANIZING THE JOB CORPS

Of the many programs in the war on poverty, the Job Corps was the least controversial in concept but has proved one of the most controversial in practice. Theoretically, it seemed ideal to move slum youths out of their dead-end environments and give them a fresh start in remote camps. They would be away from bad companions, destructive temptations and the scene of past failures.

Practically, however, the high dropout rate of Job Corps enlistees of both sexes suggests that many of these young persons found a radical change of environment more demoralizing than helpful. There were other sources of difficulty. The Government contracted with private business to do the actual training, but some of the nation's most prestigious industrial firms proved unimpressive in imparting usable skills to slum youngsters. Some critics have also argued that, although the conservation centers are doing useful work in the care of natural resources, these centers are not preparing enlistees for jobs in a highly technical economy.

The Job Corps has had its successes. The record is not entirely bleak. The question is whether the money spent on the existing program could achieve better results if spent otherwise. It is not clear that the Nixon Administration has correctly asked or answered this question. It reportedly proposes to shut down more than half of the conservation centers, six women's centers and two large camps for young men, thereby gradually reducing the Job Corps to half its present enrollment of 735,000 and saving \$100-million.

But the point is to save lives, not dollars. If hundreds of thousands of untrained, ill-educated youth drift into the stagnant pool of unemployables, they will cost the nation much more in the long run in crime, drug addiction and higher welfare costs. More small training centers in the cities are envisaged but the over-all effect still is to scale down the job training program. That is not a good enough answer.

While President Nixon and his advisers ponder how to make good on his promise of

last year to get the unemployed "off the welfare rolls and on the payrolls," it is imperative that a high level of employment be sustained. No job training program can produce results if a recession occurs and the students cannot see a job waiting for them at the end of the course.

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 11, 1969]

AXING THE JOB CORPS

Seven weeks ago when President Nixon announced his intention to reorganize the Federal war on poverty, he suggested that "we often can learn more from a program that fails to achieve its purpose than from one that succeeds." That sounded fine. However, the Administration's action in deciding to close down 57 Job Corps centers in one swoop suggests that not enough effort was invested in finding out what had succeeded and what had failed.

It appears that centers were selected for closing largely on the basis of statistical data on performance and cost. The centers themselves were not inspected, nor were the center directors and Job Corps officials consulted. It was a policy decision at a high level, clearly foreshadowed by Mr. Nixon's condemnation of the Job Corps program during the presidential campaign. Already the Administration has decided to back down on its decision to close the women's center at Cleveland, and complaints have been received about the closing of many of the other centers. The action slashes Job Corps rolls by 17,000 young men and women by July 1. Anyone still enrolled in a closed center at that time will be transferred to one of the remaining centers, we are assured. But this will only partly ease the impact on those youths whose hopes had been raised by the Job Corps program.

It appears that economy was the primary motivating force in deciding which centers should be closed down, but it is questionable how much of the projected savings will be realized when the cost of shutting down the existing centers is considered. Also, there is some doubt about how economically the Labor Department will be able to run the 30 mini-centers that will now be opened in urban areas. One thing the Job Corps has learned is that much of its overhead cost is fixed and that small centers tend to be proportionately more expensive. The decision to shift away from rural conservation centers toward urban centers where the disadvantaged youth are seems logical, but it does not explain why some existing urban centers were closed too.

The furor created by the decision to close the Cleveland center caused the Administration to take a second look. A second look is in order for many of the other centers as well in view of the way they were selected for closing.

[From the New Brunswick (N.J.) Daily Home News, Apr. 11, 1969]

KILMER JOB CORPS CENTER TO CLOSE?

We find hard to understand President Nixon's intended decision to close the Kilmer Job Corps Center as part of an administration program to redirect the war on poverty.

The executive order which will make the Nixon move official is expected today. That order will direct that eight large urban Job Corps centers be closed down, displacing about half of the 35,000 young men enrolled at the locations.

In their stead, the administration is planning to construct 20 to 30 "skill centers" near urban centers to provide daytime vocational training. The Job Corps Centers provide residential programs.

Congressional reaction to the President's decision has been swift. New Jersey's Sen. Harrison A. Williams and Rep. Edward J. Patten both criticized the decision strongly.

On Wednesday, Patten sent a letter to Nixon stating he was "shocked and appalled" to

hear "strong and persistent rumors" in Washington that Kilmer would be closed.

We have no quarrel with the administration on the count that some of the centers have not been living up to expectations. The President himself, in an earlier message to Congress, said programs which had not fulfilled their mission should not be overly criticized because everything which is being tried in the area of poverty was frankly an experiment and spectacular results could not be expected.

But in the case of Kilmer, this is hardly true. After some false starts and local criticism of the program by municipal leaders, the Job Corps center has settled down into what Rep. Patten quite rightly described last week as a "showpiece."

The center will shortly graduate its 5,000th trainee. Of those 5,000 men, 4,500 have been placed in jobs. One should not quarrel with statistics, and these statistics in particular attest to the smashing success of the Kilmer program.

We urge the Nixon administration to reconsider what we feel is a most hasty decision in regards to Kilmer. And if Nixon does not change his mind, perhaps the Congress will be able to do it for him.

[From the New Brunswick (N.J.) Daily Home News, Apr. 11, 1969]

THEY'RE CLOSING OUR CHANCE, CORPSMEN CRY

"The man is trying to keep us down," the black Job Corpsman at Camp Kilmer said.

"O! Giving a guy a chance and then taking it away from him is worse than not giving him a chance at all," the white teen-ager from North Carolina said.

"The Puerto Ricans and Negroes are getting a break right here. Now they are trying to take this away from us," the Puerto Rican youth declared.

That generally was the reaction yesterday from many corpsmen at Camp Kilmer, when word spread that the Nixon administration plans to close the 300-acre center at the end of June.

Some of the corpsmen plan to conduct a demonstration in front of the Kilmer administration building today. The youths, early last evening, began spreading the word to others about the 'peaceful' demonstration. Plans are for them to wear white tee shirts with the letters KKO—"Keep Kilmer Open"—stencilled across the front.

"Tell your boys no violence," one of the teen-age leaders told others at a meeting with an instruction building at the former Army post.

"We got to prove that we came here to get an education and that we are getting it," he said. "We got to fight them back with the education they gave us, not with fists and bats."

"We came here all rough and tough. We came here to change and we did. We got to show them. We got to sit down and work with our minds on how to fight this. Then, you'll see, a lot of people are going to come in and help us."

The Kilmer Center, opened in February, 1965, is among 65 Job Corps facilities that are to be closed June 30. Officials of the U.S. Department of Labor were to make this official at a news conference in Washington today.

Closing of the 65 centers and their replacement with 20 to 30 "skill centers" near slum areas reportedly will save the federal government about \$100 million. The Kilmer Operation runs almost \$9 million annually.

"If they can spend millions on Vietnam and millions for nuclear research, they can spend a little money on keeping this place going," 18-year-old Noel Parsons of the Bronx, said yesterday.

DOESN'T MAKE SENSE

"It just doesn't make any sense," he declared. "A kid drops out of school and the

people say 'get him off the street, get him off the street'. So they send him here and he begins to make it. Then they say they are going to put him out. What do they want us to do?"

Many of the corpsmen interviewed yesterday said that if all efforts to keep the center open fail, they would refuse to leave when it closes.

"Let them send the National Guard to get us out," one youth said.

Another declared: "If we can't do anything by June 30, all we have to do is just sit down. What can they do to us? The whole world will be watching. Maybe it won't have to go that far. I hope not."

D. L. Webber, director of the center conferred in Trenton yesterday with representatives of the governor.

NO OFFICIAL WORD

"We are all working toward the same end: To keep Kilmer open," he said.

As of late yesterday, Webber said he still had not received any official word that the center is destined to close.

"I think we have been doing some good, and making some deep inroads into a deep-rooted problem," he said.

He was asked about criticism from members of the Nixon administration, who reportedly have complained that the cost for training each corpsman far exceeds the benefits derived.

The cost for training each youth at Kilmer is more than \$5,000 a year.

"Who can measure how much is too much? I don't know what it takes to keep a guy in prison. This is a matter of a potential dreg on society versus a productive citizen," Webber commented.

SOME 1,662 AT CENTER

There are 1,662 trainees at the center, which has 577 full-time employees and 78 part-time workers. Of the 13,000 trainees since it opened four years ago, there have been almost 5,000 graduated.

"Nixon is just throwing our lives away—1,700 lives," a corpsman said yesterday.

U.S. Sen. Harrison A. Williams and Rep. Edward J. Patten were among the first to hit at plans to close the camp.

They were joined by other members of Congress yesterday including Rep. Frank Thompson, D-N.J., and Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., but their protests appeared to have no effect on the move to close the Job Corps centers, including eight large urban units and 57 rural conservation camps, the Associated Press reported.

KENNEDY PROTESTS

Kennedy, Democratic Senate whip, said the cuts in the Job Corps program "would be a cruel disappointment to thousands of Americans who have never had a chance, a blow to the antipoverty effort, and a potential disaster for our troubled cities and disadvantaged communities.

Gus Costales, a 17-year-old corpsman from Manhattan, echoed some of the concern expressed by Kennedy. "Now that they have a chance to make decent people out of us," he asserted, "they are taking this place away from us. What is going to happen when all these guys are let loose on the streets?"

Thomas Chorba, an English teacher at Kilmer, called the decision to close the center "A big mistake." He said, "Let's face it. We don't reach every person that comes in here. Perhaps, only about one in every three. Maybe our methods could be changed but the idea is right."

HITS NEW BRUNSWICK ATTITUDE

Only one of the corpsmen interviewed yesterday by The Daily Home News said he favored the shutdown. Gary Lucas, 21, of Boston, Mass., contended that people in communities surrounding Kilmer, "especially, New Brunswick," don't "like" the corpsmen and therefore the center should be relocated "further out somewhere."

Other trainees pointed out that they didn't care how people in the community reacted, that they only were concerned about the trades they were being taught.

"I don't want to go back to being a nobody. I want to be something in life, Robert Donatto, 19, of Opelousas, La., said.

Lamont Kidd, 19, of Manhattan, stated: "I feel like Nixon is making a great mistake. This is the last chance for the men and women in the Job Corps."

"NEVER HAD TO STEAL"

Another youth said many people lacked compassion for job corpsmen. "They can't put themselves in our place because a lot of them were born with a silver platter. They never had to go out and steal . . . These people don't understand what it is to fight for a living."

Another teen-ager said, "They talk about how they want to solve crime. Is this going to solve crime?"

One corpsman declared: "I dropped out of school when I was 17 and still in the eighth grade. I've learned more at the Job Corps than in all my years in school. If they put me out of here now, where do I go?"

"The fate of the kids. That's the bad part about this whole thing," Webber said.

[From the New Brunswick (N.J.) Daily Home News, Apr. 18, 1969]

STUDY SAYS CORPS PAID OFF

WASHINGTON.—A new study that says Job Corps graduates earn \$1,000 a year more than nontrainees has added fuel to the controversy swirling over President Nixon's plan to reduce the training program drastically.

The 82-page study, prepared for the Office of Economic Opportunity by pollster Louis Harris, was presented Thursday to the House Education and Labor Committee where Democrats are fighting Nixon's order to shut down 59 of the 113 Job Corps centers.

Harris, who said he was paid \$300,000 to prepare the study, said it was the most exhaustive review ever made of the Job Corps.

The study concentrated on the earnings of Job Corps enrollees before and after their training compared to youths in similar age groups who received only part of the training or dropped out of the corps.

Harris said one of the most significant findings in the study was that earnings of Job Corps graduates six months after their training averaged \$1,147 a year higher than before they entered the program. Those who dropped out, were earning only \$685 a year more than six months later.

"By any measure," said Harris, "the study shows that the Job Corps has had a positive impact on these youths."

"The question you have to answer," he told the congressmen, "is what it is worth to produce this kind of impact? What we have shown is that, indeed, there is an impact."

But, he said, the program's impact fades and by the end of a year after graduation the earning power of those who complete the course and those who drop out is virtually even.

However, Rep. Carl D. Perkins, the Kentucky Democrat who heads the Education and Labor Committee, said "If all the members of Congress could get the benefit of this report we could rest our case on it."

[From the New Brunswick (N.J.) Sunday Home News, Apr. 20, 1969]

JOB CORPS HEAD SAYS HE WAS IN THE DARK

WASHINGTON.—D. L. Webber, director of the Camp Kilmer Job Corps Center at Edison, N.J., said Saturday he never had been told what information the Department of Labor used in deciding to close the center.

Webber was one of several Job Corps center directors appearing before the House Education and Labor Committee after it was disclosed the administration had ordered an

immediate start on closing of seven of 59 centers due to be shut down by June 30.

Directors of the centers who appeared Saturday told Congress their centers are doing a good job and should be kept open.

LED OTHERS

Webber gave the committee official OEO figures showing that last year Kilmer led all other urban centers in the percentage of its enrollees completing the training program. "The center also ranks high in job placement, math and reading improvement and comparative costs," he said.

"On the basis of these figures," he said, "it is difficult to understand why Kilmer was selected to be closed—thereby leaving the heavily populated northeastern region of the United States without a single men's urban center."

EFFECTIVE

Kilmer is operated under contract by the International Telephone and Telegraph Corp. and Webber said it demonstrated the effectiveness of government and industry working together on national problems.

"In my opinion," he said, "the Job Corps represents a landmark achievement and an effective as well as exciting, new approach to the solution of serious social and economic problems."

Roosevelt Dunning, commander of the police training school at the Kilmer Center, said it was designed to bridge the gap between the police and ghetto residents by bringing disadvantaged young Negroes into police departments.

"Upon completion of this training," he said, "these young men will bring to any police department not only their professional training, but more importantly, the ability to understand the people with whom they are to work."

Dunning said he feels the Job Corps represents "America's strongest commitment to its poor and disadvantaged and that it should be continued."

UNITED STATES BETRAYS U.N. EMBARGO OF SOUTH AFRICAN JET SERVICE

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

UNITED STATES BETRAYS U.N. EMBARGO OF SOUTH AFRICAN JET SERVICE

(By Winston Berry)

UNITED NATIONS.—Just before midnight on a cold Feb. 23rd, a jet aircraft of the South African Airways landed in the snow at New York's Kennedy International Airport.

By allowing this plane to land, the United States has thumbed its nose at the United Nations resolution of 1962 which requested all member states not to grant landing rights to any aircraft, public or private, operated under the flag of the racist South African regime.

And by not acting to repeal a Civil Aeronautics Board decision to grant landing rights to South Africa, President Richard M. Nixon has insulted the entire non-white world.

However, it is to the credit of the black community of New York and the American Committee of Africa that they "greeted" the plane with a picketline.

For three hours about 100 black youths, joined by a number of white supporters, picketed in the slushy street in front of the airport's arrivals building.

Placards denounced the U.S. assistance to the regime that has become infamous for its anti-black police state laws.

The shameful spectacle of an aircraft landing in New York from a country that would refuse admittance to all black Americans resulted from cooperation between the U.S. and Britain.

British Overseas Airways Corporation furnished facilities at the air terminal for the South Africans.

It was the outgoing Johnson Administration that pushed the U.S.-South African decision through CAB in secret hearings last year.

In November, President Johnson signed the decision, authorizing South Africa to carry persons, property and mail between Johannesburg and New York by way of Rio de Janeiro.

Thus exactly six years after a majority of the nations of the world had agreed to quarantine South African racism, the United States gave it a big boost.

Four days before the South African service to New York was initiated, the UN Committee on Apartheid called the attention of Secretary-General U Thant to the matter, pointing out that landing rights have also been granted South Africa by Australia, Botswana, West Germany, France, Greece, Italy, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Portugal, Spain, Swaziland, Switzerland and the United Kingdom.

President Nixon was not compelled to honor the Johnson Administration's decision. Indeed, he did order reopened the CAB decision granting extension in the Pacific to certain airlines.

But he "forgot" this CAB decision that honored the international symbol of racism—South Africa.

Now the South Africans have an easy means of attracting American tourists. But it is not American tourist dollars that motivates the South African government; it is propaganda.

Who can calculate the propaganda value of 5,000 white Americans, many of whom will undoubtedly be racists, visiting South Africa every year?

South Africa's racist message will have another outlet, and the moral isolation imposed by the United Nations will have been broken.

Just as the Johnson Administration sneaked through the decision to allow landing rights, the airport officials on the night of Feb. 23 sneaked the South African plane and its passengers into the terminal. No announcement of its arrival was made.

A bus met the 19 passengers—the plane can seat 139—and ferried them directly to a secret customs processing.

One youth, apparently acting out of anger and frustration, snatched the South African flag from the terminal mezzanine and carried it outside where other demonstrators stomped it into the slush.

Not one word of the incident appeared in the New York papers the following day.

Maybe, if the plans for future "greetings" and "sendoffs" are carried out by the black community, President Nixon will have to reconsider his decision and the South African jets will have to sneak out as cowardly as the first one sneaked in.

HON. DAN W. TURNER, FORMER
GOVERNOR OF IOWA

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE
OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, last week Dan W. Turner, former Governor of Iowa, died in Corning, Iowa, at the age

of 92. A forthright public speaker, he had served in the State senate as well as in the governorship. In various capacities he had served his country in three wars.

Governor Turner was deeply concerned over the plight of the American farmer and fought for agricultural relief during the depression. Later he was an organizer of the National Farmers' Organization. Along with his agricultural interests, he operated a bank and country store.

Governor Turner's dedicated public and private service furthered the development of the State of Iowa. On behalf of many Iowans who will miss him, I extend heartfelt sympathy to his family and his many friends.

Mr. Speaker, I include the following article from the Des Moines Register, of April 16, concerning Governor Turner:

TURNER, IOWA GOVERNOR IN THE 1930'S, DIES:
COURAGEOUS LEADER IN DEPRESSION

(By George Mills)

Dan Turner, courageous governor of Iowa during the turbulent depression years of 1931-1933, died Tuesday afternoon at Rosary Hospital in Corning. He was 92.

The venerable Iowa elder statesman, who lived in Corning all his life, entered the hospital late in March. Death was due to infirmities of age.

Services will be at 2 p.m. Friday at First Presbyterian Church at Corning. Burial will be at Walnut Grove Cemetery.

A FIGHTER

Mr. Turner was a Republican. But he was a fighter who made up his own mind during a tempestuous career that started during the depression of the 1890s.

He fought many of his battles for the cause of the farmer. Frequently, conservative Republicans were his opponents. He battled with President Herbert Hoover during the 1930s over the collapse of farm prices. He blistered Ezra Taft Benson, Dwight Eisenhower's secretary of agriculture, during the 1950s.

Centered in his lifetime was much of the excitement, frustration, and progress of the entire Twentieth Century era in Iowa.

He was a key man in the organization of the National Farmers Organization (N.F.O.) in 1955. Characteristically, he had differences with the N.F.O. leadership.

As a young state senator in 1903, he became part of Gov. Albert Cummins' team of "Progressives" which finally broke dominance of the railroads over Iowa politics.

During his one term as governor occurred the so-called "cow war" in eastern Iowa.

CALLED OUT GUARD

That "war" consisted of an uprising of farmers who objected to mandatory testing of cattle for tuberculosis. Mr. Turner had to call out the National Guard, which converged on Tipton to guard veterinarians charged with the task of cattle-testing.

Also while he was governor, the worst agricultural depression of modern times deepened, as did the widespread business and industrial depression.

Governor Turner made two trips to Washington, where he warned President Hoover that something had to be done to halt the downward trend which engulfed banks by the hundreds, resulted in tens of thousands of Iowans losing their farms through foreclosure, brought corn down to 12 cents a bushel and saw unemployment grow to disastrous proportions.

Mr. Hoover, however, did not believe the situation was quite as bad as painted by the plain-speaking Iowa governor.

The election of 1932 followed and both Mr. Hoover and Mr. Turner went down to defeat in a Democratic landslide.

Mr. Turner was a Corning merchant orig-

inally and an Adams County farmer with large holdings.

He was born Mar. 17, 1877, on a farm near Corning. In addition to farm chores, he clerked as a boy in a general store opened by his father in 1868.

LIBERAL TENDENCIES

The elder Turner was a Civil War veteran and a rockbound Republican, and was troubled at times by his son's apparently liberal tendencies.

"Don't stray too far from the bugle, boy," the father warned. In those days, most war veterans believed you had to be a Republican to be a loyal American.

The late governor's full name was Daniel Webster Turner, but he never was known as anything but Dan W. Turner.

Shortly after his graduation from the old Corning Academy in 1898, he enlisted in the Army for service in the Spanish-American war. He served in the Philippines.

His fighting qualities included expertness with his fists. He won the boxing championship of his division, although he suffered a broken nose that remained a facial characteristic the rest of his life.

He joined the Iowa National Guard when he came home and rose to the rank of major before resigning 10 years later.

Mr. Turner was elected state senator from the old Adams-Taylor district in 1903. He was 26 years old, the youngest Iowan ever elected to the Senate up to that time.

CONSTANT WARFARE

He served six years in the Senate as a member of the Progressives, who engaged in constant warfare with the "Standpatters" for control of the Republican Party.

While he was a senator, the Progressives forced the adoption of the direct primary for nominating major party candidates for office. The practice of railroads corrupting politicians and others with free passes also came to an end.

He was one of the finest public speakers of his time and he keynoted Republican state conventions three times.

During World War I he served as a Y.M.C.A. secretary in France. In World War II he worked with the War Production Board in Washington.

Agriculture was in deep trouble in 1928. Prices were low and many banks already had been forced to close beginning with the collapse that took place in rural areas beginning in 1920.

LEFT CONVENTION

By 1928 Mr. Turner, the late Henry A. Wallace and other irked Midwestern farm leaders went to the Republican National Convention in Kansas City, Mo., to demand support for agricultural relief.

Mr. Wallace left that convention and became a Democrat. He later was U.S. secretary of agriculture and vice-president under Franklin Roosevelt.

Mr. Turner was one of four speakers at the Kansas City convention who demanded greater Republican recognition and support for the farmer. He helped draft a minority report setting out such a goal. The convention nominated Mr. Hoover. Mr. Turner decided to stay with the party.

In 1930 he ran for the Republican nomination for governor. He won the nomination and was elected.

A key plank in his platform was adoption of a state income tax as a form of "property tax relief." The 1931 Legislature did not enact such a law, but the 1933-1934 Legislature did, and a sales and corporation tax as well.

Mr. Turner won election by 2-1 in 1930 over the late Fred Hagemann, a Waverly Democrat. The vote was Turner 364,000, Hagemann 184,000.

DAYS NUMBERED

Republican days were numbered in 1932, however. Roosevelt carried Iowa for president by 184,000 votes that year, and the

margin helped the late Clyde L. Herring, a Democrat, to defeat Mr. Turner by 53,000 votes.

Mr. Turner came back in 1934 to win a bitter battle for the Republican nomination for governor over Robert Colflesh of Des Moines, Clarence Knutson of Clear Lake and Wallace Short of Sioux City.

Mr. Turner campaigned against the sales tax that year. But the Democratic tide was still strong and Mr. Herring was re-elected by 74,000 votes.

Mr. Turner never ran for office again, although southwestern Iowa Republicans always felt that he could have been elected to Congress from the Seventh Congressional district had he wanted to become a candidate. Some Republicans who did not see eye-to-eye with him were just as glad that he did not run.

One mark of his independent thinking was his activity in behalf of Republican Eisenhower for president in the 1952 election and his backing for Democrat Adlai Stevenson for president against Eisenhower in 1956.

Mr. Turner was the oldest of eight living former governors of Iowa.

His death leaves former Senator Bourke Hickenlooper as the dean of former governors. He served from 1943 to 1945.

CHILD PROTECTION ACT OF 1969

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I introduce today legislation to eliminate dangerous toys from the marketplace.

This important legislation is a result of work done by the National Commission on Product Safety. The Commission has considered the effect of the Federal Hazardous Substances Act, as amended by the Child Protection Act of 1966, and found serious shortcomings. Briefly, these are:

First. The present legislation is effectively limited to hazards caused by pressurized and flammable toys and other articles intended for use by children. Mechanical, electrical, and thermal hazards are not covered.

Second. Even with these additions, there is a serious question of whether the Hazardous Substances Act is the proper legislative vehicle to provide safety in design of toys and other articles used by children.

Third. There is also serious doubt as to whether that act is being fully and properly enforced.

This proposed legislation is, therefore, an interim measure, suggested by the Product Safety Commission to cover the more obvious omissions of present law. When the Commission completes its work, or even before that time, I hope that we can consider a more comprehensive bill, drawing on the Commission's excellent work, to provide better protection for children.

The bill I introduce today covers only the first point raised above: extension of the present legislation on hazards to include mechanical, electrical, and thermal.

It authorizes the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, through the

Food and Drug Administration, to ban as hazardous those toys and other products used by children which possess mechanical, electrical, and thermal qualities which are intrinsically dangerous. It does not allow premarketing control of such products, which might be desirable but which the Hazardous Substances Act does not allow either for the products already covered. Instead, the Secretary, following established administrative procedures, would ban such dangerous products after they appear in the marketplace.

Such interim and limited coverage will, nonetheless, provide important protection, according to the testimony heard by the Product Safety Commission.

CHEMISTRY SETS

The Commission report on this interim legislation told this story:

Testifying at Commission hearings in Boston, Mr. Morris Kaplan, Technical Director of Consumers' Union, presented the Commission with an array of toys which had proven defective and unreasonably dangerous according to standards of that organization. He recalled items previously judged by Consumers' Union to be "Not Acceptable", including:

(i) Three models (of electronic science kits) . . . used regular house current, stepped down in voltage by means of a transformer. But there still were dangerously live terminals that were either exposed or easily gotten at.

(ii) A sled we tested had sharp-edge hooks on the ends of the runners that made them dangerous.

(iii) Chemistry sets were found with inadequate or nonexistent caution labels.

(iv) A compressed air bazooka gun toy, no longer being made, that produced sound levels of 157dB, 1 foot from the muzzle and 145dB at the place where the child's ear would be when he fired the gun, enough to cause concern about permanent impairment of a child's hearing.

(v) Jequirity beans in necklaces, jewelry, rosaries and dolls' eyes. A single bead, chewed and swallowed by a child might be fatal. Only two weeks ago, some jewelry that used such beans was voluntarily recalled by one company that had been selling it.

(vi) Sharp stones in baby rattles that are easily broken.

(vii) Baby teethingers containing water contaminated with coliform bacteria inside the plastic ring. This, though not in itself a serious health hazard, is a generally accepted signal of unsanitary handling during manufacture that might just as easily result in dangerous contamination.

(viii) A toy containing a non-toxic aluminum powder mixed with plastic pellets and used as an easily erasable sketching. Its easily shattered glass cover plate could be mistaken for an unbreakable plastic covering.

VOLUNTARY STANDARDS

Commenting on this situation, the Commission report added:

Mr. Kaplan noted that a number of the items were already covered by the 1966 amendments to the Federal Hazardous Substances Act and could therefore no longer be sold legally:

"But most of them are not covered by the Act since it excludes physical hazards. Furthermore the regulations under the Act have exempted a number of products, such as chemistry sets, on the assumption that they would be used by older children and with the approval of a knowing parent, an assumption that is at least questionable."

Can we rely on voluntary standards of the toymakers? The Commission report states:

In addressing himself to the question of need for such legislation in light of the activities of voluntary standards groups, Mr. Kaplan expressed his disillusionment with those groups. The deliberative processes involved in voluntary standards-making were characterized as long and drawn out; and their end results minimal. In referring to the safety Standards Committee of the Toy Manufacturers of America, Mr. Kaplan noted that the Committee claims to work in conjunction with the National Safety Council to eliminate specific hazards in toys which have been brought to its attention by members of the consuming public. Yet, he has been consistently unsuccessful in his efforts to ascertain what the safety requirements of the Safety Standards Committee are, how they are established, and how they are enforced:

"Nor am I aware of any efforts by the manufacturers of toys we consider unsafe, nor of the Association to do any thing about them; nor might I add has the National Safety Council's Committee on toys ever looked into our findings, and this in spite of the fact that they indicate that they use all sources of input to find unsafe toys.

"We have been publishing reports on toys for many, many years. In no instance am I aware of the National Safety Council's taking any action with regard to those published reports."

This legislation, Mr. Speaker, will not solve all problems of hazardous toys or other objects used by children. Even when we pass this bill, which I hope will be soon, we will be dealing with a defective instrument in an important area of public health and safety.

Good consumer protection will not come from more patchwork laws, from more agencies involved in more scattered programs, or from the generally uncoordinated approach we take in the Federal Government to consumer protection.

But until we establish the proper mechanism for consumer protection—which I believe must be a Department of Consumer Affairs—we must proceed as best we can with the important, if interim solutions, represented by the Child Protection Act of 1969.

SHOULD CHURCHES BE ALLOWED TO DO BUSINESS TAX FREE?

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, a former Member of this body, O. K. Armstrong, who is now a member of the editorial staff of the Reader's Digest, recently had published in the March edition of that periodical an article entitled "Should Churches Be Allowed To Do Business Tax Free?"

In his writings, my friend, fellow churchman, and former patient, presents a discussion of the church's new-found roll in the world of business and offers some arguments on why they should be taxed on the same basis as any other enterprise.

I commend this article to all Members and citizens interested in the pressing problem of tax reform, and include it in the RECORD:

SHOULD CHURCHES BE ALLOWED TO DO BUSINESS TAX FREE?

(By O. K. Armstrong)

In 1952 three churches of Bloomington, Ill.—the First Baptist, the First Christian and the Second Presbyterian—bought the Biltmore Hotel in Dayton, Ohio, for \$3,500,000, mostly on credit. They then leased back the hotel to a firm made up principally of the original owners. This firm operated it, paying the churches \$250,000 annual rent. For the churches, this was tax-exempt income, and they used part of it to pay off the purchase.

This type of transaction is often called a "bootstrap sale," because in effect the business buys itself. The advantages? As tax expert H. Vernon Scott has pointed out in testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee: 1) The seller is able to ask a higher price for his business than he could get elsewhere, and so realizes a big profit—taxed at the low capital-gains rate. 2) The leasing corporation gets a high return on a small investment. 3) The church gets a profitable business—and the income, tax-free—with no risk and little if any investment. Everyone benefits except the government, which loses a source of tax revenue, and all citizen-taxpayers, who must take up the slack.

The whole procedure is entirely legal. It is a tax-avoidance plan for the business enterprise, which the church covers with the blanket of its own tax exemption. The Internal Revenue Code specifically permits churches—unlike other tax-exempt organizations such as orphanages, charitable foundations and hospitals—to engage in competitive, money-making businesses, unrelated to their religious purposes, without paying one cent of income tax. Further, churches are excused from filing any disclosure of properties or income of any kind.

Taking advantage of these provisions, numerous churches and religious orders have plunged into the world of business—by lease-back arrangements, by use of "feeder" corporations (set up to run a business and give all profits to the church), by direct ownership and operation of commercial ventures. They now own business blocks in every major city. They own apartments, restaurants, radio stations, manufacturing and food-processing plants, racetracks, even liquor stores. They produce plastics, textiles, dairy products, tires, trucks, fishing lures. And the profits are all tax-free.

Behind the Favorable Discrimination. According to the 1968 *Yearbook of American Churches*, there are about 240 religious bodies in the United States. They have a total membership of about 124 million—or 62 percent of all Americans. The members worship in some 330,000 sanctuaries, from cathedrals to small houses, and give an estimated \$9 billion a year to these headquarters.

The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution prohibits the government from passing laws "respecting an establishment of religion." And since the power to tax implies some power of control, traditionally houses of worship have never been taxed in America. Moreover, all 50 states and the District of Columbia specifically exempt from property taxation all sanctuaries and other facilities used for religious purposes.

However, property—whether real or personal—used by churches for competitive business enterprises has no constitutional basis for exemption from taxation. The laws which permit this favorable discrimination can be changed, and many responsible religious leaders, as well as many overburdened taxpayers, now urge that it be done.

Church business ventures generally fall into one or more of these three categories:

1. *Real Estate.* By analyzing the tax rolls in 14 U.S. cities and extrapolating from those figures, Dr. Martin A. Larson, author of the authoritative *Church Wealth and Business Income*, has estimated the value of tax-exempt church property in 1968 at \$102.5 billion—up 26 percent in the last four years. Larson computes that this item alone, the tax exemption on real estate, cost U.S. taxpayers \$2.2 billion last year!

In some states, church-owned businesses do pay a property tax; in others, they are exempt even from this assessment. Many churches have acquired large tracts of real estate. In 1939, a church purchased a 121-acre tract near New Britain, Conn., and after one body was buried in the tract, the land was classified as a cemetery, which reduced its taxes. In 27 years, the land appreciated in value many times over. All but ten acres of it was then sold to the city, at a high profit to the church—completely exempt from capital-gains taxes.

In downtown Chicago stands the 22-story Chicago Temple, owned by the Methodist Church. Several lower floors are used for worship and church-related purposes; the other floors are rented for commercial use.

The Methodist Church pays a property tax on the commercial portion of the building—but no federal income tax on the rent receipts of \$250,000 a year.

Many church-related colleges have state charters stipulating that their properties shall remain forever tax-free. William Jewell College, for example, a Baptist-related school at Liberty, Mo., owns business realty in many Missouri communities—all tax-exempt.

Hundreds of such investments are speeding the erosion of the tax base in communities across the country, at a time when the revenue need for schools and other essential public services has become acute. "If the trend is not checked, we may expect half or more of all property to be tax-exempt within 25 years—and more than half of that will belong to churches," says C. Stanley Lowell, associate director of Americans United for Separation of Church & State.

2. *Profit-Making Enterprises.* Each year, churches acquire millions of dollars' worth of property through gifts and bequests: securities, real estate, thriving businesses. Their tax-exemption advantage makes it tempting for the church to retain and operate the business enterprises. In addition, churches sometimes invest directly in secular businesses.

The Cathedral of Tomorrow, an independent church in Akron, Ohio, owns a shopping center, an electronics company, a plastics and wire plant, an apartment complex, and a girdle factory. A Trappist monastery in Kentucky sells fruitcake, cheese, Canadian bacon and beef-sausage sticks by mail. A church organization owns two major garbage dumps outside Chicago, and leases them to a refuse collector.

Christ's Church of the Golden Rule, near Willits, Calif., purchased a luxurious ranch—once the home of Seabiscuit and other famous race horses. The church members (some 125 in number) live there while operating it as a business. They also own and operate a \$500,000 motel and several other enterprises, all exempt from federal taxation.

Printing of publications for Evangelical United Brethren churches (recently merged into the United Methodist Church) used to require most of the space in a four-story building in Dayton, Ohio. When improved printing methods made much of that space redundant, the denominational officials obtained contracts to print a brand of trading stamps.

The money involved in these business operations can be considerable. In Washington, D.C., Watergate, a new \$70-million high-rise

luxury apartment complex beside the Potomac River, was financed by an Italy-based real-estate company in which the Vatican is said to have controlling interest. Profits accruing to the church in this venture are exempt from federal taxes.

There are now some 2200 tax-exempt nursing and retirement homes in operation. Where these are operated for the welfare of needy patrons, on a non-profit basis, they are properly tax-exempt. But increasing numbers of churches are using their tax-exempt status to turn them into money-making enterprises. In some cases, entry fees may run as high as \$50,000 plus monthly charges of several hundred dollars, and the church may amortize the entire facility within five or six years.

For federal and state governments, church-owned and church-operated businesses represent a large loss of revenue—the taxes that would be collected if the enterprises were run by competitive private industry. It is impossible to calculate the loss exactly, but responsible estimates put it at \$6.5 billion a year.

3. *Lease-Back Operations.* The lease-back device, exemplified by the Dayton Biltmore Hotel deal, is one of the fastest-growing ways for churches and other tax-exempt institutions to make money. An item in the *Prentice-Hall Executive Tax Report* reads: "Have you put a price on your business? You may be able to double it—by selling to a charity." And an ad in *The Wall Street Journal*: "Highly respected charitable fund (non-profit) will purchase closely held companies with minimum pre-tax profit of \$250,000. Financial and other benefits very rewarding."

Any church organization, however small, can make use of this tax advantage. For example, an enterprising executive of White Plains, N.Y., together with two ministers, organized the "Stratford Retreat House," which assumed churchly functions. According to the literature of the Retreat House, its managers purchased, as a church, on lease-back arrangements, several businesses, principally electronics firms.

Yet, the U.S. Supreme Court has refused to close this loophole in the tax laws, and Congress has rejected legislation that would eliminate it.

Voices for Reform. Some churches justify their involvement in unrelated businesses on the ground that all profits are fed back into church work, religious programs and good causes. But most religious leaders now seem to take a different view. They would advocate keeping the tax exemption on passive income—as from stocks, bonds, interest and rents. But they would eliminate tax exemption where a church actively engages in business projects for profit.

"Our churches are morally bound to take the lead to eliminate operations that force unfair competition upon private, tax-paying industry," says the Rev. Clyde W. Taylor, general director of the National Association of Evangelicals, comprising 40 denominations.

"Earnings from businesses that have no direct connection with the religious purpose of the church should pay income taxes, regardless of how that income is used," agreed a conference sponsored by the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs.

A 1966 study document of the National Council of Churches, which represents about half of the Protestant church membership in the United States, concluded: "Existing tax exemptions for unrelated business income of a church or church-related service agency should be discontinued."

Similar recommendations have been made by the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, by the United Presbyterian Church, the Methodist Church, and the Central Conference of American Rabbis. The *Washington*

Newsletter, publication of the National Council of Catholic Men, in May 1967 declared: "To require churches to pay taxes on their corporate profits would remove the undemocratic advantage they now enjoy in competing with corporations and small business."

Thus, there is a clear mandate for reform. Congress, with the cooperation of church leaders of all creeds, should take action on this matter at the earliest possible moment.

SOUTH AFRICA: STUDENTS PLAN NEW PROTESTS

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

SOUTH AFRICA: STUDENTS PLAN NEW PROTESTS

CAPE TOWN, April 5.—Students at South Africa's four English-language universities will begin daily demonstrations on Monday which will reach a climax, on 16 April, with mass meetings and the extinguishing of symbolic torches of academic freedom.

The students' protests are directed at the Government's deprivation 10 years ago of the universities' right to admit non-white students, and the establishment of separate 'ethnic' colleges for non-whites; the deportation of white student leaders last year from South Africa; and the suspension of a total of 43 African students from the Fort Hare ethnic college during the past eight months. The biggest demonstration will be at the University of the Witwatersand (Johannesburg), where the governing council has agreed to shut down the entire university for three lecture periods (about three hours) on 16 April.

At a mass meeting of students and staff on 16 March, the Principal, Professor O. Bozzoli, will read a declaration. Day and night vigils will be kept around a torch of academic freedom and students will invade the central city area and distribute leaflets explaining their actions to citizens. Teach-ins and seminars will also be held.

The other universities at which demonstrations will be held are Cape Town, Rhodes (Grahamstown) and Natal (Durban and Maritzburg). None of the Afrikaans-language universities, whose students are mostly Government supporters, are taking part in the protests. Protests had been planned for the start of the academic year on 3 March, but, after interviewing the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Louwrens Muller, and receiving certain "assurances" from him regarding student passports, deportations and police "intimidations," student leaders called the protests off.

ORDERLY MANNER

The relationship soon broke down, however, and Mr. Muller then warned the students publicly that he would not allow them to follow the example of students overseas and cause unrest. Another Cabinet Minister said the Government would not hesitate to call out the Army.

Replying to these warnings today, Mr. Duncan Innes, president of the National Union of South African Students, said: "We know now where we stand. We cannot expect the right to express our points of view without fearing retribution of the most vicious kind. Yet our points of view will continue to be expressed."

He added: "We will make our view known on the disgraceful suspension of students from Fort Hare college, on the deportations of student leaders, and above all, on the undemocratic university system which exists in South Africa."

"The fact that our universities now exist for white students only, that non-white students now receive an inferior education to white students, that the new legislation naming these tribal colleges as full universities is the most absurd piece of legislation yet passed in the country concerning education, since these colleges bear no resemblance to true universities—all these facts will be made known."

Mr. Innes said the students would express their views "in an orderly and dignified manner, as has always been our practice. . . . As the future leaders of South Africa, we feel it is important the country should know what we are thinking."

In a circular to student organisations today, Mr. Innes says it is hoped the "tribal" colleges (the three ethnic colleges for Africans, one for Coloureds and one for Indians) will support the protests arranged for the next 10 days, but he adds: "This is very difficult in view of police activities on these campuses and of Government control."

RURAL COMMUNITY PLANNING

HON. ROGERS C. B. MORTON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, one of the most pressing problems of the day is the overcrowding of our cities and lack of job opportunities that results from too great an input of manpower in one concentrated area. We must place more emphasis on the work force in local communities and on providing local industry with a base on which to expand.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to a letter to the editor that appeared in the Baltimore Sun on March 27, 1969. The letter was written by Worthington J. Thompson, of Salisbury, Md. Mr. Thompson points out that by raising the standard of living in communities we can help stabilize the population shift as well as attract new industry:

Sr. In the early Seventies the job of stabilization of the work force in small towns and new communities in rural America will become as important, in the achievement of our national imperatives of social justice and economic health for all, as the massive effort that will be needed in the cities.

Many opportunities now exist in rural areas for creation of self-contained communities. The challenge to private initiative is to recognize these opportunities and to exploit them by enlisting for maximum beneficial impact the best combination of federal and private programs, as well as state and local cooperation. The challenge to government is to streamline its programs; to help discover the opportunities and to cooperate with the private sector in their benign exploitation.

A work force flourishes under good living conditions in economically viable communities, which translates into jobs, housing, infra-structure and good government. In most rural areas the work force is characterized by low income and substandard housing, a condition in the correction of which arises the opportunity to recognize potential community development situations.

A first step in stabilizing the rural work force is to concentrate it in good housing as a part of a planned community, utilizing federal programs for low and moderate income family housing, new towns and economic development. Once this step is taken or planned, the successive steps will seem to fall into place.

As a consequence new industry will come. The work force will upgrade. Young people will find jobs at home and will not migrate to the problem-ridden cities. The lure of jobs at home will bring back former residents now contributing to the problems of the cities. Immediate gains will be made in real estate and construction.

If the scale of effort to stabilize the work force is large enough, and carefully planned so as not to build new slums, our private enterprise system will have proved anew its irrepressible strength and vitality and we will have made acceptable progress in achieving our national imperatives.

DESTINED OR DETERMINED?

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, in the past few years, we have been overwhelmed with a flood of negativism. Each of America's faults has been waved before us and we have been made aware of what is wrong in America today. Nonetheless, we must not lose sight of the fact that there is also a great deal that is right with America as well. One of the finest statements I have read regarding our national worth is the following address by Richard G. Capen, Jr., the new Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs. This speech was presented to the Culver City Jaycees honoring the five outstanding young men of California for 1968. Dick was one of California's "outstanding young men" and certainly exemplifies the words he speaks. In addition, he was recently awarded the distinguished George Washington Honor Medal from the Freedoms Foundation. It is with great pleasure that I share his comments with my colleagues:

DESTINED OR DETERMINED?

(By Richard G. Capen, Jr., Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs), before the Culver City Jaycees, honoring the Five Outstanding Young Men of California for the Year 1968, International Hotel, Los Angeles, Calif., March 29, 1969)

For many years, no one could run the mile in less than four minutes. Hundreds of athletes tried but all failed.

Finally, a relatively obscure runner by the name of Roger Bannister came along and broke through this barrier after many attempts.

Almost immediately after this record was set, other athletes came along and they, too, broke through the four minute barrier. Today, running a mile in less than four minutes is quite commonplace.

Isn't it interesting that after one athlete broke this record after so many years, many others immediately came along and accomplished the same feat.

I believe these athletes did so simply because they believed it could be done. They set a goal, they worked hard to achieve that goal and, through self-determination, reached that goal.

To me, the history of the four-minute mile track record symbolizes the history of the American way of life.

Ever since the first pilgrim arrived more than 300 years ago, Americans have sought new goals, new opportunities to succeed.

Today we continue to seek new avenues of success, adding to the achievements of the past.

Most of us today seek to build not destroy. For too long we have stood by idly while small groups of sideline critics attempt to discredit America rather than to improve it.

I would suggest, however, that before these irresponsible critics attempt to tear down what they now have the complete freedom to enjoy, they should be challenged to come up with something better.

Sure, there are problems and legitimate grievances in America today and they must be corrected. But let's never forget that America today has far more strengths than weaknesses.

Our nation is the strongest and richest on earth. With only six percent of the world's population, we produce more than a third of all the world's goods and services.

We spend billions each year to erase poverty at home and abroad. Through such generosity we have brought more dignity and equality to mankind than any other generation in history.

Luxuries undreamed of by princes and potentates a generation ago are now routinely available to most Americans.

We still do have poverty in America but it will be overcome. What makes this poverty an issue in America is not so much that it exists amidst affluence. Today, poverty is an issue because for the first time in all mankind it may truly be possible for one society to eliminate poverty—as a result of its affluence.

Some say that American society today is a sick society. If so, why do 300,000 immigrants come to our country each year with thousands of other aliens turned away? They don't think our country is sick.

Within one generation, Americans have suffered through four wars and still have used their material wealth to bind up the wounds of the victors and vanquished alike.

Perhaps Americans today have not scored as high as we had hoped, but we have scored higher than ever before—and we are not through yet.

Just think of it! In less than one generation, Americans have conquered scores of diseases from smallpox to polio.

We have built more schools and hospitals than all generations since the beginning of time. Within one generation, we have created the automobile, the radio, the telephone and the computer.

We have the highest wages and the shortest work weeks. Barriers to jobs and education are crumbling everywhere.

Even our lower income groups live far better than the above-average citizen in most any other country.

Probably no other country criticizes itself as frequently, or as openly, as we do. This has been healthy. Americans are always facing up to their problems, seeking new and better solutions to them.

Just like Roger Bannister, we set national goals and when one plateau is reached, new levels of excellence are sought.

With such determination, Americans have proved that things could be done, that dreams could be embodied in action and that a better life could be achieved provided we were willing to work for it.

We are proud of our generosity to the less fortunate, but we should realize that this generosity is available only because someone else achieved, someone else earned that little bit extra that he could share with others.

Americans have always respected excellence, no matter how humble the task. To me, an excellent plumber is far more admirable than an incompetent professor.

To me, the person who is constantly looking for more to do is far more respectable than the person who rationalizes his way out of assuming any responsibilities at all.

For most Americans, the road to success is paved by an occasional pebble of failure. However, most Americans have managed to use any personal disappointments as stepping stones to achievement. In reality, the only

difference between a stumbling block and a stepping stone is the way they are used.

Tonight the California JayCeers have honored me for a modest contribution to my community and to my country. Certainly, I am most grateful for this recognition.

But to me, however, success is over the moment it has arrived. There are new records to be broken—new goals to be reached and new challenges to be met.

Most of us today are dedicated to assuming that challenge. As we do so, I believe we will succeed—not because we are destined to succeed—but rather because we are determined to succeed.

ALVIN MORELL BENTLEY

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 14, 1969

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, as one who had known Alvin Morell Bentley personally since we stood together in this Chamber to take the oath of office and who was closely associated with him, even after he left this body for other pursuits, I feel a deep loss in his passing.

Early in the 83d Congress a group of freshmen Congressmen banded together to cooperate in better understanding the workings of Congress and to study major legislative matters coming before us. He and I were members of that group. In our weekly meetings we came to recognize Al Bentley as a man of great love for his country and of deep devotion to the responsibility placed upon him by the citizens of the Eighth Congressional District of Michigan which he represented.

I was at his side when an assassin's wild bullet struck him as he participated in debate on legislation before this House on that fateful date in 1954. His strong determination to carry on brought him through that horrifying experience and he completed four terms as one of our colleagues. Seeking to enlarge his service, he left this body, offering himself to the voters of Michigan as a candidate for a seat in the other body.

It was indeed an inspiration to all of us associated with him to observe his keen devotion to those principles in which he believed and his approach to their accomplishment.

Alvin Bentley made substantial contributions to the principles of sound government not only at the national level but on the State level as well. He was concerned about the inroads made by the followers of the Communist ideology in this country and he never failed to speak out against them when an opportunity availed itself.

He became aware of this menace while serving in the State Department's diplomatic corps and left his post to become a candidate for Congress where he hoped he might make a contribution toward blocking the spread of this atheistic octopus.

His congressional career was characterized by a thoroughness of preparation that was nothing short of remarkable. Spending long hours in research, he knew his subject whenever he rose to speak on this floor.

His service did not end when he re-

turned to Michigan. As a delegate to Michigan's constitutional convention in 1961 and 1962 he again distinguished himself as a man of ability and an advocate of sound fundamentals of government. He was chairman of that convention's committee dealing with the sections of the constitution pertaining to education.

Alvin Bentley was different. That title has been given an editorial in the Greenville, Mich., Daily News, on his passing. It follows:

ALVIN BENTLEY WAS DIFFERENT

This department has known very few men with a greater desire to serve others quite as much as Alvin M. Bentley.

Born to tremendous wealth (his family sold a truck company when General Motors was being put together by W. C. Durant and took GM stock rather than cash). Bentley had the ability to visit with a working man as well as a tycoon.

This attribute helped him get elected to Congress from our district in the fall of 1952. Al had worked for the State Department behind the Iron Curtain. He decided to come home and seek public office.

He preceded his campaign by eyeball to eyeball confrontations with the voters. Any audience of one or up was enough for the tireless Bentley to engage in conversation. Soon there were people who thought he must be living in their own neighborhoods rather than in Owosso.

Fred Crawford of Saginaw was an entrenched Congressman whose big love was the House Insular Affairs Committee in general and the Virgin Islands in particular. He was a victim of Washingtonitis which meant the local voters didn't see him.

Bentley unseated the shocked Crawford in the Republican primary and went on to build enormous vote margins every time he ran in this district.

He worked at the job just as much as he did in seeking election. In fact this area has been fortunate in having had three all business Congressmen (Bentley, Jim Harvey and Al Cederberg) in the past 17 years.

Bentley's father died in World War I and the son nearly lost his wife when fanatics invaded the House of Representatives and started shooting. Al nearly lost his life from a bullet wound.

In due time he sought higher office but never made it at a time when Michigan Republican fortunes were at a particularly low point.

Spurned by the voters, Bentley turned to education. He initiated and financed in full a program that enabled many people to go to college.

Likewise, he enjoyed his service as a member of the University of Michigan's board of regents.

His benefactions were legion. We were lucky to have had him as our Congressman. It can be said that understanding the problems of little people isn't always the chief attribute of the very wealthy.

Al Bentley was different.

Mrs. Cederberg and I extend our deepest sympathy to his widow, his mother, and other members of his family.

THE AKOS SZEKELY MEMORIAL
MEDAL

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, I have recently become aware of a special award

instituted by representatives of U.S. citizens of Hungarian descent to commemorate and perpetuate national valor and patriotism. The award, the Akos Szekely Memorial Medal, was established on October 4, 1968, and named for Capt. Akos Szekely who died in action in Vietnam on September 11, 1968.

I have a special interest in this award inasmuch as Captain Szekely attended high school in my congressional district. His record there was outstanding: he excelled in scholarship, in leadership, and in athletics. After graduation, he attended West Point Military Academy under scholarship granted on the basis of his prior record. Thereafter, his military and academic achievements were of highest caliber. It is appropriate that a medal for excellence in spirit, mind, and body should be established in his name, and his example is to be lauded by men of every heritage who love freedom.

I am accordingly bringing to the attention of my colleagues a brief biography of Captain Szekely and a description of the award that has been established in his honor, both of which were prepared at the time of the first awarding of the medal on the 12th anniversary of the Hungarian revolution. It is my thought that we can all derive great satisfaction and pride in the knowledge of the immeasurable contributions this man and thousands of others like him have made toward the advancement of independence and freedom throughout the world. The material follows:

CAPTAIN DEZSŐ ÁKOS SZÉKELY, 1942-68

Captain Dezső Akos Szekely was born in Budapest on March 24, 1942. His father, Akos Szekely, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, was one of the most decorated staff officers in the Hungarian Army when the family was forced to leave Hungary at the end of World War II. His mother, née Katalin Györfi, later married to Frank T. Kovács, a former staff officer in the Hungarian Army, now resides in Silver Spring, Maryland.

After his graduation with the highest honors (member of the "National Honor Society," captain of the cross country team, member of the Key Club, etc.) from Montgomery Blair High School in Silver Spring, Maryland, Ákos Szekely, as he was known and called generally, received a scholarship at West Point Military Academy. His career there revealed continuous academic excellence ("Star Cadet"), and membership in the track and field team. He won several first, second and third prizes as one of the best athletes in long distance walking in the United States during the years of 1962 through 1964. He graduated from West Point as a Second Lieutenant, being second in a class of 562 cadets. He is recognized as the highest ranking graduate of Hungarian ancestry from a United States military academy.

His subsequent military qualifications include parachuting and "Ranger" trainings, a period of 13 months in Korea as a First Lieutenant, commanding the 50th Engineering Company.

Having obtained a student leave of absence from the service, he received his Master of Science degree in engineering from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and also completed a special course at Harvard University, all in a period of a year. He was invited and became a member of Sigma Xi honorary fraternity.

In October, 1967, with the rank of a Captain, Ákos Szekely resumed his military service in Vietnam, as Company Commander of the 63rd Engineering Battalion, 25th In-

fantry Division. After completion of his tour of duty, Captain Szekely volunteered and was assigned to the Mechanized Infantry as Commanding Officer of Company A of the 1/5 Battalion. He was killed in action in the early morning hours of September 11, 1968, in the vicinity of Tay Minh, near the border of Cambodia.

He was laid to rest in the National Cemetery, Arlington, Virginia, on September 26, 1968.

ÁKOS SZÉKELY MEMORIAL MEDAL

The representatives of the American Hungarian Federation, the Collegial Society of Hungarian Veterans (MHBK) and the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation in Greater Washington and the City of Baltimore decided that, in recognition of excellence in spirit, mind and body as well as demonstrated loyalty to the United States of America, and award named Ákos Szekely Memorial Medal will be established. It was also intended to perpetuate the example of Captain Dezső Ákos Szekely who was killed in action in Vietnam on September 11, 1968, whose character traits, academic excellence and heroic death reflect the finest heritage of the Hungarian nation as well as of the Americans of Hungarian descent.

The representatives of the above named nation-wide organizations resolved that, in order to keep proper order and due dignity in all matters related to the issuance of the Ákos Szekely Memorial Medal Committee be constituted, composed of one representative of each of the three above named nation-wide organizations and of an American military and a Hungarian civilian member as archivists.

The Ákos Szekely Memorial Medal is awarded to those United States citizens of Hungarian descent who:

- (a) were found as deserving the award because of their excellence in spirit, mind and body and because of their demonstrated loyalty to the United States of America;
- (b) as citizens of the United States of America, completed their legally required or voluntarily assumed military service honorably;
- (c) demonstrated their adherence to the values of their Hungarian heritage;
- (d) are under thirty years of age; this age limit may be disregarded in instances when the prospective recipient was killed in action in defense of the United States of America or was highly decorated for heroism or other unusual form of military service.

In years of peace, the number of the Ákos Szekely Memorial Medals to be awarded annually, cannot exceed five. In years of war, the number of the recipients of the medal is not limited.

The Ákos Szekely Memorial Medal is awarded annually and is issued to the recipients in the month of October, possibly in close connection with the commemoration of the Hungarian struggle for freedom in 1956. Washington, the 4th of October, 1968.

THE ÁKOS SZÉKELY MEMORIAL MEDAL COMMITTEE.

MORTON CONGRATULATES RUMSFELD ON NEW POSITION

HON. ROGERS C. B. MORTON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, the President announced a few hours ago that one of our distinguished colleagues, Con-

gressman RUMSFELD, of Illinois, has been appointed to one of the most important positions in the administration—Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. When he is confirmed in that position, he will be appointed assistant to the President and will have Cabinet rank.

This nomination is a great step forward for this administration. While Members of Congress on both sides of the aisle will miss Mr. RUMSFELD, his participation in the Nixon administration and in our attack on poverty will be extremely important to our Nation. The upgrading of his position to that of Cabinet rank is also significant and emphasizes once more the determination of this administration to do the things necessary to solve the problems in our Nation.

Congressman RUMSFELD brings to the administration the same thing he brought to Congress—youth, vigor, scholarship, and a determination to get the job done. I want to congratulate him on his nomination and look forward to working with him in his new role as a Cabinet officer.

CRIME

HON. EDWIN D. ESHLEMAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. ESHLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, as we are confronted with the domestic problems facing the Nation and are asked to establish and finance priority activities designed to alleviate those problems, I cannot imagine a crisis more deserving of concentrated effort than that of crime.

There is little need to repeat the theme that the fact and fear of crime stalk America. We are aware that crime has risen at an alarming rate and threatens the well-being of every citizen. We know that the fundamental obligation of Government is protecting the lives, properties, and liberties of the governed. We realize that the cost of crime not only in terms of dollars but in terms of injury and anguish is nearly immeasurable. We affirm the public's desire to place crime high on the agenda for appropriate and forceful action. We do not need to be constantly reminded about the fact and fear of crime, but perhaps we do need to develop an understanding of the extent to which crime affects the other decisions which are required as we chart future domestic courses for the United States.

The Federal Government, it seems, has yet to realize that crime is a fundamental factor in many of our most frustrating problem areas. Young people are disillusioned with the "establishment" partially because they question the dedication and, more basically, the honesty of public officials. Who can blame them when we know as a matter of public record that some officials are paid off by organized crime syndicates who have found it most profitable to attempt and accomplish subversion of the legal proc-

esses. The black community is alienated, in part, because white "pushers" and distributors exploit young black people by hooking them on narcotics. Negroes then become the principal victims of vicious crimes committed to feed the dope users' limitless appetite. Poverty-stricken individuals are preyed upon by all types of criminals, from the bigtime variety to the petty thief, who realize the fact that the poor are likely to be more gullible to rackets and are sure to possess fewer legal recourses against lawless activity. It is this final point that, I think, should be of special significance to the Congress.

The Congress has rather irrevocably committed the Nation to an all-out effort to rid our country of the blight of poverty. We have designed and implemented programs to carry out that goal. We have most often listened to and acted upon the suggestions of social scientists who have guided us toward the root causes of economic despair—inadequate education, unequal opportunity, dilapidated housing, overcrowding, illegitimacy, and a host of other physical and psychological manifestations of poverty discovered in hundreds of unrelated studies. Sometimes, we have gone so far as to draw up magic formulas as a supposed answer to socioeconomic frustrations. Interesting enough, one of the chief justifications for the efforts all along the way has been that poverty breeds crime.

As much as the scholarly pursuits of the social scientists have to recommend them, perhaps we should have spent a little more time listening to the general public. The people are concerned about the crime problem regardless of how far back one can trace the roots. Over and over again, Americans have ranked crime No. 1 among domestic crises. If ending poverty would reduce lawlessness, the public generally favors a battle against the ravages of poverty. But what if the people, in reality, have already hit upon the fundamental problem—crime? What if their concern to meet this immediate crisis should be pointing a direction to us as we seek to assist the poor?

I doubt anyone could justify an approach suggesting that crime breeds poverty, but it is not beyond the realm of possibility that crime is the chief aggravation within the cruel state of economic despondency. The poor, themselves, have tried to reach us with that message. In a 1967 publication issued by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights called "A Time To Listen—A Time To Act," a minister from a slum area in Cleveland, Ohio, put it this way:

It has got so bad in our area until the word has got out all over the Hough area, particularly 105th and Euclid Avenue to 79th and Euclid, is where the action is. You can walk up and down the street any time of the day or night and observe Cadillacs, Lincolns and all fine cars from all parts of the country driven by pimps who come into Cleveland to thrive on prostitution because the word has gotten out all over the United States that Cleveland is where the action is.

In that same publication, a Boston, Mass., spokesman from the slums stated:

Police have isolated the South End as an area, giving it only token protection. Prostitution, bookmaking and after-hour places are

all over and there is an excess of liquor stores and a shortage of foot patrolmen to keep the street safe.

These people were talking about crime that preys on and exploits the poor and quite naturally breeds contempt and frustration. Others quoted in the report made observations about criminal activities that cause small but important adversities in poverty areas. A businessman described the difficulty he had getting merchants to service his place because of the dangers of coming into the slums. A footnote in the study referred to an elderly woman who was afraid to walk out to church.

In my opinion we have not focused nearly enough attention on the relationships between crime and poverty. It is true that we have enacted programs designed to beef up local law enforcement and, I am sure, the intent was that such programs should be used to aid in combating crime in the slums, but the fact is that little real headway has been made. Progress will only result when we recognize the true character of the enemy we face. It is reasonable to expect that local law enforcement agencies can combat ordinary street crime if given the proper support and tools for effectiveness. But it is unreasonable to assume that local officials alone can wage war against the chief criminal influence in poverty areas—the organized crime syndicate. The Federal Government must become involved in a cooperative effort with communities across the Nation to fight bigtime racketeers.

We should not find it too surprising to discover that organized crime gleans a substantial portion of its profits from victimizing those who can least afford to pay. The racketeer avidly seeks those enterprises that seem safest from prosecution and conviction. No group in our society has more minimal access to protection within our legal system than the poor. In addition, the racketeer has a businesslike desire to look for the best customers for his product. Again, he finds his best targets among the disadvantaged. A youth with little hope for success is more likely to seek escape through use of narcotics. A young girl who has been deprived of the luxuries of life is more likely to find the profits offered by prostitution attractive. The man with no money to invest legally is more likely to be lured by a 1,000 to 1 chance taken on the purchase of a 25-cent numbers ticket. The slum businessman who constantly lives in fear is more likely to fall victim to a protection racket. In other words, the operation of organized crime is completely diabolic in that it knowingly exploits misery. But, of even greater concern is that the exploitation tends to promote misery.

With great justification, attention has been focused recently on the narcotics problem in the slums. This crime arena is perhaps most sinister not only because the victims of addiction are chiefly young people but because the dope-related street crimes detrimentally affect the whole spectra of slum dwellers. The cost of obtaining any drug is astronomical and youths without financial resources must resort to a whole range of criminal

activities, from petty thievery to vicious attack, to obtain the money they need to use dope. The average charge for one marijuana cigarette is 50 cents and a deprived young person normally does not have even 50 cents of "extra" cash unless he or she obtains the money illegally. The crimes committed are for the most part directed against individuals within the same neighborhood, thereby causing grief and hardship for others who can hardly afford the toll. Some estimates have calculated that over 50 percent of the street crime in this country could be halted if dope traffic were ended and such figures in themselves are reason enough for action in this area. But the additional fact that living conditions in the urban ghetto would be immeasurably bettered by eliminating the problems connected with drugs should be another prime factor in our determination to stop the distribution of narcotics by racketeers.

Another major source of income for organized crime is the numbers game operated throughout the Nation and particularly in our cities. It is a game of chance where the odds are at least 1,000 to 1 and the payoff about 500 to 1. It is a racket that has little or no appeal to those members of society who have sources of income that provide them with constant hope of bettering their lots in life. It appeals to those who are desperately seeking a means for getting rich quick by offering them an illusion of attainable great wealth. But the offer is merely an illusion while the money to pay for the chance comes out of poverty-bare pockets at the expense of food, shelter, clothing and health. An example of the drain is shown in estimates out of the Harlem district of New York City. Five years ago, some studies concluded that approximately \$50 million a year was sapped from this area by organized crime in numbers. Today some estimates put the figure at more than \$250 million. This estimate compares with \$5.65 million expenditures by the Office of Economic Opportunity in Harlem in 1968. OEO spent \$106.5 million throughout the State of New York in 1968. All governmental moneys flowing into Harlem at present could not possibly offset a \$250 million drain which in no way is circulated to benefit the community at large. Harlem is certainly not alone since nearly all of our major cities face a similar situation. The racketeers in just this one aspect of their operation are sucking the life blood out of slum areas and are complicating the governments' effort to provide despondent people with a better life.

Numbers and narcotics rank high among the cash complications created by organized crime—those affecting the poor person's property and pocketbook. But the major areas do not represent the entire picture. The slum businessman who pays for "protection" passes the fees along to his customers in the form of higher prices causing additional monetary hardship. It is disturbing to note that racketeers now seeking new avenues of investment are turning to real estate and seem to be somewhat interested in the profits offered by slum landlordism. More disturbing is the affect of the total situation on young peo-

ple who are intrigued by the criminal's access to wealth and therefore reject responsible patterns for bettering themselves in favor of the big money lure of crime.

All of the money problems brought about by crime in the slums are only a part of the price being paid. We have heard a great deal about the breakdown in respect for law and order. Various public figures have tied this phenomena primarily to slum residents and rightly so. The slumdweller is the one who probably finds it most difficult to inspire within himself or within others the kind of respect for legal preservation of order normally associated with our society. Daily he sees criminal activities carried on blatantly in his neighborhood. He knows firsthand the ravages of crime and figures that others must be aware of its existence all around him. Yet, he also observes that very little has been done to combat the situation and often concludes, sometimes justifiably, that government officials have been paid off in return for ignoring the problem. Can we expect respect from such an observer? I would imagine that respect can only follow a display of concern on the part of government for ending the miseries associated with crime in the ghetto. Where corruption does exist, respect cannot be expected until honesty is entrenched. A principal step down that path demands a war against organized crime since it is the racketeer who can afford and therefore seeks to nullify political and legal procedures.

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice stated in 1967:

Organized crime exists by virtue of the power it purchases with its money.

That power is gained at the expense of poor people whose destinies the racketeers continue to sell out daily. The threat of organized crime to American society at large is real enough, but the disaster wrought upon our most disadvantaged citizens is a modern tragedy. The Congress has an obligation to take the necessary action to meet this very real poverty problem. I cannot help but think that some of those millions already invested in combating poverty might have been more realistically spent in combating the crime that continues to prey upon and frustrate the misery and hopelessness that is poverty.

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 14, 1969

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I was saddened to learn of the passing of the Honorable Alvin M. Bentley, who for 8 years represented the people of the Eighth Congressional District of Michigan. I had the good fortune to know Al Bentley quite well during his time in the House of Representatives and I share my colleagues' grief at his un-

timely death. Al Bentley was an exceptional man. Born into considerable wealth he could have opted for the idle, carefree life. Instead, he chose a career of dedication to his country and fellow citizens. In 1940 he joined the Foreign Service and served with distinction in Mexico, Colombia, Hungary, and Italy. In 1952 he ran for Congress, was elected and for 8 years was a credit to the people who elected him, this body, and the country as a whole. He was a man strong of convictions who also keenly understood the awesome responsibility of great wealth. He was a devoted American and a staunch defender of things American. Above all he was a friendly, warm, genuine man. Can there be a stronger testimonial to his fortitude than his return here only 8 weeks after being critically wounded on March 1, 1954, when a group of fanatics shot up the floor of the House from the visitors' gallery? When I saw him lying on the floor in the well of the House, I did not think he would make it to the hospital.

Al Bentley was quite a man and we shall all miss him. To his widow, his family, and many friends I extend our deepest sympathy.

THREE MARYLANDERS DIE IN VIETNAM

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Sp4c. William J. Daubert, Pfc. Edwin H. Pumphrey, and Pfc. Orville L. Knight, three fine young men from Maryland, were killed recently in Vietnam. I would like to commend their courage and honor their memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

THREE MARYLANDERS DIE IN VIETNAM: TWO WERE 20, ONE 21—ALL WERE KILLED IN COMBAT

Three more Maryland servicemen, all of them draftees, have been killed in the Vietnam war, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

They were: Army Spec. 4 William J. Daubert, son of Mr. and Mrs. Francis L. Daubert, of Eden, Md. Army Pfc. Edwin H. Pumphrey, son of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert R. Pumphrey, of Silver Spring, Md.

Army Pfc. Orville L. Knight, husband of Mrs. Sarah K. Knight, of Keedysville, Md. Specialist Daubert, a medic serving with an Air Cavalry unit, was killed by small-arms fire Thursday. "He was killed on a combat mission attempting to rescue two wounded buddies," a member of his family said yesterday.

He was drafted into the Army in March, 1968, and sent to Vietnam following basic training.

He was a 1966 graduate of Washington High School. Before entering the Army, he worked as a clerk in a Salisbury (Md.) supermarket.

Specialist Daubert, who was 20, was to have been discharged from the Army in August. "Like other soldiers, he was counting the days," a relative said.

Survivors, besides his parents, include two

brothers, Edward and Danny Daubert, both of Eden.

STEPPED ON LAND MINE

Private Pumphrey, who was 21, was also killed Thursday during a combat mission. He was killed after stepping on an enemy land mine near Da Nang in Quang Nam province, the Defense Department reported.

He was drafted July 1968, and had served only three months in Vietnam with the 9th Infantry Division.

After attending Sherwood High School in Sandy Spring, Md., he worked as an apartment house custodian. He also was a singer with a local rock 'n roll group known as the "Thrillers."

Private Pumphrey's sister, Mrs. Claudia Hall, said that "he wrote in his letters that he couldn't explain what it was like over there.

"CAN'T WRITE ABOUT IT"

"He said it's just something you do, you can't write about it. You have to see for yourself."

He was engaged to marry Miss Laura Beverly, of Silver Spring.

Surviving, besides his parents, are three sisters, Mrs. Annette Adams, Miss Charlotte Pumphrey and Mrs. Claudia Hall, all of Silver Spring; four brothers, Douglas, James and John Pumphrey, all of Silver Spring, and Herbert R. Pumphrey, Jr., of Olney, Md.

WORKED AT PLANE PLANT

Private Knight, 20, was killed Tuesday in a combat operation near Saigon.

In letters to his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Francis W. Knight, of Dargan, he called the war "hell". Mr. Knight said his son said that he wished he listened to his Daddy and had gone in the Navy."

Survivors, besides his wife and parents, are a 5-month old daughter, Samantha Jo; two sisters, Mrs. Doris L. Gay and Mrs. Frances Mae Grim; a brother, David W. Knight; and maternal grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Arnold Ingram, all of Dargan, Md.

MARINE WRITES POEM WHILE AT DANANG, VIETNAM

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I am very often impressed with the fine writings in the many wonderful newspapers in the First District of Georgia.

I especially want to call to the attention of my colleagues a poem written by Marine Pvt. Paul Akins, Jr., of Bulloch County, Ga., which was printed in the April 10 edition of the Bulloch Herald & Times of Statesboro, Ga.

I do not believe I could possibly add anything more to the beauty and thoughtful lines written by this young serviceman. He has shown clearly and well the kind of stuff he is made of and I am indeed proud that such a young man calls Bulloch County, Ga., in my congressional district, home.

The article follows:

MARINE WRITES POEM WHILE AT DANANG, VIETNAM

The thoughts of the Bulloch County servicemen fighting in Vietnam are often hidden from everyone, but occasionally some of these men write a letter or a note telling their feelings.

The following poem was written by Marine Private Paul Akins Jr. where he is now on duty as a communications expert at Da Nang AB, Vietnam:

"MY THANKS

"People everywhere in life from every walk and station,
From every town and city and every state and nation
Have given me so many things intangible and clear
I couldn't begin to count them all or even make them clear . . .
I only know I owe so much to people everywhere
And when I put my thoughts in verse it's just a way to share
The meanings of a thankful heart, a heart so much like your own,
For nothing that I think or write is mine and mine alone . . .
So if you found some beauty in any word or line,
It's just 'Your Soul's reflection in Proximity with Mine.'"

WORLDWIDE POPULATION
EXPLOSION

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, a problem fast approaching the crisis stage is the worldwide population explosion. As legislators, we must study and analyze legislative proposals which promise to avoid or, at least, alleviate the crisis ahead.

We must seek to create laws and programs which will restrain population growth—at the same time avoiding any infringement on our civil rights and liberties, our privacy and dignity as human beings.

In this connection, I call to my colleague's attention an article by Prof. Albert P. Blaustein, of the Rutgers Law School faculty, in the August 1968, issue of *Law and Society Review*, volume 3, beginning at page 107, entitled "The Legal Challenge of Population Control," based on testimony which Professor Blaustein delivered before the Subcommittee on Foreign Aid Expenditures of the Government Operations Committee, headed by Senator Ernest Gruening last year.

Professor Blaustein is the author of "The American Lawyer, Desegregation, and the Law," and "Civil Rights and the American Negro." He has traveled throughout Africa and visited Vietnam in order to advise on law school development. During these trips, he became increasingly aware of population problems and increasingly interested in what can be done to restrain and curtail excessive population growth.

His major recommendation is one which we must recognize as legislators. Until recently, population limitation was not a valued goal of our society. It must be now. Thus it is appropriate for us now to reexamine all of our laws to see what their effect is or may be on population growth.

I commend this thought-provoking article to my colleague's attention:

ARGUENDO: THE LEGAL CHALLENGE OF
POPULATION CONTROL

(By Albert P. Blaustein, Rutgers, the State University, Camden, N.J.)

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The following is extracted from a statement by the author to the Subcommittee on Foreign Aid Expenditures of the U.S. Senate Committee on Government Operations (Hearings on S. 1676, March 2, 1966). Hearings on the population crisis were held during 1966 and 1967 under the chairmanship of Senator Ernest Gruening. Professor Blaustein had added the footnotes for the convenience of readers of the REVIEW.)

It is obvious that overpopulation is the most critical social problem of our time. As such, it is necessarily the greatest legal problem of our time and the greatest challenge which faces the legal profession today. Since the population problem is fast becoming the population crisis, it is essential that our laws and our legal order must now be subject to reexamination. We dare wait no longer in studying, formulating, and augmenting the proper and precise laws and legal machinery both to help restrain the population growth and to alleviate the ills inherent in overpopulation and unwanted population.

But we must, in our quest for the best laws, be wary of the trap of talking solely in terms of population curtailment. We must take as our guiding principle the words of population expert, John D. Rockefeller, III: "Our constant goal is and must be the enrichment of human life, not its restriction."¹ In other words, our new laws on the population problem must at the same time make for a better society.

The laws and legal structure which must now be studied and developed—and changed—fall under four broad, generalized classifications.

First: We must have legislation designed to close the knowledge gap and to provide the governmental administrative machinery to handle the population problem. This is the necessary first step and we are fortunate in having this type of bill before your committee at this time.

Second: We need laws designed to encourage family limitation.

Third: We need legislative changes and changes in legal rules in light of the newly perceived and newly recognized social value of population control.

Fourth: We need laws to help alleviate the problems inherent in a society with a greatly expanded population—problems involving conservation of natural resources and the like.

The keystone of our American democracy is the principle summarized and adopted as the theme of the 1954 Columbia University Bicentennial. It reads: "Man's right to knowledge and the free use thereof." With this principle there can be no reasoned dissent. The bill before this committee, S. 1676—I wish that the number for this new declaration of freedom were S. 1776—is the vital, necessary first piece of legislation in the first category. It is the logical legislative follow-up of the efforts of able lawyers who, with the cooperation of equally able men of medicine and demography, have fought outmoded laws in legislative halls and courtrooms in order to advance birth control knowledge. The importance of the dissemination of this vital knowledge—the closing of the knowledge gap—has already been ably presented by many other, better qualified witnesses. I can add nothing to this part of the dialog except to express support.

As to the fourth category—dealing with laws to alleviate the problems of a much ex-

panding population—there is likewise little reason to comment. There already exists a vast literature on what laws must be passed to revitalize our cities, save our water reserves, prevent air pollution, and so forth. However, we might also want to think at some point in terms of new tax laws providing depletion allowances or other incentives in order to encourage the kinds of production we will need for our new expanding population.

But little has yet been said or done about the second category, laws to encourage family limitation, and the third category, legal changes which should be made in light of the new social value of population control.

Laws designed to limit population growth must meet two criteria: they must, first, actually accomplish that objective, and, second, they must do so without reducing the significance of human life and the value of individual dignity. Such laws must not be enacted on an ad hoc basis. They must not be based on a "feeling" on the part of legislators that these laws can do the job; such laws must not come in response to emotion-based public sentiment or reaction. Rather, they must be laws based upon study and analysis—the results of efforts of lawyers, working together with men of medicine, demography, sociology, and so forth.

And what is specifically not wanted are State-imposed population controls. A law directly limiting the number of children which a family can have would be repugnant to American ideals. The lawyer's job today is to find the best laws to encourage population limitation, at the same time minimizing the number of unwanted children and advancing the Great Society.

We have already heard legislative proposals that any woman who bears two illegitimate children should be sterilized following a court order. We have already heard proposals that welfare payments should be denied for the support of those who have illegitimate children. But would such laws have any effects? Even disregarding our ideals and our other social values, certainly we should not pass laws of this type until we analyze their effects and know that they will work to curtail population.

Desirable laws designed to encourage family limitations must be analyzed under four headings: (a) age; (b) economics; (c) knowledge; and (d) medicine. And in regard to all four, it seems that a good part of the solution will come from laws encouraging education. Now to each of these four areas of consideration:

A. We start with age. There is a definite correlation between marriage age and population growth. One of the best ways to help limit the population explosion is to encourage proper delays in marriage. And this is certainly not an evil.

The tendency to marry young is peculiar to the United States, among the advanced countries of the world. Only in Asia is there a marrying young pattern comparable to that of the United States. More girls marry at age eighteen than at any other. Half of all brides this year will be under twenty. Further, it has been estimated that half of all young men in America are married before they are twenty-five.² And not only are they marrying young, but they are having their first babies soon after marriage and are having their children closely spaced. One-half of all mothers have their first child at age twenty-one. And it is interesting to note that the average mother has her last child by age twenty-six,³ and that there is a very sharp reduction in child production which comes before age thirty.⁴ So it is a serious business to consider raising the marriage age in order to reduce population growth.

Unfortunately, when one speaks about the marriage-age situation it is also necessary

Footnotes at end of article.

to speak about unwanted, unplanned first children. Sociologists have estimated that at least one out of every six brides is pregnant on her wedding day. And probably one-third to one-half of all teen-age marriages involve pregnancies.⁵

One law-legislative solution is to raise the age at which persons may marry. Certainly, it should be no less than eighteen. Those states that permit marriages below that age should increase the figure to eighteen. Equally important is not lowering age limitations which already exist, despite pressures in that direction. Kentucky has not changed the age at which its children may be married, but it has, I believe, taken a step in the wrong direction by lowering the legal age from twenty-one to eighteen for the purchasing of homes, opening of charge accounts, etc.⁶ The waiting periods between announcing intention of marriage and the actual marriage ceremony should also be increased by law and that law should be enforced.

Probably the best way to raise the marriage age is through laws fostering more education. By building more schools, by providing more scholarships, by raising the compulsory education age, and so forth, we can keep children in school longer. And this will limit the exploding population in still another way. Education has long been recognized as a regulator of fertility. Those with more schooling are far more likely to plan activities more efficiently, and this includes family size. And more education also makes for a better America.

This would make a good beginning—a good beginning which further study and investigation can make still better.

B. Let me talk about economics. Almost all the countries in our Western civilization, outside of the United States, have, at one time or another, adopted family allowance systems in order to prevent population declines. But what economic measures should now be taken to encourage family limitation?

It has been said that increased availability of mortgage credit, plus social security benefits, unemployment and disability compensation, minimum wage laws, and so forth, do encourage early marriages and more children. However, it is not consistent with our ideas of the Great Society to take away any of these benefits. Nor is it demographically certain that curtailment of any of these benefits would limit any significant population growth. Certainly, studies by lawyers, public opinion experts, demographers, sociologists, economists, and so forth, are necessary to know what effect such laws actually have on our population growth.

We do know as a fact that population declined in an earlier era when legislation forbidding child employment reduced the value of children as income-earning assets. What does this mean to us in terms of future laws? Shall we further change child labor laws? This is certainly something that must be investigated. We also know that working women have fewer children than those who are not employed. Thus, from the point of view of population control, as well as our struggle to achieve the equality of all citizens, removing discrimination against women in employment is of great importance.

The population problem also calls for a re-examination of our tax structure. Should we continue to have a marital deduction? We now allow a \$600 income tax deduction per child. Should this be continued? Will its repeal actually have an effect on population growth? My point is that we should find out first, before taking away such a deduction because we "think" it might have a population-reducing effect. I am inclined to think that the better alternative is to create a tax deduction for money spent on education. But I am not really sure about the effect this would have on population growth. Certainly, we should find out.

C. Knowledge: Under this heading we must

think about ways to close the knowledge gap other than those provided for under the present bill. Here we must think in terms of laws setting up state medical clinics and social agencies where data on population control can be disseminated to those who want such information. And we must think about laws which will speed the communication of knowledge. At the same time, we must phrase such laws with care, with appropriate precision, so that those whose moral or religious convictions are opposed to contraception will be free not to take advantage of such information or such services. This is best done in advance—and not at a time when a legislature is being rushed to pass such legislation.

D. Medical: Under this heading must come the further study and analysis of laws connected with abortion and sterilization. Much intelligent legal work has already been done. More must be done. Here we start with the realization that there are probably more than 1 million illegal abortions per year in the United States and that at least 5,000 women lose their lives annually through such practices.⁷

We are told by the very great population expert, Dr. Alan F. Guttmacher, that the "abortion laws in the United States make hypocrites of all of us."⁸ And another expert tells us that when it comes to abortion, that he knows "of no other instance in history in which there has been such frank and universal disregard for criminal law."⁹ Dr. Guttmacher also criticizes what he calls our "national crazy-quilt pattern of legislation"¹⁰ on the laws governing sterilization. He says "most of us do not know whether we are being legal or illegal when we carry out a sterilization without strict medical necessity, such as a serious heart disease."¹¹

Steps in the right direction have been taken by the highly respected American Law Institute in its model penal code. And there is legislation in Virginia and in a number of other states which must be examined as possible models for the future. This is not testimony now advocating the passage of laws on either abortion or sterilization, but it is a plea for further study as to the possible role of such laws in our society.

Lastly is the recommendation that we reconsider and reevaluate all our laws in light of the newly recognized objective of population control. Laws are expressions of our social values. And quite properly, in the days before the automobile, our social values were such that we made it a greater crime to steal a horse in Texas than to steal a horse in Massachusetts. Today we have this new social value of population limitation—a value which did not exist at the time that our present-day laws were put into effect. As each new law is proposed, it must be analyzed in view of this new objective. And the time has come to engage in a comprehensive study of existing laws in light of our population goals.

A few moments ago, I mentioned the new law of Kentucky which has reduced the legal age from twenty-one to eighteen. Kentucky is the first state to have done so, although several other states have set the legal age at eighteen for women, while keeping the legal age at twenty-one for men. My immediate reaction is that such laws tend to increase population. When those who are only eighteen are permitted to buy homes, open charge accounts, and obtain loans under their own signature, school dropouts and early marriages may be encouraged. Let us find out. Let us think about the relative effect on population control before we pass such laws. Of course, it is a good argument on the other side to say that if a person is old enough to vote and join the Armed Forces then he is old enough to enter into contracts. But I suggest that the social value of population limitation was not considered in the passage of this law. And it should have been.

There are many laws which need reconsideration in light of our social desire to limit population growth. Marriage laws have already been noted, but we must also consider laws on divorce and on annulment. In many jurisdictions, annulments will be granted if one of the parties refuses to have children. Is such a legal rule valid in view of today's thinking? We need to reexamine our laws concerning illegitimate children. And, very important, we must reconsider our family support laws. What rules shall we enact regarding the financial responsibilities of fathers of both legitimate and illegitimate children? We must reevaluate our welfare laws and the way relief payments are handled. We must also examine our criminal laws dealing with such matters as the age of consent and homosexuality. Should we make changes in laws on joint bank accounts, on laws involving land ownership, on laws dealing with employment, on laws dealing with inheritance? I believe that we will want to make changes in all of these laws after we restudy them in view of the population problem.

Perhaps more important is our further consideration of the education laws. At what age can we permit dropouts? How much compulsory schooling—at what kinds of schools—should be demanded? Is it advisable to give single persons preference in obtaining scholarships? And we should even look into the question, as has been suggested by one group of demographers, as to whether we should continue to have coed junior and senior high schools or replace them with all-boy or all-girl schools.

There is almost no limit to the number of laws which should be reexamined in view of the additional criterion of the social value of population control. This should make us take even stronger steps to enforce the laws prohibiting racial discrimination. For as we provide employment for, and advance the education of, the nonwhites in our population, we shall have an automatic reduction in numbers of children—as well as making for a better and more prosperous America.

In his essay on "Population, Space, and Human Culture," Henry B. van Loon states: "The scientist and the lawyer must work together closely in the interest of mankind: the scientist to give us facts, the lawyer to help us make them useful."¹² And the sociologist wants to give us surveys of knowledge and attitudes or practices concerning reproduction so we can find out what people really know, believe, and do. As Julian Huxley has pointed out, "public opinion is ready."¹³

We have reached the stage where we must bring all of our disciplines together so that we, in this great developed country can implement a sound population policy—one which can then be readily transferred as part of our great contribution in helping the lesser developed nations of the world.

FOOTNOTES

¹ J. D. Rockefeller, III, *A Citizen's Perspective on Population*, 6 Intercom 14 (1964).

² *What Happens to Teen-Age Marriages?*, 19 Changing Times, The Kiplinger Magazine 6-7 Nov. 1965).

³ *The Facts of Social Life (Updated)*, 9 Am. Behav. Sci. 3, 34 (Oct. 1965).

⁴ R. C. Cook, *New Patterns in U. S. Fertility*, 20 Population Bull. 113, 130-131 (1964).

⁵ See, J. Ind. St. Med. Ass'n and J. Marr. and the Family, as quoted in *supra*, note 2, at 8. Reference also personal correspondence between the author and various sociologists.

⁶ Ky. Rev. Stat. 2.015, ch. 21, § 1 (1964).

⁷ Studies quoted in J. M. Kummer, *The Problems of Abortion: The Personal Population Explosion*, in *The Population Crisis and the Use of World Resources*, 274, 275 S. Mudd ed. 1964).

⁸ *Id.* at 278.

⁹ Taussig, *supra* note 7.

¹⁰ A. F. Guttmacher, *Babies by Choice or by Chance*, 59 (1959).

¹¹ Alan F. Guttmacher, *The Place of Sterilization*, 268, 271, in Mudd, *supra* note 7.

¹² H. B. Van Loon, 25 L. & Contemp. Prob. 397, 405 (1960).

¹³ J. Huxley, *Too Many People*, in our *Crowded Planet*, 223, 229 (F. Osborn ed. 1962).

CONGRESSMAN JOHN DELLENBACK
REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON

HON. EDWARD G. BIESTER, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. BIESTER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the April newsletter of Congressman JOHN DELLENBACK, of Oregon.

I have found it both interesting and timely since it deals with two very important issues, inflation and taxes.

The newsletter follows:

CONGRESSMAN JOHN DELLENBACK REPORTS
FROM WASHINGTON

APRIL 1969.

DEAR FRIEND: With April 15th just past us, taxation, both federal and local, is very much at the surface of all our thinking. Rather than discussing a wide variety of issues, I think that, at the beginning of this new Congress, I should give you my thinking on the greatest problem facing the nation—the task of halting inflation without bringing about a recession—and how federal taxation fits into that picture.

The nation's present inflationary predicament is in great part due to the failure of the Johnson Administration and past Congresses to estimate accurately the costs of the Vietnam War and to make unavoidable choices between guns and butter. Many of the Great Society's costly programs were ill-conceived and poorly-administered. It is now up to the Nixon Administration to examine carefully all of these programs and see where it can make the changes necessary to bring order out of fiscal and monetary chaos inherited from the past.

We also must realize that the last Administration left a budget in which estimates of some receipts are too high, while predictions of many vital expenditures are too low. The projected budget surplus, which is an essential weapon in our battle against inflation, is unrealistically high and may be entirely illusory. It will take time to reverse the inflationary trends that are a result of several years of exorbitant government spending.

I believe that we can and must make sounder decisions on spending priorities and that we can reduce expenditures. The real question is one of priorities, and determining what is really important. It is up to the Congress to fight inflation by exercising self-discipline in voting appropriations.

INEQUITIES IN OUR TAX STRUCTURE

The largest source of tax revenue for the federal government is the personal income tax. The federal government is expected to collect about 186 billion dollars in taxes this year, or roughly one fourth of all personal income. The bulk of those taxes will be collected from persons in the middle income brackets, between \$5,000 and \$15,000.

This will continue no matter what we succeed in doing in the way of tax reform. Even so, there clearly are inequities in our present tax structure. For example, there are some people receiving very large incomes who pay either no federal income tax or very little. Although this is not the case with most people receiving large incomes, it's wrong when it is the case with any such people. Tax free foundations have on occasion been misused.

The allowability of many deductions should be reconsidered. And there are far too many other examples of inequities.

I think attention should also be given to the people who are doing their best to make ends meet as they see their fixed incomes continue to lose buying power. I speak particularly of people whose source of income is based on government and private pensions, annuities and survivor's benefits. I am interested in allowing those who are able to earn additional income to do so without jeopardizing the level of Social Security and other benefits they receive.

REFORM—WHAT CAN BE DONE?

The House Ways and Means Committee has at long last undertaken an extensive review of our entire income tax system, beginning with hearings in February. I am very hopeful that Chairman Mills and his committee will deliver an omnibus tax revision proposal to the House later this year. Although early consideration of reform is highly desirable, the economic impact of even slight changes is considerable, and we can safely assume that the Committee will be very thorough in its deliberations.

Tax reform can be accomplished in a variety of ways. Here are a few areas for reform that I think merit consideration:

Treasury Department proposals.
Multiple trusts.
Minimum and maximum tax on individuals.

Tax treatment of charitable foundations.
Tax treatment of the elderly.
Foreign tax credits.
Taxation of single persons.
Income averaging.
Conglomerate mergers.

The Nixon Administration, inheritor of a tragic, costly war, an economy experiencing its fourth year of soaring inflation and a people whose faith in their national government is sorely tried, has requested that the 10 percent surtax be extended. While the surtax imposed last year certainly did not stop inflation, we are assured by top economists that without the surtax inflation would have been even more devastating. And we are further warned that removing the surtax now would feed the present inflation and make it a great deal worse. It is my view that the Congress must allow at least a short term extension, providing that the extension is accompanied by a firm expenditure ceiling, a budget surplus and strong Administration support of tax reform.

The Administration needs time to prepare a comprehensive tax reform package that is aimed at distributing the burden of taxes more fairly. There will be specific proposals coming from the Executive and I intend to offer my own recommendations shortly.

Congress should take in earnest the President's statement wherein he said the temporary tax (the surtax) must be ended as soon as our commitments in Southeast Asia and economic conditions permit. This is more than rhetoric. After considerable reduction of our effort in Vietnam, many of our current inflationary pressures should be removed. At that time, suspension of the surtax would appear to be of positive benefit, not only to individuals, but also to the entire economy, for it would serve as a stimulant to consumer buying, offsetting a downturn in defense related economic activity.

Vietnam, public works, veterans' benefits, the draft, Congressional reorganization, Electoral College reform, and many other issues demand the attention of the Congress. Underlying every one of these issues, however, is the need to put our national economic house in order, with an end to runaway inflation—partly through sound tax reform—taking top priority.

LUMBER AND PLYWOOD SUPPLY SHORTAGES

The President recognized the urgency of the crisis in lumber and plywood supplies

and prices when he appointed a cabinet-level committee to recommend immediate actions to meet our national needs for wood products. While I commend the committee on its decisions and action to improve the present situation, I think the Congress must take more basic, long-range action to insure that sufficient lumber and plywood is available to meet our nation's goals.

I was particularly pleased to be allowed to sit with both the Subcommittee on Housing of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee and the House Committee on Banking and Currency when these two committees held hearings on the lumber and plywood problem. Through these hearings we have finally focused attention on the deeper and much more critical problems underlying our troubles of the moment. The thrust of the many days' testimony was that unless this nation makes a radical change in its present practices and procedures in the management of its forests we will not have the absolutely essential lumber and plywood required to meet such national goals as those contained in the 1968 Housing Act. Present practices and procedures simply will not yield lumber and plywood in the right places at the right times and at the right prices to make possible the attainment of our essential national objectives.

Because the Fourth District has about 10 percent of the standing commercial softwood timber in the U.S., the vast public and private land holdings from which our timber resources is harvested account for a very significant share of the economy of Southwestern Oregon. No other part of the U.S. has as much at stake in any issue involving lumber and plywood as does our District.

We face a growing problem of an adequate supply of lumber and plywood to meet our nation's housing needs. But we can solve that problem if we move swiftly and wisely. I think the House and Senate hearings can point the way to necessary Congressional action.

Some of the major bills which I have introduced in the 91st Congress would:

Limit the number of Census questions to be answered under penalty of law.

Eliminate complex record-keeping procedures by removing ammunition from the sale and delivery provisions of the Crime Control Act.

Prohibit the assignment of a son to a combat area if a member of the family has died in Vietnam.

Establish the Oregon Dunes National Recreation Area.

Provide needed irrigation water, flood control and conservation-recreation benefits on the Olalla division of the Umpqua project and the Merlin and Illinois Valley divisions of the Rogue River Basin project.

Provide for holding terms of the United States District Court in Coquille.

Permit employers to contribute to union trust funds for scholarships and child care centers for dependents of employees.

Eliminate tax loopholes which benefit wealthy nonfarmers at the expense of those whose major income is derived from farming.

Authorize the airlines to provide reduced fares for students, military personnel and senior citizens on a space-available basis.

Control oil pollution by making it unlawful to discharge oil from any vessel, waterfront facility or offshore structure into navigable waters.

COMING TO WASHINGTON?

Please drop by my office if business or vacation brings you to the nation's capital. There are many tours available, but it is always a good idea to make reservations as far in advance as possible for most of them.

My office will make these reservations for you if you will please notify me well in advance of your arrival!

HOW TO CONTACT ME

The easiest and best way to reach me is by letter, but if a matter is urgent, you can telephone me. My office address and telephone numbers—

In Washington

1210 Longworth House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515. Phone: 225-6416. Area Code 202.

In the District

Post Office Box 1436, Post Office Building. Phone: 342-5141. Area Code 503.

INJURY CONTROL PROGRAM

HON. JOE SKUBITZ

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. SKUBITZ. Mr. Speaker, when one hears of an outstanding program which deserves to be brought to the attention of the American people, I believe the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is the place to have it printed.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs has such a program entitled, "Crusade for Children: Control Injuries and Prevent Fatalities." Mrs. Walter Varney Magee, president, recently stated they were endeavoring to change apathy in regard to accidents to activity for their prevention. She continued by saying:

This program primarily involves the Junior Federated Club members because they are the ones with children; however, the General Federation members are just as interested in preventing injuries, eliminating human suffering and reducing the costs of unnecessary accidents.

This crusade program was developed by the injury control program, Consumer Protection and Environmental Health Service by Dr. Irmagene Nevins Holloway, Assistant to the Chief, and Miss Carol Young, public information specialist. Dr. Holloway is a Kansan and taught at my alma mater, Kansas State College at Pittsburg. Through the injury control program, the material has been made available to the junior club presidents and the home life chairmen of the General Federation.

I was very much impressed with the statistics which are a part of this program. These were obtained from the vital statistics of the United States, 1965, National Center for Health Statistics:

Accidents account for over 34 percent of all deaths for those between the ages of 1 and 4. Motor vehicle deaths are first, followed by fire and explosions. Drownings and poisonings follow in this order.

Accidents account for more than 44 percent of all deaths for those between the ages of 5 and 14. Motor vehicles are the first cause following by drownings, explosions, and firearms.

Accidents account for more than 56 percent of all deaths for those between the ages of 15 and 24. Motor vehicle accidents account for 66 percent of the fatalities followed by drownings and then firearms.

Further information obtained from the injury control program estimates that for each fatality there are over 100 bed-disabling injuries and 500 restricted activity injuries. Based on the number of

children and teenagers killed in the different age group, it can be estimated that the number injured is as follows:

For the age group 1-4—over 530,000 bed-disabling injuries and over 2½ million restricted activity injuries.

For the age group 5-14—over 740,000 bed-disabling injuries and over 3½ million restricted activity injuries.

For the age group 15-24—almost 2 million bed-disabling injuries and almost 7½ million restricted activity injuries.

The General Federation of Women's Club program is much more than a recital of statistics. It gives direction to program activities and these relate to what the club member should do in her own home as well as what she can do to improve her community.

These programs include a discussion of what is meant by safe behavior and parents' responsibility to give instructions, provide protection and supervision. A point that is mentioned is that children copy what they see their parents do. If the parents fasten their seat belts, then children form the habit early in life and it is not then a problem when they reach driving age.

"Preventing Traffic Accidents" is another program that includes safeguards that should be provided for children, teenagers, and enumerates the responsibilities of the family chauffeur. In addition, there are recommended ways for the club to carry out programs as community projects for the prevention of traffic accidents.

A third program deals with "Drown-proofing Children and Adults." With the increase of backyard pools, it is becoming necessary for children and adults to learn the technique of drownproofing. This technique is taught by the swimming instructors of the local Red Cross Chapter.

"Controlling Poisons" is another program. The incidence of accidental poisonings is definitely related to the age of the victim. It is a major problem for children between the ages of 1 and 5, with aspirin the most frequently ingested poison. Parents are not aware that over 250,000 potentially poisonous substances—estimate made by the American Academy of Pediatrics—are marked for use in American homes. It is necessary for each person who uses one of these potential dangers to know how to use it safely.

Preventing burns is of concern to every family. For use in this program, the Owens-Corning Fiberglas Corp. provides visual display, "You Can Avoid Painful Injuries by Preventing Potential Fires." Parents should obtain this information and help to decrease the 3,000 deaths and 150,000 serious burns that occur because of flammable fabrics. Flame retardant fabrics are a means for preventing these burns; these materials are beginning to be available and a demand should be created for their use.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs is to be commended for its acceptance of this lifesaving program. The startling figure of over 34,300 children and youth—ages 1 through 24—killed each year certainly indicates something needs to be done. Information obtained

from the injury control program, Consumer Protection and Environmental Health Service. It is a challenge for every American to become involved in control of injuries and the prevention of fatalities.

VETERANS NEED ADDITIONAL EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a bill which provides badly needed increases in the educational assistance allowances we are now paying veterans who are attending college under the cold war GI bill.

In the 90th Congress, we enacted the Veterans' Readjustment Act which provided, among other things, for some increase in the educational assistance allowances which are paid to veterans pursuing a higher education. However, while these increases have helped, they are not enough. Current allowances are 46 percent below the average cost of a college education.

At the present time, the cost of attending a public college is about \$1,092 per year. The annual cost to the student to attend a private college is about \$2,326. This means that, on the average, it costs \$1,709 per year to attend college. This is \$669 less than the veteran receives under the existing educational assistance payment scale.

It is obvious that, while we have provided some increases in the educational allowances which veterans receive to cover a portion of their subsistence, books, supplies, tuition, fees, equipment, and other educational costs, the amounts we are providing are not adequate to keep pace with the spiraling cost of higher education. Mr. Speaker, there is a great need for enactment of the legislation I have introduced today. Enactment of my bill will enable us to fulfill the commitment which the Congress made at the inception of this program when we declared it to be a matter of national policy that the people of the Nation make an investment in our veterans by helping them defray the costs of their education. I would like at this point to insert in the RECORD a table showing present educational assistance allowance levels and the new levels which enactment of my bill will establish:

	Present level	Eilberg proposal
1. Single veterans:		
A. Full-time students.....	\$130	\$190
B. Three-quarter-time students....	95	140
C. Half-time students.....	60	90
D. Cooperative education students (work-study programs).....	105	115
2. Veterans with 1 dependent:		
A. Full-time students.....	155	215
B. Three-quarter-time students....	115	160
C. Half-time students.....	75	105
D. Cooperative education students..	125	175
3. Veterans with 2 dependents:		
A. Full-time students.....	175	235
B. Three-quarter-time students....	135	180
C. Half-time students.....	85	115
D. Cooperative education students..	145	195

Mr. Speaker, in addition to the allowances set forth in the foregoing table, my bill will provide that full-time students with more than two dependents would receive an additional \$10 per month per additional dependent; veterans with more than two dependents pursuing a three-quarter time course of studies would receive \$7 per additional dependent; veterans with more than two dependents pursuing a course of studies half time would receive \$5 per additional dependent; and veterans enrolled in cooperative educational programs would receive an additional \$7 per each dependent over two.

Mr. Speaker, the need for the bill I have introduced today is obvious. I urge all my colleagues to join with me in working for prompt enactment of its provisions.

THE GREAT AWAKENING

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, April 14, 1969, marked the 5th anniversary of the death of Rachel Carson, who through her life's work as a biologist and as an author established herself as one of America's greatest conservationists.

Rachel Carson, in her books "The Sea Around Us" and "Silent Spring," aroused much of the public to the fact that man was despoiling his environment and threatening the entire ecological balance of our planet.

The April 13, 1969, issue of This Week magazine carried an excellent article on Miss Carson by the respected author and journalist, Ann Cottrell Free. As a modest token of our respect for Rachel Carson, I insert the text of the article at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

THE GREAT AWAKENING: CITY HALL, CONGRESS AND THE WHITE HOUSE ARE AWARE OF OUR BATTLE FOR SURVIVAL

(By Ann Cottrell Free)

A cracked—and sometimes shattered—egg in the bald eagle's nest tells part of the story of this spring of 1969.

Leading wildlife scientists have concluded recently that DDT, absorbed by mother eagles, is making eggshells too fragile to protect the babies within.

A few more of our national birds will remain unborn—and soon there may be none in many areas. Loss of these symbols of the nation, possibly due to weird-acting chemicals, tragically symbolizes much that is happening today. A mere look-around or a whiff of our often filthy air and waters offers proof that something is wrong all over.

From oil-slicked to oil-slicked shining sea we are realizing, at last, that we are in an incredible mess. And that is the other part of the story this spring.

Our giant of a nation is stirring. It is in the early stages of a "Great Awakening." Not only are some of us wondering about the implications of the eagle's eggs, many of us realizing that our fouled air and water could soon be seeded with destruction for the human race.

City Hall, the Congress and the White House no longer give us the same old brush-off. For they are becoming aware that we

are now in a battle for survival. Eleven Congressmen are even seeking a Constitutional amendment to serve as a "bill of rights" for the environment. And the United Nations is calling a 130-nation conference in 1972 on the damaged environment.

But it wasn't always this way. A lake could die, a river be a running sewer, robins disappear and bulldozers uproot our parks. And officials only blinked when we cried "Stop!"

Then something happened. Could it have marked the beginning of what Senator Frank E. Moss of Utah calls the "Great Awakening"?

We discovered Rachel Carson. The year was 1962.

This was a new Rachel Carson. The prose-poet of *The Sea Around Us*, the gentle biologist became almost overnight the long-needed leader. Her *Silent Spring*, appearing that year, was, in truth, a call to arms to save the entire environment from its many enemies. She chose, however, to concentrate her attack on the misuse of DDT and other wonder chlorinated hydrocarbon pesticides. And in the process she gave us what Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas called "the most important chronicle of this century for the human race."

She rode no white charger (she drove a rather tired green Oldsmobile), but she became for many our country's St. Joan, preaching that when nature is out of joint, so are we. Pesticide misuse, she claimed, could convert the chain of life into the chain of death. She raised many questions. Is there a connection between these new chemicals and cancer? Could they cause genetic changes, thus cursing our descendants with physical and mental abnormalities? "As crude a weapon as a cave man's club," she wrote, "has been hurled against the fabric of life."

An industry mobilized against Rachel Carson, but she stood her ground even though her health was failing. (She underwent surgery for cancer in 1957, 1960, and again in 1964.) Persons from all walks of life wrote her, telling of unpleasant experiences with pesticides and asking her for guidance. Some of you reading this today may be among them. Save her reply. Hand it down to your grandchildren as a fragment of a new kind of "declaration of independence": man's refusal to continue to be victimized by unwise use of the gifts of science and technology.

Your letters were answered even though the sight in those deep-set blue eyes was failing. Her brave heart was faltering. And near the end she spent most of her time in a wheel chair. "If people care enough to write," she would say in her calm voice when advised to rest, "I can certainly answer, inform them and encourage them to fight back."

But on Tuesday, April 14, 1964—five years ago this coming Monday—she died of cancer, at age 56, at her home in Silver Spring, Md.

The torch was picked up. The shock of her death galvanized people into action. It seemed to amplify her message. Mrs. Lyndon Johnson joined the crusade. Interior Secretary Udall was already in it. The chorus grew louder. The message: "Save our Environment" was getting across. The "Great Awakening" was truly underway.

In the five years since Rachel Carson's death, we can count at least five milestones of specific progress:

Sixteen million acres of land—about the size of West Virginia—saved from unbridled-gobbling up, through placement in national, state and local parks, wildlife refuges, wilderness areas, forests, recreation areas. (Nature Conservancy in Maine—where she spent her summers—holds a tiny part of this as the "Rachel Carson Seacoast.")

Drastic reductions of many pesticides permitted on foodstuffs. Federal review and frequent rewording of instruction labels on

30,000 pesticide products. Virtual veto power given to special governmental board over choice of pesticides used on Federal property. Discovery of safer substitutes. Advances in biological control, harnessing nature to save herself.

Federal pushing of often reluctant states into setting and enforcing standards to reduce air and water pollution. Some \$251,000,000 spent by the Federal government on pollution research and related activities in 1968.

Greater Federal and State effort to save vanishing American wildlife and to obtain wetlands for waterfowl. More rapid growth of birdwatchers than hunters.

Soaring membership of conservation groups, such as the National Audubon Society and Sierra Club, creating a new powerful force.

Even with this progress, the awakened feel it is only a beginning. Land is being used up at the rate of nearly a million acres annually. Noise pollution is threatening our hearing and our sanity. Overheated bays and rivers, from electric power plants, are affecting fish and tiny life-giving organisms. And there persists the worry over escaping oil from tidelands and tankers. (Memory of those quarter-million gallons of California this winter does not erase easily.)

Nor is the DDT battle over. Five states may be on the verge of banning its use on their property. Senator Gaylord Nelson, who is from Wisconsin—where DDT is "on trial"—is calling for a ban on its interstate shipment, as well as complete tightening up of pesticide controls. Once the impact of the thin eggshells of the bald eagle sinks in, calls for banning DDT may grow far louder. U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and University of Wisconsin scientists report that DDT—absorbed through DDT-infiltrated prey—stimulates the birds' livers to produce enzymes that break down sex hormones in the blood. These hormones serve as regulators in laying down calcium needed to develop normal eggshells. The peregrine falcon and osprey also seem to be caught in this chain action.

To find out just how big a mess we are in here in the U.S.A., Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, author of clean air and water laws, is asking the Senate to set up a special high-powered committee to examine all technological effects on our environment. "This job," he says, "will take three years at least."

Such a look-see will help, but problems are growing so fast and on so many fronts that 90 Congressmen have just set up a privately-supported Environmental Clearing House. This way, they can get quick and ready answers as to the newest developments.

But what of you and me? We want answers, too. Do we need, perhaps a Rachel Carson once again? She anticipated this, for just before she died she asked that the work of providing information to people like us be carried on, because "I cannot continue to do so much longer."

The Rachel Carson Trust for the Living Environment, 8940 Jones Mill Road, Washington, D.C. 20015, plans to carry on for her, helping to bridge the communications gap between scientists and the general public, to whom it is looking for much of its financial support. Most of its distinguished members are scientists and were friends of Rachel Carson.

Even with so many dedicated persons, in and out of government, working to save the world around us, will we ever again be awakened by language as clear and beautiful as a wood thrush's song? With Rachel Carson we entered what has been called the "age of ecology" to the sound of a kind of music.

How many of us can define ecology? The interrelationship of all living things is the usual definition of this science and philos-

ophy. But Rachel Carson looked to these lines of Francis Thompson, an English poet, who died in 1907—the year she was born in Springdale, Pennsylvania:

"Thou canst not stir a flower
Without troubling of a star."

INSTITUTIONAL SELF-RENEWAL

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, there are many voices for reform of the institutions in this country, some confused, some clear. One of the most impressive is that of former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare John Gardner, who is urging changes in our processes of change.

In the annual Godkin lectures at Harvard University, Mr. Gardner, now chairman of the Urban Coalition, asks why we should not be the first society to take into account the aging of institutions by providing for their continuous self-renewal.

He points out:

The society capable of continuous renewal will be the one that develops to the fullest its human resources, that removes obstacles to individual fulfillment, lifelong learning and self-discovery.

The alternative to continual redesign of our society, he concludes, is unavoidable confrontation between institutions that refuse to change and critics bent on their destruction.

Mr. Gardner's case for new thinking about our traditional institutions and their sluggish response to change is compelling. Excerpts from his lectures follow:

TOWARD A SELF-RENEWING SOCIETY

(By John W. Gardner)

It is hard to view events on the domestic scene today without feeling that these are dark days for the nation. But it may be that we were in greater peril when we were less worried, when all the present evils were layered over by our national smugness. We may even be on the mend. But our salvation will never be handed to us. If we are lucky, we will be given the chance to earn it. Unfortunately, we are enormously clever at avoiding self-examination.

INSTANT ANTIQUITY

The crises of the urban environment suggests the depth and complexity of issues in the management of our society. Why have we had such difficulty, steadily mounting difficulty, in getting at these problems? One might blame our apathy, or our unwillingness to spend, or our resistance to change. But something else is wrong, something central, something crucial. Our society, as it is now functioning, is not an adequate problem-solving mechanism. The machinery of the society is not working in a fashion that will permit us to solve any of our problems effectively.

Each reformer comes to his task with a little bundle of desired changes. The implication is that if appropriate reforms are carried through and the defects corrected, the society will be wholly satisfactory and the work of the reformer done. That is a primitive way of viewing social change. The true

task is to design a society (and institutions) capable of continuous change, renewal and responsiveness. We can less and less afford to limit ourselves to routine repair of breakdowns in our institutions. Unless we are willing to see a final confrontation between institutions that refuse to change and critics bent on destruction, we had better get on with the business of redesigning our society. We must dispose of the notion that social change is a process that alters a tranquil status quo. Today there is no tranquility to alter. The rush of change brings a kind of instant antiquity.

The departments of the Federal Government are in grave need of renewal. State government in most places is a 19th century relic; in most cities, municipal government is a waxworks of stiffly preserved anachronisms. The courts are crippled by archaic organizational arrangements; the unions, the professions, the universities, the corporations, each has spung its own impenetrable web of vested interests.

That human institutions require periodic redesign (if only because of their tendency to decay) it is not a minor fact about them. How curious it is, then, that in all of history no people has seriously attempted to take into account the aging of institutions and to provide for their continuous renewal. Why shouldn't we be the first to do so?

A society capable of continuous renewal would be characterized first of all by pluralism—by variety, alternatives, choices and multiple focuses of power and initiative. We have just such pluralism in this society. But the logic of modern large-scale organization, governmental or corporate, tends to squeeze out pluralism and to move us toward one comprehensively articulated system of power. If that trend proceeds unchecked in the public sphere, there will soon (say, in 25 years) be no such thing as state, county and city government. There will be one all-encompassing governmental system.

As the trend proceeds in the private sphere, corporations merge, small colleges and small businesses find survival increasingly difficult. I find myself treasuring every remaining bit of pluralism, everything that stands between us and an all-embracing system. When I hear young people recommending the abolition of private enterprise, I question whether they have weighed the consequences. It may not have occurred to them that socialism or any other alternative to private enterprise would certainly mean the shouldering by Government of huge new burdens. Our giant corporations would not disappear. They would simply be merged into unimaginably vast Government ministries. And bureaucracy would conquer all.

The society capable of continuous renewal will be the one that develops to the fullest its human resources, that removes obstacles to individual fulfillment, that emphasizes education, lifelong learning and self-discovery. We are still far from having created such a system.

To bring full justice and equality to black people is the historic assignment of this generation. The problems will be resolved not by violence or hatred or bitterness or police suppression, but only by patient, determined efforts on the part of the great, politically moderate majority of whites and blacks.

THE BEEHIVE MODEL

We have in the tradition of this nation a well-tested framework of values. Our problem is not to find better values, but rather to be faithful to those we profess—and to make those values live in our institutions, which we have yet to do. If we believe in individual dignity and responsibility, for example, we must do the necessary, sometimes expensive, often complicated things that will make it possible for each person to have a decent job if he wants one.

More than anything else, the contemporary

demoralization stems from a breakdown in the relationship of the individual to society. It is widely assumed that the condition applies only to hippies, college radicals, artists and intellectuals. But it may also be found in some degree throughout the population. On the one hand, men have never had more control than they have in this country today; on the other, we complain that we can't control our own fate.

One of the problems is that the end toward which all modern societies, whatever their ideology, seem to be moving is the beehive model, in which the total system perfects itself as the individual is steadily dwarfed. All modern societies, capitalist or Communist, are moving toward ever larger and more inclusive systems of organization, toward ever greater dominance of the system's purposes over individual purposes.

Contemporary critics often appear to believe that the smothering of individuality is a consequence of intentional decisions by people at the top. Right-wingers blame Government leaders, left-wingers blame corporate leaders. But the modern leader is always in some measure caught in the system. To a considerable degree, the system determines how and when he will exercise power. The queen bee is as much a prisoner of the system as is any other in the hive.

Is there any way to avoid the beehive model? Perhaps. We must ask the individual to accept certain kinds of responsibility, and we must create the institutional framework in which individual responsibility is feasible. Traditionally, we have spent enormous energy exhorting the individual to act responsibly, and very little energy designing the kind of society in which he can act responsibly.

A CHANCE FOR SERVICE

The loss of a sense of community is particularly serious. In some ways modern society binds the individual too tightly, but in other ways it holds him too loosely—and the latter causes as much pain as the former. He feels constrained by the conformity required in a highly organized society, but he also feels lost and without moorings. And both feelings may be traced to the same cause: the disappearance of the natural human community and its replacement by formula controls that irk and give no sense of security.

When people, for whatever reason—oppression or laziness or complacency—take no part in their institutions, the institutions themselves decay at an accelerating rate. But it is not essential that everyone participate. As a matter of fact, if everyone suddenly did, the society would fly apart. Participation should simply be an available option.

Can action on the part of the individual at the grass roots ever really be effective? It all depends on how we design our society. We must, for example, undertake a drastic overhaul of local government.

All large-scale organization tends to smother individuality. But today's young person doesn't give due weight to the fact that large-scale organization, properly designed, can also benefit the individual, enrich his life, increase his choices. Everyone lampoons modern technological society, but no one is prepared to give up his refrigerator. Everyone condemns bigness, but there is no movement of population toward the unspoiled, lonely places of the continent. We must identify those features of modern organization that strengthen the individual and those that diminish him. Given such analysis, we can design institutions that would strengthen and nourish each person. In short, we can build a society to man's measure, if we have the will.

Such a society will not just serve the individual but give him an opportunity to serve. When people are serving, life is no longer meaningless; they no longer feel rootless. Without allegiance and commitment, in-

dividual freedom degenerates into a sterile self-preoccupation.

Just as modern man obsessively breaks up the forms and patterns of life and then finds himself nervous and afraid in a formless world, so, in the name of freedom, he compulsively dissolves the limits on behavior and then finds himself unhappy in a world without limits. He sweeps aside rules, manners, formalities and standards of taste, anything that even slightly inhibits the free play of emotion and impulse. Yet not only the claims of civility but also the realities of individual development call for some measure of self-discipline. We have explored about as fully as a civilization can the joys of impulse, of a world within forms, order or limits. A balance must be struck.

For a variety of reasons, we have seen increasingly widespread hostility to institutions—any and all institutions, here and around the world. The standard phrase concerning social disorders is "It's only a small group that's involved." But that is a misleading assertion. Beyond the fractious few, beyond even the considerable group of sympathizers, is the larger number of people who have no fixed views but are running a chronic low fever of antagonism toward their institutions, their fellow men and life in general. They provide the climate in which disorder spreads. In that climate, unfortunately, our honored tradition of dissent has undergone an unprecedented debasement.

Among the dissenters today we hear a few with a special message. They say: "We don't need reform, we need revolution. The whole system is rotten and should be destroyed." I have talked long and seriously with such people and have found that most of them don't really mean it. There is an awesome theatricality about today's radicalism. But some, of course, do mean it. They have fallen victim to an old and naive doctrine—that man is naturally good, humane, decent, just and honorable, but that corrupt and wicked institutions have transformed the noble savage into a civilized monster. Destroy the corrupt institutions, they say, and man's native goodness will flower. There isn't anything in history or anthropology to confirm the thesis, but it survives down the generations.

The responsible critic comes to understand the complex machinery by which change must be accomplished, finds the key points of leverage, identifies feasible alternatives, and measures his work by real results. The irresponsible critic never exposes himself to the tough tests of reality. He doesn't subject his view of the world to the cleansing discipline of historical perspective or contemporary relevance. He defines the problem to suit himself. He can spin fantasies of what might be, without the heartbreaking, back-breaking work of building social change into resistant human institutions. Out of such self-indulgent and reckless radicalism come few victories.

A RELEVANT CALL

The chief means by which citizens make their influence felt must continue to be the long-tested, well-established procedures of a free society: the ballot, the lawsuit, the strike, the petition and so on. One hears a special justification for the recent ghetto riots. The riots were necessary, it is argued, to produce fear in the power structure and thereby to get action on the social front. It is true that the riots provoked fear, but there were a lot of consequences besides constructive social action. The riots led many Congressmen and citizens to resist further federal programs for the cities. The riots also strengthened every right-wing extremist group in the country.

I do not blame the ghetto residents for being angry, but they must not let their anger lead them into self-destructive moves. They must seek—as the college activist must seek, as we all must seek—a world in which man's

destructive impulses are brought within a framework of law and rationality. Anyone who unleashes man's destructive impulses had better stand a long way back. The anarchist paves the way for the authoritarian. The serious citizen will have to learn a simple truth: one must act forcefully to combat injustice, and at the same time one must oppose disorder and violence.

The years immediately ahead will test this nation as seriously as any we have known in our history. We have plenty of debaters, blamers, provocateurs. We don't have plenty of problem-solvers. A relevant call to action would address itself to that complacent lump of Americans who fatten on the yield of this society but never bestir themselves to solve its problems, to powerful men who rest complacently with outworn institutions, and to Americans still uncommitted to the values we profess to cherish as a people.

JOHN P. HARRIS: 1901-69

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, Kansas has lost one of its outstanding men of journalism with the passing of John P. Harris of Hutchinson, Kans.

Jack Harris started a successful newspaper career as an assistant carrier boy and worked in every phase of the newspaper operation started by his father. When he died on April 13, 1969, Mr. Harris was chairman of the board of Publishing Enterprises, Inc. which includes eight newspapers in Kansas, Iowa, and California. The Harris group also operates six radio stations in Kansas, Iowa, Illinois, and Colorado.

His independent and crusading spirit made him a constructive force in his community and in the State of Kansas. In 1965 the Hutchinson News won a Pulitzer Prize for its campaign on Kansas reapportionment.

He was committed to the betterment of journalism, and traveled extensively at home and abroad to serve as consultant to struggling newspapers. In reporting the death of Mr. Harris, the Hutchinson News described his philosophy of what a good newspaper should be:

It should do something more than just print the news and get the middle initials right. . . . the ideal one should have something in each issue that will be the prime subject of community conversation the next day. It need not be a scoop or an editorial that touches a general spark. It can be a bit of other than malicious gossip, punning headline or a human interest picture.

I valued his friendship and enjoyed visiting with him from time to time. He was a man of candor and integrity. He was a leader who shunned the spotlight. He was an independent and intelligent citizen.

Mrs. Shriver and I extend our heartfelt sympathy to his wife, Rosalie, and to his son, John. Jack Harris will be missed and long remembered.

Under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include editorials from the Hutchinson, Kans., News, the Wichita, Kans., Eagle, and the Kansas City,

Mo., Times which appropriately eulogize this distinguished American. The editorials follow:

[From the Hutchinson (Kans.) News]

JACK HARRIS

Hutchinson has lost one of its finest citizens.

Jack Harris, known to so many and known by so few, was just that.

His newspapers and radio stations are evidence of his business success, but most of the things he did for people and the town were lost in a self-effacing desire for anonymity.

He was a dreamer of great things, but he also had the wisdom and drive to make them come true. He was, in a sense, one of the passing breed of wheeler dealers, but his efforts were always dignified by integrity. He combined the tough-mindedness that is essential to the solving of problems with the courage to take risks and the decisive judgment to arrive at the right answer. With this tough-mindedness was the kind of humility that recognizes that many diverse talents and backgrounds are essential to the achievement of any worthwhile business, social or civic goal. He melded them together.

Jack Harris never shrank from any issue because it was unpopular. He developed a self-restraint that enabled him to profit from criticism. He was a leader in his profession and gave generously of his time and energy both at home and abroad to further its efficiency and growth. He was an innovator, not a follower. As an employer he pioneered fringe benefit programs which recognized and rewarded his employees long before this was common practice.

His accomplishments are legion. His travel columns brought Europe and Asia sharply and intimately into focus in many Kansas homes. He was the friend and confidant of many in government in this country and abroad but he was also a home town civic leader who was never too busy to advise and counsel and work to promote the good of Hutchinson and other towns in which he had communications interests.

Jack Harris is gone but his immortality is assured through the scores of outstanding journalists he trained and guided and who have gone on to successes of their own . . . and who are now training others to follow them.

Some know it, others don't, but every Hutchinson is a little bit better off today because Jack Harris lived here for so many years.

His memorial is the void his death leaves.

[From the Wichita (Kans.) Eagle]

JOHN P. HARRIS

John P. Harris of Hutchinson was a successful newspaper publisher in the same way other Kansas publishers have been successful—he built up his holdings and made money. But to say this is to paint an almost entirely misleading picture of the man.

His business acumen, though undisputed, was not the quality for which he will be best remembered. It was his toughmindedness and his absolute fearlessness that people will remember longest.

He addressed every problem on what he conceived its basic elements to be, shorn of myth and prejudice and cant. Once he had got to the bottom of it, he wrote exactly what he believed to be the truth. His friends might not like it. His advertisers might be livid. His subscribers might cancel in quantity. What Jack Harris thought was right he wrote.

He trained a succession of editors to do the same. And together they achieved a reputation for independence and candor and originality of thought that many another newsman has envied.

In his personal life Mr. Harris was rather retiring, and he was rarely credited with his many contributions to state and city causes,

but his quiet work behind the scenes, like his lucid editorial utterings, had a tremendous influence for good.

[From the Kansas City (Mo.) Times]

JOHN P. HARRIS, KANSAS EDITOR

The state of Kansas long has been noted for the quality of its newspapers, and John P. Harris who built a family chain through the years was one of the reasons. His death this week in Hutchinson, two years after he had turned over the active direction of Publishing Enterprises, Inc., to others, is a sad blow to the state and to American journalism.

Yet the Harris influence, we are sure, will go on. It was typical of Jack Harris that his column, "This and That," was written ahead and ready to go through most of this week. The familiar lower-case initials, j.p.h., still will be seen in most of the Harris papers for a little while. Beyond that, we would expect the Harris enthusiasm for reporting the news, his dislike of sham, and his independent nature to continue in the work of the men he trained.

He was a debonaire, gracious individual, a world traveler of insight and much personal charm. He could be a kind, understanding but very tough employer. It was his habit to arrive at the office at 7 o'clock in the morning (after a horseback ride) to go through the mail. He didn't want to miss anything. His hobby, he once said, was to be the guardian of his newspapers against the split infinitive. When one appeared, there was an explosion. If one appeared in a headline, the sound of pain could be cataclysmic. Another Harris occupation was the preparation of needling editorials directed at the Kansas Legislature. The Hutchinson News won a Pulitzer prize in 1965 for its long campaign on Kansas reapportionment. Yet he seldom was critical unless he had a better idea.

In an age of specialization, Jack Harris was recognized as a newsman who knew the business and mechanical sides of publishing thoroughly. He could operate a Linotype machine and sometimes did in his younger days. In Kansas he will be remembered as a newspaperman of integrity and skill who loved the business and who always saw it as more than a business.

PFC. STANLEY McCREARY DIES OF WAR WOUNDS IN VIETNAM

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. Stanley E. McCreary, a fine young soldier from Maryland, was killed recently in Vietnam. I would like to commend his courage and honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

PFC. STANLEY McCREARY DIES OF WAR WOUNDS IN VIETNAM

Pfc. Stanley E. McCreary, of 2209 Williams drive, Havre de Grace, was killed in action in Vietnam on April 7, less than three weeks after he arrived in the war zone.

The Defense Department announced yesterday that Private McCreary, 20, died from wounds received in a combat operation in Hau Nghia province, north of Saigon. He was a member of C Company, 1st Battalion, 1st Infantry Regiment, 25th Infantry Division.

Stanley McCreary's father, Eugene McCreary, recalled yesterday that his son loved sports. He played football and basketball,

was a track man in high school and maintained his interest in sandlot games after school. He graduated from Aberdeen High School in 1966.

In his junior year, he won a medal at the Philadelphia Penn Relays as a member of the Havre de Grace High School track team. It was the following year that he transferred to Aberdeen.

Private McCreary was a faithful letter writer. His father said he wrote weekly when he was in the United States and had written three letters home in the two weeks following his arrival in Vietnam.

"He wrote mostly about personal matters," Mr. McCreary said. "He always told me not to worry, that he was all right."

His father remarked that in one letter he told how his camp had been hit by enemy rockets.

"He always looked after me because of my health," Mr. McCreary added. For some time, Mr. McCreary has not enjoyed good health.

Private McCreary did not want to go overseas and once asked a chaplain to keep him in the U.S. so that he could look after his father, "but he had to do it, and he did," Mr. McCreary added. The young man, the only child of his parents, was born in Baltimore.

TRIBUTE TO DIRECTION SPORTS

HON. ALPHONZO BELL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. BELL of California. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to call the attention of this House to a unique and successful program that has been operating in the Watts area of Los Angeles. Direction Sports begins where Little League leaves off—it serves those who have no fathers to participate, those who have no money for uniforms, insurance, and the other requisites of Little League participation.

But Direction Sports gives the boys it serves more than an opportunity to participate in the kind of athletic competition enjoyed by their middle-class counterparts. Through techniques developed by the Southwest Regional Lab in Inglewood, Calif.—a project which has received more than \$4 million from the Office of Education's Bureau of Research in the past 2 years—Direction Sports youngsters improve their learning skills and social attitudes by means of educative chalk talks. In my view, Direction Sports is precisely the kind of innovative program that those of us who have been struggling to find solutions to urban ills have encouraged in legislation passed in recent years. As important as the heart-warming results described in the following article by the Christian Science Monitor, however, is the fact that program evaluation have shown a statistically significant increase in participants' mathematics achievement scores.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend the Monitor's article to the attention of my colleagues, especially those whose constituencies include disadvantaged metropolitan areas.

WATTS: DIRECTION SPORTS
(By Cliff Gewecke)

LOS ANGELES.—Ever since the Watts, and other, riots of 1965, sports programs for the underprivileged Negro youngster have come to the fore.

The idea seems to be: get more of these youngsters off the streets, inspire and skill them with sports (and sport heroes), and potential ruffians and "lost causes" may be motivated into becoming useful, productive citizens.

One of the most recent, and perhaps most farsighted, of these programs—which emanated in the Watts section of Los Angeles during 1968—is "direction Sports," an affiliate of the Urban Affairs Foundation, Inc.

Essentially, it is a "Little League for the underprivileged." But it has distinct overtones, and undertones, of improving positive learning skills through orientation, "chalk talks," and group discussions.

"TREMENDOUS DISPARITY?"

"Privately funded sports programs involve more than one million youngsters and are the most popular youth format in the nation," says former sales representative Tully Brown, who is program director for Direction Sports.

"Yet, there is a tremendous disparity between the number of privately funded sports programs for the youth in middle-class areas as opposed to those in the underprivileged areas."

To drive home his point, Brown cites this statistic: that, in a letter dated Aug. 2, 1968, A. E. Houghton, secretary of Little League Baseball, headquartered in Williamsport, Pa., stated there were 55,620 youngsters involved in the Greater Los Angeles area.

"Of this number," emphasizes Brown, "not one team operates in the immense minority corridor extending from North Broadway south to Compton and including some 200,000 school-age children.

"The reasons for this are basic," he adds. "Little League programs function with the assistance of fathers, often with the youngsters paying for their own insurance and medical checkup. A general requirement is that the youngsters have had not more than one 'D' in the preceding semester's school-work—and no police record."

DON'T QUALIFY FOR LITTLE LEAGUE

"Too often," Brown continued, "the youngsters in the ghettos do not have fathers to participate, money to pay for insurance and doctors, adequate grades, and they do have police records. Thus, classical Little League is untenable in deprived areas."

Started officially Sept. 23 with the advent of the past football season, Direction Sports encompassed some 75 youngsters in the pre-teenage category.

Plans are to go through the major sports in-season—basketball, track baseball. And to expand to other (older and younger) age categories, and even to reach into the participation of girls in the program.

Letters of commendation have been received from such men as California attorney general Tom Lynch, Los Angeles County sheriff Peter Pitchess, Los Angeles police chief Tom Reddin, and Los Angeles mayor Sam Yorty.

UNIQUE CHALK TALK

The program has been featured on some eight southern California television programs. Sports Illustrated is providing a weekly magazine subscription for every boy in the project, and the 7-Up Bottling Company has donated uniforms. CBS-Los Angeles, after voting Direction Sports one of the top six programs in Los Angeles, contributed \$1,000 worth of jackets, track shoes, and pants for future use by the youngsters.

Yet, if the program is to continue to thrive (and, even, go national perhaps someday), more funds, and help, will be needed.

(A free brochure may be obtained by writing: Project Director Tully N. Brown, Direction Sports, Inc., Urban Affairs Foundation, 955 S. Western Ave., Suite 204, Los Angeles, Calif. 90006.)

Recently, the writer sat in (with Brown, a Negro group leader recruited from a nearby

college, and a dozen youngsters) on one of the educative chalk talks that utilize sports as "transference" for learning.

"Ricky," said the leader, pointing to a lad in the front row, "how many points do you get for a touchdown?"

"Six," answered Ricky.

"How many points for a field goal?"

"Two."

"You sure?"

"Three?" replied Ricky, hesitantly.

"Add six and three and what do you get," asked the leader.

"Nine!"

"Good! Now," continued the leader, "in basketball you get how many points for a field goal? . . . and two minus nine is . . ."

And so the questions, and the transference-of-learning skills answers, spread throughout the room—perhaps someday soon to spread throughout the United States with Tulley Brown's dream of "Direction Sports becoming the Little League of minority areas."

THE PLANE THAT SHOULD NOT BE MISSING

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, on February 18, more than 2 months ago, a Mineral County Airlines DC-3 disappeared on a flight from Hawthorne, Nev., with 35 persons on board. That aircraft is still missing.

At this time, there is no way to tell what the cause of the plane's disappearance was, whether there were—or are—survivors, or why search and rescue efforts have been fruitless. We do know, however, that the DC-3 did not carry a crash locator beacon to enable searchers to find it in the event of a crash. It did not have this equipment because the Federal Aviation Administration does not require it.

Twenty-nine of us in the House have acted to prevent recurrences of this type of tragedy by sponsoring legislation directing the FAA to make crash locator beacons mandatory for all aircraft. It is long past time for this step to be taken.

For those who may still have questions about the need for FAA action in this regard, I am inserting in the RECORD an April 14 article by Los Angeles Times staff writer, Lee Dye. I commend his account of the DC-3's disappearance and the issues it raises to the attention of all concerned with aviation safety:

MISSING DC-3: SEARCH FOLLOWS AN OLD PATTERN—"GAMBLER'S SPECIAL" CRASH RAISES QUESTIONS ABOUT TECHNOLOGY, REGULATIONS

(By Lee Dye)

Jim Helm's station wagon is usually the first to arrive at the tiny wooden shack on the edge of the runway.

He goes there nearly every afternoon, as soon as his working day ends at the Navy's huge ammunition depot that engulfs the small town of Hawthorne, Nev.

The station wagon—bearing a bumper sticker that reads: "Let's talk about Jesus"—grinds to a halt beside the shack.

Inside the shack he talks instead about a DC-3 airliner missing with 35 people aboard since Feb. 18. It's not a subject Helm enjoys discussing.

"I can talk about searches," he said during an interview as his eyes traveled over the maps strung across a table in the shack. "But I can't talk about that DC-3."

He walked to the doorway and stared across the desert valley toward where the desolate land fades into obscurity.

"I just don't know," he said, "I just don't know."

CONDUCTS NEVADA SEARCH

For nearly eight weeks Civil Air Patrol Col. James Helm has been calling the shots in the search for the airliner by the Nevada CAP. Across the state border, the California CAP has conducted a separate search out of Bishop.

Nobody knows what happened to Mineral County Airlines pilot Fred Hall after he took off from Hawthorne at 4:30 a.m. No trace of the plane has been found.

The unsuccessful search and circumstances surrounding the disappearance have raised a long series of questions—questions that are even more disturbing than puzzling:

Why has the search depended primarily on visual sighting when technology could produce more exact methods? Why was the aircraft allowed to be painted a color that would blend into the background? Why was the aircraft flying a visual flight plan rather than by instruments?

Is the nation's search and rescue program adequate? Are the people who were responsible for the search equipped to do their job? Should a 26-year-old twin-engine aircraft be allowed to carry 35 persons?

TROUBLESOME FOR YEARS

These and other questions are sure to plague officials for years.

But around Hawthorne the issue is more basic.

"I don't like to talk about it," said airport manager Art Barlow, reflecting a sentiment heard often in Hawthorne. "We've been hurt pretty bad."

For years every night Mineral County Airlines, now known as Air Nevada, has flown passengers between Southern California and Hawthorne for \$10, round trip. Nearly every flight has been within 10% of capacity, until lately.

"It just isn't right," Barlow said. "I would have flown anywhere with Fred Hall. He was a great pilot. But you people called this thing a 'Gambler's Special' and now nobody wants to fly here anymore."

Hall took on his usual amount of fuel—200 to 240 gallons—after arriving in Hawthorne on the night of Feb. 17. That brought his total fuel to slightly over 2,000 pounds, more than enough for the flight with reserve left over to meet FAA requirements.

Early the next morning, the El Capitan Casino sent its buses to the airstrip on the edge of town. Thirty-two persons dressed in street clothing dashed through the chilly morning air to the 26-year-old twin-engined plane.

Aboard the plane, Hall and copilot Ray Hamer prepared for the routine flight. Hamer was a newcomer to the route, but Hall had flown the same trip for years and he knew the foreboding mountains of the eastern Sierra.

The plane taxied down the runway as stewardess Pat Nannes tried to make the passengers comfortable on the crowded aircraft. Moments later, the plane lifted off.

RADIOED FAA FACILITY

Sixteen minutes later, at 4:46 a.m., Hall routinely radioed the FAA facility at Mina, Nev.

For reasons nobody now seems to understand, Hall had filed a visual flight plan, which meant he was not required to make regular radio checks along the way.

Shortly after the plane left Hawthorne, the worst storm to hit that part of the country in years closed in. The next day, Bishop,

which rarely gets snow on the ground, had three feet of it.

And a DC-3 with 35 persons aboard had vanished.

For two days the Sierra Nevada were ravaged by snowstorms. On the third day, the weather broke enough to permit a limited air search. Civil Air Patrol planes on both sides of the border began the hunt. But by then searchers feared the wreckage had been covered by snow.

The days came and went, and much of the snow on the lower slopes melted, but still no trace of the plane was found.

Two CAP planes crashed during the search. Three men suffered major injuries.

On the other side of California, the organization that has the legal responsibility for finding missing planes—the U.S. Air Force—began directing the search, but the bulk of the effort was by CAP volunteers.

Lt. Col. Wilbur M. Hackett, Jr., chief of the search and rescue center at Hamilton Air Force Base, just north of San Francisco, said the Air Force did what it could under the circumstances, but he admits now that his organization was not equipped to do the job.

"We had 13 cases on the board at the time the DC-3 disappeared," he said.

NO GROUND PERSONNEL

The Air Force did not send ground personnel to Hawthorne or Bishop to sift through the many reports or talk to people who knew Hall or aid in coordinating the search.

Instead, the Air Force left the search up to the CAP, primarily, although large, four-engine planes were sent occasionally from Hamilton and March Air Force bases.

Hackett concedes now that the Air Force's role in the search was one primarily of coordination, relying almost entirely on volunteers in the area, volunteers the Air Force is quick to praise.

CAP squadrons at Bishop and, especially, at Hawthorne rank among the best in the nation, the Air Force says.

Both squadrons have been instrumental in saving many lives. But in the case of the Gambler's Special, the CAP and the limited effort extended by the Air Force failed to find the missing plane.

Why?

Searchers point to three factors: the absence of a crash locator aboard the aircraft, the color of the aircraft and the flight plan.

It seems incredible to many that in an age that has seen unprecedented progress, especially in aviation, locating a downed aircraft still depends almost entirely on visual sighting.

The FAA believes it is possible to produce automatic crash locators that would provide a radio beacon to guide searchers to a crash site. Such a device aboard the Gambler's Special should have led search planes to the scene, even if no one survived.

"A Navy plane with a crash locator went down March 1," said Dick Walker, assistant operations officer for the Bishop CAP squadron. "It was found within three hours."

So far, the FAA has not required crash locators on commercial aircraft, although such regulations have been proposed, partly as a result of the Gambler's Special.

COULD DO HARM

The FAA also has failed to establish specifications for crash locators that are now on the market although an ineffective locator may do more harm than good by giving a pilot an unjustified sense of security.

"You can buy one of these things for as cheap as \$10," said Col. Hackett. "We had a case a while back where a pilot crashed into the bay. He had a crash locator and five planes picked up the signal, but none of them could get a bearing because the thing kept cutting off."

"As it turned out, the guy had a hand-held locator and he was bobbing up and down in the bay. Every now and then the water would

wash over the locator, shorting out the antenna. He finally got disgusted and threw the thing away, but we found him, anyway."

What bothers some officials is the fear that private pilots will buy an ineffective locator, then decide they don't need to file a flight plan. They are also concerned that the FAA has failed to establish minimum standards, and there is no locator on the market that carries an FAA seal of approval.

The second problem cited most often by searchers lies in the color of the aircraft.

The DC-3 was white with blue trim. Thus the searchers were looking for a plane that blended into the white snow and blue ice of Sierra Nevada.

"That ought to be against the law," said Jack Burch, operations officer of the Hawthorne CAP squadron. But it isn't.

"I've never seen a crash that the tail section didn't survive intact," Col. Hackett said. The same holds true in many cases for the wing tips.

The search for the Gambler's Special might have ended differently if the tail and the wing tips had contrasted with the snow. But there is no such requirement, even for commercial aircraft.

THIRD COMPLAINT

The third complaint lies in the flight plan filed by Hall.

"To put it bluntly," Col. Hackett said, "we don't know where we went."

Hall filed a visual flight rules (VFR) plan rather than an instrument flight rules (IFR) plan.

"A visual flight plan means you rely upon yourself to see and be seen," said Robert Huber, spokesman for the Western region of the FAA.

Thus under visual rulings the pilot is on his own. He is not required to make radio checks but must maintain at least a three-mile visibility at all times.

Although Hall filed VFR, he could have changed to IFR and would have been forced to do so when the weather closed in. Perhaps he never got a chance.

If he had filed IFR, someone would have been keeping track of the DC-3 along the entire route, and Hall would have been required to file position reports as he passed specific locations along the route.

Thus if he had disappeared while flying IFR, searchers would have had a better defined area in which to concentrate their efforts.

But he was not required to file IFR, although he was flying over some of the wildest area in this part of the country, through an area that is notorious for severe air turbulence, in the dead of winter, at night and with a 26-year-old, fully loaded aircraft.

No one has been able to find the plane, and now the question persists:

Is the Air Force equipped to do the job it is legally required to do?

The Air Force views its role primarily as one of coordination, relying on other agencies in the field to conduct the active search whenever possible. But the Air Force has no authority to order any other agency to do anything, and in the end the search depends on cooperation, not direction.

DEPENDS ON AGENCY

Thus the success of a search depends largely on the effectiveness of whatever agencies happen to be in the area and happen to be inclined to help.

If there are no other agencies in the area, the Air Force sends its own men and equipment, Hackett said, but that imposes its own problems.

"We are geared primarily for military operations, since that's our primary responsibility," Hackett said. "Quite frankly, we are not set up to find civilian aircraft."

There are no search and rescue aircraft built specifically for that role, except for some Coast Guard helicopters.

All search planes now in use were designed for other purposes and have been shifted into their new roles with varying degrees of success.

Experts say a vertical-takeoff, high-performance aircraft designed and equipped specifically for search and rescue could have a profound effect on search and rescue (SAR) operations.

Of the many planes that have crashed in this region since the beginning of 1959, four—including the Gambler's Special—have never been found.

Officials point to the rugged terrain and the foul weather as justification for the failure to find the planes, but, in this day of sophisticated technology, is that an acceptable answer?

The full question of what happened to the Gambler's Special may never be answered, at least not until the wreckage is found.

But the disappearance, the failure to find it and the entire issue have raised a spectre that may haunt aviation for years.

The DC-3 Hall was flying was built in 1943 as an Air Force C-47 and was modified later for civilian operations. A report based on an investigation of the crash by the National Transportation Safety Board will be released within about a week. That report is expected to show that the airline was meeting existing standards and that there was nothing shady about the operation.

There were 35 persons aboard the plane, which had been stripped of all unnecessary weight. That gave it a gross weight of 24,809 pounds, well under the maximum takeoff weight of 25,346 pounds for that particular operation. That is nearly as much work as the plane could have been asked to deliver when it was new.

AGE UNIMPORTANT

"If the plane has been properly maintained, the age of the aircraft should make no difference," said C. L. Schmidt, chief of the air carrier branch of the flight standards division, Western region, FAA.

But there is such a thing as metal fatigue—metal in an aircraft breaks down under prolonged stress—and Schmidt admits there is disagreement over the reliability of tests to determine such fatigue.

On Jan. 25, 1962, a Montana Air National Guard C-47 (the military version of the DC-3) was caught in a severe downdraft that sheered off one of the wings. The aircraft plunged to the ground near Wolf Creek Mont., killing all six persons aboard.

One of those killed were Donald G. Nutter, then governor of Montana.

The Air Force investigation into the crash determined that the wing ripped off because of metal fatigue. As a result, the wings on all Air Force C-47s were reinforced.

Similar action was required for all commercial DC-3s. The first Airworthiness Directive issued by the FAA was published in 1939, and applied to the DC-3. It required reinforcement of the wing attachment to the fuselage. Other directives dealing with the same matter were issued in 1952, 1963 and 1966.

The missing DC-3 would have been required to comply with all of those directives.

Nobody is ready to say at this point whether the crash of the Gambler's Special could have been prevented, because nobody knows what caused the crash.

"I'm through with guessing," said Dr. Carl Muth, operations officer of the Bishop CAP squadron. "I don't know where the thing is. Who knows what might have happened."

CAP volunteers may tell themselves the search is useless, but they keep searching.

HUNTER FINDS IT

Too well they remember the Al F. Oien family of Portland, Ore. Oien was flying with his wife and daughter when his small plane crashed in Northern California on March 11, 1967.

Seven months later, a deer hunter stumbled across the wreckage. Oien had gone for help after the crash, and was never seen again.

His wife began keeping a diary until she died. Then her daughter took up the task until she, too, died nearly two months after the crash.

One of the last entries was in the daughter's handwriting. She wrote: "Today is my 16th birthday."

She died 35 miles from the city of Redding.

HORTON CITES DEDICATION TO YOUTH

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, the dedication of our young people is often overlooked. In my talks with students in my district, my feelings have been reinforced that there is much hope for America in the youth of today.

An example of the concern, caring, and action of young people in solving social ills is Miss Judith L. Bovet, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Donald W. Bovet, of Marion, N.Y.

Last summer, Miss Bovet worked with a migrant child care program. She came away from the experience deeply touched by the needs of the children of migrant workers and with the hope and desire that something can be done to give them a truly American chance.

Miss Bovet holds a realistic vision that not all society's sickness can be cured. However, as she says:

I do think that as long as we can't do much to help starving Biafran children and can't seem to end such a pitiful situation for the North and South Vietnamese children, that we can and should help our own poor children.

Judy Bovet is now a senior at St. Lawrence University. She is being married in June and she and her future husband have applied to work with the Peace Corps. Her enthusiasm, idealism, and dedication has greatly impressed me and I would like to share with my colleagues a letter I received from her about her work with migrant children:

MARION, N.Y.,
March 27, 1969.

HON. FRANK HORTON,
Rochester, N.Y.

DEAR MR. HORTON: Last summer I was employed by the New York State Migrant Child Care Program. My job was to take care of babies whose mothers were working harvesting fruit on the large farms in Wayne County. The children really had no place to go except to these centers provided by this program. My director has recently told me that perhaps the centers will have to be closed due to lack of federal funds, and I find this a grave mistake. It's not that I don't recognize the many problems (monetary and otherwise) which face Congress nor that I expect the social evils to disappear, but I do think that as long as we can't do much to help starving Biafran children and can't seem to end such a pitiful situation for the North and South Viet-Nameese children, that we can and should help our own poor children. If the people in the counties see this need and are willing to work, then I should think the fed-

eral government would aid and encourage any program which enables the two races to work together to better the welfare of the migrant children.

Sincerely yours,

JUDITH L. BOVET.

ROMULO GALLEGOS OF VENEZUELA

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, Romulo Gallegos, the first popularly elected President of Venezuela and one of Latin America's most distinguished educators and writers, died earlier this month in Caracas at the age of 84.

To all of us who have followed closely the developments in Latin America, and our country's relations with the southern half of our hemisphere, Romulo Gallegos was respected for his intellectual leadership and political integrity.

He was a popular political leader, a renowned statesman, a poet, and a humanist. At the time of his death, he was serving as Chairman of the Inter-American Committee on Human Rights of the Organization of American States.

Because I believe that it will prove of interest to the Members of Congress, I wish to include in the RECORD an article from the New York Times, describing the highlights of Romulo Gallegos' career:

ROMULO GALLEGOS OF VENEZUELA, AUTHOR AND EX-PRESIDENT, DIES

CARACAS, VENEZUELA, April 4.—Romulo Gallegos, the first popularly elected President of Venezuela and one of Latin America's most distinguished educators and writers, died today in a local clinic. He was 84 years old.

At his death, Mr. Gallegos was chairman of the Inter-American Committee of Human Rights of the Organization of American States.

He was best known, in Venezuela and abroad, as the author of the novel "Doña Bárbara" which was later made into a film and, in 1967, an opera.

He wrote many essays, short stories, two plays and nine novels. Among the awards he received for his works were honorary degrees from Columbia University and the University of Mexico.

His wife, Teotiste Arocha Egui, died in 1950. They had no children but adopted a niece and a nephew, Sonia and Alexis, who survive.

A POPULAR CANDIDATE

In 1945, a revolutionary junta headed by Romulo Betancourt overthrew the Government of Gen. Isaias Medina y Angarita. Its revision of the Venezuelan constitution in 1947 made possible the election that year of Romulo Gallegos by direct popular vote instead of by the national legislature.

Mr. Gallegos, as the candidate of the leftist Democratic Action party, which he had founded in 1941, won 80 per cent of the vote. He began a four-year term on Feb. 15, 1948, but was ousted by a military coup after nine months in office.

During the 10-year dictatorship of Gen. Marcos Pérez Jiménez he lived in exile in Cuba and Mexico.

On the overthrow of the Pérez Jiménez Government in January, 1958, Mr. Gallegos returned to Venezuela, devoting himself to writing and to liberal politics. He was voted life membership in the Senate.

Born in Caracas on Aug. 2, 1884, Mr. Gallegos was educated at the Collegio Sucre and the Central University. He studied law for a time but abandoned it to pursue a writing career, supporting himself as an accountant and a railroad stationmaster.

In 1909 he was one of a group of young intellectuals who founded the magazine La Alborada (Reveille).

TURNED TO TEACHING

He became interested in teaching, and was connected with both colleges and high schools. Between 1912 and 1930 he taught philosophy at the Andres Bello College in Caracas and was appointed director of the college in 1922.

He achieved his first outstanding literary success in 1920, at the age of 36, with the novel "Reinadío Solar" ("Manor Rule"), also published under the title "El Último Solar" ("The Last Manor"). A picture of a land inhabited by ruthless politicians and robbers, it was taken to reflect clearly the dictatorship of Juan Vicente Gómez, who ruled in Venezuela from 1908 to 1935.

Then, in 1929 Mr. Gallegos' most celebrated novel, "Doña Bárbara," appeared. It was the tale of a child of the river boats who eventually acquires an empire of estates on the plains of the Apure River region. It was translated into the leading languages, including English in 1931, had 24 editions and won the prize of the Madrid Book-of-the-Month Club.

Mr. Gómez, one of whose ranches had supplied a background model for the book, tried to curb the author's pen by appointing him a Senator. Mr. Gallegos went to the United States in 1931 and sent back his resignation.

Later he went to Spain as a salesman for the National Cash Register Company and wrote two novels there, "Cantaclaro" (1934) and "Canaima" (1935). In 1936 he returned to Venezuela, became a member of the Caracas Municipal Council and was appointed Minister of Education. Attempts to abolish foreign church schools led to his ouster from the ministry after three months.

In 1937 he published "Pobre Negro" ("Poor Negro"), a moving and poignant study of slavery and the tragedy of the mulatto.

He published "El Forastero" ("The Stranger") in 1942 and "Sobre la misma tierra" ("On the Same Land") in 1944.

TRIBUTE TO ART MCGINLEY

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, citizens of Hartford and Connecticut gathered on April 10, to honor a man who has played an important part in the growth of that metropolis and who, by his character and example, has earned an outstanding reputation.

I first claimed Arthur B. McGinley as a friend when I was growing up, as a youth on the Connecticut athletic scene, and he was serving as the sports editor of the Hartford Times. I had the benefit of his knowing, wise, and witty judgment and of the experience which had brought him from New London in the days of Eugene O'Neill through New York to Hartford, gathering friends all the way. He has always held my deepest admiration.

Art has been racked in later years by the pains of arthritis, which did not prevent him from keeping the output of his

typewriter flowing. This, too, has demonstrated the indomitable courage of this man, who never seems to lose his good humor in the face of adversity.

He responded to the hundreds of greetings with his characteristic warmth and humility. Art McGinley told that testimonial crowd:

This has to be my happiest hour, I have been in the newspaper business 60 years, 48 of them in Hartford.

This is an evening I long will cherish in fondest memory. I am warmed to see so many take time out of a busy life to wish me a happy birthday. I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

MUST ACT TO STOP COMMUNIST BULLIES

HON. WALTER FLOWERS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. FLOWERS. Mr. Speaker, the Tuscaloosa News is the daily newspaper in my hometown, Tuscaloosa, Ala. It is a distinguished publication with a great history of service to the people of west Alabama.

I take this opportunity to offer for inclusion in the RECORD, in order to share with my colleagues and others, an editorial appearing in the April 17 issue of the News which eloquently expresses my personal feelings and that of so many Americans over the recent acts of piracy by the Communist Government of North Korea:

MUST ACT TO STOP COMMUNIST BULLIES

Destruction of an American reconnaissance plane, apparently over international water, provides the first major crisis for President Nixon. And it is a lot easier for people on the outside to tell him what to do than it is to be in the position of supreme authority and to have the responsibility.

The case is much like that of several months ago when the North Koreans went into international waters and captured an American ship. Except, in the first instance most men on the ship were alive, and after much abuse and indignity were released.

The ship case was a major crisis during the Johnson administration. There were those, including this newspaper, which expressed the opinion that we should go in after the ship and its men. This perhaps would have meant the death of the men. It might not have. A more conservative course was followed, and the men were saved. Perhaps this was best.

But our great nation was humiliated and embarrassed by allowing such a wanton act to be committed. Those responsible have completely escaped punishment. They still have our ship.

When a bully gets away with one such act, another is certain to follow. And that now is the case, except in this instance it is likely that all men aboard the plane were lost. We have no ship or plane to go in after. There are no lives hanging in the balance. And the biggest problem is what to do to prevent another such incident.

Our leaders in Washington are far better situated to come up with an answer than are we. But it is our opinion that complete lack of principle, ethics and consideration for human life which exists among the North Koreans will cause them to listen only to strength and power.

We must respond in a manner which makes it clear that we will defend our ships and our planes—and the men in them—when they are in areas where they have a right to be. Further, we should have proper defensive forces nearby at all times, ready to act.

Certainly, we cannot retain the respect of the remainder of the world if we continue to allow international bullies to insult us time after time.

FTC BAN ON ADS FOR CIGARETTES WOULD VIOLATE INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the Federal Trade Commission's recent proposal to ban advertisements for cigarettes has raised a much-deserved cry of protest from many quarters. The following editorial from the San Diego Evening Tribune places the controversy in its proper perspective—in terms of Government meddling with personal freedom. I feel the editorial is worthy of careful consideration in the midst of the debate on this issue:

[From the San Diego (Calif.) Evening Tribune, February 14, 1969]

FTC BAN ON ADS FOR CIGARETTES WOULD VIOLATE INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS

A recent Federal Communications Commission proposal to prohibit broadcast on radio or television of cigarette advertising has raised questions as to the constitutionality of such a rule.

Significantly, there has been little more than mild protest from those most affected, the broadcasters and the tobacco companies.

The broadcasters have few qualms about their ability to fill the revenue gap the loss of cigarette advertising would bring.

In all probability, if the new regulation is made effective, the constitutional challenge will come from the advertising agencies who arrange for the cigarette company commercials. They would be hardest hit by the broadcast ban.

The action taken by the FCC, according to the commission, was due to federal studies, which show "a serious, unique danger to public health" from cigarette smoking.

Commission Chairman Rosel H. Hyde said the regulation would be effective July 7 unless Congress takes contrary action.

The Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act of 1965 restrains any agency from regulating cigarette advertising. The same act provided for a printed warning on cigarette packages as to health hazards involved in smoking. The act expires July 1.

Constitutional objections to the new proposals will be based on the Bill of Rights, primarily the amendment guaranteeing freedom of the press. The question of discrimination will also be raised, since no restrictions are contemplated on advertising in media other than broadcasting.

While most Americans, including confirmed smokers, can do without the often inane commercials currently the rage among cigarette manufacturers, we must also object to increased meddling by government in what can only be considered a matter of personal choice.

Even if we accept without reservation the conclusion that smoking causes cancer, we must also recognize that it is not illegal.

Until Congress sees fit to call for a constitutional amendment outlawing cigarettes, the government should not meddle with personal freedom. Experience with the attempt to prohibit use of alcoholic beverages makes that improbable.

Banning cigarette advertising is no more logical than prohibiting the advertising of autos—machines that have also proved to be "a serious, unique danger to public health."

SENATOR FRED R. HARRIS ADDRESSES THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, recently Senator FRED R. HARRIS, a most distinguished Member of the other body, and incidentally chairman of the Democratic National Committee, spoke to the National Press Club.

I found his remarks to be an excellent exposition of the objectives of the Democratic Party, as well as a cogent exploration of the issues which confront the new administration.

Disavowing any intention to "carp and criticize," the Senator from Oklahoma did challenge the administration to aggressively lead this Nation to new achievement in human dignity, equality, and peaceful pursuits.

Said Senator HARRIS:

For a time, we Americans may be tempted to rest on our record, to count the comforting beads of past progress, to recite the American litany of success, to turn our face away from the winds of change.

For these winds blow more fiercely than ever in 1969. And the sounds we hear are not a call to retreat, but the trumpeting summons to advance toward individual dignity and self-determination, for equity, for an end to war and for the first steps toward that world peace which can yet be ours.

Mr. Speaker, I include the remarks by Senator HARRIS before the National Press Club in the RECORD, and recommend it to my colleagues from both political parties:

REMARKS OF SENATOR FRED R. HARRIS, BEFORE THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB, APRIL 17, 1969

All over America today, as never before in the history of our country, people are challenging our society's unequal distribution of economic and political power.

America's greatest need today is the need to achieve equity for all our citizens—not only equity in opportunity but equity in results.

Equity requires that America put first things first, establishing a system of economic and social accounting which measures not just the sterile statistics of GNP and corporate and individual income, but reinjects ethical concerns and human values into our economic management system and measures the quality of American life—a system which allows us to get our priorities straight so that it may not be said of us: "They could hear the lightest rumble of a distant drum but not the cries of a hungry child."

Equity means making real certain basic rights of every American. In addition to the traditional right to live and lodge and eat where one wants, equity means the right to

a minimum standard of income for those who cannot help themselves, and the right to equal opportunity and a decent job at a liveable wage for every person willing and able to work; the right to a decent home in pleasant, wholesome surroundings; the right to a decent education, which prepares for living as well as for earning; the right to good health and enough to eat; and the right to be treated fairly—as a taxpayer and as a consumer of public and private services.

Equity means also that all Americans must have real access to the decision-making processes which affect their own lives.

There is a fundamental sense of unease in our society—a feeling of powerlessness on the part of many of our citizens in the face of huge and impersonal institutions—a sense of inequity, of inability to obtain response or recognition from our schools, our churches, our governmental bodies and our political parties.

There is a nagging sense of worry in our society—a concern that we are drifting listlessly into the stormy face of new and growing problems which beset our radically changing lives and world. For, as the President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology recently said:

"We are beginning to discover that the right of free citizens to move freely without hindrance can be made meaningless by the breakdown of mass transportation, and the right of free assembly can be negated by impassable city traffic, or, for that matter, by uncontrolled crime in the city street. We are beginning to suspect that free speech and free press might become irrelevant if we were slowly strangled by the air we breathe or slowly poisoned by our drinking water. We are beginning to see that equal rights and equal job opportunity, when finally obtained by citizens long denied them, can be made meaningless by intolerable housing conditions or by ineffective education systems. We are beginning to realize that if exploding populations create a world of starving humans almost standing on each other's shoulders, all concepts of freedom can become irrelevant, and American prosperity could be infuriating and incendiary to billions deprived of either hope or future."

Now, President Richard Nixon has been in office for eighty-seven days. Yet, we will not carp and criticize. But we still await with more than casual interest his first substantial moves to really lead this nation.

For, as Teddy Roosevelt said, the Presidency is a "bully pulpit," and the test of leadership is not how accurately the leader gauges the mood of the people, but how skillfully he can appeal to those sparks of idealism which, though often smothered beneath layers of apathy and inertia, flicker still, waiting to be brought to flame.

The test of leadership is not only how successfully the leader is able to diminish the sounds of political acrimony, but also how acutely he detects the quiet voice of moral outrage, of social justice, of human compassion.

But, as the President cannot evade his responsibility to lead, neither can the Democratic Party refuse to take its stand on the great moral issues of our time.

Toward making equity real in our society, America has made proud and measurable progress in recent years—frequently with strong bipartisan support in the Congress. From the advances we have already made, we will now either advance further or retreat; we cannot stay where we are. We shall watch to see in what direction President Nixon will now attempt to lead us—or whether he will lead.

But, so long as the Democratic Party remains a vital influence on the national scene, there shall be no retreat.

The Democratic Party must move—and we are moving—to get our own house in order so that we may be prepared to do our duty.

We will allow no retreat on the issue of race and human equality.

We are concerned about the lack of clarity with which this Administration acts and moves on this, the most fundamental matter of equity in America—on social and economic equality for black people, for American Indians, for Spanish speaking Americans and other minority groups. There must be no retreat from the elementary and basic gains we have made in recent years, and we must not permit administrative neglect or half-hearted enforcement to slow the march forward.

We are disturbed by the reported advice of the newly appointed general counsel in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare concerning relaxed desegregation guidelines, advice which seems at variance with the statements of Secretary Finch. We are concerned about the actions of the Department of Defense in awarding contracts without requirement of full civil rights compliance. We puzzle over how these actions and the circumstances of Clifford Alexander's resignation as Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission can co-exist with Administration assurances of continued progress toward full equality.

President Nixon, we feel, must soon end this confusion; he must soon clearly choose between right and wrong on the moral issue of race. He cannot satisfy both sides, for only one of them is right.

We must allow no retreat on the issue of poverty. There must be no retreat from the determined march we have begun against inferior education and training, the lack of decent jobs, the bad housing, and the poor health and malnutrition which prevent millions of Americans from having a real chance to attain equity in their lives.

We are disturbed by the announced plans to cut back on summer Head Start funds, to turn youngsters out of closed-down Job Corps centers, to retrench on financing of health research and health delivery, and the refusal to pay the pitifully small price to do away with hunger.

These positions of the Nixon Administration seem dreadfully inconsistent with its announced intention to offer new approaches on the terrible urban and other domestic problems which daily grow more difficult.

A nation which can increase its real production by some \$40 billion a year, which is the richest and most medically knowledgeable, most agriculturally productive country in the world, cannot escape the moral burden of continued poverty, when, as the 1968 Democratic Platform makes so clear, "For the first time in the history of the world, it is within the power of a nation to eradicate . . . the age-old curse of poverty."

President Nixon, we feel, must soon strike out on some clear course; he must soon clearly choose between right and wrong on the moral issue of poverty and hunger. He cannot satisfy both sides, for only one of them is right.

We shall not dwell upon President Nixon's campaign pledge to end the surcharge tax, for we know that election often makes wiser men of former candidates. But there must be no retreat from the resolute march toward fairness and equity in our tax system. Throughout America, taxpayers are increasingly outraged by a system which is regressive in its overburdening of those of lower and middle income, while allowing many of the rich to escape their fair share of Government costs.

We are concerned about this Administration's delay in presentation of its promised tax reform position, disturbed by those things which are reported to be left out of these recommendations to be announced.

President Nixon must soon break this si-

lence. He must soon clearly choose between right and wrong on the moral issue of equity and fairness. He cannot satisfy both sides, for only one of them is right.

There must be no retreat from the long march toward peace. We shall not dwell upon President Nixon's campaign announcement of an undisclosed plan to end the war in Vietnam. But we shall declare our concern that private peace talks, underway before his election, have only now begun again. We must declare our firm, continuing desire for a systematic de-Americanization of that war, for real progress toward South Vietnamese assumption of greater military responsibility and institution of real and lasting political, social and economic reform.

We are disturbed by the rhetoric of Secretary Laird, who spoke of "military victory" upon his visit to Viet Nam, and by his confusing and disappointing public statements against withdrawal of any American troops from that area during 1969.

We are deeply worried by the growing militarization in America and by the continued delay in sitting down with the Soviet Union to discuss a lessening of arms race tensions. Deeper than the technical questions of whether an ABM system will work are questions concerning the triggering of further escalations in the race for armaments advantage and the sobering question of the direction America will go, the priorities it will establish for itself in the next decade.

President Nixon's decision to scrap the Sentinel Missile System and then to advocate a somewhat curtailed safeguard system, backed up by varying arguments, seemed to be more political than military in its apparent attempt to do a little for each side of the argument.

President Nixon must soon make the hard decisions on the moral questions of war and peace. He cannot satisfy both sides, for only one of them is right.

We do not expect or insist that President Nixon meet and solve these issues within one hundred days or any other arbitrary period. We do insist that he address himself and his administration to these issues. For they must be met. And the people of America must soon be called to the task—in clear tones, in firm voice.

We shall not make partisan capital of these solemn causes. But we shall ask this Administration to lead, and we shall offer our own solutions.

The late Robert F. Kennedy was fond of quoting Tennyson's Ulysses:

"One equal temper of heroes' hearts
Made weak by time and fate, but strong
in will
To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield."

The Democratic Party will continue to be entitled to lead the United States of America to the degree it continues to strive, to seek and not to yield—to the degree it speaks to the changed problems of our day, to the moral issues of our time, in terms which are meaningful and relevant to our lives and to the lives of our children.

For a time, we Americans may be tempted to rest on our record, to count the comforting beads of past progress, to recite the American litany of success, to turn our face away from the winds of change. But those winds blow more fiercely than ever in 1969. And the sounds we hear are not a call to retreat, but the trumpeting summons to advance toward individual dignity and self-determination, for equity, for an end to war and for the first step toward that world peace which can yet be ours.

Those sounds will not be stilled by a call for silence.

Because the Democratic Party does hear those sounds and because we will and must respond to them, I believe that we shall be returned to leadership and—more importantly—to responsibility.

SOUTH AFRICA—VICTIM OF HATRED AND IGNORANCE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the darts of hatred and ignorance continue to be hurled at a tiny, stanchly pro-Western Republic by its fellow members of the United Nations, including the United States.

South Africa, a founding member of the U.N. organization along with the United States, has been blasted time and again not only by its fellow members, but by the ultra-leftist press, including that press in this country.

Perhaps these people have never stopped to realize that South Africa has always supported the West, and has in fact, severed ties with Communist nations. Then, too, it must be pointed out that it is in South Africa, and its protectorate of South West Africa, where the greatest stability and tranquility exist in all of Africa.

And the reason for this—despite the mutterings and cries of political oppression in South Africa by the left—is that the Government has a firm and forward-looking policy of economic and political progress for all its citizens.

Mr. Speaker, an interesting article appears in the April issue of the South African Scope by that country's Ambassador to the U.N. organization. I insert the article at this point in my remarks:

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

(By Ambassador Matthys I. Botha)

(NOTE.—Ambassador Matthys I. Botha has represented South Africa in various capacities at the United Nations since 1950 before being appointed Permanent Representative of the Republic at the U.N. in 1962. The accompanying article, dealing with South Africa's membership of—and participation in—the United Nations has been compiled from a number of recent speeches by the Ambassador as guest speaker before American audiences actively interested in international affairs.)

South Africa became one of the founding members of the United Nations because it believed in the ideals of the Charter and because it had so much to offer in the field of international cooperation. This motivation for South Africa's membership and participation in the activities of the United Nations still applies today.

It must be borne in mind that the United Nations is not a world parliament, controlling a world administration. As a body or as an organization it is an agency to which member States assign specific responsibilities and specific authority under the Charter.

The Charter itself is a multilateral international agreement which specifies the obligations of member States; which determines the structure and functions of the Organization and defines its powers, responsibilities and limitations. The measure of success of the United Nations to cope with any given situation depends, therefore, almost entirely on the will of the governments of member States. The willingness of a member State to cooperate with the United Nations as a single body depends in turn on the willingness of the individual member States to honor the provisions of the Charter.

A case in point is South Africa's own position at the United Nations. As a founding member of the United Nations, South Africa

has always participated in the activities and deliberations of the United Nations—even though its domestic affairs became the subject of discussion almost from the beginning and in contradiction of the provisions of the Charter. Notwithstanding scurrilous attacks on its domestic policies, South Africa responded, for instance, to a call by the Security Council to assist in repelling aggression in Korea by providing an air squadron to serve with the United Nations Force in that country.

It must also be remembered that hostile attitudes towards member States at the United Nations are generated largely as a result of uncontrolled emotions and a disregard for the provisions of the Charter—frequent occurrences these days which, notwithstanding their artificial base, are nonetheless responsible for a divisiveness within the United Nations which cannot be ignored. Unfortunately there are not yet any signs of a change in the present political climate and while this situation prevails emotions will continue to turn opportunities for useful dialogue into meaningless verbal exercises.

There is also no possible escape from the fact that numbers rather than logic appear to dictate the course of events in the United Nations—to a point where even an important United States spokesman has lately found it necessary to warn that the United Nations has to be reformed "to save itself" because of the abuse of the principle of one country, one vote.

South Africa, is of course, not the only country which is subject to unfounded criticism and condemnation by artificial majorities who claim to reflect world opinion. There are also others and, if the present emotionalism continues, even more countries are likely to come in for their share of criticism at the United Nations.

Our detractors are frustrated because of the vitality displayed by South Africa in the face of all the criticism directed at it in the United Nations. Their frustration is aggravated by the knowledge that South Africa's vitality flows from its inherent strength, drawn not only from its natural resources but above all from the moral principles which guide it in all its relations, both external and internal.

South Africa's internal policy is based on a recognition of the differences in culture, tradition and forms of Government of the various nations living within its boundaries, coupled with a recognition of the right of each nation to develop its own separate Nationhood and to govern itself in accordance with its own national traditions and aspirations.

It should be recalled that those who belong to the South African nation of European descent hold no brief for the domination of any nation over another. On the contrary, we are strongly opposed to any such concept, with an opposition which is rooted in our traditions and history because a large section of this nation was itself, for a long time in the past, subjected to foreign domination.

Moreover, we are not settlers or foreigners on the continent of Africa. We are no more settlers or foreigners in Africa than the millions of people of European or Asian or African descent who today live in the Western Hemisphere are foreigners here. We South Africans of European descent are a nation in our own right, just like all the other nations in the world.

In addition to this, we live and are rooted in a land which we took from no other people. That land is our only home—we know no other. We are also part of Africa. We have been part of Africa for more than 300 years and, like any other nation, we too are entitled to insist upon our right of self-determination. We claim it as an inalienable right which we shall never surrender.

While we are implementing a policy of peaceful co-existence, our critics advocate a policy for South Africa which, if enforced, can only lead to strife and violence. For these critics suggest that we should seek to establish in South Africa a full integrated multi-racial *political entity*, thus completely ignoring the rights of the various distinctive nations comprising multinational South Africa. Here the question would also arise: into what particular pattern is it considered that the various nations of South Africa ought to integrate? If it is into the white South African pattern, this would surely constitute a form of colonialism in a different guise and, in any case, what right has the white population to believe that its culture should necessarily be desired by other peoples? Likewise, would there be any better justification for selecting, for example, the Zulu nation, or the Xhosa nation, or any other, as the nucleus around which the various South African communities should be integrated? Surely not, and this is why we adhere to what is with us an issue of first principle—that all the nations in South Africa should be free to develop as they themselves may wish to develop, borrowing what they will and rejecting what they will, from the experience of other nations.

Our approach to the solution of our problems is an African one and the only one that can succeed. We are confident of success and in this we are backed by the necessary financial and technical resources to achieve our objective.

South Africa is the industrial giant of Africa. It produces three times as much steel as all other African countries combined and is tenth in output in the world. It generates electrical power double that of the rest of Africa, with unit consumption per capita equal to that of Western Europe. It produces more than 80 percent of the coal in Africa and has 87 percent of its coal reserves. It carries 50 percent of all railway freight traffic in Africa and has the largest electrified railway network outside North America and Europe. It possesses 40 percent of all motor vehicles in Africa and 50 percent of its telephones. It produces 73 percent of the free world's gold supply. It ranks among the world's leading producers of diamonds, uranium and many other minerals. It is the 13th largest trading nation in the world.

With manpower of a high quality, ample strategic minerals, including the cheapest uranium in the world, a manufacturing ability second to none in Africa, important food production, as well as stable political, social and economic conditions, South Africa is high on the list of strategically important spots in the world today. The degree of importance has increased considerably since the withdrawal of Britain from Aden and her pending withdrawal from the Persian Gulf and other areas east of the Suez, at a time when Russian influence in the Middle East is greatly expanding.

South Africa is likewise making its contribution on the side of the West in respect of scientific research and development. Our scientists are cooperating with Americans in Antarctica and have also participated in other international projects in the past, such as the International Geophysical Year, International Quiet Sun Year, International Biological Project and many others, as well as in bilateral agreements between the U.S.A. and South Africa, such as the operation of a satellite tracking station and a Deep Space Instrumentation Facility in South Africa on behalf of NASA. In this connection we greatly appreciate the tributes paid to the high caliber of South Africa's scientists assisting in the smooth operation of the American tracking stations in South Africa. These stations, incidentally, performed important radar and telemetric functions in support of the Apollo 8 Flight while, at the same time,

South Africa's airports were available to U.S. C130 aircraft operating in areas of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans in connection with that project.

The maintenance of economic prosperity and political stability in South Africa is an essential factor in the prevention of the spread of Communism to the strategic southern tip of the African continent. The high degree of political stability in South Africa is reflected in the fact that since the formation of the Union of the four provinces in 1910, South Africa has had only seven Prime Ministers.

We are opposed to Communism, and firmly committed to the West. We outlawed the Communist Party in 1949 and closed the Russian Consulate in 1956. South Africa was an ally of the West in two world wars, participated in the Berlin Air Lift and the war in Korea. We have contributed medical supplies for South Vietnam.

Occupying a central position in the Southern Hemisphere at the junction of the Indian and South Atlantic Oceans, South Africa is a crossroads of the world. This strategic placement has been underscored by the two Suez crises, first in 1956 and again since 1967 when, due to the closure of the Suez Canal, the Cape of Good Hope once again became the vital link between East and West. South Africa with her modern harbors, related facilities, and technical know-how, proved in 1956 and again today that it is in a position to handle the thousands of additional vessels using this route with speed and efficiency, thus helping to moderate what might have developed into a much more costly world emergency.

Of course, we do not and cannot lose sight of the fact that a certain political climate prevails in Africa at the moment.

The new nations of Africa are very prone to remember the evils of colonialism and to view the white man on that continent with suspicion, not realizing that the white man of southern Africa is an African like himself who suffered a period of colonialism like himself, and is not a colonial administrator—which is the only experience that most Africans in other parts of the continent have had of the white man. It is therefore unfortunately difficult for some African States to appreciate that what we in South Africa are striving to do is to ensure peaceful co-existence, that we have no ulterior motives and that our aim is not domination. Our good-neighbor policy is, however, evidenced by the fact that we have already established diplomatic and other relations with several African States—a development which we have every confidence will in time spread to others.

As regards our contact with the rest of the world, our relations with the nations of Western Europe have traditionally been close. These nations are our major trading partners and we not only maintain contact on governmental and diplomatic level but also enjoy a continued interchange in virtually all fields of human activity.

Relations with our trans-Atlantic neighbors in South America are also expanding as is illustrated by reciprocal visits of trade missions, participation in trade fairs, establishment of scholarships in furtherance of technical and cultural cooperation, the introduction of direct air services between South Africa and South America, etc.

Similarly, we are not neglecting our contacts with Asia where we are experiencing considerable expansion in trade.

South Africa has no desire to isolate itself. At the same time we feel that the world—and especially the free world—can also benefit from cooperation with us. Unfortunately full cooperation is hampered by the prejudice which still exists against us.

We, for our part, are doing what we can to eliminate that prejudice by conveying to other Governments and to international

organizations the true image of South Africa in the knowledge that, except in the case of those whose criticism is inspired by ulterior motives, much of the prejudice is due to ignorance and can only be eliminated by an appreciation of the true aims of South Africa's policy and the results achieved in the development of harmonious relations between the peoples, racial and language groups of South Africa.

JOB CORPS CLOSINGS

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, a recent article and editorial from the Cape Codder of April 17, 1969, emphasizes the excellent work of the Job Corps and the need to retain Job Corps centers throughout the United States. The texts of the article and editorial follow:

PESSIMISM, PAPERWORK PREVAIL AS JOB CORPS CENTER PHASES OUT

The Job Corps Center at South Wellfleet has never been a fun place.

Its neatly-lined barracks and spider-like water tower, its staff housing and black-top are an unlovely intrusion on the dunes. Moreover, it is an uncomfortable reminder of America's poor, a whole colony, plunked in the middle of one of America's playgrounds.

This week a somber atmosphere pervaded the center after the first emotional period following the announcement from Washington Friday that the center would be closed.

On Monday and Tuesday activity had slowed and even the usual boisterous banter of corpsmen was nonexistent. There was instead a questioning mood as staff and corpsmen both wondered what was in store and when it would come to pass.

DAMOCLES

The sword had been hanging over Job Corps since President Nixon's pre-election statements against the program. When word came, it was not from Washington officially, but on television and then in the newspapers.

Director Charles H. Orr first got official word on the Washington teletype late Thursday night. The message was from Bertrand W. Harding, acting director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, who said Wellfleet was one of 59 centers to be closed "as the result of a new definition of the structure of emphasis for the Job Corps when the program is delegated to the Department of Labor, effective July 1."

Friday a message came from Secretary of Labor George P. Schultz. It said the date for the closing was yet to be determined but that "it was important to stress that enrollees will not be deprived of training. Arrangements will be made to reduce the number of enrollees by attrition and to transfer those who want to continue their training."

Just where and when they would be transferred was the unanswered question, although there was reference to urban centers to be set up.

THE REACTION

The news came as a shocker to the 102 corpsmen. Four left immediately; 7 left Monday. Some left rather than face disciplinary action as the result of outbursts following the closing announcement. One drove a car out onto a public highway.

Ross Harrison, business supervisor, said he couldn't say whether the outbursts were a direct result of the announcement, but that the corpsmen had been upset and "when they get upset they tend to be volatile."

They had reason to be upset. Some had been at the center for only two weeks. Others had no home to go to.

Mr. Harrison said he was informed Tuesday by the National Park Service that placement teams from Washington would arrive in the next two weeks. "No corpsman who wants to continue training will be denied," he said.

Even while Mr. Harrison spoke a union representative was at the center, trying to set up a painting and plastering program. It will be inaugurated on a minimal basis, Mr. Harrison said, for as long as possible.

Right now the staff at the center is largely concerned with paper work and counseling, "a helluva lot of counseling", he said. And even as they counsel the corpsmen they will have their own problems to consider. There are presently 13 permanent and seven temporary employees at the center.

THE STAFF

Some of them are career people, used to moving as their job dictates. Others are local and there will be efforts to absorb some of these into the Seashore staff.

The staff payroll has been about \$11,000 every two weeks, Mr. Harrison said, so there may be some financial impact on the community.

Since its inception in May of 1965 the center has brought mixed reactions from those exposed to it.

The detractors were and still are many ("it's a lot of money to teach a kid how not to pick his nose.") There was trouble with the police at times.

Turmoil came even from within the ranks from staff members who felt the program was too minimal, that it should instill pride of manhood as well as an ability to read and write, to accept responsibility, to drive a truck.

BEST AROUND

But through it all Wellfleet began to get the reputation as one of the best run centers in the country, a status which has made the closing an even more bitter pill to swallow.

Part of its reputation was because the community was not made up entirely of critics but of people who established a helpful rapport with the center.

A community council of socially concerned men and women devoted many hours to teaching corpsmen, and in turn, learning a little themselves about the problem of the poor.

Indicative of the strength of 'feeling' was a petition being circulated on the Outer Cape this week. Mrs. Paul Younger of Eastham started the petition after Miss Judy Stetson of Wellfleet wrote it, and the Rev. Owen Knox at the United Methodist Church in Eastham preached a sermon on the Job Corps Sunday, urging people to sign the petition. Seventy-five parishioners did.

LOT OF SIGNERS

By Wednesday the petition had 567 names. It was to be sent to the President, the state's Congressional delegation, governor, former governor Volpe and Elliot Richardson, Undersecretary of State.

"We the undersigned citizens," it said, "strongly protest the closing of 57 Job Corps centers, including the Wellfleet camp. These young men were recruited on the promise of a full program of education and training.

"The doors opened by one administration should not be slammed shut so capriciously by the next. If the US can consider spending billions for an ABM system, there can be no valid reason of economy for breaking faith with those disadvantaged young people. We urge you to reconsider this decision."

CORPSMEN, TOO

Another petition, signed by 75 corpsmen, read "Dear Mr President

"We at the Wellfleet Job Corps Center feel

that you would give us a chance to improve our selves. Most of us didn't have anyone to care for us until we came here.

"We also feel that you could give us a chance to complete the program and if you give us this chance we will work to the best of our ability. Most of us before we came here couldn't read or write, but since we have been here we have learned many things. So we here would like for you to keep our center open so you can give this chance and many boys like us to become useful citizens."

THE RECORD

About 800 boys successfully completed the program at Camp Wellfleet in the past four years. The drop-out rate ranged from four to 20 percent.

Of those about 60 percent were placed in jobs. This is somewhat lower than the national average of 70 percent employment for Job Corps alumni, but reflects the type of youth the conservation camps dealt with. These were often totally illiterate and were starting their grade school education at the center. Urban centers which trained in more specialized skills had the corpsmen with more education.

Typical of the jobs Wellfleet alumni went onto include short order cook, painter, electrician, sheet metal trainee, mechanic. Some went into management training programs; at least one completed a high school education and was trying to go on to college. Salaries of a group taken at random ranged from \$1.65 to \$2.75 an hour.

While the jobs and the salaries don't give the impact of tremendous accomplishment, considering the investment, for the corpsmen involved they are tantamount to engineering degrees from MIT. Some corpsmen coming to the center had below a 4th grade education level, not even sufficient to get them into the Armed Forces, a goal for many.

NOT CHEAP

It wasn't cheap to do this and therein lay much of the criticism of the program. At last report, according to Mr. Harrison, it cost \$5,035 for each corpsman per year. This figure did not include allowance, transportation home and other overhead which brought the overall figure closer to \$8,000.

Those in the program felt the investment was worth it and were heartened at the placement figures.

Other factors, they point out, include the work done by the corpsmen to the savings of some taxpayer somewhere. On the Cape they provided an ever ready labor force for the Cape Cod National Seashore, installing board walks, maintaining or painting Park property, manning the fire tower in Wellfleet or the fire station at Seashore Headquarters.

Even as plans were being made to close the center, Warren Perry, a work supervisor, was hustling some of his charges along on a project to complete picnic tables for National Parks around the country.

Corpsmen have been taken off outside projects and he remarked that he wasn't familiar with some of those who were now working on the tables.

The National Seashore has made no plans for the barracks and other buildings. It probably will use some. Acting Superintendent Norton Bean said Wednesday, but the fate of the others is yet to be decided.

POLITICAL CALLOUSNESS

It was our intention, when we began to prepare this comment, to make a few satirical remarks about the decision to abolish the Job Corps, while maintaining, for instance, the subsidies to the poor down-trodden tobacco growers.

But the matter is too serious, and too close to us on the Lower Cape, to take a chance on satire. Someone always seems to misunderstand.

The fact is that each young man or woman who is given a chance to break out of the vicious circle of poverty, illiteracy and unemployment becomes an asset to his nation, instead of a liability.

Someone has worked it out that each local Job Corpsman graduate at Wellfleet has cost the tax payer \$5,032. Presumably this has been calculated by dividing the total amount spent by the total number of job corpsmen.

But that's not the whole story. What does it cost the nation for those who do not get a chance to break out of the circle? What is the cost of a generation of welfare payments to an unemployable? What is the cost, in dollars and cents of a crime, arrest for the crime, trial for the crime, and maintenance in prison for the crime?

Does someone in the Nixon administration want to reduce to a dollar amount the cost in suffering and despair to persons born into an economic situation out of which there is, now, virtually no escape?

What of the young men and women who have managed to be nominated to a Job Corps somewhere, only to be told that the program has been abolished before they could ever get there?

We could, we believe, take an objective look at a program offered to replace the Job Corps, a project established to broaden the base, involve more young people, attack on all fronts the handicap of birth into an environment of ghetto or slum. If the Nixon administration had announced a better program, into which the Job Corps effort was to be channeled, we would gladly have possessed our souls in patience, while the new plan worked itself out.

But we feel that merely to abolish the Job Corps because "it costs too much" is simple political callousness.

Once, in another time and another place, we saw an eight block city area evacuated of its lifelong residents to make room for a bridge. The community announced that new housing would be built for everyone evicted. Plans were already on the drawing board.

It takes a lot less time to evict a few hundred families than it takes to build a few hundred homes, so the people were removed from their homes a good two years even before the money was voted to build the replacement dwellings.

We think the abolition of the Job Corps falls into this category, and we hope more sensible counsel will prevail.

PRESIDENT'S ACTION SOUND

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, I applaud the action of President Nixon in continuing the EC-121 flights and guaranteeing protection for our airplanes.

Reconnaissance in international waters is essential to our national security and the President had to make a hard and decisive decision on appropriate response to the downing of an unarmed U.S. Navy plane last week. Characterizing the President's administration, the decision to continue EC-121 missions was deliberate after all factors were weighed. To provide protective air cover was also necessary in light of the circumstances. The President has been firm and reasonable in his initial response to the North Korean dastardly violation of international airspace.

Mr. Nixon deserves the support of all Americans in his decision to continue these flights.

STATEMENT OF DR. MURRAY B. HUNTER

HON. ROBERT H. MOLLOHAN

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. MOLLOHAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of my colleagues to a very cogent statement made by a man I am honored to call a constituent. Dr. Murray Hunter, of Fairmont, W. Va. It was Dr. Hunter who so ably assisted the rescue operations at the disastrous mine explosion at No. 9 in Farmington, W. Va., last year.

Dr. Hunter has spent all of his professional life in the treatment of coal miners and over the years has developed a valuable knowledge regarding coal miners' pneumoconiosis, which is known out in the coal mines of West Virginia simply as black lung. Two days ago Dr. Hunter shared with the House Education and Labor Committee's General Subcommittee on Labor his experiences. Dr. Hunter serves as the medical director of the Fairmont Clinic in Fairmont, W. Va.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF DR. MURRAY B. HUNTER, MEDICAL DIRECTOR, FAIRMONT CLINIC, FAIRMONT, W. VA., BEFORE GENERAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR, HOUSE EDUCATION AND LABOR COMMITTEE, APRIL 15, 1969

My name is Dr. Murray B. Hunter. I am Medical Director of the Fairmont, West Virginia Clinic. I am certified in the practice of internal medicine by the American Board of Internal Medicine. I have spent my entire professional life, 16 years, in the care of miners and their families. I am familiar with those aspects of the legislation before you that are concerned with the health of miners, particularly with chest disease.

I am here in support of the interim mandatory standard of not more than 3.0 milligrams of dust per cubic foot of air, as specified in H.R. 4047, but I would also support the provision of Section 204 of H.R. 7976, which proposes that the miner who does show demonstrable evidence of pneumoconiosis be assigned to work at his option at an area where the concentration of respirable dust does not exceed 2.0 milligrams of dust per cubic foot of air.

As miners themselves can tell you, better than I, the use of respirators and masks does not, at present, constitute a viable solution to this problem. If the mask Dr. Buff brought back from Czechoslovakia provides us with that solution, I think it will be a tremendous step forward. I do not feel that x-rays need be done more often than every three years.

On the basis of previously published testimony before this and other bodies of the Congress, I am in no substantial disagreement with either Drs. Buff, Rasmussen and Wells, on the one hand, nor with Dr. Higgins on the other. Everyone, on all sides of the question, including industry representatives, agree that progressive massive fibrosis, or complicated pneumoconiosis, is a disabling and often fatal disease. The studies of Cochrane and others have indicated that there is no evidence of any association between the attack rate of progressive massive fibrosis and age, energy expended at work,

smoking habits, tuberculosis infection or other infections.

The only factor related to the attack rate of progressive massive fibrosis, according to that study, is the average category of simple pneumoconiosis. It is properly concluded that the logical way to control the appearance of disabling and potentially fatal progressive massive fibrosis is to concentrate on preventing miners from reaching Category II of simple pneumoconiosis. To this end, dust suppression would appear to be a fundamental and virtually unquestioned goal if the health of American coal miners is to be protected.

Despite valid differences of opinion as to the effect of mining on other types of lung disease—emphysema, pulmonary fibrosis, chronic bronchitis—and despite differences of opinion as to the disabling effect of simple pneumoconiosis, there would appear to be little doubt but that informed medical opinion is almost unanimous on the necessity for the safeguards embodied in the legislation before you. I do not feel, therefore, that further time need be spent elaborating these nuances of divergence at greater length among the various witnesses.

I would beg the indulgence of the committee, however, to allow me the latitude to comment upon a new threat to the health of American coal miners that has possibly not yet directly been touched upon in these or other hearings. This threat has emerged, paradoxically, as a by-product of the political struggle for black-lung legislation on state and national levels. What I refer to, gentlemen, is the threat to the integrity of the United Mine Workers Welfare and Retirement Fund that is implicit in publicity releases of the last several weeks calling for "investigations" of the Fund operation.

I am here neither as a spokesman for the Union nor the Fund nor the operators but only as a physician who has had what he regards as the privilege of participating in the Fund program for the last 16 years. I have been around long enough to have participated in those conflicts in earlier years with organized medicine, which at one time wished to limit the freedom of action of the Fund in matters relating to its beneficiaries. I have been around long enough to have witnessed and participated in those medical-political battles that the Fund waged with a few physicians who sought to take advantage of it, to its detriment.

It is with no small wonder and not a little shock, therefore, that I noted, in the otherwise masterful and brilliant overview of the problem before you by Mr. Ben Franklin in the New York Times Sunday supplement of several weeks ago an invidious reference to the Fund as a partner in a kind of tacit conspiracy to elicit production at the expense of the workers' health. Mr. Lewis may have been collaborationist in relationship to the economic needs of the industry, but the establishment of a royalty per ton as the basis of payment to the Fund in place of a per capita contribution by the industry, was a stroke of genius, which took into account the predictable consequences of automation in the industry. The assumption behind this method of accumulation to the Fund is that the industry assumes responsibility for the health of the worker and his family as a part of the cost of production. I submit to you that there is no other industry-wide insurance scheme now extant in this country that quite embodies this principle.

We are properly thankful that the American public has articulate spokesmen in the area of automobile safety. Yet, never to my knowledge has the charge been leveled that the auto union or its fringe benefit structure profits as a result of collusion against the public to minimize safety features in the design of cars.

It is a crime and a shame that miners unemployed by disability or by virtue of layoff,

who are under 55 years old and not eligible for retirement pension, are deprived of their welfare card after one year. I submit to you, however, that the solution to the problem that these people face is not a Congressional investigation of the Welfare Fund. Let us make those of our citizens who qualify for social security payment by reason of disability also eligible for Medicare cards, regardless of age. I believe such a proposal may be before the Congress in this session.

Let us consider federalizing the welfare system, which may, too, have been proposed. We have in West Virginia what is called 65 percent of need. This is a euphemism for "poverty." That 65 percent is calculated on the basis of a 1958 standard. It probably represents no more, in actuality, than 35 or 40 percent of need. If the Welfare Fund is to be made responsible for picking up the slack where ex-miners are concerned, what about other industries who have had layoffs?

In short, gentlemen, let us stop pillorying the Fund for those inequities in our society which it had no part in creating.

Those of you who have had the opportunity to see the TODAY show on April 14 perhaps have some awareness of what is happening in the West Virginia coal fields today. Something akin to the Chinese Great Cultural Revolution is taking place there. I do not so characterize the black-lung movement as to demean it. Quite the contrary. I think it is a fabulous development. I don't feel, however, that we ought to simply look at it and admire it without considering its consequences.

The black-lung movement has been literally a call to life for many people who had heretofore felt powerless and anonymous. We have been promised by its leadership that its thrust will be sustained even after the realization of its immediate legislative goals are accomplished. In order to sustain itself, a mass movement needs ever new enemies and citadels to climb. I sincerely hope that my suspicions that its next enemy designate is the Fund are in error. If the black-lung movement creates a situation in which the present operating principles of the Fund are significantly eroded, it will have done itself a colossal disservice.

I would suggest to the leaders of the rank-and-file movement that they study the history of previous Populist movements in this country, lest we repeat the errors of those movements. In their quest for enemies to sustain them, they became quixotic, indiscriminate and ended up fighting their own natural allies.

In closing, I wish to thank you for permitting me this digression. If I had to choose between enactment of the legislation before you and preservation of the Fund, as to which is in the better interest of the health of miners, I would most certainly opt for the Fund. That is a purely hypothetical choice. I am sure that that choice will not prove to be necessary.

TAX REFORM IS URGENT

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, Americans can take pleasure in the fact that the new administration has today advanced the beginning of genuine tax reform legislation. President Nixon's tax reform package plainly moves in the right direction to overhaul the present inequitable Federal tax system. There is a lot of zing to it.

The President's plan to reduce the income surtax to 5 percent by next January 1 is welcome news to all taxpayers. Reducing the tax load on those least able to pay while closing the loopholes which have permitted the wealthiest institutions and individuals to avoid their fair share makes excellent sense.

I am very pleased that the President has moved to brake "tax loss" farming, which has permitted great corporations and others to move into agriculture in unfair competition with family farmers. There is also considerable merit in cracking down harder on the free-ranging foundations which have been shown to have violated their trust with respect to the tax advantages they have enjoyed.

Few matters are more urgent on the U.S. agenda than is a real tax reform. The Nixon administration's determination to come to grips with the problems involved signals this reform is now on the way.

BLACK EXECUTIVE SPEAKS OUT ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, Richard Clarke is a leading employment counselor who has been outstanding in placing young blacks in professional positions with major companies. His persistence in urging that the business community admit young black Americans to management training programs and jobs with good advancement potential has made him a truly outstanding proponent of equal employment opportunity.

In a recent editorial in Contact, a magazine published by his firm, Richard Clarke Associates, Mr. Clarke raises a question which is of primary importance to the business community as well as to black Americans. Will the Nixon administration pursue an aggressive policy concerning the achievement of full equality of opportunity?

In light of the recent controversy regarding the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Mr. Clarke's question is all the more relevant. Progress in the direction of full equality of opportunity with regard to employment has been slow at best, and neither private business nor the Federal Government should be allowed to further retard progress in this vital area.

I insert the following article in the RECORD so that my colleagues might be reminded of the importance of strong Federal policy and action on this urgent problem:

WILL NIXON NIX EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYMENT?

A sickly silence has settled over the black communities of America. It could be the silence that precedes applause or the deafening roar of disapproval that will come if the new administration ignores the one most pressing need of the black man in America... jobs.

It is already apparent that large segments of business and industry think Mr. Nixon will not be as aggressive as the Johnson Administration in this area.

If their expectations are correct, Mr. Nixon will be dealing a deadly blow to the hopes of a very vulnerable section of the black community, the thousands who had begun to believe that equal opportunity employment would become a national reality. Many of these young men and women were encouraged to place their hopes once again in the American dream. Laws that were passed, although not nearly as aggressively enforced as they should be, did at least offer some semblance of equality in the job market.

Large groups of black students began to major in fields that were formerly beyond the aspirations of the average black person. They were willing to compete in a market that offered them an opportunity to work and succeed on merit. They looked to the federal government as a sort of big brother. It wasn't so much that the government forced business and industry to live up to their obligations, but the federal presence in itself was enough to move many holders of government contracts in the right direction.

Any indication that the present administration will be less diligent on jobs will cause a dramatic reversal of aspirations and attitudes. If the potential leadership group of young black people is once again disappointed, the Nixon Administration will lose the opportunity it now has to demonstrate that the Republican party can offer at least as much as the Democratic party had to offer the Negro, hopefully more. Unfortunately, this potential leadership group is almost consistently overlooked until it is too late; the loudest voices do not often come from the most productive people.

It seems to me that if when the shoe drops, it is an empty shoe, there could be an error from which Mr. Nixon's administration may not recover. But, if the shoe comes down firmly with the administration's foot in it, black people will begin to listen and evaluate on the basis of performance. At this point, that's all Mr. Nixon's administration can ask of the black community.

NATIONAL SECRETARIES WEEK

HON. JAMES F. HASTINGS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, for the 17 years the United States has observed Secretaries Week, noting for a brief time the dedicated and effective work of the secretaries of this country. For the 18th consecutive year, Secretaries Week will be observed April 20-26, with Wednesday, April 23, highlighted as Secretaries Day.

Although Secretaries Week was originated in 1952 by the National Secretaries Association—International—in cooperation with the U.S. Department of Commerce, it is for all secretaries.

The overall theme for Secretaries Week is "Better secretaries mean better business." Looking to the future, NSA has continuously worked to elevate the standards of the secretarial profession and of businesswomen in general. Its primary goal is education—continuing education. And this is a future in which all secretaries must be ready to meet the challenge of technological changes.

Secretaries Week can serve as a reminder to conscientious secretaries that assuming a mastery of basic skills, loyalty, initiative, and accuracy are the most desired attributes of a good secretary.

MORTON PRAISES PRESIDENT FOR CALM RESPONSE

HON. ROGERS C. B. MORTON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, last week an old propeller aircraft, an unprotected Constellation converted into a reconnaissance plane, was shot out of the sky by North Korea.

All Americans were alarmed. Many urged the President to take immediate action, some called for military retaliation. The President kept his cool, however, and with it the cool and restraint of this great Nation of ours.

As the New York Times said in an editorial Saturday:

President Nixon has given a reasonable and responsible answer to the shameful North Korean attack on a United States reconnaissance plane. Galling as it is to all Americans to accept the loss of the plane and its 31-man crew, the President showed good sense in eschewing futile saber-rattling.

As the President has done so many times in the past, he studied all the facts, took account of the present situation, and took positive and firm action. His brief statement at his press conference on Friday told the entire world where our country stands on future flights and on future attacks. The President said:

I have today ordered that these flights be continued. They will be protected. This is not a threat; it is simply a statement of fact.

The President has acted with clarity and with purpose. Americans support him in that action and will support him in any necessary future action.

I think Saturday's Baltimore Sun clearly pointed out in an editorial the coolness of the President's action and the determination of his course. For the information of my colleagues, I include that editorial as part of my remarks:

WARNING GIVEN

Like the protest officially delivered to North Korea at Panmunjom, President Nixon's statement at his press conference on the shooting down of a naval reconnaissance plane was impressive for its restraint, a restraint appropriate to the seriousness of the incident. He emphasized the fact that the unarmed aircraft had not flown closer than 40 miles to the North Korean coast and he described the attack on it—90 miles from shore—as unprovoked, deliberate and without warning. He also made it very clear that these surveillance flights are regarded as necessary, and that they will be resumed, continued and from now on, protected.

Although Mr. Nixon declined to say what form the protection would take and was careful to note that his order for the protection was not a threat, the firmness with which he announced it can be interpreted as very plain notice to North Korea that it cannot halt the intelligence missions of United States planes over international waters and that any new attempts to interfere with those missions by force will be met by force.

That this is what might be called an interim decision is apparent from the President's assertion that "Looking to the future . . . what we will do will depend upon the circumstances." It will depend, he added, on what North Korea does, on "its reaction to the protest and also other developments that occur as we continue these flights." The incident of the EC121 is not finally disposed of. For the time being it is being left to diplomatic exchanges.

Obviously Mr. Nixon is trying to avoid any action that would worsen an already thoroughly bad situation. But he has told North Korea—an "unpredictable country," he said—that it will not be permitted to change the United States policy on aerial reconnaissance or to repeat its attack on our planes. Restrained as this message is, it carries an extremely sober warning.

A DISCUSSION OF THE U.S. POSITION WITH REGARD TO CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WARFARE

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the paper which I propose to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is a restatement of the official U.S. position on chemical and biological warfare. I submit it in order to insure that Members of Congress may have correct and unbiased information on this subject:

A DISCUSSION OF THE U.S. POSITION WITH REGARD TO CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WARFARE

In recent weeks there has been increased comment and conjecture regarding the involvement of the U.S. in chemical and biological (CB) warfare, and speculation concerning the policies and purposes governing such involvement.

It is the policy of the U.S. to develop and maintain a defensive chemical-biological (CB) capability so that U.S. military forces could operate for some period of time in a toxic environment if necessary; to develop and maintain a limited offensive capability in order to deter all use of CB weapons by the threat of retaliation in kind; and to continue a program of research and development in this area to minimize the possibility of technological surprise. This policy on CB weapons is part of a broader strategy designed to provide the U.S. with several options for response against various forms of attack. Should their employment ever be necessary, the President would have to authorize their use. The U.S. does not have a policy that requires a single and invariable response to any particular threat. In the field of CB warfare, deterrence is the primary objective of the U.S.

CB weapons, in many situations, may be more effective than conventional (high explosive and projectile) weapons. Accordingly, it is believed wise to deter their use against our forces on populace. If two approximately equally effective military forces were engaged in combat, and one side initiated a CW operation, it would gain a significant advantage even if the opposing side has protective equipment. This advantage cannot be neutralized with conventional weapons.

As a matter of policy the U.S. will not be the first to use lethal chemical or biological weapons, but we are aware of the capabilities these weapons place in the hands of potential adversaries. For this reason it is impor-

tant to carry on our R&D program in CB, not only to provide necessary equipment, such as detection and warning devices, but to define and quantify more fully the potential threat to our country from these weapons, and the hazards involved if they are ever used against the U.S.

The threat to the U.S. civil population from CB attack has been studied by the Department of Defense, and these analyses are periodically up-dated. It is clear that the threat of CB attack is less significant than that of nuclear attack. For this reason, more emphasis has been placed in civil defense on the nuclear threat.

For logistic reasons, chemical agents do not appear to pose a major strategic threat against the U.S. For example, it would require many tons of nerve agent munitions to carry out an effective attack against a city of a few million people. This may appear inconsistent with the high toxicity of the nerve agents, but for many technical reasons such as the difficulty in disseminating the agents in vapor or aerosol form, the dilution of the agent in the atmosphere, and their impingement on ground and vegetation, it is correct. For this reason, stockpiles of therapeutic materials for nerve agents are not maintained. Although the possibility of the employment of biological weapons against U.S. population centers cannot be ruled out entirely, it does not presently warrant the priority given to defense against the effects of nuclear weapons. Research on methods of detecting and warning, identifying, and defending against biological attack are continuing, as is review of the magnitude and nature of the threat.

The Office of Civil Defense has developed an inexpensive but effective protective mask for civilian use, and a limited production run was made to test production quality. No large scale production was undertaken because of the low estimate of the threat as described above. Should the threat to our population increase, this mask could be produced quite rapidly and, together with other necessary defensive measures, would afford protection against both chemical and biological attack. Filtration systems have been designed and tested, and these could be added to fall-out shelters to afford collective protection for groups of people. In addition, many of the emergency plans developed by the Department of HEW for post-nuclear attack medical support would be applicable. The emergency packaged hospitals, for example, provide for expansion of hospital facilities by the equivalent of 2500 hospitals of 200 bed size.

Large stockpiles of medical supplies such as antibiotics and vaccines are not maintained against the possibility of biological attack. There is no specific antibiotic therapy available for most BW agents. As for vaccines, there are more than 100 possible BW agents, and production and administration of 100 vaccines to the U.S. population is not practical. There is medical reason to believe that such a program would be generally injurious to health in addition to requiring prohibitive expenditures.

Chemical detection and warning instruments which could provide the components for a national alarm system have been developed, but it has not seemed wise to expend the large sums to deploy them to build such a system. As noted above, we believe that the threat of strategic chemical attack is not great. Warning against biological attack is much more difficult technologically. Recently there has been success with a prototype instrument which would provide some biological warning capability. R&D efforts in this area will be continued.

U.S. Forces have the equipment required for protection against CB attack with the exception of a biological warning and detection device which is under development. Soldiers and sailors overseas have masks and protective clothing; and collective protection equip-

ment for vans and communication centers is being developed and supplied.

Statements have been made that there is enough nerve gas to kill 100 billion people. This kind of general statement is as "true" as saying that a test-tube in a hospital laboratory can contain enough disease microorganisms to kill 100 billion people. Neither statement is true in any real sense, and there is no way in which the human race could be destroyed with nerve agents. The U.S. could not launch an immediate, massive retaliatory chemical or biological attack. The technical capability to do this has been developed, but it has not been judged necessary or desirable to procure and install the weapon systems for this purpose. The carefully controlled U.S. inventories are adequate for tactical response against enemy military forces, but not for a strategic, nationwide attack.

The total U.S. expenditure in the CB field, including smoke, flame and incendiary weapons, is \$350 million for Fiscal Year 1969. There is no procurement of lethal chemical agents or of biological agents. Details of expenditures are given in the table below:

Chemical and biological expenditures, fiscal year 1969

Procurement:	<i>Million</i>
Smoke, flame, and incendiary.....	\$139
Riot control munitions.....	81
Herbicides.....	5
Defensive equipment.....	15
Total.....	240
R.D.T. & E.	
General and basic R. & D.....	9
Offensive R. & D.....	31
Defensive R. & D.....	30
Test and evaluation.....	20
Total.....	90
Operation and maintenance.....	20

Of the \$90 million in R&D, about \$26 million is spent on contracts, primarily with industry. \$2 million is contracted to Universities for basic defensive investigations. Every attempt is made to use discretion in selection of contractors, and not to ask institutions to do work which might be contrary to their policies and purposes. For example, some years ago the advice of the Smithsonian Institution was sought in identifying a suitable institute to perform an ecological and medical survey of the Central Pacific area. As a result, they submitted a proposal, which was accepted. As a direct consequence of this work, there have been 45 papers written by Smithsonian scientists and published in the scientific literature. This has been a remarkably productive scientific investigation brought about by a coincidence of interests in the fauna of the area.

The Smithsonian Institution was never asked to do, nor did they do, any "military" chemical or biological warfare research. It carried out scientific investigations appropriate to its charter and objectives, and published the significant findings in the scientific literature. These results are available for use by any government agency, or by any nation or scientist wishing to do so.

U.S. forces have used riot control agents and defoliants (herbicides) in the Vietnamese conflict. These materials do not cause lethality in humans, and, as former Secretary Rusk said, are not considered to be the type of materials prohibited by the Geneva Protocol of 1925.

The only riot control agent in use by U.S. Forces in Vietnam is CS, although CN was also authorized some years ago. Both are tear gases. There are no known verified instances of lethality by CS, either in Vietnam or anywhere else in the world where it has been used to control disturbances by many governments.

Of the herbicidal chemicals, there are none used in Vietnam to destroy vegetation

which have not been widely used in the United States in connection with clearing areas for agricultural or industrial purposes.

The term "defoliants" is often used because it properly describes the purpose of its use; that is, to remove leaves from jungle foliage to reduce the threat of ambush and to increase visibility for U.S. and Allied troops. This use of defoliants has saved many American and South Vietnamese lives.

Herbicides are also used in a carefully limited operation in South Vietnam to disrupt the enemy's food supply. It is limited to the attack of small and usually remote jungle plots which the VC or NVA are known to be using. Usually these plots are along trails or near their base camp areas. Each such operation is approved by the U.S. Embassy and the government of the Republic of Vietnam. Enemy caches of food, principally rice, are also destroyed when it cannot be used by the South Vietnamese. These limited Allied activities have never, in any single year, affected as much as one percent of the annual food output of South Vietnam.

To date surveys have shown no evidence of substantial permanent or irreparable damage from the viewpoint of the future development of South Vietnam, attributable to the defoliation effort. The Department of Defense has supported the Department of Agriculture, in studies of herbicides in analogous areas, and in a base line study of the forests of Vietnam. Recently a study "Assessment of Ecological Effects of Extensive or Repeated Use of Herbicides" was done by Midwest Research Institute, and reviewed by a special committee of the National Academy of Sciences. It was judged by them to be an accurate and competent report. Last Fall, the Department of State, with Department of Defense participation, made a survey of the ecology of defoliated areas. One of the scientists who made this survey, Dr. Fred Tschirley from the Department of Agriculture, published his report in *Science*, Vol. 163, pp. 779-786, Feb. 21, 1969.

At the end of active combat, it appears probable that there will be agricultural and forestry activities and other programs which will aid the South Vietnamese people. The Department of Defense would cooperate with the Department of State and the U.S. Agency for International Development as necessary in accomplishing these. The Department of Defense supports the concept of a comprehensive study of the long-term effects of the limited defoliation program, and has endorsed, in principle, proposals by the American Association for the Advancement of Science for such a scientific study.

Every effort is made to assure that activities in CB do not pose hazards to the U.S. population. Strict safety practices are enforced at laboratories which do research on CB agents. Elaborate systems of air-tight hoods, air filtration and waste decontamination are employed. These precautions and procedures are reviewed by the U.S. Public Health Service as well as by our own safety experts. The equipment and building designs developed at the U.S. Army Biological Laboratories, for example, have been generally accepted throughout the world as the ultimate in safety for the investigation of infectious diseases.

With regard to the extremely unfortunate Skull Valley incident in which a number of sheep died, the exact chain of events is still not completely understood. A freak meteorological situation was probably a major contributing factor. This matter has been carefully reviewed by a special advisory committee appointed by the Secretary of the Army and chaired by the Surgeon General of the U.S. Public Health Service. This committee has made a number of recommendations concerning test limitations, toxicological and environmental investigations, added meteorological facilities, and a permanent safety committee. All of these recommendations are being followed.

Movement of chemical agents is governed by rules and procedures established by the Interstate Commerce Commission and the U.S. Public Health Service. The material is shipped in special containers; these containers are put on pallets if necessary and fully restrained, and an underlying layer of sand is used to reduce vibration and to absorb agent in the highly unlikely event of leakage. All shipments are accompanied by a trained escort detachment equipped with decontaminating and first aid equipment. Routes are carefully planned to avoid populated areas to the greatest extent possible; and, where they cannot be avoided, to move through them carefully and with as little delay as possible.

The precautions taken—the use of special trains, careful routing, controlled speeds, and other measures, make a train wreck extremely unlikely. However, even further steps are taken to minimize any hazard that might result from an accident. Buffer cars are included in the train, the escort detachment is distributed in different cars to provide prompt full-train coverage in emergencies, and transit time through populated areas is minimized. Although the agents are not inert, it is important to note that transported agents are neither volatile nor in the gaseous state. They are liquid, and the most volatile is about eight times less volatile than water. The containers are not under pressure, and nerve agents are rapidly rendered harmless by fire.

A succinct statement of the U.S. position on CB warfare was made in 1967 by then Deputy Secretary of Defense Cyrus Vance in testimony before the Disarmament Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. A copy of the relevant portion of his testimony is attached.

The U.S. has consistently supported the Geneva Protocol of 1925, although it is not signatory to that document. The U.S. supported the Hungarian resolution in 1966 for all Nations to adhere to the principles of the Geneva Protocol. The New York Times for March 19, 1969 quoted President Nixon's instructions to the U.S. Delegation to the 18-Nation Disarmament Conference now meeting in Geneva. The relevant portion of his instruction is quoted below:

"Fourth, while awaiting the United Nations Secretary General's study on the effects of chemical and biological warfare, the United States delegation should join with other delegations in exploring any proposal or ideas that could contribute to sound and effective arms control relating to these weapons."

The Defense Department is fully in accord with mutual arms control efforts and supports them in every way possible. For example, members of my staff will join representatives of the State Department and Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in meetings in late April to assist the United Nations Secretary General's group of 14 consultant experts prepare a report to the Secretary General of the UN on the characteristics of CB weapons.

With regard to unilateral disarmament, it was pointed out above that CB weapons are, in many military situations, more effective than conventional weapons. Thus, a nation which lacked CB weapons and could not deter or counter their use would have to consider more extreme measures. Unilateral CB disarmament would reduce a nation's deterrent capability, it would decrease its response options, and it would ultimately seriously degrade its CB defensive capability.

STATEMENT BY THE HONORABLE CYRUS K. VANCE, DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, FEBRUARY 7, 1967

The Department of Defense has consistently supported measures aimed at achiev-

ing limitations on chemical and biological weapons.

The proposal for general and complete disarmament tabled by the United States at the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee in Geneva states as an objective of our Government the elimination of all stock-piles of chemical and biological weapons and the elimination of all means of delivery of weapons of mass destruction.

We supported the United States affirmative vote in the United Nations General Assembly last December on a resolution calling on all nations to observe the principles and objectives of the Geneva protocol of 1925. We have observed these principles consistently since 1925, although the United States, as you know, did not ratify the Geneva protocol.

We have consistently continued our *de facto* limitations on the use of chemical and biological weapons. We have never used biological weapons. We have not used lethal gases since World War I and it is against our policy to initiate their use. We have used riot control agents in Vietnam—agents similar to those used by police forces throughout the world. We have also used herbicides to destroy vegetation and crops in Vietnam.

I have indicated that we seek international understandings to limit chemical and biological warfare and that we have not used weapons of the sort condemned by the Geneva protocol. I should also point out that we have at the same time maintained an active chemical and biological program. In the last few years we have placed increasing emphasis on defensive concepts and materiel. As long as other nations, such as the Soviet Union, maintain large programs, we believe we must maintain our defensive and retaliatory capability. It is believed by many that President Roosevelt's statement in 1943, which promised "to any perpetrators full and swift retaliation in kind," played a significant role in preventing gas warfare in World War II. Until we achieve effective agreement to eliminate all stockpiles of these weapons, it may be necessary to be in a position to make such a statement again in the future.

SERVICEMEN'S LIFE INSURANCE COVERAGE SHOULD BE INCREASED

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a bill to increase the maximum servicemen's group life insurance coverage from \$10,000 to \$30,000.

Without exception, programs of Government life insurance, beginning with the War Risk Insurance Act which established the servicemen's group life insurance, have limited the maximum coverage to \$10,000 per individual. Even though holders of \$10,000 service disabled insurance with the Veterans' Administration have a \$10,000 limit on coverage while they are in the service. At the inception of the War Risk Insurance Act, the \$10,000 coverage represented considerable purchasing power to survivors. But with increases in the cost of living since 1917 the amount that this insurance can purchase has shrunk. It now takes about \$275 to purchase what \$100 purchased in 1917.

Because the purchasing power of the dollar has decreased to the point where

the \$10,000 insurance benefit provides only minimal purchasing power, I believe the bill I have introduced today is necessary to insure that the amount of insurance which our servicemen can carry is compatible with the needs of their dependents today without regard to rank or years of service.

AMITAI ETZIONI PROPOSES TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCY FOR DOMESTIC PROGRAMS

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, Amitai Etzioni, director of the Center for Policy Research here in Washington, has proposed that an Agency for Technological Development be established to pull together Government R. & D. efforts in the domestic field. The article, which appeared in the April 4, 1969, issue of *Science* magazine, is stimulating and well reasoned, and I commend it to my colleagues:

AGENCY FOR TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT FOR DOMESTIC PROGRAMS

(By Amitai Etzioni)

(NOTE.—The author is professor of sociology at Columbia University, New York, N.Y.; he is now on leave from Columbia and serving as director of the Center for Policy Research, Washington, D.C.)

The period of change of administrations in Washington is a time when federal reorganization is given special attention. Furthermore, as expenditures for R & D, especially for nonmilitary purposes, are expected to increase much more slowly in the immediate future than they have over the past 10 years, questions of the effective use of existing research facilities and manpower will gain increasing attention. In this context, reorganization is considered here as a method by which greater organizational effectiveness can be achieved, through an increase in economy and coordination. To highlight some of the issues involved in such reorganization in the "short" run (4 to 8 years), I focus on the merits and difficulties of one particular proposal.

This proposal is a variant of the often discussed idea of establishing a federal department of science, or science and education, or science and technology.¹ Suggestions for such a department find little support among large segments of the academic community, mainly because these scientists fear monopolization of sources of support for research, a situation which could allow the advocates of one school of thought to deny funds to other promising lines of investigation.² I deal here with a much more limited proposal: the creation of an agency devoted primarily to technological work and specializing in domestic—mainly urban—problems: a kind of earth-oriented NASA.

However, unlike the case for NASA, the establishment of an Agency for Technological Development (ATD) need not involve the creation of new, large-scale, bureaucratic machinery or a significant increase in total federal expenditures. A conversion of Housing and Urban Development (or of parts of it, especially the Model-Cities Administration) into a kind of R & D Department for the cities, augmented by the transfer of several "technological" units from other agencies

Footnotes at end of article.

and collaboration with still others, could provide most of the manpower, budget, and facilities that would be required. Since I favor this particular approach, I cannot completely avoid all hints of advocacy as I proceed to review first the merits and then the difficulties of this mode of reorganization of the federal R & D effort. The basic conditions I describe would, however, apply to most other attempts at reorganization and, hence, may be of interest even if an "earth-NASA" is not.

IMPORTANCE OF TECHNOLOGICAL SHORTCUTS

New applications of research and development of technologies seem essential if we are to be able to handle several of our key domestic problems within a reasonable length of time—let us say, in 4 to 8 years. The nation needs to face two facts: the funds required for the treatment of our most urgent problems with the means we now possess are not likely to be soon available, and, even if they were, the problems have elements whose resolution seems to be more than a matter of substantially increasing the investment in their treatment. The development of new means seems to be required.

As regards the first statement, the order of magnitude of the "missing" funds is great indeed. Mayor John V. Lindsay recently testified before Congress that he needed \$100 billion to rebuild New York's slums; at the present rate, it will be 40 years before such an amount becomes available for the elimination of all the slums in the United States. And here I refer only to the construction or reconstruction of the physical plant. A United States senator estimated that the implementation of the key recommendations of the Kerner Commission would require at least \$100 billion a year. With regard to all national needs, the National Planning Association calculated, in a study, that, if the United States sought to realize by 1985 the modest goals specified by the Eisenhower Commission on National Goals, even if the total gross national product were devoted only to those goals and the growth rate were as high as 4 percent per year, the country in 1985 would still be at least \$150 billion a year behind.

The funds which will actually be available are of a much smaller order. A year or so ago it was argued by some that, once the war in Vietnam was ended, the nation could transfer the \$24.5 to \$32.5 billion now spent each year on the war (estimates of the costs vary) to the treatment of its domestic problems. Pessimists pointed out at that time that Congress could not be expected to transfer all of these funds to the domestic front and suggested a deal: part of the funds would be absorbed by reduced taxes (to satisfy the conservatives) in exchange for allocation to the domestic front of \$15 billion, of which \$10 billion at the last would be devoted to new domestic efforts.

As the 1968 elections drew nearer, however, the press reported that task forces working for the two major presidential candidates were estimating that, for the present, the defense budget would have to remain more or less at its present level even if the war were deescalated considerably. First, the Pentagon has convinced many people that stocks of war materiel depleted during the Vietnamese war would have to be replenished. Second, the Department of Defense maintains that several urgent military needs, especially in the area of technological development, which had not received attention during the war will require investment in the post-Vietnam period. A White House aide has indicated that he expects defense spending over the next 4 years to be between \$72 billion and \$77 billion a year. The defense budget for fiscal year 1969 is estimated as \$79 billion.³ In short, we could expect only a few billions of dollars to be diverted from military to domestic programs in the near future even if the war were ended immedi-

ately. An additional tax increase is unlikely. Some increase in federal revenues due to an increased gross national product is expected, but much of this is already committed in the short run for items such as increased salary of government employees, veterans' benefits, and costs due to inflation and other factors.

But even if the economic resources for domestic programs were somehow miraculously to become available and the political will to use them for social improvement were present, we would still face other severe shortages, principally shortages of professional manpower. In the United States in 1966, for example, there were an estimated 556,000 patients in mental hospitals and 501,000 outpatients in mental health clinics. At the same time, there were about 1100 psychanalysts, roughly 7000 board-certified psychiatrists, and few more than 17,000 physicians designated as psychiatrists.⁴ Most of the patients in mental hospitals are not treated at all: in 1964, only 2 percent of the staffs of mental hospitals were psychiatrists and only 10 percent were professionals of any sort; most of the staff members were "attendants," of whom more than half had not completed high school and only 8 percent had had any relevant training. Similar shortages are reported in almost all the domestic sectors where problems are evident. The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) is encouraging city planning, but there are few city planners; many university chairs in the natural and social sciences remain unoccupied for years or are filled by persons who have not completed their training; and so on. Thus, it seems evident that, unless some shortcuts to the treatment of the nation's social problems are found, these problems are not likely to be effectively treated in the foreseeable future.

I do not wish to imply that all or even most of our domestic problems could be solved within 4 to 8 years. But it is quite likely that in this length of time several key problems might be reduced to a level where they would again seem "manageable." When this is achieved in several key areas, and as further reductions are worked out, our domestic problems will no longer threaten us, as they do now, by their appearance of unmanageability; this appearance elicits hysterical reactions, which both add to our problems and make the treatment of existing ones more difficult.

TECHNOLOGY AS A SOURCE OF SHORTCUTS

The development of new technology is relevant here because it has been found that the evolution of a new technology frequently makes possible the accomplishment of a task that formerly was prohibitively expensive (if it could be carried out at all) at a small fraction of its previous cost. As Alvin M. Weinberg put it:⁵ "There is a possibility that the technologically oriented research institutions may contribute to an unexpected degree to the resolution of problems that now seem to be primarily social. I refer to the possibility of devising 'cheap technological fixes'."

It is sometimes argued, in opposition to this position, that the cost of using a new technology, even though it may make possible the previously impossible, is greater than the cost of using its pretechnological counterpart; a jet costs more than a mule. But it seems to me that a computation of the costs per unit of results (or effects) would show that, once the technological items are in routine use, they tend to be much less expensive. Thus, the cost of crossing the country by jet is not to be compared with the cost of using a mule in the old days; rather, one should compare the cost of transporting one person a given distance by mule to that of transporting him by jet in the same cost environment (for example, at 1969 prices). An extremely simple example of the economies gained by

the application of a technology is to be found in the reduction of the turnaround time of ships in harbors from days to hours following the development of "containerization."

An interesting illustration of this point is provided by a cost-benefit analysis conducted by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to assess the relative effectiveness and expenditures of several programs intended to reduce the number of injuries suffered in automobile accidents, from which 53,100 people died during 1967, the last year for which figures are available.⁶ The mechanical devices, products of technological development, were found to be much more economical, relative to their effectiveness, than the nonmechanical ones. Here are figures on the cost per death averted: use of seat belts, \$87; use of restraining devices, \$100; use of motorcyclists' helmets, \$3,000; driver education, \$88,000. Even when the fact that these figures are subject to considerable error is taken into account, the difference between the costs of technological approaches (the first three items) and an educational approach (the last) is so great that it seems to indicate a clear ranking of procedures, at least for this problem area.

The prospective roles of new technologies in other problem areas may be briefly indicated. It was once said that, were we to rely on manual switchboards, all of the housewives in the United States would have to work for A.T. & T., to handle the present volume of telephone calls (I am not aware that an actual computation has been made). This point seems now to apply to teaching. The education gap now facing this country ranges all the way from the toddlers' age group (1- to 3-year-olds), in which, it is argued, poor and black children begin to be disadvantaged, to "continuing education" (a new euphemism for the education of adults), and a shortage of teachers is felt not only in the training of the handicapped and chronically unemployed but in that of all other groups up to and including M.D.'s. To state that, if this gap is to be eliminated, half of the country may soon have to be teaching the other half may well be only a minor exaggeration.

As this is highly unlikely to occur, the extent of the educational gap will be significantly affected by the development and mass use of mechanical instruction such as television teaching and the use of teaching machines.⁷ These approaches will not "replace" the teacher but will, rather, take over some parts of his work (quite typically, the more routine parts), as well as increase his "reach" and effectiveness.

Beyond the benefits of these new aids can be fully realized, however, some additional technological development is necessary. The cost of computer-assisted instruction, for instance, has to be reduced through the development of much less expensive devices. Furthermore, evaluation studies show beyond reasonable doubt that, in many areas, TV instruction is not inferior to personal teaching. What is still lacking is a combination of TV instruction with an effective mechanism to allow students to respond to the material they learn, be tested, and gain a response in return. This could perhaps be accomplished electronically through a further refinement of the systems now used in mechanical voting and in the computerized analysis of correspondence courses. The evolution of devices which can be mounted on personally owned sets, allowing the student to record a lesson and to play it back at his own pace, is essential for the increased effectiveness of this technology.⁸

In the area of crime, approaches based on new applications of computers, laboratories, and communication systems are already serving the country, but—as the report of the Crime Commission clearly shows—we have only begun to make progress in this regard.

The Crime Commission stated:⁹ "More than 200,000 scientists and engineers have applied themselves to solving military problems and hundreds of thousands more to innovation in other areas of modern life, but only a handful are working to control the crimes that injure or frighten millions of Americans each year." Particularly, it has been suggested, much benefit could be derived from better nationwide communication systems to provide data about criminals, from better local communication among police units as well as between units and headquarters, and from the reduction, by technological means, of the paper work which slows down the courts.⁹

Developments in medicine often provide examples of the very considerable savings new technologies may provide.¹⁰ For instance, methadone seems to have proved four to five times as effective as psychotherapy in treating heroin addicts. The "success" rate for the rehabilitation of drug addicts through psychotherapy, a long and costly process, is below 22 percent. Methadone, which so far has been used only experimentally, is reported effective in 82 percent of the cases; it is inexpensive and easily administered. While widespread tests of this technique are still needed, so that the controversy surrounding it can be resolved, it seems much more promising than psychotherapeutic approaches.

In the areas of low-cost public housing, rapid public transportation, information systems to bring workers and jobs together, waste disposal, highway safety, reduction of pollution, and so on, the need for technological development has been frequently pointed out.¹¹

One reason why technological development may be expected to have high payoffs in these areas is that many elements of our domestic programs are still in the pretechnical stage, with most of the work performed, in effect, by the human brain. It may be argued that this is inevitable, that here men cannot be replaced or their output multiplied by the use of technologies. In some areas, this is undoubtedly true; in most, however, there are some key elements of the problems which could be helped considerably by new technologies. Thus, not all or even most teaching may become mechanized; but certain routine aspects—for example, repetition in language lessons—may be.

In other areas, services for a large number of persons cannot be provided without technological advances. Many of our social problems arise from the fact that services previously sought by relatively small groups—such as high-quality education, good medical care, and clean air—are now actively demanded by most citizens. The significant role of new technologies in bringing high-quality services to the "masses" is illustrated by the beaming of a Nobel Prize lecture into scores of classrooms equipped with television, the evolution of mechanical heart pumps (many believe these to be more practical for mass use than transplants), and the development of new devices for depolluting the air (making it possible to clean the air of central cities whose populations cannot escape to the suburbs and resort areas).

The need for, and promise of, technological development for the treatment of domestic problems seem fairly well established. How may this need be served?

EXISTING ORGANIZATION OF DOMESTIC R. & D.

The technological needs of our domestic programs are now being served by R & D efforts dispersed widely among federal agencies as well as outside the government in universities, research corporations, and private industry. To some extent this arrangement is both inevitable and desirable. Most agencies have some specific research needs of their own that they themselves can probably best serve. The existence of a multiplicity of R & D centers in the private sector

Footnotes at end of article.

helps to insure that a given approach will not monopolize the funds and prematurely drive out others which may prove to be more productive in the long run. However, the existing system of R & D centers serving the government does suffer from several deficiencies that may be corrected by the proposed agency that is to specialize in domestic technological development.

(1) In many federal agencies, unlike the situation in NASA, the technological division is an administrative stepchild. Only rarely are its special needs adequately understood either by the agency heads, whose backgrounds and training tend to be neither in research nor in technical development, or by the civil servants who stand between the technological division and the agency heads. It is important to note that these technological environments are not accidental; they are a result of the fact that the development of new technologies is neither the primary mission of these agencies nor the primary means of fulfilling their major missions. Thus, it is not surprising, nor is it a phenomenon limited to this country, that government agencies, staffed by civil servants, lawyers, and economists, find it difficult to provide an environment hospitable to laboratories and testing grounds, to engineers and applied psychologists. It is unreasonable to expect that a directive by a Secretary or the enunciation of a new policy will change such "structural" features. Institutionalization of a protechnological environment seems necessary if effective service of technological missions is to be possible—that is, establishment of an agency which will have technological development as its prime mission and which will be organized and staffed accordingly.

(2) The budgets of most of the existing governmental domestic R & D units constitute small fractions of the total budgets of the agencies to which these units are attached (see Table 1), and only part of this budget is used for technological development.

Of the total R & D obligations, most of the funds are used for nondomestic missions; it is estimated that \$13.8 billion have been obligated to the Department of Defense, NASA, and the Atomic Energy Commission and \$2.1 billions to the other 27 agencies. The situation in some of the key domestic agencies is shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1.—ESTIMATED OBLIGATIONS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1966 (12, P. 30 FF.)

Agency	Total R. & D. obligations (in millions of dollars)	Percentage of total agency budget
Department of Agriculture.....	243.7	3
Department of Commerce.....	+88.9	8
Department of Labor.....	11.8	2
Department of State.....	14.6	4
Office of Economic Opportunity..	60.0	4

Obviously these obligations for R & D reflect neither a high national priority nor, it seems, the potential value of the work involved. For Interior and HEW, the percentages of the budgets allocated to R & D were higher, although not high—10 and 12 percent, respectively. In Interior, R & D expenditures are concentrated largely in a few highly technological subagencies, such as the Bureau of Mines; whether or not other bureaus could benefit from larger R & D expenditures remains in doubt. The 12 percent of the budget spent on R & D by HEW is spent largely for the research R and not for technological D. Actually, out of every \$4 obligated, only \$1 is obligated for development,¹² which is, of course, the more expensive part of the R & D process.

Footnotes at end of article.

The small and politically weak Office of Science and Technology in the White House seems unable to campaign effectively for these various R & D units, and the National Science Foundation's mission, is by and large, limited to research, primarily of a basic nature, although NSF has been paying some attention recently to matters involving transfer of technology, engineering, and so on. It is likely that only the combination of all, or at least some, of these units and their elevation to the level of an agency will bring new technologies for domestic missions the needed support, as only then will domestic R & D be able to compete effectively in the federal give-and-take for funds.

(3) The fact that many of the numerous agencies active in the domestic areas now develop their own technological facilities seems to lead to some waste and to a measure of duplication. While some of these facilities are area-specific, others—such as computer centers and testing grounds—could be combined. Establishment of a federal R & D agency specializing in domestic missions would seem more economical than support of R & D in each of the numerous agencies and subagencies with a domestic mission.

(4) A significant proportion of the national R & D is, and surely will continue to be, carried on "out-of-house," in the private sector—in universities, research corporations, and private industry. However, the universities tend—quite properly—to focus on research at the expense of development, and on basic research at the expense of applied research. The forces which underlie this tendency of university research to be remote from practical needs are many and powerful. They include the prestige attached to research as compared to technological development, and to basic research as compared to applied research. Career advancement is often tied to achievement in basic research and, furthermore, scientists are often reluctant to accept the outside guidance that is found more frequently, and in greater detail, in applied and developmental work than in basic research.¹³

Also, many members of academia firmly believe that the best way to solve a practical problem is to invest in basic research; research funds are to be cast upon the oceans of science in the hope that the "answers" to specific problems will someday be washed ashore. Experience, as well as the empirical testing of this belief, seems to suggest otherwise.

The first atom bombs were produced in a concentrated effort specifically designed to result in such a product (Project Manhattan). Polio vaccine was developed by Salk and Sabin task forces. A manual lunar landing is expected as a result of the deliberate efforts of Project Apollo. A study by J. Schmookler¹⁴ shows that significantly more results are produced in those areas in which there are significantly greater R & D efforts (as measured by investments). A study by the Department of Defense (Project Hindsight), which sought to establish the ways in which the systems most useful to defense were evolved, lends further support to this conclusion: of the 556 "events" which led to the evolution of the desired system, 92 percent were technological.¹⁵ The study has been criticized^{16, 17} for focusing on technological payoffs (only weapons were studied as payoffs) and neglecting scientific inputs (by not tracing the "events" farther back). In addition, a study of the sources of new findings in chemistry has been used to counter Hindsight's insights.^{17, 18}

The questions about the relative importance and independence of scientific and technological inputs need not be resolved before the arguments in favor of a new technological agency can be examined. The following statements seem to summarize a kind of consensus of experts which is evolving.

(1) Investment in basic research must be continued because ultimately it is the foundation on which much of the later, more "applied" work builds; Hindsight findings exaggerate the importance of technological development.

(2) Investment in technological development is needed because (i) there is no "automatic" route from scientific findings to useful technologies (and the costs of technological developments are 15 to 60 times those of the initial research), and (ii) some developments are intrinsically technological and cannot be traced back to scientific findings—that is, the scientists' belief in the dependence of technological development on scientific research underestimates the need for investment in technologies per se.

(3) Technological developments are more "guidable" than research, especially basic research. Hence, if the goal is to increase the capacity to treat domestic problems, the payoffs from direct investment in technological development will be greater than those from research, as the former will be more "on target."

(4) While universities—with the significant exceptions of some engineering schools, university-affiliated laboratories, and a few other units—are oriented toward basic research, private industry and some research corporations are quite willing and able to work on specific technologies under the guidance of the government.

An agency specializing in technological development for domestic missions would, thus, increase the "weight" of these missions both in the federal give-and-take and in the private sector.

SYSTEM EFFECTS

Another reason why an Agency for Technological Development might be more effective than the existing multiple technological units within the scores of federal agencies and bureaus entrusted with domestic missions is that such an agency would be concerned with relations among technologies, a matter to which the present dispersed system cannot give much attention. New transportation systems, for example, are often designed without sufficient regard for housing problems, housing projects are designed without recognition of the problems of crime control, and so on.¹⁹ To the extent that various specialized efforts are placed under one administrative roof, the likelihood will be increased that both the negative and the positive "side effects" of new technologies and their place in domestic programs will be more fully taken into account. Even within one agency there are barriers to such coordination, and these barriers are almost insurmountable between agencies.

There are exceptions: interagency cooperation between AEC and the Department of Interior on desalination and reduction of pollution is a case in point. But such collaboration is not common, and it is difficult to conceive, in view of the fragmenting forces at work, how it could become the norm. Dael Wolfe, addressing himself to this point wrote:²⁰

"Many of the large problems that confront us . . . differ from those of the space program in focusing on people rather than on rockets and space vehicles. . . . But the social programs, like the space program, call for management structures linking government, industry, and universities. The new program will involve research, planning, coordination, and testing. And they will be bothered by multiple divisions of responsibility, conflicting ambitions and interests, decisions to use existing facilities or to assemble new ones, multiple channels of communication and authority, and the problems of building up and of phasing down as priorities shift to new targets or as new opportunities open up."

Hence, I agree here with Wolfe that NASA provides a more effective administrative model.

In short, there seem to be several significant reasons for favoring an agency for domestic technological development. Many of the objections to such an agency seem to revolve around the issue of political feasibility.

POLITICAL FEASIBILITY

When I had prepared a previous version of this article I sent it "for comments" to a number of acquaintances in government agencies, on congressional committees, and in research corporations. Of the 18 who responded, all but one live in the Washington area. Such "feedback" is quite useful even in working on a regular academic paper, as it is very difficult for most writers to anticipate all the questions that the exposition of a concept for a finding may raise. Seeking such response becomes almost inescapable when one is dealing with policy proposals. Here, it is most useful to take into account the viewpoints of those who would be affected if the proposal were to be implemented, and of those highly familiar with the political constraints which the proposal will confront.

It was the consensus of the respondents that greater technological development would indeed be helpful in handling many of our domestic problems. And almost all of them agreed that such development would entail heavy investment in the technologies themselves and not just in basic or applied research. However, practically all of the respondents questioned the political feasibility of creating an agency devoted to the advancement of technology. It was repeatedly stated, with considerable force and conviction, that the existing agencies, Congress and its committees, and industry would oppose such a plan.

SPEED OF PAYOFFS AND CONGRESS

Among those whose profession is turning blueprints into social instruments or programs, and among those who work on developing new technologies, it is commonplace to expect a period of significant modifications and "de-bugging." It seems impossible to anticipate, on the drawing boards or in tests with small-scale models, all, or even most, of the difficulties a functioning, full-scale model will encounter. (The same holds for the routine production of what was developed as a prototype.) Hence, considerable effort and investment are needed precisely in this phase—that is, in evolving the first "prototypes" and setting up routine "production." The more "de-bugged" these phases are, the less likely it is that revisions will be necessary once mass production is under way. An analogy is correcting a stencil before it is run off instead of editing all the finished copies.

Occasionally, the temptation to short-cut is not resisted. For instance, it was reported that construction of the landing gear for the lunar spacecraft was being advanced while close pictures of the surface of the moon were still being sought. While I cannot document the following impression, it seems to me that, by and large, the tendency to "jump" into the field, to skip preliminary testing and de-bugging, is much stronger in the domestic area than in the areas of defense and space, and that this situation is most likely to occur in regard to new social programs (for example, computer-assisted teaching). One of the surprising experiences in interviewing officials in federal agencies and members of Congress is to discover how often they are not fully aware of the effort, time, and costs involved in turning an idea, already fully "researched" into a smoothly functioning system.

The degree of "tolerance" for prolonged and repeated preliminary testing or the in-

clination to skip stages are not abstract character traits, some people being cautious types and others hotheads. The orientation toward preliminary testing is greatly affected by budgetary considerations (preliminary testing often costs more than the original research); by the fact that application in the field is often paid for by a body other than that which conducted the R & D effort; by political considerations (adequate preliminary testing may carry the payoff of a program launched by one administration into the lifetime of the next one); and even by international considerations (How are the Russians progressing?). Thus, it was only after we had spent an estimated \$4.8 billion on programs in compensatory education that the first major relevant study was completed—a study which strongly indicated that we were going about the task in the wrong way.²¹ Many of the domestic programs launched between 1965 and 1968 had been insufficiently tested, while others, not tested at all, resulted in frequent costly reorganizations after the programs had been launched, or in programs that failed to "take off."²²

In discussions of this approach, the argument that a program which does not promise quick results will not be tolerated by Congress is often raised. A new, more candid approach may have to be tried. Instead of overselling a program in terms of its yield and speed, perhaps it should be stated openly that the program will be innovative and experimental, and that, even if only one of every five projects were to yield a major new technology, the money would have been well spent. Also, by keeping testing "in-house," the reactions to initial inevitable failures may be more limited.

RESISTANCE TO OTHER AGENCIES

The concern of the respondents was with both the "producers" and the "consumers" of new technologies. On the producers' side, it was pointed out that many agencies already have R & D units which they would, for the most part, be quite reluctant to relinquish. These agencies can be expected to be supported by the congressional committees charged with overseeing their work—committees which would tend to oppose a reduction in the missions (and funds) they oversee. Finally, private industry, it was stated, is also working with agencies and subagencies, specific industries having built relations with those government agencies that deal with "their" technologies. Hence, industries would tend to object to a reorganization which would make "their" units disappear into a much larger technological agency, over which they would have less sway. Thus, for instance, the railroad industry would much prefer to deal with the Department of Transportation than with the envisioned Agency for Technological Development. The same holds for other groups, especially professional associations. For example, the American Medical Association would much rather be involved, it was stated, with the Dangerous Drug Division of the Department of Justice than with the new ATD.

It may be expected that the suggested ATD would encounter less resistance than earlier suggestions to concentrate science and technology in one department have met with, since neither science nor military and space technology (the nondomestic major "development" items) would be included. Some of the domestic agencies (for example, HUD), are at the very beginning of developing their R & D units and seem to be less committed to their own units than agencies in which the R & D units are well established. Still, there can be little doubt that the formation of an agency specializing in domestic, mainly

urban, technological problems will encounter considerable opposition from existing domestic agencies.²³

Still, the proposal deserves some attention on the following grounds. First, like economists' models of free competition, it serves to point up the "diseconomies" generated by the existing system and their estimated size and location. Second, it points out that, even if only the R & D units of some of the numerous domestic agencies could be combined, part of the diseconomy would be reduced. (NASA never "internalized" all the space work; important segments were, and still are, effected by the Air Force, and through the combined efforts of NASA and the Air Force.)

Finally, such a reorganization may be introduced by a powerful President, one ready to withstand the counterpressures in order to gain what may be a significantly more effective arrangement. This is not completely without precedent; when NASA was first created, R & D units were transferred to it from the Armed Services. While this move was initially not well received by the Air Force, the Army, and some members of Congress, the reorganization was carried out nonetheless. Similarly, in recent years several reorganizations of HEW did make some parts of the Department somewhat more immune to external pressures and more responsive to the Secretary's direction. All this is to say that a measure of administrative reform is possible despite counterpressures.

One line of approach would be to concentrate first on the R & D work of the agencies in which these divisions are still relatively small or in which the division suffers more from being in an agency alien to technological missions. Among the agencies my respondents listed as qualifying on one or both of these counts were Justice, Interior, Commerce, and Labor, as well as some parts of HEW (especially the Office of Education).

On the other hand, where technological development and the major agency mission are as intimately linked as they are in the Department of Transportation and in some parts of HEW (especially the health services), attempts to separate the two and to transfer the technological component to a new agency were considered both politically impractical and of questionable value. Among the areas most often cited as areas in which full-fledged attention to technological development has not yet evolved were education (despite the recent rise of educational laboratories), job training, crime prevention, and housing. Reduction of pollution and weather control were listed by some as suitable candidates, while others held them to be more "advanced," in terms of R & D work by existing agencies, than the other four areas cited.

This list of units "more suitable" for transfer led to consideration of a second, closely related but still analytically autonomous, issue.

RELATIONS WITH THE CONSUMERS OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES

Two schemes for the relations between a new technological agency and the agencies which would abandon their own technological work can be envisioned. The first, which comes to mind most readily, seems to be the less practical. The second, under prevailing conditions, seems the more feasible.

A student of "pure" administration, undiluted with politics, may envision a technological agency that would serve the regular agencies, which would draw on it for their "hardware," somewhat as the three Armed Forces draw on the Joint Ordnance Service. In the language of organizational specialists, the ATD would be a "functional" service for the "line" operations carried out by implementing agencies. The latter would order the specific technologies they need, and perhaps even pay for them.

Footnotes at end of article.

However, any scheme which assumes tight interagency cooperation seems, according to my respondents, to be about as realistic as ignoring gravity. Each federal agency is, to a considerable extent, an independent entity (often with quite autonomous subentities), and previous attempts to rely on close interagency cooperation such as the envisioned arrangement would require have been, as a rule, quite unsuccessful. Several respondents reported experiences as members of an interagency board or committee that did not "work," or told about a "system" that was developed by one agency and ignored by another because it was alien to the latter's conception, needs, interests, or ambitions. "The President can gain interagency cooperation but you cannot appeal to him too often, and even he cannot get such cooperation all the time," one veteran of the Washington scene observed. Two attempts to create "comprehensive" domestic agencies (the Office of Economic Opportunity and HUD), which were supposed to combine their efforts in specific sectors—poverty and urban problems, respectively—with the relevant work of other agencies, have not yielded much interagency coordination thus far. Above all, I was told, one cannot expect one agency to evolve a program and another to pay for it. "And who will pay for the new technologies if not the federal government?"

Consideration of this financial question points to a second view of the potential place of an ATD in the federal and general political-administrative mesh. Here, it is essential to take into account one feature of the domestic government. In the fields of space and defense the federal government is both the main source of funds for R & D and the customer for most of the products—whether it be a weapon or a spacecraft. In the domestic sphere, on the other hand, often the customer is not the funding agency or any other federal agency but, rather, the states, the cities, or various corporate bodies (for example, hospitals and universities). For reasons outlined below, these bodies are in a very different relationship to a potential "earth NASA" than the federal agencies are.

About 160 American cities have experienced one or more of the "standard" domestic crises. It is inconceivable that each city, or even each of the 50 states, will set up its own technological agency. Most of them do not have the necessary funds, and the skills needed are so rare that, even if all the specialists now living in America were recruited for these missions, they would not suffice to staff more than the technological divisions of a few cities or states.

Moreover, it must be noted that major technological breakthroughs have been made by a few talented men or by a concentration of high-quality manpower. Thus, even if each city could hire, let us say, two urban sociologists (the total number is more like several score than several hundred), only a few of these would have sufficient talent to actually benefit the cities.

Finally, if the solution to each problem—for example, the discovery of an inexpensive method of water depollution—had to be "re-invented" in 50 states or 160 cities, this would result in an extreme duplication of effort. And no one state or city can be expected to be the technological agency for the rest of the country. Hence, a national service for local authorities may be more politically feasible than one for other federal agencies.

At the same time, local autonomy will have to be preserved. The local governments could be best served, it seems, if the ATD were to institute a kind of "cafeteria"-style presentation of its new techniques, with states and cities able to choose whatever systems they wished to acquire and install. Thus, no strings would be attached to the program; a city or state seeking to build a new transportation, school, or housing system could

acquire tested blueprints, specifications, and technical assistance (in the form of teams of engineers, city planners, and so on) from the federal agency and apply them where and when it wished.

So we return to the question of who will bear the costs of the implementation of the programs, once a prototype has been developed. It is very widely held in Washington that the agency promoting an innovation must pay for implementation: HUD for new housing, the Department of Transportation for new trains, the Office of Education for new teaching technologies, and so on. Most cities and states are impoverished. While it is difficult to raise federal taxes, especially to pay for the expansion of domestic programs, this is considered easier than to raise local taxes.²⁴

The implication for the issue at hand is that the agency which will pay for the implementation of a specific innovation—for example, a new type of housing—will also seek to be the one to evolve the relevant technology. Hence, it is argued, there is no place for an ATD.

This argument may well be somewhat extreme. If an agency were to develop a highly effective new technology—new computers, for instance—would not other agencies with similar requirements adopt it?

Second, the costs of the implementation of such technologies need not always be borne by the federal government. Recently, New York City paid the RAND Corporation to evolve new technological systems for its fire and police departments. The RAND men, it is reported, found that in responding to a fire alarm it is more efficient to send, first, a jeep with a few firemen, rather than the much more expensive fire trucks, and that, in a high percentage of cases, these jeeps sufficed; in the other instances, the large trucks could still be called. Now, if this finding is further verified and other cities learn of it, they can be expected to purchase some jeeps out of their own funds. The same would hold for other new technologies, if they prove to be significantly more effective than existing ones.²⁵

Of course, many cities may not know about the RAND innovations for New York City. Here, possibly, the creation of an intercity (and interstate) technological dissemination system might be a necessary federal investment, the costs of such a system would not be too large for ATD to handle, nor would it require extensive collaboration with other agencies.

Finally, if the cities or states are unable or unwilling to pay for utilization of the new technologies, federal agencies in the near future are also unlikely to be able to finance mass programs, even if the new technologies are their own. (The reasons for this statement are discussed above.) In the longer run, all indications are that an increased amount of federal revenue will be channeled to states and cities; that is, the latter will have more "disposable" money to buy innovations and will not have to adopt the concepts of HUD or the Office of Economic Opportunity or the Office of Education but can absorb mainly those compatible with their own conceptions and needs (within some federal constraints, such as the requirement for desegregation). Hence, ultimately, the question of the value of the ATD is clearly linked to the nature and size of our future domestic drives. Whether these are going to be funded largely in the New Deal style, by way of federal agencies set up for specific problem areas, or whether funds are going to be spent increasingly by cities and states, with the federal agencies providing technical and other assistance, has yet to be decided. I expect that the tendency will be to turn over more funds to states and cities, and I see within this pattern a place for an Agency for Technological Development. It can assist local bodies in han-

dling their problems, and the localities will pay for the technologies, even if it is the federal revenues that put the needed funds in their pockets.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

¹ The need to reexamine the arguments in favor of a department of science were stressed by Philip H. Abelson and Donald F. Hornig at the 1968 annual meeting of the AAAS in Dallas, Texas (New York Times, 28 December 1968). An adapted version of Hornig's address was published in *Science* [163, 523 (1969)]. The establishment of a National Institute of Technology has been suggested by Richard R. Nelson, Merton J. Peck, and Edward D. Kalochek in their *Technology, Economic Growth and Public Policy* (Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 1967), p. 177. Another possibility (not explored here) is to make the ATD the R & D unit of HEW, if, indeed HEW comes to encompass HUD, OEO, and ATD, in a kind of Department for Domestic Affairs or Human Resources Agency (Washington Post, 8 December 1968; Time, 13 December 1968, p. 17).

² None of the proposals cited in (1) advocate the concentration of all scientific activities in one department. President Nixon, in a prelection statement, promised that there "would be no federal scientific czar," but this does not preclude the concentration of some scientific or technological efforts, especially new ones.

³ On the same point, see C. L. Schultze, "Budget alternatives after Vietnam," in *Agenda for the Nation*, K. Gordon, Ed. (Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 1968), pp. 48-63.

⁴ J. A. Clauson, *Contemporary Social Problems*, R. K. Merton and R. A. Nisbet, Eds. (Harcourt, Brace & World, New York, ed. 2, 1966), p. 47.

⁵ A. M. Weinberg, *Reflections on Big Science* (M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1967), p. 141.

⁶ *Accident Facts* (National Safety Council, Chicago, 1968), p. 40.

⁷ For two recent discussions of the promise in this area as well as references to other discussions, see H. J. Brudner, *Science* 162, 970 (1968) and P. H. Abelson, *ibid.*, p. 855.

⁸ CBS is reportedly working on such a development; see *New York Times*, 11 December 1968.

⁹ *Task Force Report: Science and Technology* (Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1967), p. 1.

¹⁰ In Britain, recently, a special nonprofit institute was set up to bring engineering closer to surgery. The organization is called the Bath Institute of Medical Engineering.

¹¹ For a fine discussion of the technical, administrative, and political difficulties encountered in one area, see R. Starr and J. Carlson, "Pollution and poverty; the strategy of cross-commitment," *The Public Interest* 1968, No. 10, 104 (1968).

¹² *Federal Funds for Research, Development and Other Scientific Activities Fiscal Year 1965, 1966, 1967* (p. 31) (Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.).

¹³ The relations between government and universities were examined recently from a large variety of relevant viewpoints in essays included in *Science, Policy and University*, H. Orlans, Ed. (Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 1968).

¹⁴ J. Schmookler, *Invention and Economic Growth* (Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1966). See also R. Nelson, *J. Business* 32, 101 (1959).

¹⁵ "First Report on Project Hindsight" (Department of Defense publication) (Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1966).

¹⁶ See D. S. Greenberg, *The Politics of Pure Science* (New American Library, New York, 1967), pp. 32-33.

¹⁷ The Illinois Institute of Technology is reported to be completing a study with more "depth" reporting and heavier emphasis on nontechnical elements (private communication).

¹⁵ *Chemistry: Opportunities and Needs* (National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, Washington, D.C., 1965; related findings are being reported from a study now being completed under the auspices of the Illinois Institute of Technology, supported by the National Science Foundation (private communication).

¹⁶ On this point see "University units of urban study hit as failures," *Chron. Higher Educ.* 3, No. 6, 1 (1968).

¹⁷ D. Wolfe, *Science* 162, 753 (1968).

¹⁸ J. S. Coleman, E. Q. Campell, C. J. Hobson, J. McPartland, A. M. Mood, F. D. Weinfeld, R. L. York, *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1966).

¹⁹ D. P. Moynihan, *Commentary* 1968, 19 (Aug. 1968).

²⁰ For a fine background analysis of the relevant domestic programs, see J. L. Sunquist, *Politics and Policy: The Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson Years* (Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C. 1968).

²¹ On the position of the Nixon administration, see J. Spivak, *Wall Street Journal*, 11 December 1968.

²² The technological adaptations required to make jeeps into fire-fighting jeeps for use in urban areas are not great but are sufficient to be classified as a technological, and not only an administrative (or "logistic"), innovation.

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CITY GI IS KILLED IN VIETNAM WHEN COPTER IS SHOT DOWN

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, first Lt. Eric V. Pulliam, a fine young man from Maryland, was killed recently in Vietnam. I would like to commend his courage and honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

CITY GI IS KILLED IN VIETNAM WHEN COPTER IS SHOT DOWN

A helicopter pilot from Baltimore was shot down and killed in the fiery crash of his airship in Vietnam last Friday, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

First Lt. Eric V. Pulliam, who lived with his parents in the 4300 block Dewey avenue, was reported missing in action when his helicopter was shot down by enemy gunfire. A few days later, however, the Army said his remains had been found and definitely identified.

SHORT TIME

The lieutenant had been in South Vietnam only about five weeks.

Born in the Turner section of Baltimore county, he attended Morgan State College from 1963 to 1966. He worked summers as a caddy and busboy at the Sparrows Point Country Club and then as credit manager at the Playboy Club in Baltimore.

He majored in art at college, his parents said, and he intended to go on to a commercial art career. But after he was drafted in September, 1966, he decided on a career in the Army.

"I thought his job was dangerous, but he loved it, and you can't tell a young man nothing," said Wilbert L. Pulliam, Sr., the lieutenant's father.

After going through Officer Candidate School at Fort Sill, Okla., Lieutenant Pulliam received helicopter training at Ft. Wolters, Texas. He was assigned to the 101st Aviation Battalion of the 101st Airborne Division in Vietnam.

Besides his prents, he is survived by four sisters, Milena, Lena, Deborah and Mary Pulliam, and three brothers, Wilbert L., Jr., Gary and Kenneth Pulliam, all of Baltimore.

NEW STRATEGY FOR MORE EFFICIENT USE OF TRANSPORTATION

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, the Nation's chemical industry, which is doubling every 10 years, is making effective use of the Nations' navigable rivers in bringing their products to market cheaply. An analysis of how the chemical industry can make new transport savings by making more intensive use of the inland rivers was recently made by Louis R. Fiore, president of the Ohio River Co. of Cincinnati. He stresses the importance of close cooperation between barge and rail service in effecting important savings for the consumer. I insert Mr. Fiore's address in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

NEW STRATEGY FOR MORE EFFICIENT USE OF TRANSPORTATION

(Address by Louis R. Fiore)

Tonight I want to talk about a modern strategy for the most efficient employment of transportation in the economy. But before I get down to my key recommendations, I want to borrow a story on strategy which is a favorite of the president of our parent company, Eli Goldston of Eastern Gas and Fuel Associates.

It is reliably reported that Moshe Dayan, the Israeli Defense Minister, is well acquainted with the writings of the great Russian strategist, Field Marshall Mikhail Larmorovich Kutusov. The Israeli Defense Minister felt that these writings could be extremely helpful in any clash with the Egyptians. Kutusov was the planner of Napoleon's defeat in Russia and is regarded as Russia's supreme military thinker. Wishing to give Egypt the benefit of Kutusov's ideas, General Dayan arranged through agents in Russia to have a volume of Kutusov's writings translated into Arabic and enclosed with the operating manual of each Russian tank and each Russian MIG shipped to Egypt. During the six-day war in 1967, it became apparent that the Egyptians had read the book, for Kutusov's theory of warfare was simply this: "Entice the enemy deeply into your own territory . . . and wait for snow."

One moral that you can take from that story is that whether in military affairs or transportation sitting back and waiting only succeeds in very specialized circumstances.

Transportation has become an important part of our modern economy because man has not been content with the natural resources available at arm's length. Even our first anthropoid ancestors decided to pass by the nearest bunch of coconuts and the nearest lady ape in favor of more distant but more attractive merchandise. Increasingly in our modern world we reach out farther and farther for the goods that bring us sustenance, comfort, convenience, pleasure and luxury. More and more we need and want the world at our fingertips.

Certainly industry has been far too passive about transportation in recent years. There

is a need to make much more dramatic the critical role transportation can play in the production and marketing of a product.

In our company we like to think that, in a fundamental sense, value is created by transportation. In this context it is abundantly clear that little, if anything, has much value unless and until it is in the place where it is needed. Coal or phosphate rock has little value underground. It only achieves value when it reaches its designation. In all cases, this bounty of our land is literally priceless—that is, without price—until it is laid down in a place where it can be converted into the form in which our society can use it.

Phosphate rock, for example, is worth perhaps 3 to 5 cents a ton underground. It may be worth from \$4 to \$6 a ton when it is mined and brought to the surface. But even this is a somewhat fictitious value. When transported 500 miles or more to the point where it can be processed into fertilizer, the ultimate value is 20 times that at the mine. And of course, the lower the transport cost, the higher the value of the product at destination.

I glanced at a few figures on phosphate rock production before I left Cincinnati. I knew of the extraordinary growth of production, but I was a little startled to see phosphate rock output doubling between 1960 and 1967. This, however, is simply a reminder that the entire economy is in a period of rapid expansion. Experts are predicting that the gross national product will double in only 15 years. The most exciting implication of rapid growth is the opportunity it provides to improve efficiency. If we have to double, in only 15 years, the level of production it has taken us generations to reach, then we have a great opportunity to develop more efficient ways of production and distribution.

I suggest that a modern strategy for taking maximum advantage of our opportunities in the period of rapid change and expansion ahead might include three general principles which I will list, briefly explain and then discuss.

1. The expanding cycle of growth and efficiency: High volume production makes possible lower costs which, in turn, produce increased efficiency with economic benefits for all. High volume movements should be a major objective, at least for those in your business, or businesses like them.

2. Better inter-modal coordination: We have concentrated, in the last ten years, on improving the different elements of the transportation system. Larger freight cars, larger barges, more powerful towboats, larger ships, trucks with double trailers, and higher horsepower units in every mode have all been developed. What is needed for the 1970's is more attention to the art of putting the best efficiencies of water, rail, pipeline and highway together in the most useful combinations.

3. More attention should be given to the basic economic doctrine of comparative advantage both at home and abroad: In the expansion ahead, we have an opportunity to concentrate regionally and nationally on those products which we are able to produce and bring to market most efficiently and rely on trade for those items which can best be produced by someone else. In a rapidly expanding economy, with capital for development at a premium, this approach will become increasingly attractive because the best return is usually to be obtained from that which is produced most efficiently. Nor do we lack top level government interest in this theme. In his inaugural address, President Richard M. Nixon said: "We seek an open world—open to ideas, open to the exchange of goods and people." I was happy to see him mention "goods" in that context.

Your business is almost entirely tied to agriculture and so, increasingly, is the business of the barge lines. A couple of years ago discussion of world agriculture would have had to be in terms of who would live and who would die. But now a dramatic change has

taken place. As the result of improved seeds, which are highly responsive to the application of fertilizer, there are increasing world surpluses of grain. This, of course, only tells part of the story. The nutrition level of most of the world's population is still deficient. The battle of the '70's is going to be to provide not just sufficient food to keep back starvation—that we now know we can do—but better quality foods. A Department of Agriculture report notes that the key to present favorable prospects are the new varieties of wheat, rice and corn, which, and I quote, "are especially responsive to heavy doses of fertilizer, as many old varieties were not."

Unquestionably, both at home and abroad, the long-term prospects for increasing needs for fertilizers are bright, despite the temporary current set-backs.

Let us take a look at the three principles I have mentioned as they may relate to our common interest in agriculture.

The expanding cycle of higher volume and efficiency is the theme of U.S. agriculture and its imitators throughout the world. Yields per acre are increasing at an astonishing rate. Farms are getting larger, and more specialized. Fewer farmers are needed to feed the increasingly urbanized population. More capital has been applied to increase the volume of output. Costs have been lowered. In the marketing field, the small country elevator is being replaced by larger "agri-centers" which handle not only storage and processing, but also serve as a center for feed and fertilizer distribution. With such volume, costs can be lowered and efficiency improved. Responding to the efficiency resulting from higher volume, the transportation industry has introduced unit trains, double trailer trucks and much more efficient flotillas of barges. At the ports, larger ships are able to carry the grain abroad. Barge lines, by the way, deliver 87 per cent of the corn which arrives in New Orleans for export. The cumulative effect of this increased efficiency is that agricultural exports, particularly to the highly developed countries of Japan and Europe, are likely to increase substantially, with favorable effects on fertilizer consumption at home.

Our second theme, coordination of service among the modes, has I think a vast potential for cost saving in American industry and agriculture. We have been too "channel-minded" in the past. For example, many of the largest corporations have transport experts in charge of highway, rail and water transportation, but they never think of bringing their three experts together to work out most efficient combinations of modes.

Here, in Tampa, is an example of the dramatic savings that can be achieved by proper coordination of service. With Freeport Sulphur Company, and the Seaboard Coast Line, our company examined the optimum contribution transportation could make to reducing the production costs of fertilizer.

We combined unit train shuttle movements by the Seaboard Coast Line to Tampa, a fast turn-around for the unit train at a new terminal in Tampa, and a new 26,000-ton, self-unloading barge for cross-Gulf transportation to a fertilizer production plant in Louisiana. The transport saving was about 30 per cent; the movement has just started.

Success of this movement of course was greatly aided by the foresight of the Port of Tampa in deepening the harbor channels. Since the trend is to bigger ships with deeper drafts, the Port of Tampa needs to stay ahead of the race for deeper channels if it is to accommodate the largest vessels and so expand its share of world trade.

Through the Water Transport Association we are in the process of developing a series of examples which demonstrate the advantages to both shippers and carriers of the most efficient combinations of the various modes. We have proposed four movements which, together, show indicated savings of

over \$600,000 a year involving steel pipe, salt, skelp, a steel plate used for making pipe, and synthetic rubber.

Because of my interest in the fertilizer business, I recently proposed a rail-water coordinated movement of that third essential element of fertilizers, potassium. Nitrogen, phosphorus and potassium are all needed for plant food. Up in Canada in Saskatchewan are enormous newly-developed deposits of potash. The output this year is expected to be something like 9.5 million tons. I proposed that the potash be brought to the head of navigation of the Mississippi River at St. Paul or Minneapolis by unit train. The river carriers could then distribute it by barge to the main blending and consuming centers. Our analysis indicated savings of from 30 to 34 per cent over the all-rail method of delivery. These were preliminary figures which did not take into account the full effect of new investment in more efficient methods of organizing distribution. We have had some very friendly responses from both railroads and producers. I expect a movement to develop.

The campaign we call the "willing partner" program is increasingly intriguing railroads, shippers and the government because of the opportunities for economic savings from better voluntary coordination of service. The savings are enough to justify a reasonable rate of return on the heavy new investment usually required of transport modes and give the shipper every incentive to make long-term contracts which lower the risk. The lower the risk, the lower the cost of financing and the greater the savings all around.

The last proposition I would like to start you thinking about is this matter of comparative advantage, particularly as it relates to the export market for agricultural products. Anyone who peers into the future at the present time cannot help but be confused by the cross-currents of government policies at home and abroad. Protectionist policies for agriculture exist in the highly-developed countries in Europe. I would like, however, to call your attention to a Department of Agriculture analysis which points to the growing cost of these protectionist policies. The common market countries in 1968 spent \$2.5 billion for market support and commodity disposal. This will grow to \$10 billion in 1980 unless policy changes are forthcoming, an insupportable burden, some experts believe.

It seems sensible that, in the long run, the Europeans will want to concentrate more on areas of their economy in which they have the comparative advantage. With their small farms, large amounts of marginally productive acreage and inefficient methods, agriculture increasingly is not one of these areas.

Almost inevitably, the cost of the protectionist supports will force changes in European policies. Those countries with the comparative advantage in agriculture such as the United States, will have an opportunity to share more fully in the European market, where a rising standard of living is rapidly improving the quality of the food demanded. On our part, however, we must not spoil our opportunities or see them pass to other countries, because we do not take in trade the products which other countries are better able to produce.

Perhaps your group will be willing, as our Association has done, to join with our friends in the grain trade and with the farm groups and others to urge that the country's best course in winning an ever increasing share of the growing world markets lies in relying on rapidly increasing U.S. efficiency and productivity, and not on restrictive policies.

Our Association testified against the International Grains Arrangement for wheat last year, an attempt to obtain an international agreement to limit the world production of wheat in the hope of encouraging price rises. We warned that the United States has the only effective mechanism for

reducing production, that no one else would, or could cooperate, and that the net result would be the deterioration of U.S. wheat exports. Our predictions unfortunately have come true.

In the long run reliance on our increasing efficiency in production and distribution is in our business self-interest as well as in the interests of the country.

While I am on this subject of comparative advantage, let me explain a situation which has arisen in the transportation industry. I am sure you are aware of the erosion of the traffic of the common carriers to private carriers in the past two decades. We have no quarrel with the principle of private carriage. A great deal of it makes sound economic sense.

But decisions made in establishing private fleets years ago need constant review. We believe that many companies now faced with replacing or enlarging or even continuing to operate private fleets could use their investment to earn a great deal more either in other branches of their own business or in other businesses. The return of blocks of private traffic to common carriers would free capital for more remunerative use and at the same time permit a large corporation to benefit from the common carriers' ability to spread his costs over other traffic. Thus this sound old economic concept of comparative advantage could, if applied to private carriage, radically change the willingness of corporations to continue investments in private fleets.

There is of course one final matter which I would like to stress. The pressures of expansion of the economy are being reflected in the rising rates of interest. With rising rates of interest, inevitably, a higher rate of return is being required of risk capital. It is risk capital that is responsible for improved efficiency throughout the economy. Dramatic savings in transportation are coming primarily from heavy new investment in better ways of doing things.

The new 26,000-ton self-unloading barge and its system of terminals and special towboats required an investment of \$17,000,000. The savings were dramatic. The switch from break-bulk to container handling of international package freight required an investment of many times the previous investment in the break-bulk system. Larger and more expensive ocean bulk ships have returned economies to the oil, coal, iron ore and grain trades. On the rivers, larger and more powerful towboats have enabled the carriers to maintain freight rates, despite inflation and the increasing labor and material costs, at the same average level as they were in 1922. Larger freight cars, double-bottom trucks, new rail classification yards are all part of the same trend to increasing transportation productivity.

As competition for capital becomes keener, however, it is essential that the rate of return for the transportation companies keep pace with the rest of the economy. Unless it does, the improvements in efficiency and productivity cannot develop fast enough to overcome the impact of rising costs. When earnings fail to provide a sound basis for innovation and improved efficiency, an industry finds itself increasingly locked into rising costs of labor and materials, unable to afford the capital for new and better approaches, and thus is forced to pass increased costs along to the consumer. This adds to the inflationary process and the whole economy suffers.

The challenges of the 1970's are exciting. We anticipate vast expansion, new technologies to improve productivity, new systems of transportation to take advantage of the expanding cycle of improved volume and efficiency. I take the optimistic view that our country has the brains, the will, the resources to overcome our problems. I do believe we will have to work hard.

But what's new about that?

THE WRIGHT DECISION WRONG

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the Federal judiciary continues to run rampant with its many warped and twisted decisions.

Regrettably—and tragically—these quasi-legislative decisions have far-reaching effects upon the everyday lives of all Americans. Such a decision was handed down by Judge J. Skelley Wright, then district court judge, on June 19, 1967, which squarely—and without doubt—preempts the authority and good judgment of educators and school boards.

The Wright decision drastically affects the District of Columbia school system through shocking and disturbing illogic—in what appears to be an effort to create faceless robots of schoolchildren.

The April 21, 1969, issue of the U.S. News & World Report carries an enlightening article by Dr. Carl F. Hansen, widely respected educator and former superintendent of schools in the Nation's Capital. The article contains sound reasoning. I believe our colleagues will find it worth while to examine seriously.

A nuclear submarine commander does not pilot a B-52 bomber, nor does a bomber pilot command a sub. It is time educators were allowed to operate school systems without interference from fuzzy-headed Federal judges.

I insert Dr. Hansen's article at this point in my remarks:

WHEN COURTS TRY TO RUN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

(NOTE.—The rush to compel racial and social balance in education by laws and court actions is opening up a Pandora's box of new problems, says an authority on the subject.

(The following article, written by a noted educator, Dr. Carl F. Hansen, assesses the drive to end all imbalance as a grave threat to public education itself.)

(By Dr. Carl F. Hansen,¹ former superintendent of schools, Washington, D.C.)

If you live in a small Nevada town—or in one in Iowa or Ohio, for that matter—and your schools are mostly white, you may actually be flouting a court ruling that says that racially imbalanced schools run against the Constitution of the United States.

If your schools have all-white faculties, you may someday be ordered to hire 13 per cent black teachers to make the percentage fit in with the ratio of blacks to whites in the national population.

If you live in a city like Washington, D.C., or Chicago, you may someday have to see to it that the proportion of the poor in any school does not exceed the percentage of the poor in the entire city.

If you refuse to attempt to get a balance between the poor and the nonpoor in your schools through voluntary exchanges across

¹Dr. Carl F. Hansen guided the integration of Washington, D.C., schools in 1954. His work in the transition drew wide praise. In subsequent years, Negro enrollment gained overwhelming predominance. A Negro filed suit, charging "inequalities." A federal judge ordered changes considered dangerous by Dr. Hansen, who chose to retire rather than comply.

school-district and even State lines, you may find yourself in contempt of court.

You may find your own child someday inexplicably "volunteering" to ride a bus out of your neighborhood for the kind of social and racial integration some of the nation's leaders think is best for everybody—except possibly for themselves.

If not already current realities, these requirements may ultimately result from the emergence of the doctrine of *de jure* integration.

A new and rather pervasive body of law is being generated by the courts and a limited number of school boards and State legislatures. The effect of this action is to make homogeneous schools either illegal or unconstitutional. In order to reduce homogeneity in school populations, school boards are being required by law to produce plans for increasing racial and social balance in their classrooms.

For much too long this nation lived with *de jure* segregation. Under this immoral and inhumane doctrine, children—and in some cases teachers—were told: "You may not enter this school or that one because of your race." The law stood guard at classroom doors, sifting out blacks from whites and sending each into prescribed educational areas.

Now comes a counterpart rule—that of *de jure* integration. The effect is the same as in the case of *de jure* segregation: The law again stands guard, admonishing the black child to enter a designated school because his dark skin will improve racial balance there, or instructing a white child to transfer into a black school for the same reason.

One of the more difficult problems about assigning pupils to schools by race is deciding who is white and who is black. For this, someone ought to devise, a skin scanner capable of computing racial dominance by measuring skin shade.

In today's admonition against homogeneous schools, you have to think beyond simple race differentials; you are required to weigh the purses of schoolchildren to determine whether they belong to the poor or to the affluent segments of American society. If you are going to enforce mixing of pupils by social and income class, you must find out about the financial condition of their families.

At the base of the doctrine of *de jure* integration is the assumption that homogeneous schools are bad for children. If you want to raise a nasty question, simply ask: "What is the proof that schools with fairly similar enrollments are inferior? Why is an all-white school arbitrarily suspect, or an all-black school written off as worse than useless?"

The earliest example of *de jure* integration is found in the 1954 action of the New York City board of education when it declared that "racially homogeneous public schools are educationally undesirable," and then placed upon itself the responsibility of preventing "further development of such schools" and achieving racial balance in all of its schools.

The action was taken on the advice of social theorists who reasoned that segregation by the fact—that is, resulting from the free choice of people—was as bad as segregation by law.

The action of the New York City board of education was followed up in 1960 by the New York board of regents. On the premise that homogeneous schools impair the ability to learn, the regents ordered the New York State department of education to seek solutions to the problem of racial imbalance. It declared:

"Modern psychological knowledge indicates that schools enrolling students largely of homogeneous ethnic origin may damage the personality of the minority-group children. . . . Public education in such a setting is socially unrealistic, blocks the attainment of the goals of democratic education and is

wasteful of manpower and talent, whether this situation occurs by law or fact."

Three years later, the then New York State commissioner of education, Dr. James E. Allen, Jr., now United States Commissioner of Education, sent a memorandum to all State school officials requiring them to take steps to bring about racial balance in their schools. The commissioner defined racial imbalance as existing where a school had 50 per cent or more black children enrolled.

The legislative development of the concept *de jure* integration has continued: California, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Wisconsin and Connecticut have decided in executive or judicial statements that racial isolation in the schools has a damaging effect on the educational opportunities of the Negro pupils.

In 1965, for example, the Massachusetts legislature enacted a Racial Imbalance Act. Schools with more than 50 per cent non-whites were required to file with the Massachusetts State board a plan for correcting the condition.

It would be a serious mistake to overlook the role of the courts in establishing the rule that homogeneous schools must be abandoned.

The *de facto* school-segregation decision in *Hobson v. Hansen* explicitly instructed the Washington, D.C., board of education to submit plans for the reduction of imbalance in the schools.

By clear definition, Judge J. Skelley Wright included social class along with race as factors of concern. For the first time a court spoke not only on the unconstitutionality of racial imbalance but of social imbalance as well:

"Racially and socially homogeneous schools damage the minds and spirit of all children who attend them—the Negro, the white, the poor and the affluent—and block the attainment of the broader goals of democratic education, whether the segregation occurs by law or by fact."

Judge Wright overrode the conclusions of at least eight federal courts that had ruled consistently that it is not the duty of a board of education to eliminate *de facto* segregation, provided there is no evidence suggesting the maintenance of *de jure* segregation.

The sweeping Wright decision, however, went far beyond the more common legislative view in such States as New York and Massachusetts that blacks suffer from attendance in predominantly black schools. The jurist in *Hobson v. Hansen* added social-class homogeneity as a factor detrimental to democratic education. In addition, he enunciated the opinion that all children are hurt by homogeneity. In all-white, predominantly affluent schools, therefore, the minds and hearts of the pupils are being damaged for about the same reasons that black children suffer in schools peopled by their own race.

If the rule requiring integration by social class prevails, every public school in the nation is subject to its effect. Even predominantly Negro school systems like the Washington, D.C., unit will be confronted with a redistribution of its pupils along social lines, if the literal meaning of the Wright opinion is observed. In the nation's capital, with about 94 per cent Negro public-school enrollment, more than 10,000 secondary-school students were reassigned in one year to bring about better social balance in the schools. Thus, *de jure* integration by class as a doctrine is already in partial effect in at least one major school system.

The conclusion that socially homogeneous schools must be destroyed rises from an increasing stress upon the theory that social class determines the quality of education. If the only way to improve achievement among lower-social-class pupils is to integrate them with higher-income pupils, a vast manipu-

lation of school populations is in prospect. It would require a kind of despotism the world has not yet experienced, for enforcement is inevitable where the people do not volunteer.

It is difficult to believe that freedom can survive when government seeks to control the social and racial dispersment of the people—speaking, as it does so, the line: "This may hurt, but it will be good for you."

The judicial movement toward full development of the *de jure* integration doctrine was accelerated by the United States Supreme Court in three decisions issued in May, 1968. These are the Kent County, Va., the Gould, Ark., and the Jackson City, Tenn., opinions requiring the school boards in these communities to abandon their freedom-of-choice plans for desegregating their schools.

In these opinions, the Supreme Court declared that, in States where the schools were previously segregated by law, school boards must assume an affirmative responsibility to disestablish segregation.

In Jackson City, Tenn., for example, it was not enough to set up school zones on the neighborhood principle, at the same time allowing pupils to choose to attend schools outside those zones if space existed in them. Under this plan, formerly all-white schools received significant numbers of black students. Because, however, white students refused to attend or to elect to attend all Negro schools, the court was dissatisfied with the freedom-of-choice plan. The presence of all-Negro schools, became clear evidence of intent to preserve segregation as it existed before 1954.

Not only must the Jackson City school authorities by the force of law require white children to attend formerly all-Negro schools, but they must also enforce faculty mixing by arbitrary assignment of personnel on racial lines.

The Supreme Court's disestablishment doctrine is the principle of *de jure* integration applied to those States in which segregation by law existed prior to the 1954 *Brown* decisions. This position—quite heavily burdened with patent discrimination against a group of States—is after all only one step removed from a decision requiring all States to disestablish segregation, whether this occurs by law or fact.

De jure integration, in summary, applies currently in those States and in those school districts where the local legislative bodies have enacted legislation establishing the new doctrine. It applies specifically to the District of Columbia, where the Wright opinion required the board of education to prepare plans to reduce homogeneity by race and social class.

Directly and unequivocally, the doctrine has been invoked by the Supreme Court of the United States in its disestablishment ruling applicable to jurisdictions formerly segregated by law. As has been said here, this step is the precursor of a ruling requiring local and State boards of education to disestablish *de facto* segregation as well.

A THREAT TO PUBLIC EDUCATION

The most damaging aspect of the *de jure* movement is that its proponents must discredit predominantly white schools—of which there are many throughout the country—and predominantly black schools, whether they exist in large cities like New York or small ones like Drew, Miss. Out of the attack on public education needed to establish an enforced abandonment of homogeneity by race or class has come a threat to public education that promises to bring down the walls of this primary citadel of democracy.

Hardly a school system anywhere with racial imbalance has escaped a scathing attack by those bent on achieving a millennium through the simplistic step of requiring racial balancing either by legislative or judicial action. Trace the anti-public-school sentiment

in recent years to its source: You will discover—as in the case of the Washington, D.C., story—a sequence of attack, discredit, weaken; a strategy for imposing racial and social-class mixing through the winning of legislative and judicial support.

The danger in the drive for legislative and court actions to make integration the law of the land—here meaning the artificial management of persons to establish racial and social-class mixing—is the imminent destruction of confidence in public education.

As important as the hazard to public education is the fact that, in any case, *de jure* integration does not work.

The policy of the New York City board of education requiring racial balance produced overwhelmingly negative results. It left a trail of school disruptions, protests, boycotts and sit-ins. In the meantime, whites left the schools at an increasing rate.

In 1964, an official study group stated:

"No act of the board of education from 1958 through 1962 has had a measurable effect on the degree of school segregation. . . . Not a single elementary or junior high school that was changing toward segregation by virtue of residential changes and transfers of whites into parochial and private schools was prevented from becoming segregated by board action."

Four and a half years ago, the New York City board of education paired two schools—one mostly white, the other Negro. The promise made to the parents was that a race ratio of 65 per cent whites and 35 per cent blacks would be maintained in each school. Today—that is, in early 1969—the white enrollments are down to about 35 per cent in each of the two schools.

The Gould, Ark., experience is further proof of the futility of attempting to apply the doctrine of *de jure* integration. The community paired its two small schools last autumn. As a result, all but 50 of 250 white pupils withdrew. The authorities there estimate that in the coming school term the white enrollment will fall to no more than 20 pupils.

Washington, D.C., is an example of very rapid changes in race ratios over a period of a few years. From 1950 to 1967, the white school membership dropped from 46,736 to 11,784, while the black membership jumped from 47,980 to 139,364.

Enrollment figures show that formerly all-white Washington, D.C., public schools invariably moved to 75 per cent black membership two years after the 50 per cent point was reached. In each such school, the black membership quickly moved thereafter to 99 per cent.

The new and important discovery was that when a formerly all-white school approached 30 per cent black membership, the rate of change increased. Within two years, the black membership reached the 50 per cent point, from which it moved to 75 per cent within the next two years. The important finding is that the starting point for rapid white exodus is 30 per cent.

A police state with unlimited enforcement power will be needed to implement integration if it is required by law.

It is inviting to speculate about the ultimate possibility of an enforced integrated society. The next step may be to set up quotas for neighborhoods, so that the number of poor will be proportionate to their total number in the community. New homes funded by federal loans may, under a policy of social integration, be sold on schedules determined by the ratio of whites and blacks, Jews and non-Jews, Protestants, Catholics, agnostics and atheists in any community.

Out of the intervolutions from which the doctrine of *de jure* integration comes, two findings emerge with clarity:

One is that palpable preservation of *de jure* segregation anywhere—whether in schools, employment or housing—is morally wrong.

The counterpart of this principle is that *de jure* integration is equally questionable.

CREATING "THE HOMOGENIZED CITIZEN"

The second main finding resulting from an analysis of the enforced mixing of people by race and class is that what is most desired is the "integrated man" made up of proportionate parts of every ethnic group and of several religious and cultural components of American society. The homogenized citizen thus created is a dangerous change from the historic individualism which, with its supportive pluralism, has been this nation's major source of strength.

The melding, blending process inherent in the concept of *de jure* integration may destroy the dream of a free society. A development of such significance, therefore, deserves the most careful study and evaluation.

PEOPLE BRUTALITY

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, in 1968 Arlington House, publishers of New Rochelle, N.Y., issued an excellent book, "The Lawbreakers," by M. Stanton Evans, editor in chief of the Indianapolis News, and Mrs. Margaret Moore, journalist and coordinator of the 50,000-member Indianapolis Anticrime Crusade. Chapter 10 of the book sought to demonstrate cases of violence visited upon law enforcement officers and was appropriately entitled "People Brutality" in contrast to the police brutality charge which is used by many extremist groups today. Coupled with the permissiveness of some of our judges and an increasing contempt for authority, the danger of bodily injury combines to make the lot of our guardians of the law an unhappy one indeed, it was pointed out.

To make matters worse, an actual campaign to disable policemen might well be underway in protest groups in various cities if the article "Protesters Get Fighting Manual," from the New York Times of April 20 is any indication. This booklet, or one similar to it, has also turned up in Philadelphia, Pa., according to the press of that city. The manual describes various means of incapacitating the police, ranging from the use of rocks and bottles to methods to be used in the manufacture of Molotov cocktails and pipebombs.

To the average law-abiding citizen the seriousness of the situation hits closer to home than he might at first imagine. The shortage of policemen in some areas will not be remedied if present conditions are allowed to continue. Unless citizen support and encouragement is not forthcoming, potentially qualified applicants in larger numbers will simply look to other fields for employment. One positive step is to make sure that "people brutality" violators are socked with the maximum penalties the law will allow, and the verdicts of bleeding-heart judges consistently protested.

I insert the above-mentioned article from the New York Times of April 20 and chapter 10 of "The Lawbreakers," by M. Stanton Evans and Margaret

Moore entitled "People Brutality" in the RECORD at this point:

[From the New York Times, Apr. 20, 1969]
PROTESTERS GET FIGHTING MANUAL: DETECTIVES STUDY BOOKLET ON HOW TO DISABLE POLICE

A summary of a manual instructing demonstrators in the techniques and tactics of fighting the police has been sent to New York's 3,000 detectives by their chief, Frederick M. Lussen, "to put the detectives on guard."

Chief Lussen said the manual was being passed among members of several protest groups in New York and a number of other cities in the country. But he would not identify the organizations or the cities, nor would he tell how the police obtained a copy.

According to a departmental memorandum, the four-page, typewritten summary was being sent to detectives so that they might "have complete information with reference to persons at the scenes of disorders."

NO POLICY CHANGE

Chief Lussen said that sending the summary of the manual to detectives, who always worked in civilian clothes, did not imply a change in the department's policy of using uniformed men to control crowds whenever possible.

After some detectives and plainclothes policemen had been criticized for their handling of demonstrators last spring, the department indicated that out-of-uniform personnel would be used in crowd control situations only when uniformed men were not available.

The department also formed a Special Events Squad, a group of specially trained uniformed men to be used for parades and demonstrations during the daytime.

The summary of the manual, as distributed by the police, began with a list of "Basic Equipment for Rallies and other Battles with the Pigs." The list included such items as a crash helmet, construction boots, and "heavy duty picket sign."

Optional equipment for rallies, the summary said, included a gas mask, ski mask, school bag, attache case, tennis shoes and "fake make-up."

TACTICS ARE OUTLINED

The second section of the manual was headed "Supplies, Ordinance and Logistics." It consisted of a detailed list of tactics, techniques and devices for disabling policemen.

One paragraph on the use of rocks and bottles described which policemen should be the first targets, what part of their anatomy to aim for, and how to assure an adequate supply of missiles.

Another part of the summary described other kinds of weapons that could be used against policemen, their horses and vehicles. There was a five-step procedure for transforming cherry bombs from a device to make noise into one to inflict pain.

The final section of the manual included brief, detailed directions and two drawings on how to make homemade Molotov cocktails and pipebombs.

PEOPLE BRUTALITY

Judicial lenience and contempt for authority converge on the policeman. It is the policeman who is called on to apprehend the criminal and who is hampered in that effort by the courts. As the visible and immediate symbol of law and order, he is also the target of repeated charges of "brutality" and the victim of political harassments.

"Brutality" is a reflex charge in some areas of "civil liberties" advocacy. The Supreme Court, for example, has indicated it believes police routinely use coercive techniques on suspects—although the *Miranda* decree which assumes this cites no example of such practices. One complaint against law enforcement officers says: "... the police accept

and morally justify their illegal use of violence . . . such acceptance and justification arise through their occupational experience; and . . . its use is functionally related to the collective, occupational, as well as legal ends of the police."

The spread of such ideas may be noted in the increasing number of complaints registered about "brutality." In fiscal year 1963, the FBI received 1376 such complaints; in 1964, 1592 complaints; and in 1965, 1787 complaints. By way of contrast, from January, 1958 to June, 1960, there were only 1328 such allegations. The large majority of these are registered by Negroes in the South; but many of them have come from Northern states as well.

It is obvious that policemen are as liable to human frailties as anyone else, and it would therefore be surprising if some policemen did not exceed their authority. It is entirely fitting that close watch should be maintained to insure that police "brutality" does not occur and if it does occur that corrective steps are taken.

A review of the evidence indicates, however, that the balance in law enforcement has tipped entirely the other way. Under the impact of "civil disobedience," judicial permissiveness, and political improvisation, the officer who oversteps his limits is rapidly getting lost in the crowd of policemen who are themselves being knocked about, roughed up, and prevented from taking proper steps to defend themselves and their communities.

Consider, for example, a bizarre case which arose early in 1965. Two Chicago policemen, wearing civilian clothes, rushed to the scene of a disturbance and found a man armed with a broken beer bottle. They advanced on him, identified themselves as policemen, and ordered him to drop the bottle. His reply was "Come and get it, you ——— coppers." When one officer tried to get the bottle away from him, the suspect jabbed it in the policeman's face. The officer spent 23 days in the hospital.

When the case came to court, Chicago Judge George Leighton released the assailant as an injured party well within his rights. "The right to resist unlawful arrest," Leighton said, "is a phase of self-defense. What is a citizen to do when he is approached by two officers with a gun?" What, indeed? Apparently, under the new code of judicial lenience, he is to slash them across the face with a broken beer bottle.

In another case, a group of young toughs jumped a policeman, knocked him down, kicked him, and took away his revolver. When they came to trial on charges of robbery and aggravated assault, the youths pleaded guilty. The judge, however, refused to accept the plea. He said the suspects were not in fact violating a law when the policeman approached them, that seizure of his gun could not be construed as robbery, and that their attack on the officer was not really an assault. The judge placed them on probation for the relatively minor charge of battery.

Ironically enough, such episodes have themselves been converted into charges of brutality by the police. Among the most famous of these was a 1964 case, in which an off-duty New York policeman named Thomas Gilligan tried to apprehend a Negro boy threatening a man with a knife. The boy attacked Gilligan, cutting his right arm; as he continued to attack, Gilligan shot and killed him. A grand jury—with two Negroes serving on it—examined the case and found Gilligan innocent of improper action. One of the Negro members remarked: "I did the right thing and so did the rest of the jury."

This incident was greeted by posters saying "Wanted for Murder—Gilligan the Cop," and "When Will Gilligan Kill Again?" Also by picketing of Gilligan's home and by the accusation from James Farmer, then head of CORE, that Gilligan had killed the boy in cold blood. The patrolman was secretly transferred to another precinct.

In still another such encounter, New York patrolman Sheldon Liebowitz tried to quiet a man acting boisterously on a street corner. The man attacked Liebowitz with a knife, and in the ensuing struggle got hold of the policeman's gun and wounded him with it. Liebowitz finally regained his pistol, shooting and killing his assailant.

The upshot of this episode was a rally by the Congress of Racial Equality, denouncing Liebowitz. *Life* magazine reported that "threats and abusive phone calls flooded into Liebowitz's hospital room, and police put the hospital under special surveillance and placed a 24-hour-a-day guard outside the patrolman's room. A few days later he was secretly moved to another hospital. The day after the shooting, CORE demonstrators marched on police headquarters chanting, 'down with the killers in blue' and 'the next cop's bullet may be yours.'"

Of similar kidney was the furor over "police brutality" in the San Francisco student riots of 1960. According to partisans of the student demonstrators, the police set upon and beat the students without provocation. The *Washington Post* alleged that "the San Francisco police acted with altogether needless brutality, turning fire hoses on students whose protests were not flagrantly unruly." But the record reveals that, despite intense provocation, there was no police brutality of any sort, and that the students inflicted considerably more damage than they received.

When the students disregarded a police order to vacate San Francisco's City Hall where they were staging a mass sit-in and creating an uproar so loud the courts could not conduct their business, the police turned hoses on them, then slid, lifted, and carried them down the city hall steps into waiting patrol wagons. The simplest way of figuring out who was brutal to whom in this transaction is to tabulate the casualty figures. According to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, eight policemen were injured in the rioting, compared to four students. The students themselves, in self-justifying literature got up and after the demonstrations, estimated six policemen were injured as opposed to five students.

Subsequent to San Francisco uprising, it was revealed that one purpose of such demonstrations is to provide an occasion for "confrontations" with the police, from which charges of "brutality" can be spun to gain sympathy for the demonstrators. Reporting on the 1960 riots, J. Edgar Hoover disclosed that Communist leader Archie Brown, who had helped spark the demonstrations, rehearsed at a party meeting "how the party intended to use a follow-up campaign with campus students as the target." He stated that the party "planned to emphasize 'police brutality' as a rallying cry to attract the sympathy of student groups . . ."

Phillip Abbott Luce, describing tactics of the Progressive Labor Party, quotes one leader of this group as saying: "If the cops allow you to speak, then afterward try to get the kids to follow you out into the center of Broadway and stop traffic. This will force the cops to come after you, and we will have a confrontation." In another demonstration in New York City, Luce adds:

"I was one of two people in charge . . . and, after seeing the huge squad of police officers in the square, I agreed to their suggestion that we move our 300 demonstrators to the United Nations under police supervision. As we started east on 47th Street, some of the Progressive Labor members, who had given us orders to create an incident the weeks before, came screaming up to me and demanded that we turn back and stay in Times Square to 'fight it out with the cops.' When I refused, some of them began to try to turn the marchers back, and en route to the U.N., 47 demonstrators were arrested."

Similar plans were revealed concerning the 1965 Viet Nam demonstrations in Berkeley.

U.S. News gave this summary of the demonstrators' actions:

"In preparation for trouble, students formed a 'Police Brutality Committee.' It began grinding out propaganda before the first arrest, and students were primed to start chanting 'brutality' as soon as the police appeared on the scene. Students were also instructed to go to the university hospital and report injuries . . . Students and sympathizers overlooked no chance to raise the 'brutality' cry . . . During the rioting, police said, a Berkeley radio commentator helped the 'brutality' theme along by slapping the wall with his hand near the microphone and describing the noise as 'blows' raining down on students."

Also of interest in this respect are the figures assembled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, to which such charges are addressed and which has the responsibility for looking into them. The figures reveal that, of the more than 1,700 complaints of "brutality" received by the FBI in 1964, a total of 47 were presented to grand juries for action under Federal law making it a violation for police to deprive someone of his constitutional rights. Of these, five cases resulted in conviction. The vast majority of complaints concern "verbal brutality," hard looks, "tone of voice," and so forth.

All states and major cities have provisions and procedures for checking such complaints and for dealing with officers who are out of line. A spot check in mid-1965 found 289 such complaints had been received in Chicago, of which 281 were determined to be without substantial basis; in Los Angeles, 242 out of 314 complaints were not sustained; in New York, 194 out of 231 cases failed to vindicate the charges brought against the policemen.

A Los Angeles police official says: "Most of the complaints are of a pretty minor nature, such as discourtesy or handcuffs put on too tightly. It has come out many times that there isn't any physical brutality. It's verbal brutality. Some even say: 'I'm not complaining about the ticket or what the officer said. It is the way he said it, his tone of voice.'" A Chicago official adds that "some people seem to think they have a right to resist arrest at all times. So a degree of force has to be used to bring them to the station."

What is often alleged as brutality, in fact, is anything the arrestee doesn't like concerning his arrest. U.S. News notes that the Berkeley demonstrators used "brutality" to describe "the stench of the crowded buses that took them to jail. Placing of two intractable students in isolation cells also was held to be 'brutal.'"

Official comments on the inhibiting effects of the anti-brutality campaign were obtained by the authors in a survey of police officials from communities of varying sizes all over the nation. These officials were asked: "Are the decisions of the Supreme Court, such as the *Mallory* decision, hampering the work of the police in your city?" The answers, excepting those of two men who said they did not feel free to comment, were overwhelmingly in the affirmative. Representative replies include:

From Kansas City, Kansas: "Yes, some of the officers are afraid to do their duty because of possible repercussions. Many think a search warrant cannot be obtained until too late."

From Tucson, Arizona: "Recent precedent-setting decisions by the Supreme Court have of course had a direct effect on police operations throughout the country. In more recent months the decisions have changed police practices in investigation, interrogation and search procedures. While the decisions in themselves have been somewhat restrictive, they have also brought about a retraining of police officers across the nation which has resulted in police agencies all following the same rules of evidence and interrogation."

From Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: "The *Mallory* rule has not been applied to state cases by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court.

If it were it would eliminate incriminating statements in all but a few cases. Would make successful prosecution virtually impossible in a great number of trials."¹

Moreover, with the "constitutional rights" of the criminal affirmed, our jurisconsults have moved to impose severe penalties on police officers who assertedly violate them. As one lawyer puts it: "An officer who makes an illegal arrest or search and seizure which violates the constitutional rights of the person arrested must steel himself to a greater hazard of civil suit for damages, for it is now the law that a state officer who violates the constitutional or civil rights of the person against whom his action is directed can be sued personally for damages in the Federal courts, regardless of any right which the victim may have to sue in the state courts."

The impact of these and other rulings on policemen required to arrest, book, and interrogate suspects may easily be imagined. An occasional tough and ingenious officer can devise means for getting his job done without finding himself faced down by some junkie or hooker waxing eloquent about "constitutional rights"; but the majority are naturally inhibited from moving against even the most likely and obvious suspects by the legalistic barbed wire the courts have draped over law enforcement.

A startling example of the difficulties under which police now labor is the story told by a New York patrolman who, off-duty, was confronted by a knife-wielding hoodlum. A uniformed officer standing by flatly refused to do anything to help his colleague until the potential victim of the attack insisted at length. "This guy is standing there with a knife on me," says the off-duty patrolman, "and the cop becomes a spectator . . ." When the assailant was at last disarmed and brought in, cooperation at a higher level was scarcely better.

The officer who had been attacked says: ". . . then I get to the station house and the lieutenant down there wants to know what I'm doing. He wants to know if the guy actually hurt anyone or not. He knows I put my resignation papers in last week and that I'm leaving soon and so he says to me, 'Look, you're leaving anyway, so why bother about it?' Here this guy has just tried to knife someone—tried to knife me—and this guy, a lieutenant, is telling me not to bother."

A New York detective sergeant tells an equally appalling story. "A woman OD'd [collapsed from an overdose of drugs] on Broadway," he relates, "and there's a guy there who is built like a cigaret machine and he has six cops at bay, just standing

¹ Other comments in similar vein include: Louis M. Kulpa, Chief of Police, Wheeling, West Virginia: "Yes, because it makes the police officers more cautious in making arrests and they hesitate more and back off some." Police Chief, City of Reno, Nevada: "Yes, to protect the rights of criminals in relation to regard for the rights of victims. The armed robber doesn't have to advise his victim that he has the right to summon police prior to robbery, et al. . . ." Chief of Police, Baton Rouge, Louisiana: "Yes, to some degree, in that some cases are dropped due to insufficient evidence caused by the officer's hands being tied legally." Cleveland, Ohio, Chief of Police: "Yes, they are causing a crisis in law enforcement." Minneapolis, Minnesota, Chief of Police: "Yes, it takes more man-power on each case; we have to prepare them fast and get charges placed more rapidly." Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Chief of Police: "Recent Supreme Court decisions have caused this department to step up the training program of constitutional law. These decisions have caused a lowering of morale for all law enforcement officers. People do not readily accept rapid and severe changes."

listening to him swear at them. There's a crowd and the cops are afraid to do anything, even question him, because he's yelling about brutality and swearing at them and the crowd is watching and he feels like a great man because everyone's seeing him abuse those six cops who are afraid to go near him. . . . Maybe he gave her the OD. Maybe he killed her. And the cops didn't even know his name. They wouldn't even talk to him.

". . . I can tell you that now that he's told six cops where to go in public and got away with it, I feel sorry for the next lone cop who sees him making a disturbance and tries to stop him. The cop'll get killed . . . the important thing is that those cops weren't afraid of him—they were big enough to eat him up—they were afraid of the crowd, of someone who might accuse them of brutality and get them kicked off the force."

Current statistics show that American policemen today are being killed and injured in record numbers. The FBI reveals that in 1964 "the number of law enforcement officers murdered in the line of duty reached a new high with 57 killings reported by local and state agencies. These deaths bring the total of such murders to 225 for the five-year period 1960-64." In New York City alone seven policemen were killed and 1,602 were injured in the line of duty in 1964. The total number of assaults on policemen, both on and off duty, came to a whopping 2,493.

The recommended corrective for alleged police brutality is a further restraint on the police—a "civilian review board." Law-enforcement officials fear this device would be loaded in favor of minority or other interest groups, to impose still more impediments to effective police performance. J. Edgar Hoover says such boards would necessarily have political overtones and that "these panels would consist of appointed individuals who are . . . inexperienced and uninformed in law enforcement and police administration. This drive for external boards is an ill-advised maneuver."

Los Angeles Police Chief Parker said of the review board idea:

"If they get one in Los Angeles, then I will walk out. I would not share my administration of this department with a group of persons who are selected primarily from minority elements—many of them demagogues with axes to grind. When they have control over the force without any regard to responsibility for its performance, that's time for someone else to take over."

Chicago's O. W. Wilson expressed the same opinion. A review board in his city, he said, "would destroy discipline in the Chicago police department. . . . If we have a civilian-review board, that board creates a situation where I, as the head of the police department, am confronted by an adversary group which the entire department will tend to unite against. Therefore, if we had a civilian-review board, my discipline would be less effective than it is today."²

² Former New York Police Commissioner Vincent Broderick comments that "it is vital when the police officer's action is reviewed it be reviewed by one who has a capacity to evaluate the propriety of the action in terms of the police crisis in which it was taken and who, at the same time, has a disciplinary responsibility which extends not only to the propriety of the action but also to its complement, the propriety in the same situation of the officer's having failed to take action."

FBI Chief Hoover likewise comments that the review board concept "undermines the morale and saps the efficiency" of the police. "They deter officers in the proper performance of their duties for fear of having charges placed against them which would be judged by individuals wholly unfamiliar with police work."

Thomas F. Coon, editor of the official bulletin of the Society of Professional Investigators, writes that where the review-board idea is accepted, police morale "will take off upon a toboggan of descent." Coon adds that "the man in the field would not be human if he did not avoid certain ticklish law enforcement incidents, taking cognizance of the composition and persuasions of the board." Coon quotes the 1953 opinion of the New York Civil Liberties Union that disciplinary functions "are best exercised within the department itself rather than imposed by an outside agency."

When he ran for his office in the fall of 1965, New York Mayor John Lindsay promised institution of a "review board" in the Empire City. When the board was launched, it fulfilled the worst fears of its opponents. The membership was heavily loaded with representatives of "civil liberties" and other protesting groups, chief among them being board chairman Algernon D. Black, a veteran "civil liberties" activist. John J. Cassese, president of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, commented, "they couldn't be impartial if they wanted to. You can see that by the board's composition."

Police morale after the Lindsay investiture plummeted to new lows. Three of the department's top officials were bounced in moves which had as their barely-veiled motive an obvious appeal to New York minority-group voting blocs, and more than 700 patrolmen turned in their badges during the first six months of 1966. The resignation rate was triple that of the previous year. In the 1966 elections, New York citizens had a chance to sit in judgment on all this. In a referendum on the Lindsay review board, they voted by a margin of almost two-to-one to cashier the whole arrangement.

Confronted by danger to life and limb, judicial hindrance, and a growing tide of public abuse, police are finding it hard to recruit new members. Almost every city, in addition to its other difficulties in law enforcement, could use more and better-trained policemen.³ These are becoming exceedingly hard to find.

Washington, D.C. police found themselves in mid-1965 with 144 vacancies on the force, and sent recruiters around the country to try to get men to join up. Former Police Commissioner Thomas J. Gibbon of Philadelphia observed: "Back in 1953 we had the first examination for police recruits under my command . . . We wound up with about 2,000 applicants to draw from. We hired almost 1,000 . . . But by 1960 things have changed . . . The simple truth is that hardly anyone wants to be a policeman. In my city it's got

³ It is rather astonishing to discover that, with so much crime and general anarchy confronting them, the "brutal" police are forced to spend an inordinate amount of time running errands for the citizenry. The authors, checking the statistics for their home city of Indianapolis, found that in a representative month, the police had to make some 20,000 runs to deal with such matters as lost dogs, children falling out of trees, escaped Mynah birds, getting a 300-pound woman into a cab, and rescuing cats. Compared to this staggering burden of minor service runs, the police answer "only" 3,000 or so calls a month for major crimes.

The strain on police resources by matters only indirectly related to crime is seldom understood by the citizens who call on these alleged monsters in every conceivable circumstance. In a single month, the Indianapolis police conducted 171 dog investigations, received more than 1,000 dogs at the municipal dog kennels, and destroyed more than 1,000 dogs a month throughout 1965. In addition police in every city must contend with the massive problem of traffic safety. Indianapolis police made some 51,657 traffic arrests in the first half of 1965.

so bad that we now have a new plan—instead of giving one exam for four or five thousand men each year, we give the test a couple of times a week for just a handful." Police official Joseph Martin of New York City sums it up when he says: "I don't know why anyone would want to be a cop today."

HON. THEODORE R. MCKELDIN
ADDRESSES CHIZUK AMUNO

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I believe that part of America's present problems at home can be traced to a loss of faith in ourselves and in our future. This was eloquently discussed in a recent speech by the Honorable Theodore R. McKeldin, former Governor of Maryland and former mayor of Baltimore. Addressing the Chizuk Amuno congregation at its sabbath eve service on April 11, 1969, Governor McKeldin explored the possible reasons for the present state of American society and showed why it is so necessary for Americans to band together behind our new President to help him in his important work.

Sharing the platform that night with Governor McKeldin was the congregation's rabbi, Rabbi Israel M. Goldman, a distinguished member, not only of Maryland's clergy, but a civic-minded and socially responsive leader; also, the assistant rabbi, Rabbi Donald Crain and Cantor Abraham Salkow. Two leading laymen of the community, Solomon Rogers and Joseph Davidson, were also on the dais representing the Chizuk Amuno board of trustees.

I include the text of Governor McKeldin's address in the RECORD to call attention to the thinking of a great American on a topic of profound importance to all Americans:

ADDRESS OF THEODORE R. MCKELDIN TO CHIZUK AMUNO CONGREGATION, BALTIMORE, APRIL 11, 1969

Every observer of contemporary political affairs, whether he is an official, a newspaper columnist, a professional historian, or what not, agrees that the American people today are in a state of confusion and uncertainty hardly paralleled in our history, unless it was in the years immediately preceding the Civil War.

Indeed, in some ways the confusion is even worse confounded today. In 1860 there was one question that overshadowed and obscured everything else, the question of slavery. Today, the war in Vietnam may take precedence of every other issue, but it is not much ahead. The unrest of the black minority is not far behind it. The deplorable state of the cities is closely bound up with the race problem, and little, if at all, behind it either in importance or in difficulty. Inflation is hard on the heels of the race question, for when the dollar loses value every human being in the country is directly affected. Finally, inflation of the dollar is not much more threatening than the inflation of our educational system, due in part to the population explosion, and in part to the migration of rural dwellers into the cities, which, in turn, is partly due to the mechanization of such industries as agriculture and mining.

I am not here to offer a solution of any of these problems, but I am here to suggest

that this is the time of all times for every American who loves his country to think soberly and carefully of the difficulties that beset us, to set aside partisan prejudice and private interest, and to think only of America, and how the American idea is to be preserved and justified in the eyes, first, of our own young people, and then in the eyes of the rest of the world.

We are committed to that. We were committed in 1776 when we, "appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions," started an experiment in government without exact precedent in the history of the world, "a nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." The men of 1787 did not know that it would work. We know now that it did work, to a limited extent. It converted a small, weak, poor nation into one immeasurably great, powerful, and rich, but how much longer it will work we do not know, any more than the men of 1787 knew, because present-day conditions are entirely different.

But we do know that it is up to us to make it work. All our material prosperity is incidental. Our true heritage, our real inheritance from our forefathers, is an obligation to prove to all the world that free men can govern themselves better than any king can govern them, and that a nation of freedom, dedicated to the principle of equal justice under law, far from being a menace to other nations, is their best guarantee of security and peace.

We have not done it yet, and if we fail, "the last best hope of earth" will be extinguished, and we of this generation will be proved unworthy of our ancestry. We must not fail. We cannot fail. Yet if we are to succeed, we must suppress the natural human instinct to seek every man his own interest, with small attention to his neighbor.

We have committed the direction of affairs, by a lawful and orderly process, to Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, and by virtue of his office, he is entitled to the loyal support of every American, Democrat or Republican, black or white, conservative or liberal, male or female.

Nor is the duty of upholding the hands of the President simply an obligation laid upon us by the law of the land. It is also a matter of the most stringent expediency. We are all embarked on the Ship of State, and on the skill and steadiness of the man at the helm all our destinies depend. This does not mean that we should remain inert and inactive. On the contrary, we are the watch on duty, and we should be faithless indeed if we failed to warn him the instant we descry breakers ahead. It means merely that there must be no mutiny, no suggestion of an attempt to snatch command from the man to whom it has been lawfully intrusted.

A hall from the lookout is no mutiny, and the louder and clearer it is, the better, for as it is loud and clear, so it is certain to be heard and understood. But a challenge of the captain's authority is mutiny and cannot be tolerated. Freedom of speech is indispensable to the safety of any democracy, but mere vituperation is not use, it is abuse of free speech, and a danger to the nation.

When the President himself suggested that we lower our voices, what he had in mind without doubt was the danger that insensate clamor might deafen him to a genuine shout of warning. It is a well-grounded fear, for we are in uncharted and dangerous waters. His chief adviser for national security, Dr. Kissinger, in a magazine article a few months before his appointment, pointed out that since the second World War all the old rules of diplomacy have gone by the board, and we are having to work out new rules by the dangerous and expensive method of trial and error. Repeatedly, in recent years, we have come dangerously close to shipwreck because there

were unmarked rocks and shoals where we had expected to find deep water.

In this situation I find no small satisfaction in the reflection that the man now at the helm got his training under one of the shrewdest, most careful political navigators in our history, the late, great Eisenhower. It is no derogation of President Nixon's own qualities to say that any man who watched Eisenhower at close range for eight full years will never plunge into any heedless and reckless adventure, not knowing exactly where he is or what lies ahead.

It is a quality of high importance in a period of such turbulence as that through which we are now passing. When you stop to consider it, what have we actually lost that makes these such distressful days? Not money—we are richer than ever before. Not men—we are worried by the population explosion. Not power—the whole world quakes under the tread of our legions. What then? The answer, in a word, is faith, faith in ourselves, faith in our future, faith in the doctrine expounded in the Declaration and the Constitution, faith in what Theodore Roosevelt called the "old moralities," and I fear, faith in that Supreme Judge of the world to whom our fathers appealed with utter confidence.

But faith is no material thing, bought and sold by traders in the marketplace, nothing designed by learned scientists and fabricated by skilled artisans in our mighty industrial system. Faith is one of those "imponderables" that Bismarck said is often more important than either money or military power. Faith is engendered in the mind and heart of the individual man or woman, and it is kindled largely by an act of will on the part of the believer.

All of us say that we believe in the American ideal of self-government by free men, but we demonstrate little faith in it when any blast of misfortune—or the mere threat of misfortune that may overtake us—can throw us into fear and trembling, into such despondence as pervades the nation today. How far have we fallen from the magnificent faith of the Patriarch Job who, in the midst of present, not merely threatened woes, could yet cry out, "Though he slay me, yet will I trust him."

He meant that Supreme Judge of the world to whom our forefathers appealed with utter confidence. They appealed in our name, and in the rectitude of their intentions they set up the system under which we have lived and prospered to this day. That system intrusts the executive powers to a President of the United States.

Let us give President Nixon the assurance that he has a stout-hearted nation behind him ready to lend him its strength in the discharge of his great office. For with the gift of such faith a smaller man than he could, as is written in Scripture, remove mountains.

INCREASE TIMBER SUPPLIES TO HELP MEET OUR NATIONAL HOUSING GOALS

HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968, overwhelmingly passed by the Congress, established a national goal of 26 million new and rehabilitated housing units in the next decade. Congress took this step to stimulate the homebuilding industry of America to meet the national housing

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ing need. There was no doubt in the minds of many of us that fulfillment of this goal would require a substantial improvement in homebuilding techniques and capacities. At the same time we were persuaded that innovation and ingenuity in the face of a major challenge could overcome the difficulties that were anticipated.

Regrettably, our hopes have been darkened by the mounting shortage of softwood lumber and plywood, essential ingredients for the realization of our housing goals. Indeed, the sudden sharp increases in the price of both softwood lumber and plywood in recent months aroused doubts in the minds of many homebuilders and Members of Congress whether manufacturers were not earning extraordinary profits from the promise of an unprecedented housing boom.

In March, the Committee on Banking and Currency, on which I serve, undertook to investigate the relationship between softwood lumber demand, supply, and prices. Extensive committee inquiry satisfied me that the basic deficiency in the supply of lumber and plywood and the consequent high prices can be traced to the restricted timber supply. Unless there is adequate raw material for the processing industries, there must inevitably be a product shortage.

Mr. Speaker, both public and private witnesses told the committee that 54 percent of the national softwood timber inventory stands on lands designated as commercial forest lands which are under the management of the Forest Service of the Department of Agriculture. An additional 6 percent is on forest lands under commercial management jurisdictions of other Federal agencies such as the Bureau of Land Management and the Bureau of Indian Affairs of the Department of the Interior, and the various military departments of the Department of Defense.

The forest industry directly controls only 17 percent of the softwood timber inventory, while an additional 18 percent is owned by thousands of other private owners on woodlots, and the remaining 5 percent is under the supervision of other public agencies such as States, counties, and municipalities.

Despite the dominant Federal position, the lands under National Government control yield only one-third of the annual softwood sawtimber harvest. The lands under private industrial ownership and containing less than one-third as much softwood timber, through the more extensive use of modern forestry techniques, yield more harvest volume annually than do all the Federal lands.

If national housing goals, set by law, require increased volumes of softwood lumber and plywood, and if those volumes of end products cannot be increased without additional supplies of raw material, and if the Federal Government controls three-fifths of the softwood timber inventory while producing only one-third of the domestic supply, it is clear that steps must be taken to increase the production of logs from the Federal timberlands if we are to meet our housing goals.

It is for this reason I am introducing

today the National Timber Supply Act. I am pleased to be joined by my colleagues, Mr. BARRETT, Mr. DEL CLAWSON, Mrs. DWYER, Mr. KARTH, Mr. MIZE, Mr. REES, Mr. ST GERMAIN, Mr. STEPHENS, and Mr. WIDNALL.

The bill authorizes the return of 65 percent of Federal timber sales revenues to a fund for high timber yield from the national forests. The Forest Service would have a supply of funds to improve forest management practices and to apply them intensively and continually. A basic premise of the bill is that, once the funds are made available and the Forest Service embarks on an intensive management program, the allowable cut can be increased immediately.

By placing the available receipts into a special fund, called the "high timber yield fund," the Forest Service could be assured of long-term financing for its management and development of the forests.

Establishment of such a high timber yield fund in the Treasury to finance optimum timber productivity on the commercial timberlands of the national forests is necessary for assuring continuity of effort and objective. The intensive management measures necessary to increase timber yield must, to be effective, be applied continuously, and not on a stop-and-go basis. If harvest-rate determinations are made on the premise that future yields will be those obtainable from intensive management there must be assurance that intensive management will occur. The high timber yield fund supplies this assurance.

The plan to finance the high timber yield fund from timber receipts assures that expenditures will be kept in step with the significance of national forest timber to the economy. Other safeguards in the proposal are—

First. The life of the fund is limited to 25 years. This limitation will force a review based on accumulated experience before the fund is renewed; otherwise a full-scale review might never occur.

Second. Section 5 of the bill requires that expenditures from the fund be made only after appropriation. This insures regular congressional review and approval of the program of activities to be financed from the fund.

Third. Section 5 also provides that funds not appropriated within 2 years be transferred to miscellaneous receipts of the Treasury. This provision insures that deposits in excess of needs will not be accumulated in the fund. It will be an effective but more flexible limitation than a stated maximum dollar amount.

The portion of national forest receipts which under existing law are paid to the States or other special funds would not be disturbed by the enactment of the National Timber Supply Act. This, the 25 percent of national forest receipts payment to States—16 U.S.C. 500—and 10 percent of national forest receipts for roads and trails—16 U.S.C. 501—would not be changed.

Section 6 of the bill specifies that allocations from the fund will be made by national forests in amounts substantially proportionate to contribution to

the fund from each forest during the preceding 2 fiscal years. This provision will put 65 percent of timber receipts back for expenditure on the forest where they were earned. Twenty-five percent of each forest's receipts are turned over to the counties in which the forest is located and 10 percent are available for forest roads and trails within the State in which the forest is located.

Timber receipts are the product of the volume of timber cut and its average unit price, subject to minor annual variations due to changes in the level of advance deposits maintained by timber purchasers. The provision for use of a 2-year average will iron out effects from fluctuations in advance deposit levels.

Volume cut and its average unit price are guides to the areas with better rates of growth and better quality species. Hence timber receipts by forests are a simple and reliable index of opportunities and needs to increase timber yields.

Other simple indexes, such as commercial forest area or volume cut, would result in some diversion of funds from areas with better growth potential for preferred quality species to areas where unit timber values are low and where intensive management measures would result in less than average yield increases.

The bill establishes allocations in proportion to receipts as a basic guideline, but recognizes that variations may be necessary in a few isolated cases to justify a larger proportion of funds going into a forest that has outstanding potential for increased yield. Thus, if the allocation by receipts formula should fail to meet the needs and opportunities on any forests, it can be modified without amending the basic act.

There are nine listed broad purposes for which allotted funds could be used. These purposes are—

First. Obtaining regeneration at earliest practical date after harvesting and for reforesting unsatisfactorily stocked high site lands. This would permit planting or seeding of cut-over lands in the first planting season after slash disposal or after termination of harvesting operations where slash disposal is unnecessary. The objective is to establish full stocking with a minimum delay in regeneration. Reforestation of unsatisfactorily stocked high site lands is also included. Such seeding or planting of unsatisfactorily stocked areas would be limited to timberlands of good potential for commercial timber production.

Second. Precommercial thinning to control spacing or stand composition. Such thinnings are the primary means to accelerate growth at an early age. They are also an effective means to favor production of desirable species.

Third. Semicommercial thinnings both to control spacing and composition and to produce material with value for commercial utilization in excess of additional costs required for its production. Semicommercial thinning is a step between precommercial thinning and commercial thinning. Precommercial thinnings deal with material that is unusable because of its small size. Semicommercial thinnings produce material acceptable for commercial utilization especially pulpwood but

for which full production and delivery costs exceed its market value. Such thinned material should be utilized so long as the added cost to produce and deliver it—minus the cost of any work such as limbing made unnecessary by utilization—does not exceed its value.

Fourth. Pruning if justified by a subsequent reduction in the age at which the trees become marketable. Some desirable tree species retain juvenile limbs on the lower bole for extensive periods. In such circumstances pruning at an early age is a necessary and justifiable activity to obtain logs suitable for sawing or peeling at a younger rotation age.

Fifth. Preparation, including marking, of thinning, salvage and understory-removal sales. Unit costs for thinning and salvage sales are higher than for harvest sales. Such sales have never been financed to the extent of their full potential by regular timber sale appropriations. Financing of sale preparation for thinning and salvage sales from the high timber yield fund is needed to market the very significant timber volumes now being lost through overcrowding or deterioration.

Sixth. Road construction in advance of planned harvesting to standards necessary for facilitating thinning, salvage and understory-removal sales and for protection against ravages of fire and insect. Thinning and salvage sales alone can rarely support road construction. Hence, thinning and salvage cutting is now generally limited to roaded areas.

This provision would finance road construction to standards necessary to facilitate thinning and salvage cutting in unroaded areas, and would incidentally supply access needed for protection purposes. It is not contemplated that the high timber yield fund would be used to finance regular timber access road construction.

Seventh. Fertilization of good sites to increase timber growth rates is now being undertaken by several major industrial timberland owners in the Northwest and the South. Fertilization is a promising avenue to increase yields and shorten rotations. As further knowledge of costs and returns develop, it is logical that the high timber yield fund be used for fertilization on suitable Federal timberlands.

Eighth. Development and procurement of seed or stock with superior growth characteristics. Work is underway by both the Forest Service and industry to identify superior seed sources and develop seed orchards for volume production of superior seed. The high timber yield fund would finance intensification of this activity on the national forests.

Ninth. Implementing other methods and practices that are demonstrated to increase timber production.

The common purpose of all nine of these listed cultural practices is to increase timber yields on the national forests above those yields presently attainable from the regularly financed activities. The high timber yield fund is designed to provide the additional effort to work toward optimum yields. It is not expected to displace the regular financing of Federal timber sales, protection

from fire and pests, or the forest development road program.

Mr. Speaker, I cannot predict that passage of the National Timber Supply Act will enable America to build 26 million housing units in the next 10 years. But I do believe that these homes will not be built unless we act to enable the Forest Service to increase the productivity of the forest lands under their care.

We have no shortage of timber in the United States. We have softwood timber suitable for construction materials in abundance—more than a trillion board feet already standing in our Federal forests. We have the techniques and the capacity to enhance the productivity of these forests through application of modern silvicultural methods. And the Multiple-Use Act requires the continued recognition of all the benefits of the forest—timber, recreation, fish and wildlife, forage, and watershed. There need be no alarm among those of us who value progressive conservation.

Mr. Speaker, there is a far greater need for alarm among all of us who see so many of America's families ill-housed. Congress has it within its power to help reach the housing goals it has established as a matter of national policy and I urge the active support of every Member of the House for enactment without delay of the bill I am introducing today toward that end.

ADVERSE EFFECTS OF KOKO HEAD JOB CORPS CENTER CLOSING TO BE FELT THROUGHOUT PACIFIC AREAS

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA
OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the "fait accompli" announcement by the Nixon administration to close 59 Job Corps centers is a matter of grave national concern, and I voice particular concern over the closing of the Koko Head Job Corps Center in Honolulu, Hawaii.

Since its establishment, the Koko Head Center has successively trained hundreds of young men in useful skills, and has enabled formerly unemployed, unskilled youths from Hawaii, Guam, and the Trust Territory to become productive members of society.

Surely, at a time when there is urgent need to provide the training that our young people need to prepare for the responsibilities of fullfledged citizenship, youth training and employment programs ought not to be curtailed at this most critical period.

The present facts indicate that a re-assessment of the closing of the Koko Head Center is needed, and this I strongly urge.

Francis J. Kennedy, president of the Hawaii State Federation of Labor, stated very clearly the case against closure in his letter of April 11, 1969, to me:

The Federal government already has an investment of hundreds of thousands of dollars in the present Koko Head facilities . . . and it would seem highly impractical if economy is the motivating factor to even consider new quarters. Also, we would deplore completely phasing out the existing program and starting a completely new one. Surely, it is possible for the transition of a program from one agency to another without such a complete disruption and at such cost. Returning trainees to their homes (some as far away as Guam and the Pacific Trust Territories) before their training periods are completed and then starting a new recruitment program for trainees as well as a staff for the new Center could get the program back for months.

We are of the opinion that the entire Job Corps program is so important that we should think in terms of bolstering rather than cutting back on its implementation.

At this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I would like to insert a representative sampling of letters I have received which buttress the need for the continuation of the Job Corps center at Koko Head:

HONOLULU, HAWAII,
April 11, 1969.

Representative SPARKY MATSUNAGA,
Representative of Hawaii, U.S. Representative
Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE MATSUNAGA: A letter was forwarded to the, President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon, requesting reconsideration on the matter of closing the, Job Corps Center at the Koko Head Crater.

As Chairman of the, Palama Community Area Council, my Officers and the Residents of the area are urging you to help us in retaining the Center.

Our boys need a place to learn different trades and skills to better their manhood, and they also need at the present time, the service of the Job Corps to help them learn the different trades and skills.

The Job Corps Center has helped most of our local boys here in Hawaii, and I am sure that if the Center is kept open many more young men can accomplish something for their future.

Many parents are concerned about this, because if the Center closes, they know that their will be disruption in their homes as well as in the Community. I am sure that you are aware that many of these young men are dropouts from our schools, however have learned many things in the Corps. Will you please help us by helping these young men.

We are sure that with your help, the President might reconsider closing down the Center.

Thank you for your valuable time.
Mahalo nui loa,

MARY K. CASH,
Chairman, PCAP.

HONOLULU COMMUNITY ACTION
PROGRAM,
Honolulu, Hawaii, April 14, 1969.

HON. RICHARD M. NIXON,
President, United States of America, the
White House, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I join with my fellow citizens in expressing my disappointment and disturbance over your decision to shut-down 57 Job Corps Centers, including the Koko Head Center in Hawaii.

Rather than shut-down these centers, is there any possibility in bringing about change of these Centers.

To completely blot-out the dreams, hopes and aspirations of these youngsters to become productive citizens of our society is grossly demoralizing. Instead of shutting down these Centers, why doesn't the Administration create change?

The system is not altogether perfect, so

we try to bring about changes for improvement. This is the way our Government works—Congress makes laws, and then amendments are made to strengthen these laws. Why can't we attempt to do the same thing to the Job Corps program—make changes to strengthen the program—not take it away from our disadvantaged youngsters.

I strongly urge the Administration to reconsider its decision. If Administration has been at fault, then our disadvantaged youths should not have to suffer for our mistakes and administrative goofs. Let's make change, not obliterate!

Very truly yours,
PETER M. KAALILII, Sr.,
Chairman, HCAP, Inc.

KOKO HEAD JOB CORPS,
Honolulu, Hawaii, April 10, 1969.

To My CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATIVE,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I think Job Corps is very important, because it has helped lots of young men have a second chance to get ahead in life. I think Job Corps should continue because it helped me not to get in trouble with the law. Job Corps has made me a better person than what I was before I entered. It helped me strive for a goal. If Job Corps ever closed down I think I would go back to roaming the streets looking for trouble or being in trouble. Job Corps has given me a different outlook in life.

Sincerely yours,
A CONSTITUENT.

APRIL 10, 1969.

To My CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATIVE,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Many people think of the Job Corps as just a name, but, those involved with the program it is something else. It means a second chance at life. It means something better than what we've had before. So for the sake of the boys in Job Corps and those to come, please continue the program. For without this program many future lives will go down the drain.

Yours truly,
A CONSTITUENT.

PRESIDENT LEWIS NOBLES' ADDRESS TO STUDENTS OF MISSISSIPPI COLLEGE

HON. CHARLES H. GRIFFIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, for several months, we have received reports of student unrest on college campuses, violent confrontations, criminal acts, property destruction, classroom boycotts, sit-ins, and other efforts to disrupt learning. The majority of the students at these institutions have been deprived of acquiring knowledge which, of course, is the reason for their enrollment. In other words, the innocent, serious students have been victimized and discriminated against by the militant minority.

What is the proper relationship between an institution of higher learning and students? Dr. Lewis Nobles, president of Mississippi College, a private, denominational school, located at Clinton, Miss., discussed this vital question in an address to the faculty and student body at chapel period on February 3, 1969. Having received permission, I insert Dr. Nobles' eloquent comments:

CHAPEL ADDRESS FEBRUARY 3, 1969

(By Dr. Lewis Nobles)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Dr. Nobles was the speaker on Monday, February 3rd at the first Chapel period of the new semester. It was also his first policy statement to the students. The editor feels that this is one of the best chapel talks in recent years. Alumni will find in a careful reading of it some answers to many of their questions about the direction which Mississippi College is headed. Dr. Nobles wishes to acknowledge credit for some of the ideas contained herein to articles in Christianity Today, The Southern Baptist Educator and Look Magazine.)

Ladies and gentlemen of the student body, faculty and staff of Mississippi College. I am grateful to each of you for your presence here this morning.

In the few months that I have been on our campus I have been trying above all to learn all that I could about Mississippi College—trying to probe into its strengths and its weaknesses, studying its operations, coming to know better the people with whom I work. I have been talking, reading, questioning, meeting with committees, hearing delegations, carrying out preliminary considerations of the financial operation of the College next year. I have felt that these things had to be done before I could give adequate consideration to all viewpoints and attempt to make the right decisions.

I have met with many of you. I have spoken to several faculty groups, to a number of student groups, addressing myself for the most part to rather special topics, but now it seems to me that it is time for me to speak to you as a body publicly and for the record on matters which have been and will be a continuing concern for us. I am not speaking so much about any one specific area as I am about such things as a generalized concept of acceptable conduct on the campus, personal responsibility, the rights of the individual, the right of Mississippi College, and something of the future and destiny of this institution.

Let me say at the outset that there have been no essential changes in the policies of Mississippi College as I have inherited them from my predecessors who have done remarkable jobs in the administration of this fine institution. But perhaps some of these thoughts and expressions need to be repeated by a new president. Perhaps a reminder is needed for the forgetful or an illustration for the new.

PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY

There is no question in my mind about the College's primary responsibility. We are all here to prepare young men and young women to become active, intelligent, responsible participants in society with a full recognition that the greatest contribution any institution of higher education can make is the building of Christian character. In addition to providing our students with a sound formal education in a Christian atmosphere, we are attempting to make opportunities available to you for exercising responsible leadership on this campus to the end that that leadership may be a meaningful factor in the operation of the College itself. In so doing we hope to utilize effectively your awakening bid for increased participation in the affairs of this institution. I must, however, remind you at this point that such privileges and opportunities carry with them a significant burden of responsibility, both to your peers, to the faculty and to the administrative officers of this institution, and hence to the Board of Trustees and the Mississippi Baptist Convention. The business of this institution is the formal education of young men and women in the kind of atmosphere which we have attempted to describe above; an atmosphere dedicated to the development of true Christian character. The teaching and learning which go on in our lecture rooms, laboratories, and li-

baries—in the faculty offices where lectures are prepared, in the room where students study—that is what Mississippi College is here for. That is what the Baptist citizenry of our State make their contributions to this institution to support. That is the service that you and your parents have paid fees for and that is what givers of your scholarship funds have donated their money for. I will also add that this function is what those who have gone before you have left as a heritage to you at this institution.

RESPECT FOR RIGHTS OF OTHERS

This wholesome educational climate begins with each individual's respect for the rights of others. In this I mean much more than one's narrowly defined legal rights; I mean respect for the dignity of each fellow human being; I mean the common courtesies of life we expect from each other. Disorder, tension, and disruption begin when these courtesies are disregarded.

On any campus of an institution of higher learning there are many groups which are organized for various purposes and which seek to achieve varying goals. Many of these work to bring about some change; I think that this is good. A college is an instrument of change through its very character as an educational institution, but a college is not to be used to its own detriment as a tool, or a cat's paw, by any group to promote its own end, whether that end be a change to something new, or reaction to the status quo, or merely the maintenance of the status quo.

If we have any organization, or group, or any individual citizen here who considers its program paramount to the good of Mississippi College, and is ready to disrupt the functioning of Mississippi College to achieve its own private goals, then that group does not belong on this campus.

A college is a complex collection of many, many different things, but some one individual must speak for it, and in our institution that person is the president. As your president I want to make it clear that I want to do everything in my power to maintain the objectives as outlined above for Mississippi College.

Perhaps then there has been no real need for me to speak to you as I am speaking today. Certainly, it is my hope and my belief that nothing is required beyond our gathering here today to assure that we can now set about our academic business without any difficulty. Our policies must not be inflexible or impervious to change. So far as possible Mississippi College must seek to answer the aspirations of every member of our academic community, which means that it must constantly change its methods and constantly discard old policies for new ones in order to be responsive to new needs. But I believe there are ways to bring about such changes without any significant disruption to the academic life of this institution.

CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION

Built into the patterns of operation of this institution are channels of communication between students and administration, faculty and administration, student body and faculty, administration and staff. Built into the operation of the College are mechanisms for meeting problems, hearing grievances, revising policies. If our present channels of communication do not function adequately, we will certainly open new ones. If our mechanisms to bring about wholesome change won't work, we will develop new ones. But by working within the framework of our policies, regulations, administrative units, committees, campus organizations, and the like, I believe we can solve our problems as they arise. To seek to go outside such organized channels of communication in my estimation, will only postpone, or in some instances perhaps make impossible any satisfactory solution to the problems which face us.

I have used the terms faculty, and staff, and student body just as you speak of the administration. We make these distinctions and they are real ones because there are different jobs to be done, different groups of people who must do them. But essentially we are all passengers on the same ship; we are all members of this body called Mississippi College and its health is the health of each of us.

If we will all work together cooperatively, Mississippi College will continue its splendid progress. We will press on together in the work we have all come together to do—to teach and to learn, to develop ourselves intellectually and morally, and to push forward through study and research the frontiers of knowledge. We will then continue to have a college with a proud reputation, a college whose name on a diploma is a certificate of excellence, a college which will attract to superior students, superior faculty, in short, superior human beings.

If, on the other hand, there are those among us so selfish as to put their own desires above the good of the whole, so bigoted as to insist on the satisfaction of their demands regardless of what happens to Mississippi College, so irresponsible as not only to befool their own nests, but also to smear the good name of all in order to gratify their passions and prejudices, then everything that Mississippi College exists to achieve may be sabotaged. To this extent it lies within each of us to determine what we are going to be. In short, if each of us will make an earnest effort to govern his or her actions by what is best for Mississippi College, then we have nothing of which to fear. We have a good college here, and a potential for greatness far beyond anything yet achieved. As I learn more and more every day about Mississippi College, I find more and more about it to admire. I see our problems, and I know some of them are grave indeed, but I also see our progress. Our future looks bright indeed, unless we ourselves choose to darken it.

CONTINUING DEVELOPMENT

The Board of Trustees, the faculty, and administrative staff in consultation with Olmsted Associates, campus planners, look forward to continuing development and expansion of Mississippi College during the years ahead. Plans already in the developing stage involve the construction of an athletic field house and adequate athletic facilities to the west of the campus, a girls dormitory, apartment units, proper housing for campus maintenance crews, an addition to the library, the modernization of some of the older buildings on the campus, and acquisition of property necessary to the expansion of the College. The addition of a School of Nursing and a School of Law is anticipated, and a significant increase in the endowment fund.

To be all that it should be Mississippi College must first have the support of those whom it serves. It cannot function successfully unless Mississippi Baptists feel that it is their institution. They must wish it well, sympathize with its needs, stand by to protect it in crises, be slow to condemn without the fullest information, and try always to look at the institution as a whole and not at the occasional inevitable flaws. There must be the same kind of support from the faculty, and from the student body; a loyalty to the institution which includes intelligent criticism as well as defense against unwholesome criticism, but always with the aim of bettering the institution. All too many of our educational institutions today are caught in a savage crossfire between uncritical lovers and unloving critics. On the one side there are those who love their institutions and tend to smother them in an embrace of death, loving their rigidities more than their promise, shielding them from lifegiving criticism. On the other hand, there are those critics without love who are skilled in demotion, but untutored in the arts by which

human institutions are nurtured and strengthened and made to flourish. Caught in such a crossfire an institution is almost destined to perish. Where human institutions are concerned, love without criticism brings stagnation and criticism without love brings destruction. In short we must be discriminating appraisers of our society, knowing candidly and precisely what it is about the society that thwarts or limits our institutions and therefore needs modification. And so each of us must be discriminating protectors of our institutions, preserving those features that nourish and strengthen them and make them more free. To fit ourselves for such tasks we must be sufficiently serious to study our institutions, sufficiently dedicated to become expert in the art of modifying them.

The complexity of modern society and the swiftness of change make it ever more difficult for us to be sure that we will continue to have the kind of society we want. We have learned brilliantly the means of accomplishing scientific and technical advances, but we have only a very limited grasp of the art of changing human institutions to serve human and divine purposes in a changing world. The consequences are familiar; we can build gleaming spires in the heart of our cities but we don't seem to be able to redeem the ghettos. We can keep people alive 25 years beyond retirement but we can't assure them that they can live those years in dignity. We choke in the air that we ourselves are polluting with our advanced technology. We live in the fear of a thermonuclear climax for which we provided the ingredients. We face a population disaster made more certain by our own healing arts. So we have problems. There are those today who glibly assert that society is intolerable because it has these specific defects: a, b, c, etc. The implications are that if appropriate reforms, a prime, b prime, and c prime, were carried through and the defects corrected, the society would be wholly satisfactory and the work of the reformer done. This is in reality, in contemplative reflection, a rather primitive way of viewing the necessary socio-economic changes in our society. The gravity of our situation is masked by the overbearing hum of success that pervades the society. But if one looks deeper and observes the innumerable problems that face us, one may sometimes wonder whether our talent for opening Pandora's Box has outrun our capacity to cope with the consequences. One wonders whether we have let loose forces that are essentially ungovernable. We have to believe that this is not so; we have to believe that God's leadership, human, intelligence, and determination are equal to the task, but it will take the best and most disciplined minds that we have.

SIGNS OF OUR TIMES

One of the signs of our times is a seemingly well developed technique, being fairly widely used, particularly in some liturgically oriented religious services, for producing a sense of neurotic guilt. Worshipers are called upon to confess their sins for racism, starvation in India, the war in Viet Nam, riots in the streets, revolts on the campuses, underdevelopment in the poorer nations of the world and whatever else is wrong in our world. To inculcate in Christians a sense of absolute guilt for "sins" they haven't committed, and to attempt to hold them responsible for conditions they neither created nor presently approve, is not only ridiculous but also quite dangerous. It can lead to neurotic guilt, which is not real guilt, and this does create genuine sickness. It tends to overwhelm the victim, who then loses sight of the real guilt that he has; this confusion leads to frustration. Furthermore, it keeps him repeating admissions of an unreal guilt without opening the way to adequate forgiveness and restoration of wholeness. Instead of being a genuine exercise of biblical repentance, this

sort of mass confession appears to be a contrived routine that only debilitates the participants.

OUR CULTURAL POSTURE

Too many of us are not really aware of our cultural posture; if you will, "our way of seeing things." But, our cultural posture is the context in which we define and use our terms. Thus, if your political stance is conservative, you understand freedom as the opportunity to live out your life without interference from the government, local, state or national. You would indicate that each man ought to earn his own way and respect the right of others. On the other hand, if your political stance is liberal, you would understand freedom as freedom from hunger, from prejudice, from oppression of any sort. The belief that each person has the right to live out his life without governmental interference must be limited by consideration of these other freedoms and you would suggest that the people of America through the agency of government, be it local, state or national have the moral obligation to aid all these people. This requires governmental involvement of a degree that supersedes the right of the individual. We may be unaware of our differing cultural postures, we have them and they play a determining role in the way in which we use our terms and the way in which we live out our lives.

The idea that an educational institution is obligated to take positions on either side of current issues either as individuals or as members of professional organizations needs to be carefully and fully examined for its implications for us individually and collectively. Our institutions, if we do so, will become ineffective because they will cease to obtain cooperation between the various institutions who will have lined up on opposite sides of questions as the institutions themselves become politicized. If we didn't become ineffective because we were on the "losing" side, we would then be in the untenable position of helping to impose our own partisan political position on education and scholarship all over our nation.

In considering the charges often leveled today of college curricula being outrageously irrelevant to the times, the arguments set forth reveal quite clearly that those who level such charges could not pass a satisfactory examination in introductory level courses in areas in which they pass such sweeping judgments: economics, history, and political theory. For those who say "Destory a system that has not abolished unemployment, exploitation and war" I would suggest, respectfully, that they might cry equally well for the destruction of all hospitals and those who work therein—they have not abolished disease!

Some of this generation of young people have stated, "This society is only interested in higher prices and profits." Have they stopped to consider the function of prices and profits in an economy? Do they realize that the marketplace is really a polling booth? Buying is quite like voting—expressing your preference. No economic system is possible without some form of pricing, without some measure of efficacy or worth. If you decry the profit system too strongly, I would suggest that you examine quite seriously the public uses that are made of private profits. Most of you are disturbed, and quite correctly so, about a "heartless society in which the poor get poorer" or one in which "the middle class exploits the unemployed." Actually, the decline in poverty in the United States is among one of the most promising facts of human history. As for the unemployed being exploited, let's do some reverse economics quickly. Would the middle class be better off or worse off if we could eliminate unemployment? Think of the enormous savings in taxes, the enormous improvements in public service, the enormous bene-

fits from refocused energies now being used to ameliorate poverty's toll.

You say—and rightfully so—that your generation wants to be understood. Well, so does mine and all other generations now extant. How much have you really tried to understand others? You are ready to condemn "the Establishment" for injustices not of its making, frictions not of its choice, and dilemmas that history presented to it.

Some say that the present Establishment failed them because they face so many problems. Will they then accept blame for all the problems that society faces 20 years from now? And how can you know that all such problems are solvable? Or solvable quickly? Or solvable peacefully? Or solvable—given the never infinite resources, brains and experiences that any generation is endowed with? I should like to challenge you and the members of your generation this morning with the thought that perhaps it is your generation that is failing, partially at least, the rest of our society—failing to learn and respect some discomfiting facts, perhaps failing to think through many of the issues facing us today. It is much easier to complain, to slander, to abuse, and to shout down those with whom you disagree—in failing to see how much more complicated social problems are than many have blindly assumed, in acting out of ignorance for which idealism is no excuse—or as President Nixon said, "Let us lower our voices so that we can hear the words rather than the noises."

Perhaps you have been inclined, on occasion, to agree with those who want to "wreck this slow, inefficient system." It took the human race centuries of thought, pain and suffering—and hard work—to put this system together. Democracy is not a state—but a process. It is a way of solving human problems, a way of hobbling power, a way of protecting each minority from the awful, fatal tyranny of either the few or the many.

There are those in your college generation in our land today who are suggesting that they want a society in which the young may freely speak their minds against the Establishment. I ask in all sincerity, where in the world today—or ever in the history of the world—have the young more freely recklessly attacked the Establishment? Every society has one, incidentally! But, wherever the heroes of the New Left—Marx, Mao, Castro, Che—have prevailed, students, writers, teachers, and scientists have been punished with hard labor or death—and for what? For their opinions.

RHETORIC VERSUS REASONING

Perhaps all of what has been said here can be summarized with the following suggestions to you now and in the years ahead. Don't confuse the rhetoric with reasoning. Assertions are not facts. Passion is no substitute for knowledge. Slogans are not solutions. Idealism of a sort does not particularly require any intellect. And when you are willing to dismiss differences with your peers or with those of another generation with contempt, you are in danger of becoming contemptible.

In the world of the immediately relevant, immediately practical action, all too often the truth is bent, action is taken on half-formed conclusions, the approximately truth is pitted against the wholly false and the slightly better against the clearly evil. The Christian college should clearly set higher and more acceptable standards.

CHRISTIAN IDEALS

I believe that we should address ourself to the matter of the possibility of remaining a Christian idealist in a realist's world—a world seemingly gone mad with hate, violence and fear—a world in which the smell of doom is clearly in the air. All the artistic media about us are preoccupied with the presentation of life as ugly, brutal, sensual and ultimately futile. Perhaps it seems to you that there is all too little room in society today

for the sensitive, compassionate person who places human values above financial profit. Perhaps your generation finds it difficult to find any real heroes—perhaps you find it difficult to believe that there are noble, authentically good people. We all have been Elmer Gantry and Peyton Placed so often that we may begin to doubt that altruism, generosity and sincerity really exist. Some will say that this is the picture of the world but not of the Christian community—but have you checked recently to see if cynicism has replaced your idealism. Perhaps your shining knight armor began to fade a bit when someone you idolized proved to have feet of clay, or when a trusted friend put a knife in your back and slowly turned the handle.

For the realist, life is a jungle—dirty, brutal, savage, ugly and ruthless. The Christian, by contrast, is not a Pollyanna, oblivious to the world in which he lives but he does not become cynical or disillusioned and he does not give up! He continues to proclaim the good news—though few may hear and even fewer respond. He continues to love—though he may not be loved in return. Despite the fact that while some feel that the realist has won the day, the truth is that it is the Christian idealist who is the only authentic realist, for he sees life as it really is and sees how it ought to be lived. He knows that man is a sinner, rebellious against God, and that sin is not merely a psychological aberration of a morbid mind entrapped in its Victorian past. He knows that man was created in God's image—and that commitment to Jesus Christ is the only way that life can be made whole and meaningful. The tragic error of the humanist is his insistence that man is basically good and that—given the opportunity—can solve his problems and achieve Utopia. The Bible gives a much more accurate picture of man as essentially sinful and self-centered, unable to create an ideal society by himself. The example of Jesus as given us in the New Testament can aid all who wish to maintain Christian idealism. Though life was cruel and brutal to him, he never became cynical and despondent.

RELEVANCE OF CHRISTIAN WORLD VIEW

In conclusion I want to touch upon a matter that I believe is of vital importance in the life of an institution such as ours. I believe that the faculty and administration of Mississippi College bear a significant responsibility in exhibiting to you the historic relevance of the Christian world life view. Perhaps unwittingly we have appeared on occasion to be reluctant to state what our commitment or lack of commitment might be. Today, merely as a lay person, I would like to suggest that the person of Jesus Christ in his life, death, and resurrection is totally worthy of our commitment and can deliver us from the despair of the uncommitted and seemingly directionless world in which we find both ourselves and our society to be immersed.

By no means do I have the answer to all of life's problems or to many of the philosophical objections to the Christian faith, but one thing I do know: Jesus Christ has changed my life and made things new for me. I ask you in the quietness of your own heart to consider earnestly these implications and to answer that question asked by Jesus long ago. "Whom do you say that I am?" I believe that the answer to this question is of eternal importance for you now and throughout the rest of your life.

It is my sincerest hope that it may be said in one hundred years from now that together, we helped, under God's leadership, to make Mississippi College a better place in which young people might obtain a better education to fit them for their responsibilities as Christian citizens of our society. I know that it will be said that we tried to do so!

PREJUDICES OF THE INTELLECTUAL SANCTUARY

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the intellectual community has become so prejudiced against the nonintellectuals that it—like the mythical ghetto community—feels it is a separate kingdom and not subject to any outside interference from the mainstream of society—which, by the way, includes the taxpayers who support the colleges, the parents who want a chance through education for their children, and the businessmen and industrialists who ultimately must integrate the college product into a highly competitive environment—productive society.

The announcement that extremist students held guns on the Cornell University administrators and forced a halt in disciplinary proceedings against arrested terrorists within an intellectual community is no more revolting than to learn of the lack of courage should the so-called intellectual leaders proceed to honor any such intellectual intimidation against the civilized society of the less educated.

The intellectuals of the Ivory tower many times refer to their campuses as a privileged sanctuary wherein battles are fought with ideas, philosophies, and words, immune from outside interference of reason, experience, and tradition, free from the prejudices of the past and paternalism.

These intellectuals need awaken to the changing times—the uneducated mass, whose taxes support the intellectual havens, are becoming antagonistic toward the prejudices and harsh invectives being directed at the off-campus society, lest some day the off-campus nonintellectuals may get smart enough to cut off the funds of the intellectual playhouse for noncompliance with the morals and standards of society. After all college campuses are still a part of the United States of America.

I include several news clippings following my remarks:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Apr. 18, 1969]

HARVARD "DOUBLE-CROSSED" BY FACULTY, HAYAKAWA SAYS
(By David S. Broder)

SAN FRANCISCO, April 17.—Dr. S. I. Hayakawa, the acting president of San Francisco State College, today condemned Harvard University faculty members for their failure to support Harvard President Nathan M. Pusey's decision to use police against campus demonstrators.

He said their attitude was typical of the "deep-rooted prejudice" many intellectuals harbor against those less educated.

The San Francisco campus is calm today, but despite his apparent victory over student militants, Hayakawa still speaks with open bitterness of the "cultural snobbery" of faculty members who supported the students, as their counterparts across the continent at Harvard are doing now.

Noting that Harvard's star-studded faculty has used the student strike to pressure Pusey

to grant some old demands of their own, Hayakawa said, "It's exactly the same thing" his own college went through.

CHAIN REACTION

"First you have the uproar created by students," he said. "Then an element in the faculty has to defend the students. The more they have to show the students are justified, the more they have to find out reasons they (the faculty) have got problems and grievances, too."

Hayakawa offered "the beginning of an answer" to what he called "one of the real psychological puzzles of our time," the tendency of some faculty members to condone violence by students but to condemn it on the part of police.

"Professors, in a way, love their students," he said, "so they want earnestly to believe that whatever their students do is rationally motivated. . . . They're willing to condone anything, because, after all, they've been devoting their lives to teaching students rational behavior. So if the students violate the common courtesies and even resort to violence, they sit around agonizing and say there must be something terribly wrong with the world if the students feel that way."

DOUBLE STANDARD

But, Hayakawa continued, such faculty members "are not willing to give the police that much of a break. If the police get rattled and start striking out, then that's police brutality. That's the nature of the dirty . . ."

"There's an unconscious cultural snobbery on the part of the college-educated against those who are not college-educated," he said, "a deep-rooted prejudice among some intellectuals that they are a superior order of being because they are intellectuals. Some of them believe the world has no damn business being run by politicians, generals and businessmen: They think it should be run by literary critics and philosophers."

Hayakawa said he would offer only two bits of advice to Pusey. One was to have police on campus, whenever there is a threat of disorder, in such numbers that those who want to teach and study know they will be protected. The other was to avoid faculty meetings.

"Until the crisis is over," he said, "every decision made by the faculty should be by secret ballot distributed to the entire faculty. Don't let anything be decided in a meeting. The radical faculty packs the meeting."

He recalled that a predecessor of his at San Francisco State had once pledged to make it "the Harvard of the West."

"Now," Hayakawa said, "Harvard looks like the San Francisco State of the East."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, Apr. 21, 1969]

CORNELL BUILDING OCCUPIED—BLACKS HOLD GUNS ON UNIVERSITY

Cornell University administrators who signed an amnesty agreement while black students stood over them with guns have asked a faculty committee to drop proceedings against five blacks arrested in an earlier demonstration.

Blacks at the Ithaca, N.Y., school seized the student union building early Saturday and evicted parents visiting for the weekend. Yesterday a yellow car drove up and two black students unloaded two packages of guns.

"The revolution has come. Time to pick up the guns," white students chanted, who were on the side of the blacks.

The black students then emerged from the building, armed with 16 rifles, three shotguns, broken billiard cues and clubs and marched to the Afro-American Center. They posted 12 armed guards around the center

while university officials signed an amnesty agreement on the steps.

Stephen Muller, vice president of the school, said the administration wanted to avoid calling civil authorities to oust the demonstrators.

Mr. Muller and Vice Provost W. Keith Kennedy also agreed to obtain legal aid for the black students if civil actions are brought against them; to make the school responsible for damage done during the sit-in; to station a guard around the school's Afro American Center; and to grant amnesty to all demonstrators.

LINGERING THREAT

The black students promised "further confrontation" if the administration did not honor the agreement.

The blacks refused to discuss the sit-in or the reason they armed.

An administration spokesman quoted one of the black leaders as saying the guns were obtained for "self defense." Mr. Muller said they were allowed to keep the weapons because of "a very real fear that they were subject to reprisal."

A faculty meeting today was scheduled to hear Dean Robert D. Miller recommend disciplinary measures against the five be dropped. (UPI)

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Apr. 21, 1969]

NEGROES END 36-HOUR SIT-IN AT CORNELL UNIVERSITY
(By Paul Yorkis)

ITHACA, N.Y., April 20.—Gun-carrying Negro students ended their 36-hour occupation of the student union at Cornell today and, as 15 black armed guards stood by, University officials signed an amnesty agreement.

Sympathizers earlier had taken guns to occupying students in view of University officials. One rifle was brandished from a window.

Security guards said the students had been armed with at least two shotguns, five rifles and hatchets. University officials said they were allowed to keep the weapons because the students had a "very real fear that they were subject to reprisal."

The amnesty signing took place on the steps of a campus building used as a headquarters by the Afro-American Society.

The Society's 100 or so members had marched there after leaving Willard Straight Hall. As they marched they were greeted by the cheers of 2000 onlookers.

Steven Muller, University vice president for public affairs, said the agreement was "not capitulation to the blacks." He and Vice Provost W. Keith Kennedy signed the agreement for the Administration.

Muller said he signed the amnesty agreement "to prevent a growing and imminent threat to life."

He said that in order to eject the armed students from the building the University would have had to call in civil authorities. "The University knew what the consequences of such an action would be and the trouble that would arise."

Muller said the black students were fully aware that the amnesty agreement would have to be approved by a meeting of the full faculty. That meeting is scheduled for 4:30 p.m. Monday.

The faculty previously had recommended disciplinary action against five black students for their part in incidents on the campus last December and January.

Today's agreement also provided that the University would take no action against the black students involved in the seizure of the student union. However, the way was still open for University action against the white students who stormed the building Saturday morning to try to remove the Negroes.

In addition the agreement provided that the University would supply legal aid if any

civil suits are filed against the demonstrators; the University would be responsible for any damage to the student union during the sit-in; a 24-hour security guard would be placed around the Afro-American Society headquarters and the women's co-op dormitory where a cross was burned on Friday morning.

"Failure to do this will result in a further confrontation," the black students said in a statement.

Their statement also said that they had armed themselves after the "campus police saw fit to utilize the fraternity boys from Delta Upsilon to oust us. In the process, several people, including black women, were assaulted and harassed. Our reactions to this assault were obvious. We defended ourselves."

One of those who advised the students to arm themselves was Harry Edwards, the former Olympic star who had led the black athlete boycott at last year's Olympic Games in Mexico City.

Edwards, who formerly was on the faculty at San Jose State in California and now is a graduate student at Cornell, said at one point to the blacks in the student center:

"If the University tries to use force, you go home and arm yourselves and we'll come back and take this place over."

When the students marched from Willard Straight Hall to their Society headquarters, there were 19 escorts with them carrying rifles and shotguns and wearing bandoliers of shells.

However, University Vice President Muller said that "at no time were the guns loaded." It was not known how this had been determined.

[United Press International reported that its men at the scene saw ammunition in the guns.]

The student takeover of Straight Hall came while hundreds of parents were on campus as part of Parents' Weekend.

Part of the student trouble stems from the previous disciplinary action taken against black students, but the incident that touched off the takeover appears to have been the cross-burning in front of the dormitory where some Negro coeds live.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Apr. 21, 1969]

FIRE HITS FRATERNITY—ARSON IS RULED OUT
ITHACA, N.Y., April 20.—Flames raced through the Chi Psi fraternity house at Cornell University today, forcing nearly 40 persons to flee.

No injuries were reported in the blaze at the three-story brick building.

University officials said the fire was accidental in nature and not connected with the takeover of a campus building by black students.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Apr. 21, 1969]

PRESIDENT OF CORNELL PLEDGES RETURN TO ORDER ON CAMPUS

ITHACA, N.Y.—Cornell University President James A. Perkins—speaking after gun-carrying Negro students occupied a building for 36 hours—pledged a series of measures today to bring "law and order to the Cornell campus."

Perkins, in a broadcast on the campus radio station, said: "The business of occupying buildings as a way of doing business must cease."

Perkins said no more guns would be allowed on the campus of this once-placid Ivy League school.

Some 100 Negroes, carrying rifles and shotguns and wearing bandoliers of ammunition, marched out of Willard Straight Hall, the student union building, yesterday afternoon. The Negroes had occupied the hall for 36 hours.

Perkins said the presence of guns on the campus spurred the administration to take emergency measures. "This cannot be repeated," he said.

Perkins said any student found carrying a gun would be suspended from school. Non-students, he said, would be arrested.

He said any organization which promotes occupation of school buildings will be disbanded.

Police had representatives on campus to augment the 30-man campus security force. The added police, he said, would make sure that regulations are enforced.

The 100 Negroes marched in military ranks out of the student union building late yesterday, ending an occupation that began peacefully.

RIFLES HELD UNLOADED

City police took no action at the time, saying the rifles were not loaded and thus did not violate any laws.

University proctor Lowell T. George and 14 campus policemen led the Afros out into the chill Sunday air to end the occupation.

Later, standing before a row of followers carrying rifles, shotguns and improvised spears, Edward Whitefield, president of the society, read the agreement from the front steps of the organization's headquarters.

"We only leave now with the understanding the university will carry out the agreement reached," Whitefield said. "Failure to do so will result in further confrontation."

VISITING ADULTS OUSTED

The occupied building, Willard Straight Hall, was entered at 6 a.m. Saturday by about 100 Negro students. The hall houses the Cornell Student Union, but was being used as a weekend guest house for 30 adults attending the annual Parents Weekend.

The invading students ousted the parents and 40 maintenance workers.

Spokesmen for the society said the occupation was a protest against reprimands imposed last week on three members involved in campus disorders last winter.

White students led by some university athletes attempted to evict the occupying group Saturday night but were beaten back in a fist-swinging melee.

THE FUTURE OF SST

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, the President is believed nearing a decision on whether to budget additional Federal funds for the joint Government-aerospace industry-airlines supersonic transport program. The Secretary of Transportation has forwarded his recommendation concerning the future of the SST to the President following further review and study.

The United States already has over a half billion dollars invested in this program, and we are within 3 years of having our own prototypes ready for testing. Under terms of the U.S. program, the Federal Government will recapture all money advanced with the sale of the 300th plane.

The British, French, and Soviet Union already are flight testing their own versions of the SST. U.S. world leadership in aviation is at stake. Thousands of American jobs also are involved in this decision.

Mr. Speaker, I have sent the following telegram to the President urging him to authorize a go-ahead on SST prototype production. The text of the telegram follows:

APRIL 18, 1969.

The Honorable RICHARD M. NIXON,
The President, The White House, Washington, D.C.:

I wish to convey to you my strong support of continued progress in the United States supersonic transport program. As a member of the House Committee on Appropriations, I am well aware of the serious fiscal situation confronting our nation, and the need for establishing priorities. The SST, in my opinion, should be given a high priority to proceed for the following reasons:

1. Any interruption or slowdown of this program would seriously undermine America's world leadership in aviation during the crucial 1970's and 1980's. The British, French and Soviet Union already are flight testing their own versions of the SST.

2. The United States already has over a half billion dollars invested in this program and we are within 3 years of having our own prototypes ready for testing. The Government will recapture all money advanced with the sale of the 300th plane.

3. Aircraft exports have been and continue to be an important, favorable influence in the United States balance of trade. If the SST program is not pursued, we will lose significant export sales further deteriorating the balance of payments situation.

4. One of the most important domestic contributions of the SST program is in the area of employment. It has been estimated that development and long-term production of an SST within this country will sustain an average employment level of 50,000 among the prime airframe and engine manufacturers and first level subcontractors. It would be a serious blow to the present SST program to postpone or delay production of the prototypes, as it would dissipate a team of 20,000 highly-skilled engineers, technicians and mechanics now at work.

Mr. President, we must see to it that when the day of extensive supersonic travel arrives, United States aircraft lead the way. I urge that you recommend that the United States proceed, without delay, on prototype production of the SST.

Congressman GARNER E. SHRIVER.

THE FREE PRESS UNDERLINES NECESSITY FOR CLOSING TAX LOOP-HOLES

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the Nashville Tennessean in a recent editorial and the Washington Post in a recent article discussed in some detail the need for tax reform—the necessity for closing tax loopholes.

Both newspapers emphasized the fact that many wealthy taxpayers are avoiding payment of taxes because of loopholes which provide them with means of tax avoidance.

The Committee on Ways and Means is now conducting exhaustive hearings into this entire matter of tax reform and because of the interest of this committee, my other colleagues, and the American people in tax reform, I herewith place these articles in the Record.

The articles follow:

[From the Nashville Tennessean, Apr. 15, 1969]

TAXPAYERS EXPECT REAL REFORM—NOT AN ILLUSION

A complex structure of tax loopholes which Congress has built up over the past 30 to 40 years has now reached the point where it is keeping \$60 billion a year out of the national treasury, according to a lengthy study carried out by a former Treasury official—Harvard law Professor Stanley Surrey.

This is money that would be coming into the treasury from present tax rates if all income were reported and taxed on the same basis. The loss amounts to almost one-third of the current federal budget.

What this means is that the average salaried taxpayer—who must get his tax payment in today—is paying approximately 50% more than he would be paying if all the loopholes were closed.

If a taxpayer owes the federal government \$1,200 today—or had \$1,200 deducted from his salary last year—about \$400 of that amount goes to make up taxes avoided by the oil industry, by the holders of tax-free municipal bonds, the many family owned and controlled foundations, by wealthy businessmen who qualify for quick tax write-offs on new construction, and by the hordes of others lucky enough—and wealthy enough—to have a loophole designed for them.

A study by the New York Times shows that 381 Americans with incomes in excess of \$100,000 paid no income taxes at all last year. Twenty-one of these had incomes of more than \$1 million, and the year before that four Americans with incomes of more than \$5 million paid no income taxes.

These statistics merely represent the apex of a vast pyramid of wealth which is being touched only lightly by the tax collector.

Most people pay some taxes, but thousands in the highest income brackets manage to get by April 15 without paying more than a small fraction of their real income in taxes.

There is the oil depletion allowance which deprives the Treasury of \$1.6 billion a year in revenue. There is the municipal bond tax exemption which allows some persons to earn millions of dollars a year tax free. There is the "capital gains" loophole which permits some of the nation's largest property owners to profit millions without paying taxes. There are almost countless other avenues of escape from taxes for those with the knowledge and the wealth to take advantage of them.

Most of these tax loopholes, of course, were won through the powerful lobbying efforts of the private interest group enjoying the advantages. This means the loopholes were designed and instituted for the rich by the special lobbying power and financial backing of the rich.

While 381 persons with incomes of more than \$100,000 were going without paying any taxes last year, there were 2.2 million Americans with incomes below the "poverty line" (\$2,200 for a married couple) who did pay income taxes. There is obviously no lobby in Washington to look out for the poor family when the loopholes are being written into the tax laws.

The complexity of loopholes and tax dodges puts Congress in an ambivalent position with respect to the handling of the nation's fiscal affairs. On the one hand Congress is reluctant to appropriate funds for needed domestic programs because it claims it doesn't want to raise taxes on the middle and small income groups. But on the other hand Congress has stood by and done nothing to prevent the tax obligations of the rich from being shifted onto the middle and low income groups.

If someone should suggest to Congress that it should appropriate \$60 billion to renew the

cities, to improve national medical and educational standards and rehabilitate the poor, no doubt there would be ridicule of the proposal. But some congressmen seem to think nothing of taking \$60 billion a year out of the Treasury as an unearned bonus for those wealthy enough to afford powerful lobbyists to gain them special privileges.

The glaring inequity of the tax structure is not something new. It has been building up over many years. But as the burden continues to mount on the average taxpayer—and inflation cuts deeper and deeper into his take-home pay—the grumblings of discontent are becoming louder and louder.

The dissatisfaction has increased tremendously since the 10% surtax was imposed and since it has become apparent the surtax will be extended for another year. The average taxpayer is becoming more aware all the time that millionaires and other wealthy persons are avoiding their just contributions to the Treasury and that the burden is falling heavier and heavier on him.

The taxpayers have also been disappointed by the congressmen's action in voting themselves extravagant pay raises this year to add to the tax burden and the inflationary burden. The spread between the percentage of income paid in taxes by the average man and the wealthy has prompted some government officials to warn of a taxpayer revolt. There haven't been many signs of revolt, but prudent officials will see that meaningful tax reform cannot be postponed much longer.

President Nixon has promised reform, and yesterday he sent Congress a message containing a proposal for reforms over the next three years.

Details of the President's plan have yet to be presented and studied. But it is hoped that both Congress and the White House recognize that the great body of average taxpayers will not be satisfied with measures that give only the appearance of reform—while leaving present tax advantages practically unchanged.

The average taxpayer will expect real reform—and the only way he will know he has obtained it is by looking at his weekly pay check.

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 20, 1969]
IT'S ALL LEGAL: HIGH INCOMES, LITTLE OR NO TAX BURDEN

(By Richard Halloran)

Case One, Case Seven, Case Ten, and Case Eleven in a Treasury Department study have one thing in common—very high income and little or no tax burden. It's all legal and their names, as they say on television, have been withheld to protect the innocent.

This may be just as well because cases such as these are among the prime reasons for what outgoing Treasury Secretary Joseph Barr called the "taxpayers revolt" last January. Today it is reverberating through the halls of Congress and the offices of the Nixon Administration. Sen. Fred Harris (D-Okla.) has already introduced three bills to give specific relief. House Ways and Means Chairman Wilbur Mills (D-Ark.) is working on a tax reform package, and President Nixon is scheduled to make known his tax revision proposals this week.

The cases cited in the Treasury report are apparently among those whom AFL-CIO President George Meany calls "The Loophole Set."

Case One was unemployed and showed no income from wages. But he had a gross income of more than \$10.8-million, mostly from dividends. He didn't pay a cent in taxes because he claimed, quite legally, more deductions—\$10.9 million—than he had in income.

Most of his deductions came from contributions to charity. Case One evidently had some property, such as paintings or securities or maybe rare books, that he had bought

some time ago, probably when they didn't cost much. Over the years, they appreciated in value.

Case One could have had an art or book dealer set market value on them and any broker could tell him the market value of the securities. Case One figured out how much he would have to give away to accumulate a deduction about equal to his income and then did—the paintings and the books to a museum and library, the securities to his favorite college.

Case One listed a total of \$20.5-million in contributions on his income tax form. He also had \$7,073 in interest costs and a total of \$289,036 in other deductions. He did pay some local, state, and sales taxes, \$147,831 worth, which he also deducted from his federal income tax.

Case Seven was a little different. He had a job that paid \$20,000 a year and dividends of \$76,368. But the bigger part of his nearly \$1.3-million income came from \$1.2-million in capital gains. On this, Case Seven paid a total federal tax of \$383.

Case Seven gave away only \$463 in contributions, took \$2,500 in medical deductions, and another \$362 in other deductions. He paid \$85,401 in local and state taxes.

Case Seven, however, did some sharp financial manipulating. He borrowed money to buy the securities on which he got his capital gains and paid \$587,693 in interest. He then elected the option that allows him to pay taxes on only half of his capital gains, the other half being taxable income. But he was allowed to deduct the interest cost from the taxable half, coming out with a taxable income of \$2386 and a tax bill of \$383.

Case Ten took still another route, the real estate deduction. He had an income of more than \$1.4 million, including \$1.1 million in capital gains, \$23,000 in interest, \$221,000 in dividends, and a salary of \$39,000. On all this, he paid no federal tax.

Almost half of Case Ten's income was untaxable capital gains. He wiped out the other half by taking \$864,000 deductions in excess of real estate income, largely by depreciation. For good measure, he gave \$33,000 to charity, paid \$5500 in local and state taxes, and had a \$1200 medical deduction.

GENTLEMAN FARMER

Case Eleven was a gentleman farmer. He drew no salary but received \$30,349 from a business partnership, \$16,279 from dividends, \$193,192 in interest, and \$498,365 in capital gains. His total was \$738,203—and he paid no Federal tax.

After adjustments and amendments permitted under the tax laws, Case Eleven had an amended gross income of \$288,119. He knocked this into oblivion by claiming a farm loss of \$450,000. He declared only \$3162 into contributions to charity, no medical or interest or other deductions. He didn't pay state or local taxes, either.

The Treasury study suggests five major proposals to close some of these loopholes and make the application of tax rates more equitable.

MINIMUM TAX

One would be to adopt a minimum tax that would allow the now non-taxpayer to exempt only half of his total income from taxation. This would cover about 40,000 people.

A second would require people to allocate their deductions between income from taxable and non-taxable sources. This would affect about 400,000 taxpayers.

The third would remove the unlimited charitable deduction over a ten-year period, affecting only about 1000 people.

The fourth would be a maximum tax, under which high income taxpayers would pay more than half of his income in federal tax. This would affect 12,000 high-income people who pay high rates of tax.

Lastly, appreciated property would be taxed on the death of the owner.

A TRIBUTE TO NORMAN BLUMBERG

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, it was recently my privilege to attend the dedication ceremonies of the Norman Blumberg housing project.

The project will provide low-cost housing for hundreds of families in an area of my city of Philadelphia slowly submerged by decades of neglect and blight.

It is a fitting tribute to Norman Blumberg who, before his death, served ably and well as president of the Philadelphia Council of AFL-CIO.

Norman Blumberg represented the best of the American trade union movement. Ever mindful of the needs and demands of his fellow trade unionists, he never forgot his mandate to humanity—organized or not.

His concern for the poor, the homeless, the disadvantaged epitomized the spirit which has led the American labor movement into the vanguard in the fight for social justice and social welfare in our Nation.

I submit for the RECORD an address by S. Frank Raftery, general president of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America at the dedication of the Norman Blumberg housing project in Philadelphia, March 30:

It is most appropriate that we, the friends of Norman Blumberg, take time out from our busy affairs to gather here today at the dedication of this magnificent structure to pay tribute to his great contribution to our society. Norman Blumberg was possessed of a concerned social conscience, a brilliant mind and tireless energy. These great qualifications led him to successfully challenge many of the issues of his day and to champion many worthy causes. One of his principal concerns was that every family be provided with a decent home in which to live, in a good neighborhood, and to this purpose he dedicated much of his life and effort.

His concern for social and economic justice was evident as early as 1913 when he joined, and became immediately active in, Painters Local Union 703 here in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. His interest in his organization, and his eagerness to serve his fellow workers, soon brought about his election for the office of Recording Secretary of the union. By 1917 he had been elected to serve as a representative of his Local Union to Painters District Council 21—also here in Philadelphia—and for the ensuing decade, he applied himself diligently and effectively to the work of that Council. As a result, in 1927 he was elected its Secretary and Treasurer.

Norman Blumberg's interest in the construction industry was not limited to painting and decorating. He recognized that the mutuality of interest which existed between the various building trades required that they work closely together and that an instrument for coordination of their efforts must be established. Accordingly, during the early 1930's, he—along with our late good friend Jim McDevitt—attempted to form an area building trades council. In 1933, they were successful in setting up a Trowel Trades Council—and then in 1936—with the assistance of our late good friend Bill Blair and John Hauck, presently Secretary-Treasurer of the Operative Plasterers and Cement Masons International Association—they

established the Philadelphia Building and Construction Trades Council. Norman Blumberg was selected as the first Secretary-Treasurer of the newly formed Council and served in that capacity for 21 years.

Norman Blumberg's accomplishments and his great talent for leadership attracted widespread attention throughout the City of Philadelphia—and the State of Pennsylvania—and he became a Vice President of the Philadelphia Central Labor Union, and of the State AFL-CIO organization. In 1957 he was elected Business Manager of the Philadelphia Central Labor Union, and when the two city central bodies merged—following the merger of the AFL-CIO in 1955—he became President of the merged Philadelphia AFL-CIO Council.

Norman was also active in the affairs of our International Union—serving as a delegate and member of important committees at our General Conventions and as the Brotherhood's Delegate to the Building and Construction Trades Department Conventions for many years.

During the Second World War, he served as a member of the President's Manpower Agency.—He was a member of the Board of Directors of the AFL Medical Service Plan from its inception in the Clinic at St. Luke's Hospital and later at the Medical Center on Vine Street.—He was a charter member of the AFL-CIO Hospital.—Norman Blumberg was also active in many other civic and social welfare movements including the United Fund, the Allied Jewish Appeal and the Annual Fellowship Commission Campaign which he served in the capacity of Co-Chairman.—He was a member of the Mayor's Anti-Poverty Committee—the Bureau of Vocational and Technical Education—the Board of Education—the Crime Commission—Manpower Development Training Committee, and a number of other committees relating to education and employment of youth. Of equal importance, he was an active and dedicated member of the Philadelphia Housing Authority.

Since the earliest days of man's advent upon this planet, the family has been the basic unit of our civilization, and the home has been the center in which this basic social unit is formed—nurtured—and developed. It follows, therefore, that if the social structure of our nation—and our world—is to remain healthy,—and if our civilization is to continue to advance and society to progress,—we must provide a good home in a good neighborhood for every family. This has been recognized by all wise leaders of nations from the tribal chieftains of the early centuries who established their homes in caves and tents to the heads of our great modern-day Republics.

In the early years of our nation—before the creation of our present huge urban communities,—private enterprise and private finances were equal to the task of housing our nation's families. However, as the population expanded and the huge cities came into being, it became more and more apparent that the private sector of the economy could not meet the housing demand. Although Congress has held hearings on slums and blight as early as the 1890's, no substantial federal efforts were taken to influence the production and financing of housing until the 1930's. The collapse of mortgage credit and other current systems of home finances and the need to generate jobs in the early 30's forced action by President Herbert Hoover, but the Home Loan Bank System he proposed proved mostly ineffective. The Home Owners Loan Corporation—established by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1933—was the first really effective measure adopted to attack the nation's serious housing problem. At its peak, the H.O.L.C. held 15% of the mortgage debt of the entire country,—yet at its end—some years after World War II—it had fully re-

paid the treasury and its books showed a small profit.

The second major effort was the highly successful system of mortgage insurance—established under the National Housing Act of 1934—which created a Federal Housing Administration. Prior to H.O.L.C. and F.H.A., mortgages had short terms with large payments, and rarely covered more than 50% of the value of the structure. Mortgage insurance enabled lenders to lengthen the term of mortgages, make them fully amortized, increase the loan-to-value ratio and lower down payments. Thus the possibility of home ownership was brought within the range of millions of additional American families.

Although these measures helped, it became clear by 1937 that a change in technique was politically imperative, and the first real public housing program was launched with the passage of the Housing Act of 1937. This Act provided for the development, ownership and management of housing projects by local government bodies with rents significantly lowered by combination of federal and local subsidies. This program was the beginning of public housing for low income families.

World War II brought a disruptive influence on the development of housing due to shortages of manpower and material which had to be diverted to the war effort. At the war's end, housing leaped to one million units in 1946, and to almost two million units in 1950, as the attempt was made to catch up with the backlog that had developed during the war years.

The Housing Act of 1949 for the first time declared a national policy of "a decent home and suitable living environment for every American family", and provided that governmental assistance would be utilized to enable private enterprise to serve more of the housing need. This Act,—for the first time—established a slum clearance and urban development program.

During the 1950's, public housing received another setback as a re-adjustment of priorities took place as the result of the Korean conflict. The 1954 Act modified urban renewal to enable production of housing at reduced costs. More liberal mortgage insurance terms and provisions for a land cost write-down were added to attract the private sector into building middle-income housing in urban renewal areas.

The Housing Act of 1959 contained the first authorization for direct loans from the federal government to non-profit private sponsors of rental projects for the elderly and handicapped. The 1965 Act created two new subsidy techniques: Rent supplements which attempted to adjust housing subsidies to the needs of individual families; and the leasing program which enabled local public housing authorities to subsidize rents in existing rental units. 1965 also saw the creation of the cabinet level Departments of Housing and Urban Development.

Organized labor, including our Brotherhood, was among the first to recognize that the nation's government would have to assume responsibility for housing its people and to sponsor and support legislation for public housing. Why this concern by labor? Because men like Norman Blumberg—and other leaders of labor—knew that the home is where the character, stamina and spiritual strength of the nation are forged. People cannot and do not realize their full potential when they are forced to live in slums. The hopeless despair of the blighted neighborhood does not build sound citizenship. Public investment in better housing and better communities is the most strategic investment that can be made in the strength and health of the nation.

This is why the development of such facilities as the Norman Blumberg Housing Project is of such great importance to the nation

and the community. We commend the sponsors of this project and sincerely hope that their successful program will stimulate others to emulate their example. Our present housing shortage is acute. Our future needs will be even greater as our population explodes by another 150 million, as it is expected to do, by the Year 2000. Many hundreds of projects like this will have to be built to accommodate this addition to the nation's population.

Unfortunately, some in our nation have lost sight of the basic need to assure the natural formation and development of the family unit in each new generation—the need to provide homes in which the family unit can successfully grow and progress.

Not so with Norman Blumberg—the man we honor here today. He knew and understood this need. This is why he was so happy to be involved in the construction industry which builds these homes. This is why he worked so hard in his various capacities in the trade union movement, with the housing authority and with the many civic and social welfare organizations with which he was associated.

Not so with the Painters' District Council No. 21—the Building and Construction Trades Council—the Philadelphia Council of the AFL-CIO—the Philadelphia Housing Authority, and the John F. Kennedy Memorial Hospital, who, in recognition of Norman Blumberg's life-long service, have sponsored this dedication.

I am happy to have the opportunity to participate in the dedication of the Norman Blumberg Housing Project. May it serve to remind us throughout the years of the outstanding service given to his community and to his fellow man by the man whose name it bears—Norman Blumberg.

COMMUNIST ATROCITY—POLITICAL ACTION BY MURDER

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, despite mutterings of the ultra left that communism is mellowing, Communist atrocities against the innocent in 1969 continue just as in 1917 when the Bolsheviks murdered to gain control in Russia.

While U.S. leftists shout and proclaim a gospel of dissent against all throughout our land, their counterpart, the Communist Vietcong, slaughter thousands of innocent men, women, and children in South Vietnam; if for no other reason than the victims reject communism and are not under party control.

Yet, loudmouths in the United States continually spout their false propaganda, which is repeated by "cooperative and sympathetic" pinkos in the communications field and passed on to the American public for mental conditioning to accept the promises of winds of change.

The fact that Communist atrocities are not covered by the same media with similar exposure for the same American public is unquestioned.

Brutal acts of slaughter reminiscent of the 1917 Communist revolution continue yet there is no indignant outcry from so-called antiwar protesters, moralists, pacifists, and their sympathetic

cronies in the news profession. Do they apply the commandment "Thou shall not kill" only to those of the Western Hemisphere?

Communists have not changed. They follow their original plan to murder all recognized leaders and all potential leaders in any given community in South Vietnam—just as they have done in Russia, China, and Korea in years past. Murder through infiltration is still murder.

The Reds liquidation for conquest is quite evident—should elections be eventually held the only leaders available for political action will be Communist members, agents, and puppets.

Mr. Speaker, the victims of Communist atrocity should haunt every free man. I insert an eyewitness account of the Hue massacres taken from Chicago's American, and an editorial from the Baton Rouge Advocate follow my remarks.

The material follows:

[From the Chicago American, Apr. 12, 1969]
LUCK AND SURVIVAL IN VIETNAM: HIS LIFE HUNG ON A CORD AND DEATH SQUAD LOST 1
(By Robert Ohman)

HUE, SOUTH VIETNAM.—A Viet Cong death squad was digging his grave when hamlet official Phan Duy escaped execution in the sand dune massacres of Hue.

Few were so lucky. Grave diggers sifting thru three mass graves east of the old imperial capital have found the bodies of more than 500 men, women, and children, clubbed and shot to death by the enemy during the 1968 Tet offensive.

Duy, a key official of An Ha hamlet 7 miles east of Hue, knew his name was on the Viet Cong's execution list. When North Vietnamese and Viet Cong guerrillas seized Hue in February, 1968, he moved away from the hamlet into a small house on the outskirts of Hue, hoping to escape detection in the larger mass of townspeople.

He made it thru one month of enemy occupation, but when United States and South Vietnamese troops recaptured Hue, the enemy pulled back thru the area where he was hiding.

On Feb. 28 five Viet Cong entered Duy's house.

"They said nothing," he said softly thru a translator. "They knew where I was and my duties."

After binding his hands with cord, they asked him to name other people who worked for the government. Duy told them he lived alone and didn't know anything.

The Viet Cong then marched him 7 miles south to a row of houses near the sand dunes, where 135 bodies of slain civilians and unarmed soldiers were found 2 weeks ago. Duy said he was pushed into a house where four other prisoners were confined.

The five men remained locked in the house for 7 days, walking outside only to go to the toilet. On these walks Duy said he saw more than 100 prisoners being shot in other houses.

"One day I saw many people in one house, and the next day it was empty," he said. "I knew they already had been killed."

On the seventh night, Duy and nine other men, all tied together to a bamboo pole, were told they would be taken elsewhere for "communist study." The guards took their watches and money, promising both would be returned.

But this time the march only lasted 300 yards. The prisoners' hands were untied and they were told to remove all their outer clothing because they were going to have to cross a river.

As Duy was undressing he heard his guards talking to a group of Viet Cong laborers.

"Did you dig the trench yet?" they asked. "No, not yet, there are too many people and not enough time," the laborers replied. Three of the six guards then left to help dig the trench, while the other three retied the hands of Duy and his nine fellow prisoners.

"It was very cold. It was about midnight. The three guards they left behind were boys about 15 and they covered themselves with blankets," Duy said. I worked to free my hands because I knew I would be dead in a few minutes."

Duy said he worked loose of the ropes and leaped forward as one guard fired a burst of about 20 shots.

"I ran about 300 meters and saw a pool," Duy said. "I was so tired I fell into the water and covered myself with reeds."

Soon he saw flickering lights pass by his hiding place as the guards searched for him. About 20 minutes later he heard shots.

"I knew the prisoners I had been with were dead," Duy said.

Hours later Duy emerged from the water and headed toward the lights of the Hue radio tower beacon. He stumbled into the Phu Vang district headquarters and reported what had happened.

"I remember on the second day I was held in prison in that house," he said, "other people from my hamlet told me the Viet Cong had entered my home and killed my mother. When I returned I found her body still in the house. I was her only son."

[From the Baton Rouge (La.) Morning Advocate, Apr. 16, 1969]

THE MASSACRE IN HUE

Evidence of one of the great atrocities in the modern history of warfare has been uncovered by Allied officials exploring the rice fields and sand dunes near the South Vietnamese city of Hue, a center of action during the Tet offensive of 14 months ago. In mass graves they are finding the bodies of hundreds of civilians, slaughtered by the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese after being forced to dig their own graves. Details of these massacres, now being brought to light, are reminiscent of accounts of the Nazi extermination camps.

The victims were public officials and private citizens, young and old, men and women, whose offense was that of being anti-Communist and of having fought or being suspected of having fought to defend their city against the communist attackers.

This monstrous crime has been fully reported by the press, with evidence so complete and circumstantial that its nature cannot be doubted or even questioned. Yet, it has received singularly little attention in some quarters.

It goes unnoticed and unmentioned by the student kooks and the hippie-yippies who rage against American assistance to the South Vietnamese and libel their country with allegations of vast savageries that no one else seems to know anything about.

The Hue massacre goes unnoticed by the political and social theorists who see the war in Vietnam as a "colonial war" waged by this country and suggest that there has been no attack by Viet Cong terrorists and North Vietnamese invaders on the people of South Vietnam.

It goes unnoticed by those woolly-minded critics who compare Ho Chi Minh with George Washington and the Viet Cong with the American patriots of the Revolutionary War. If any mass graves of slaughtered Tories and loyalists ever were found outside Philadelphia or Boston or New York, history has been extraordinarily silent on the fact.

Intellectual dishonesty can be one of the greatest of crimes.