EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

MAJ. GARY EVAN TODD, U.S. MARINE CORPS

HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, it is with great humility that I learn of the courageous acts of so many of our military men serving in Vietnam. They are a tribute to this great country and to their families.

In my own "office family," the cousin of my secretary, Miss Bonnie Bridgers, has been singled out for his heroism in combat. Major—then captain—Gary Evan Todd, U.S. Marine Corps, of San Antonio, Tex., a career Marine officer, has been presented the Bronze Star Medal, one of this Nation's highest decorations, and he has received a citation from Admiral Hyland, commander in chief of the U.S. Pacific Fleet, for the outstanding manner in which he conducted himself while in Vietnam. Major Todd has completed a tour of duty in Vietnam and is now stationed in Quantico, Va.

I am sure that my colleagues in this House join with me in saluting Major Todd, "one of the Nation's finest," and in sharing in the pride of his accomplishments with his wife, Carol, and his sons, Michael and Jeffrey.

With your permission, Mr. Speaker, the commendations awarded to this brave Marine follow:

The President of the United States takes pleasure in presenting the Bronze Star Medal to Captain Gary E. Todd, United States Marine Corps, for service as set forth in the following citation:

"For meritorious service in connection with operations against the enemy in the Republic of Vietnam while serving in various capacities with the Third Battalion, Ninth Marines, Third Marine Division from 26 April to 9 September 1968. During this period, Captain Todd performed his demanding duties in an exemplary and highly professional manner. Initially serving as Assistant Operations Officer, he exhibited exceptional resourcefulness and tactical skill in planning and coordinating combat operations conducted throughout the division's Tactical Area of Responsibility. Reassigned as the Commanding Officer of an infantry company Captain Todd distinguished himself by his aggressive leadership while participtaing in numerous major operations, including Operations Kentucky, Charlie and Lancaster II. When his company was assigned the task of seizing a well defended North Vietnamese Army position on 21 July, he demonstrated bold initiative and tactical skill as he effectively combined supporting arms fire with his unit's attack, overrunning the enemy stronghold and killing forty-five hostile soldiers while sustaining a minimum number of friendly casualties. As a result of his dynamic leadership, he earned the respect and admiration of all who served with him and contributed significantly to the accomplishment of his unit's mission. Captain Todd's resourcefulness, superb professionalism and unfaltering devotion to duty throughout were in keeping with the highest traditions of the Marine Corps and of the United States Naval Service."

Captain Todd is authorized to wear the Combat "V".

H. W. BUSE, Jr.,
Lieutenant General, U.S. Marine Corps, Commanding General, Fleet Marine Force, Pacific.
(For the President).

The President of the United States takes pleasure in presenting the Navy and Marine Corps Medal to Captain Gary E. Todd, United States Marine Corps, for service as set forth in the following citation:

"For heroism while serving as Commanding Officer of Company I, third Battalion, Ninth Marines, Third Marine Division in the Republic of Vietnam. On 19 June 1968, a CH-46 transport helicopter crash-landed at the Khe Sanh Combat Base, trapping the pilot and copilot and spewing fuel over the wreckage. Disregarding the possibility of the fuel igniting at any moment, Captain Todd unhesitatingly rushed to the scene of the accident and expeditiously directed the removal of the two injured men from the damaged helicopter. His heroic and timely actions were instrumental in saving the lives of two Marine aviators. Captain Todd's courage, bold initiative and devotion to duty were in keeping with the highest traditions of the United States Naval Service."

JOHN J. HYLAND,
Admiral, U.S. Navy, Commander in Chief, U.S. Pacific Fleet.
(For the President).

FIGHTING HUNGER THROUGH PRIVATE EFFORT, THE STORY OF FAMINE FIGHTERS, INC.

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, we are indeed facing a time of famine. Not only are there hungry stomachs in the world, facing actual starvation or the terrible side effects of malnutrition, but there are people whose minds are starved for learning, and who are turned away from our colleges and universities because of a lack of facilities.

The pressure on our ability in the United States to educate our people will increase, not diminish. In the 1970's the demand for funds to expand our teaching facilities is expected to be multiplied by a factor of 2 or 3. These funds might of course come from the Federal Government. But there are an increasing number of people who believe that private education ought not to be compromised by the receipt of Federal funds, and that insofar as possible the requirements for new facilities should be met by private sources of funds.

To that end, I am joining my limited efforts with some capable colleagues who are exploring whether there can be developed modifications in existing financial institutions to accommodate these needs. One of the financial institutions we are investigating is the mutual fund. Most of you know that the mutual fund is one of the fastest growing investment mediums ever known in this country, probably because it offers the investor both the protection of diversity, and because it brings competent investment counsel to his doorstep.

I am now serving with a volunteer board who serve without compensation in the development of a mutual fund called Vantage Ten Ninety Fund, so named because from 10 to 15 percent of the investments must be made in the field of agribusiness industries, and these private companies must be located in the less developed countries. Agribusiness is a broad term, used to denote companies manufacturing fertilizer, farm machinery, irrigation equipment, as well as producing food, developing land, and rationalizing the facilities for storage and marketing.

This board of directors of Vantage includes Rowland Burnstan, former president of Borg Warner International; Congressman RICHARD T. HANNA, a member of the House International Finance Subcommittee; Congressman F. BRADFORD MORSE, a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee; Edward N. Gadsby, former chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission; Carrol M. Shanks, former president of Prudential Insurance Co.; John L. Schroeder, president of Templeton, Dobbrow & Vance; Eugene Williams, former chairman of the St. Louis County National Bank; Francis Shurling, president of Shurling & Co., Macon, Ga.; Arthur Lane, with Haight & Co., Washington stockbrokers.

This mutual fund will invest the remainder of the investors funds, from 85 to 90 percent, in a diversified portfolio of marketable securities hoping to achieve capital growth. Although an investment not without risk, it is designed to afford the investor with an opportunity to fight the war on hunger through private enterprise with a part of his investment dollar.

The thought that we can design an investment medium with both social and investment motives side by side is particularly attractive in the present situation in today's America. The riots, the demonstrations, the marches, the hippies, as well as, on the other side, the avalanche of applications to the Peace Corps and the VISTA program, indicate that change is in the making. Tomorrow's world is being shaped today. The winds of change are blowing hot and strong.

We have also designed, and are at the point of implementing, plans for a mutual fund that will loan 20 percent of its assets to private schools and colleges, so that they will be able to expand their dormitories, classrooms, labs, and other facilities. The balance of this mutual fund too, as in Vantage Ten Ninety, will be in a diversified portfolio of marketable securities hoping to achieve capital growth.

Under the skin of the average American is still the copper of the pioneer, still the latent desire for adventure and discovery. Mutual funds such as we are implementing will give back some of the

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tools with which we can recapture a sense of discovery and recreation. Much needs to be done in America—important strides must be taken in many different fields—in order to pass on to our children the quality of life that we feel is their birthright.

And these strides, even though not physically taming the wilderness, and not opening up new land for civilization, will have the effect of opening up civilization to new dimensions of living. We can have the effect of improving the quality of life in America and at the same time retain the essential element of private initiative which has been its hallmark.

This family of mutual funds which we are designing, which are composed of a fund placing 10 to 15 percent in agribusiness in the developing countries, a fund loaning 20 percent to private schools and colleges, a fund investing 20 percent in industries that have an impact on the need to revitalize our inner cities, and two funds loaning 20 percent each to either Christian or Jewish higher education and vocational development, can have an important impact on the capital flows in America. They can redirect some of the profitseeking investment moneys, especially moneys that are now in the hands of small investors, and institutional investors such as foundations, into more socially desirable areas.

And they can do so within a framework that is entirely consistent with our emphasis in the United States on the private way.

In addition to the mutual funds, we have organized a stockbroking company not operating for profit called Famine Fighters which will employ commission young, midcareer, and retired men and women, help them to obtain their license to offer mutual funds and other investments, and then ask them in their spare time or full time to present these opportunities to the American investing public.

Any earnings made through the sale of these investments will be returned to the social concern through which the sale developed by helping to fund action projects that have high potential for service.

America still has the vitality and the drive to do for itself—to raise itself by its own bootstraps. Back in the days of the settlers, if a man suffered misfortune, his setbacks were shared by the rest of the townspeople. We still retain this concern. In many of us this concern is honed by our efforts to trod in the footsteps of our Lord and our God.

Private initiative is precious. It is a flame that no amount of oppression and subjugation can quench. Yet we need people of energy and vision to show us how best to channel our initiative so that it is productive of good. We need to take it out from under the bushel so that people may see it—so that it may give light to their feet—so that it may burn ever brighter as other candles are lit from its flame.

At least one State supreme court has recently ruled that "modern conditions require that corporations acknowledge and discharge social as well as private responsibilities in the communities in which they operate." Many States require the inclusion of public purposes in the articles of incorporation. These should be given real meaning. We have heard much about the military-industrial complex to fight shooting wars and build armaments. It is time in our land to see a business and financial complex to help fight the wars against social enemies—like undernourishment—ignorance and suppressive environment.

This is the battle this new venture in social capitalism seeks to join.

HENRY B. MONTAGUE, PUBLIC SERVANT

HON. TOM STEED

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished public servant for the last 32 years with the Post Office Department, Mr. Henry B. Montague, has retired as Chief Postal Inspector.

He served in this position for 8 years and attained a remarkable record in combating crime during a period marked by mounting attempts to interfere criminally with the postal service. His innovations and leadership helped to adjust to meet changing conditions.

On the basis of years of observation of his work in my duties as chairman of the Post Office Appropriations Subcommittee, I can pay tribute to him as an outstanding and dedicated public servant.

The Washington Evening Star, in a recent article, summarized some of his achievements as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Mar. 11, 1969]

TOP BATTLER OF POSTAL CRIME RETIRING, LEAVES SKILLED CORPS

Chief Postal Inspector Henry B. Montague, who has fought record postal crime with record arrests and convictions of postal law violators, is retiring as the Post Office Department's top law enforcement officer.

Although his retirement actually became effective February 28, he is staying on the job to assist in the transition of the law enforcement responsibility to the new administration.

The 57-year-old chief took office at the start of the Kennedy administration. During his years in the top spot, he has seen post office burglaries and holdups reach an all-time high, mail fraud drain a conservatively estimated $500 million a year from the public, organized crime got deeply involved in credit card frauds and merchandise swindles, and apartment letter boxes being rifled by the tens of thousands—usually to get at checks arriving on a predictable schedule.

To cope with a postal crime rise which clearly reflects the spiraling nationwide crime rate, Montague developed a corps of specialists and adapted automatic data processing to show him where his specialists were needed most.

QUICK TAB ON OPEN CASES

In mail fraud, for example, his data processing equipment gave him a print-out at month's end showing how many cases were open in each area of mail fraud—how many new medical frauds, chain referral schemes, land frauds, debt consolidation, home improvement rackets, and other schemes affecting young married couples and fixed-income older people. As each new scheme surfaced, Montague deployed the specialists to meet it.

He increased the number of men assigned to mail fraud because he was particularly aware of the social effects of gimmick selling and pie-in-the-sky schemes on ghetto residents. He represented the Post Office Department on the President's Consumer Commission.

To deal with steadily climbing armed robberies of post offices and postal trucks, Montague provided better firearms, more radio equipment and the first radio cars in the Postal Inspection Service. Currently, post office holdups are running at the highest rate in U.S. history.

Postal inspectors now have base radio stations in most big cities, which direct the radio cars not only in postal robberies and burglaries but also in dealing with one of the commonest of postal crimes—letter box thefts in big cities.

FAST ACTION REQUIRED

To get the thieves, inspectors have to move fast and they're on the street ready to move in response to radio calls. Postal inspectors' investigations of mail box thefts resulted in 6,104 arrests last year.

Montague has emphasized more training all along the lines—more firearms training, more training in specialized areas, even university-administered correspondence courses.

The training paid off with the arrest of 14,339 individuals on postal violations last year, an all-time high. The 11,474 convictions last year also were a record.

A veteran of 32 years with the Post Office Department, more than 26 of them as a postal inspector, Montague last December was awarded the highest career honor the Post Office Department can give—the Distinguished Service Award.

Postmaster General Winton M. Blount yesterday hailed Montague as representing the "finest product of the postal career service tradition of advancement of dedicated careerists through the ranks."

THE NEED FOR TAX REFORM

HON. DONALD G. BROTZMAN

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, on Monday President Nixon laid before Congress a group of proposals about which he said:

This Administration, working with Congress, is determined to bring equity to the Federal tax system. Our goal is to take important first steps in tax reform legislation during this session of the Congress.

I would agree with President Nixon that reform of the present income tax system is long overdue. To that end, today I am introducing three bills which I believe should be incorporated into the overall tax reform legislation which the Ways and Means Committee currently is considering.

My first bill would go to the heart of the problem and increase the personal exemption from $600 to $1,000. The increase would also apply to a spouse and dependents with comparable increases for the aged and the blind. This bill would give the American people a more realistic deduction for their true cost of living.

My second bill would recognize the dilemma of parents and their college age children who today are confronted with the necessity of a college education to properly prepare for many career fields, and at the same time college costs are skyrocketing.

This bill would provide any taxpayer a credit against his Federal tax of up to $550 a year for himself or another individual he may send to college. It would provide relief for both moderate- and low-income families, while at the same time providing a broadened financial base for all of our institutions of higher learning.

My third bill would provide a statutory basis for allowing teachers and educators to deduct from their gross annual income educational expenses incurred in pursuing courses required by a teacher's employer, or courses related to the improvement of the teaching or administrative skills of the teacher.

It is important that our teachers and educators be encouraged not only to remain in their field, but to improve their knowledge through additional advance education. The bill I am introducing today will provide part of that encouragement.

Mr. Speaker, I applaud the initiative of the President in calling for broad tax reforms in this session of Congress. I urge my colleagues to join me in enactment of the three bills I am introducing which will take the first steps in that direction.

FAILURE OF MANY COLLEGE STUDENTS TO UNDERSTAND DEMOCRACY

HON. NICK GALIFIANAKIS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. GALIFIANAKIS. Mr. Speaker, I should like to read the text of a letter I recently received from a college student and also my reply to him. While I do not make a practice of revealing the content of my correspondence, I do so today for a very special reason.

I wish to share these letters with my colleagues, Mr. Speaker, because I am very much afraid that this young man's views are those of many of his peers. I have been becoming increasingly concerned that many of today's generation of college students do not comprehend the nature, purpose, or function of a free democratic society. If this young man's attitudes are indicative of his generation, then there is reason for genuine concern, if not alarm.

What can democracy in America expect at the hands of a generation that does not understand what it is or how it works? Mr. Speaker, it is time that we set about to clearly identify the source of the lack of understanding by our college-age generation. We cannot solve the problem, much less save the democracy for future generations, unless we take this vital step first.

Hon. Representative NICK GALIFIANAKIS,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I am certain that you have examined very carefully the use of violence within the movement for civil rights. The question of the use of violence and its ensuing efforts are the subjects of research that I am doing. . . . My investigations thus far are leading me to the belief that violence, despite all the damage that stem from its use, has had a constructive role in the progress of civil rights.

It has appeared to me that violence has called attention very effectively to the nature of the injustices and the urgency to initiate powerful remedial action. Of course, the violence cannot be condoned nor permitted to continue and steps must be and are being taken to discourage violence. But the fact that violence was used calls attention to the problems that precipitated its use, and legislators realize that somehow these problems must be met. This, at least, is the impression that I have received.

But, speaking as a Congressman, what has been your reaction to the use of violence? Specifically, what have been the constructive results of the use of violence and how could these results be achieved in the future without the use of violence? It seems that the radicals perpetrating the violence feel that it does aid the progress of civil rights to some extent at least. Do you see that violence has resulted in any real progress over the long run? What can be done to discourage the use of violence? For instance, far-reaching legislation has been passed in the recent years and the threat of violence has subsided. Will a responsive Congress make the use of violence less likely if it continues seeking amelioration of present conditions?

My reply follows:

This is in response to your letter on the subject of the use of violence in the civil rights movement.

I am somewhat confused by your juxtaposition of statements that violence "has had a constructive role" with "Of course, the violence cannot be condoned nor permitted to continue. . . ." These seem to me to be quite inconsistent and irreconcilable.

However, I can answer directly the question you asked: Do I believe that violence has produced any progress in civil rights? I feel quite to the contrary, that every instance of violence has *retarded* rather than furthered the cause of civil rights. Unfortunately, violence has frequently obscured totally the meritorious aspects of civil rights causes and has only more deeply divided the community, state, and nation.

In a free democratic society the resort to violence has a detrimental effect. It can only lead to further unnecessary division of the people. It is a symptom of social failure and is itself an additional failure of the society in which it occurs. Whenever violence results in anything that can possibly be termed "constructive", you may be assured that it occurred in a society which is not free. The destruction of a democratic society, *not* the solution of its problems, will be the only legacy of violence.

The threat of violence is seldom, if ever, eliminated by laws alone. The real answer is in the application of enlightened, consistent, good-faith leadership, at the *local* level, on *both* sides of the issue. The solution to civil rights and other social problems is rooted in human understanding, not in laws as such, and certainly not in human violence.

I do not wish to appear to be preaching to you, but I am still haunted by your opening paragraph. If you feel that violence plays a constructive role in settling human problems you are saying, in effeqt, that mankind is forever his own worst enemy and cannot live in peace in a free society. I do not ascribe to that philosophy and hope that most of the free world does not either.

Mr. Speaker, I should be very happy to have any of my colleagues who wish to do so share with me their thoughts and comments on this disturbing problem.

THE SPACE PROGRAM

HON. GEORGE E. SHIPLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. SHIPLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the account of a speech given by General Electric Vice President Mark Morton before the Greater Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce on April 8. I feel that Mr. Morton's remarks are very pertinent at this time, and will be of interest to my colleagues interested in the space program.

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Evening Bulletin, Apr. 9, 1969]

America must not sacrifice its space program and technological advances for the sake of social reform, General Electric Vice President Mark Morton said here yesterday.

Morton, who is also general manager of GE's Missile and Space Division, spoke at a luncheon meeting of the Greater Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce at the Sheraton Hotel.

"History has taught us," he said, "that the nations that paced the world remained at the top only so long as they had the vision to develop their contemporary technologies and resources and not abandon them for solely social improvement."

Social improvement, he contended, can only be made through technological advances.

"Yet there are those who say we should first solve all of our immediate social programs to the exclusion of the advancement of technology which they describe as a waste of money," he said.

New ideas and new scientific thought have always been fought by the majority of people regardless of the century, he said. He cited the case of Galileo who said the earth was round and the Wright brothers who said they could fly an airplane.

"The people who oppose these ideas," he said, "seem to feel that if the money involved were spent on them instead, they'd be better off.

"This condition lasts for a very short time. Then their country's money disappeared because its lapsing technology lost trade position or defense posture, and its people end up far worse off than before."

He said he believed "certain elements of the New Left," are among those opposing the development of new ideas and techniques because they know it is one way to sap a nation's strength.

If America gives in to the temptation to slack off on scientific research and development, we will no longer be the most powerful nation with the highest standard of living. Instead, he said:

"We will live by whatever generosity and by whatever grace may be allowed us by the nation who, by its vigorous program of science and technological advancement, takes our position."

Besides Apollo and the moon missions, the space program has provided the nation with equally important but less "glamorous" advances in communications, transportation, education, medicine and many other areas, Morton said.

He cited the case of small precision valves developed for booster rockets now being used to replace damaged heart valves.

GE's Missile and Space Division, he said, helped last year in setting up Progress Aerospace Enterprises, a black-owned, black-managed Philadelphia firm.

In the past, he noted, technological advances came in the wake of war.

"Now, in the space program, we have a national objective, other than war, about which we can wrap our advance of technology," he told some 300 persons attending the luncheon.

BOBBY TRUJILLO: WHAT THE U.S. FLAG MEANS TO ME

HON. JERRY L. PETTIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. PETTIS. Mr. Speaker, a 10-year-old constitutent of mine, Bobby Trujillo of East Highlands, Calif., recently wrote in an essay for his class at Cram Elementary School what the flag of the United States means to him. I am proud to share his thoughts with my colleagues, who I am sure will feel the same thrill of encouragement as I did by his stirring words. The essay follows:

BOBBY TRUJILLO: WHAT THE U.S. FLAG MEANS TO ME

"The meaning of our flag is everything to the United States and everybody living in it. This is a free country. Everybody wants peace and freedom in the United States. Our flag is a symbol of peace and freedom. Every star and stripe represents something. The stars represent every state in the United States. The red represents courage and bravery and the white represents freedom and justice.

"Our flag is a representative. It represents our country. Our flag belongs to the country. We are free to do almost anything because of the freedom our flag shows. Our flag means freedom and liberty to our country.

"The freedom our flag stands for enables us to watch television, listen to the radio, do anything we want as long as it doesn't bother anybody else. Our flag pictures the justice, freedom and peace of the United States.

"All of these words that I have used to explain the flag, really are our flag. Our flag means all these good things to all of us in the United States.

"When the flag is flying over my country, it means that I can be friends with all of the people in my country. It means play and work with my friends in East Highlands. When the flag is flying over me, it means that I can work and study to be what I want to be. I want to be a police officer and help my country keep the laws in the United States and keep our country free.

"On Flag Day everybody puts up a flag to show that they respect their country and to show that they are American Citizens of the United States. Our flag should be flown every day for these same reasons.

"If I were a flag and I was waving up on a flag pole, I would see a beautiful country and if I were a flag, I would be proud to be the flag of our country.

"Our flag was in the wars just like all of the men and all of the men that were killed in ours just like at Valley Forge.

"The flag is just a piece of cloth to some people and then again it means a lot to some people. It means a lot to me. It means freedom and justice to a lot of people in the United States and me, too."

TANZANIA NATIONAL DAY

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, on April 26, the United Republic of Tanzania celebrates its National Day commemorating the fifth anniversary of the proclamation of the union of Tanganyika with the nearby islands making up Zanzibar. Tanganyika had achieved its independence in 1961 and Zanzibar in 1963.

Since independence and the formation of the Union, the United Republic of Tanzania has made considerable progress in the development of its resources for the good of its widely dispersed inhabitants representing 120 different tribes. Despite limited agriculture and industrial resources, the country has achieved a commendable annual increase of domestic production and has made great efforts to further education and other social services.

Under the dedicated leadership of its President, Julius Nyerere, one of Africa's best known and most thoughtful statesmen, the country has embarked upon a program of nationbuilding and self reliance to strengthen the country's unity and political and economic independence. This program for the future is best set forth in the Arusha Declaration of 1967 which calls for self-sacrifice and hard work on the part of all citizens from the highest officials to the common worker and farmer, equal distribution of the fruits of economic progress, and greater emphasis on agricultural production. Under this program a number of private enterprises in the dominant economic sectors were taken over by the Tanzanian Government. Agreements were reached with most of the former owners regarding satisfactory compensation. In many cases management contracts were also included whereby the former owners have continued to administer these enterprises on behalf of the Government.

A major development since the formation of the United Republic of Tanzania was the establishment in December 1967 of the East African Community in whose creation Tanzania played a notable part. It is fitting that the headquarters of the community should be located at Arusha near the foot of Kilimanjaro in Tanzania. We believe that the community will strengthen the common institutions which Tanzania shares with its East African neighbors of Kenya and Uganda, such as an airline, railroad, ports, postal system, and telecommunications. Mutually beneficial trade within the East Africa common market area should increase. The community organization should lead to a degree of regional cooperation which can help further the rational development of the region as a whole. The community is an example for other areas of Africa.

While stressing the need for self-help and reliance on its own human and economic resources, the Tanzanian Government has consistently sought foreign private capital in designated sectors to participate in the country's economic progress. It has turned to many foreign countries for economic and technical assistance for the establishment of educational institutions, the strengthening of its universities, the improvement of its infrastructure and the establishment of various industries. It has also embarked upon a major program to improve transportation with the neighboring landlocked country of Zambia by construction of a road and pipeline to facilitate export of that country's valuable copper and import to Zambia of petroleum and other needed products. Although our assistance is modest relative to Tanzania's own efforts and to the contributions from other countries, we are pleased that the United States is cooperating in Tanzania's development program. We are confident that our participation will help further that country's economic and social progress and to maintain its true independence.

On the occasion of this auspicious day, we wish the United Republic of Tanzania best wishes in its continued efforts to further peace, progress and social equality, We are confident that mutual understanding and cooperation between our two countries will continue to grow.

LEGISLATION TO AMEND THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today legislation to amend the public assistance provisions of the Social Security Act to require the establishment of nationally uniform minimum standards and eligibility requirements for aid and assistance.

The principal intention of this bill is to equalize the eligibility requirements and allotments for welfare from State to State, so as to discourage the migration of poor families from Southern States with low welfare payments to New York and other Northern and Western States that offer greater dependent children allowances. Underlying this purpose is the rationale that welfare is the result of poverty, that poverty is a national problem, and that some States should not have to bear the burden of the inequitable system that does not recognize this as a national problem.

The effect of the mounting welfare costs and burgeoning rolls is that States and localities must raise their taxes and/or reduce other vital services which they provide their citizens. The New York City welfare commissioner has requested $1.7 billion for welfare next year, an increase of $400 million over this year and the largest single item in the expense budget. Beyond the fact that New York City's welfare rolls have nearly tripled in 6 years, the reason that New York requires so much for welfare is that it pays $61.70 per month on the average for dependent children, as compared to $8.40 in Mississippi. This higher payment causes a vicious circle: more and more poor families from Mississippi come to reap the greater benefits available in New York. Quite simply, New York should not have to pay for the human misery caused by technological unemployment in the South; the Federal Government should take steps to see that this burden is shared equally.

Aid to dependent children will cost New York State a total of $321.1 million in 1969–70, with the localities paying an equal amount, and the Federal Government paying $428 million. The State and local share of all public assistance programs will be over $1 billion while the Federal Government will contribute just over half that amount. Further, these State figures reflect a 5-percent across the board budget cutback and a reduction in vital welfare services that will drastically alter the lives of aid recipients.

This is not to say that the establishment of uniform national standards will relieve the States of their welfare burden. It is my understanding that several proposals have been advanced to require that the Federal Government assume a greater portion of welfare costs. One plan, developed by Richard P. Nathan, now an assistant director of the Bureau of the Budget, would permit the Federal Government to reimburse the States in full for the first $30 in payments to dependent children and 50 percent of the next $40, with a minimum payment of $40 per child. Another suggestion would be to have the Federal Government finance approximately 90 percent of the cost of welfare programs—as compared to the 40 to 50 percent it now pays in New York, for example.

National standards will help, however, to stop the migration that causes millions to come to the large cities, without schooling, jobs or friends, in search of larger welfare checks. The Supreme Court's decision this week outlawing residency requirements for welfare moves us closer to a uniform national welfare policy.

National welfare standards have been advocated by many, both in and out of Government. This legislation, in fact, has already been introduced by a number of other Members. I think that all of us who realize the importance of this concept also realize that it will be incumbent upon the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare—charged with establishing the standards—to set them at levels that are reasonable compared with what States are now paying. In other words, every State should receive some Federal assistance even if its present schedule of payments is above the minimum standard that will be set.

Mr. Speaker, this is but one of several steps that must be taken to reform the welfare system so that it encourages independence and self-sufficiency. Ideally, we need more day care centers and more job training programs so that those who are employable—and their children—can be removed from the welfare rolls. But I urge prompt consideration of this legislation because it is a vitally needed measure for the relief of States and cities which all our tax dollars support.

GRAPE BOYCOTT IN DELANO PERPETUATES A HOAX

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the Extensions of Remarks of the RECORD an article by James J. Kilpatrick entitled "Grape Boycott in Delano Perpetuates a Hoax," which appeared in the Washington, D.C., Evening Star on Tuesday, April 22, 1969. I believe that Mr. Kilpatrick sums up the situation very well. The article follows:

GRAPE BOYCOTT IN DELANO PERPETUATES A HOAX

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

DELANO, CALIF.—The grapevines stand in trellised ranks, green-sleeved, precisely spaced, as disciplined as troops in close-order drill. Their cross-pieces are angled at right shoulder arms; they make of the flat brown earth a crowded battlefield.

It is for possession of this battlefield that California's table-grape growers and an AFL–CIO union are struggling. The conflict long ago stretched beyond the Delano community.

For the past 3½ years, well-meaning liberals across the country—not to mention a number of politicians on the make—have been giving full-hearted support to the "grape boycott" urged by Cesar Chavez and to the supposed "grape strike" behind it. Chavez is director of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL–CIO. When it comes to recruiting union members, Chavez is a flop; his UFWOC has recruited amazingly few. But when it comes to mounting a publicity campaign, the man is an undoubted genius. He turned up recently with a bylined piece in Look extolling his non-violent piety.

His "boycott" bumper stickers blossom on half a million Volkswagens. In dozens of parochial schools, such is the gullibility of the nuns, little children compose insulting letters to grape growers as exercises in English. Hippies, Yippies, priests, professors, political figures, and housewives with time on their hands—all of them are whooping it up for the downtrodden grape pickers of Kern County, Calif.

It is a hoax, a fantasy, a charade, a tissue of half-truths and whole fabrications. Within the past 10 days, since Chavez blundered into his first big public relations error, the union's effort has become something more—a brazen, ugly, and undisguised bid for "closed shop" power over the lives of farm workers everywhere.

To swallow the Chavez line, you must believe that grape workers in the Delano area are miserably paid, wretchedly housed, and cruelly treated. You are urged to help feed "hungry children," the victims of the system that denies men a living wage. "At present rates," says an UFWOC handout, given to me last week, "a farm worker who is fortunate enough to work 40 hours a week, 25 weeks a year, would earn $2,386."

This is moonshine. The reporter who checks payrolls, goes into the fields, talks with workers, visits their homes, inspects the labor camps, and otherwise covers the story, gets an entirely different picture. The going base wage for grape workers is $1.65 an hour. At 40 hours a week, 52 weeks a year, this would produce annual earnings of $3,432. Yet the hypothetical example has no meaning. This is not how grape workers work.

The typical Delano worker—if there is any such being—is a middle-aged Mexican-American, with little formal education and few skills beyond those of grape and vegetable culture. He has a wife and two or three teen-aged children. As a resident alien of 10 years' standing, he must register annually with the Immigration Service. Otherwise, he is free to live his proud, humble, independent life as others do.

Such a worker may have a dozen different employers during the year. He goes where the work is, from one vineyard to another. Thus, there is no such a thing as an ordinary "bargaining unit," for the workers move around freely. George A. Lucas, a middle-sized grower, sent out 3,500 W-2 forms on workers last year.

In summer, the work is hard and hot; at other times, it is picnic-pleasant. Families take their lunches to the fields. Last week, I talked at length with one such family of four. With the base wage, plus incentive supplements, they expected to earn about $325 for the week. At harvest time, this doubles. They drive a 1968 stationwagon. A son is in college.

Out in the fields, the workers speak of the Chavez union with fear and contempt. They tell of threatening telephone calls at night, of repeated acts of vandalism and intimidation. They are fearful that beleaguered growers, anxious to end the nationwide boycott, may yet sell them like so many heads of lettuce to the UFWOC, which thereafter would control when and where they worked.

It is this press-gang power that Cesar Chavez is seeking. He wants his union to become the sole source of agricultural workers, under contracts that would forbid the growers to hire any non-union man. This is what the fight is all about and it is incredible that liberals, professing a love for the little fellow, should be helping him toward his goal.

SECRETARY FINCH'S STATEMENT ON HEADSTART

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Secretary Finch of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare appeared this morning before the Committee on Education and Labor to discuss the Headstart program.

In his statement Secretary Finch has forthrightly and thoughtfully outlined the basis for the delegation from OEO to HEW. I commend his testimony to my colleagues as being sound and the program he has outlined is one which is beneficial to child development programs.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT BY ROBERT H. FINCH, SECRETARY, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, BEFORE EDUCATION AND LABOR COMMITTEE, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, ON TUESDAY, APRIL 24, 1969

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee. I am pleased to have the opportunity to appear before you today in connection with consideration of the Economic Opportunity Act.

Nearly five years ago, an office was established which gave a voice to the poor of this country for the first time. OEO launched programs which were flexible, responsive and innovative. There were trials and there were errors, and we all learned a great deal during those five years.

Let me say at the outset that I feel strongly, as do many of the members of this Committee, that the integrity and strength of the OEO continue to be maintained.

As President Nixon said in his message to Congress of February 19:

"From the experience of OEO, we have learned the value of having in the Federal Government an agency whose special concern is the poor."

He said further that OEO's greatest value had been as an initiating agency, developing new programs and serving as their "incubator" during the experimental beginnings. The significance of the agency as an idea and testing center is greatly lessened if it is called upon to shoulder the burdens of administering and operating national programs after they have passed through their initial phase.

It is in this context that the delegation to HEW of such programs as Head Start is being carried out. I do not believe that OEO can as effectively fulfill its innovative role if it is called upon to shoulder the burdens of administering and operating large, nationally established programs after they have passed through their developmental stages. It is an adage of government that operations drive out innovation, and I think it is critical that this not be allowed to happen to OEO.

Moreover, it is important that these programs be able after a time to draw support from, and have a direct effect upon, the ongoing programs in the traditional Departments and agencies.

It is in this context that these delegation decisions were made—not as an attack on OEO, but in an effort to support its basic mission and the continued growth of those programs which have proved themselves. This, I believe, was the initial dynamic conception of the OEO. Its programs were not to be kept under glass, and forever preserved in their initial agency structure.

I would like now to describe to you in some detail our plans with regard to Head Start and the establishment of a new Office of Child Development.

On two occasions since he took office, on February 19, in his Message to Congress, and again on April 9, the President has made a national commitment to the needs of children in the crucial years, 0 to five years of age. On the latter occasion he drew attention to the fact that we are now discovering that the process of learning, the *need* to learn, begins very early in the life of the infant child. In the case of the infant child of poverty, all too often there are environmental deficiencies which not only are totally negative in meeting his needs, but which also set a dangerous and usually irreversible pattern for the future.

Scientists and researchers in the field of early child development are constantly seeking methods and techniques of compensating for these environmental deficiencies, and daily we learn how much more we need to know. This is why the Head Start program, even though it is a large program, must continue to experiment with new approaches and techniques designed to improve its overall effectiveness. That is an area in which I believe HEW, with its many resources in the human development field, will be able to make a substantial contribution.

In a moment, I will describe to the Committee some of the specific ways in which my Department will seek to strengthen and improve the program. But first I will say that I feel the greatest service we can perform for Head Start children and their families, and the way we can best support the President's commitment is to encourage every innovative feature of the program, and place increased emphasis on its experimental nature.

This it is my intention to do. I shall be requesting larger Head Start programs to set aside a specified proportion of their approved slots for experimental curricula or programs. These will draw upon valuable research being conducted by HEW, and will provide us with a wide range of options and recommendations for future planning.

While the decision was still being made as to precisely where in HEW Head Start should be housed, everyone concerned was acutely sensitive to the need to build upon the program's strengths and to overcome its weaknesses. The decision to entrust the program to a new Office of Child Development was based, in large measure, upon the recommendations of an Advisory Committee, ably chaired by Charles Schultze, former Director of the Bureau of the Budget. This Committee included eminent experts in government organization, child development and community action, education and child health, three members of the original Head Start Planning Committee, five Head Start parents, and three Head Start directors. I should like to ask that the Committee's report be made a part of the record to appear at the end of my testimony.

By taking this action, I feel that several important advantages will accrue:

(1) The integrity of the program will best be assured if it is not placed under any existing major organizational unit;

(2) the prestige and visibility of the Office of the Secretary will enable the new unit to become a focal point for new initiatives in child development;

(3) the special innovative characteristics of Head Start can be carefully nurtured if the program is accorded an independent and secure status within the Department, with direct access to the Secretary.

(4) Such an Office will provide a point of coordination for early childhood activities throughout the Department.

Communities will henceforth be able to relate to a single focal point within HEW, which has responsibility for the bulk of Federally assisted day care and preschool programs. The concept of Head Start as a "family program" will be broadened by encouraging the use of funds from such HEW administered programs as services to AFDC families, Child Welfare Services, Medicaid, vocational rehabilitation, vocational education, and adult education.

In order to improve coordination, I am establishing a Board of Advisors on Child Development, which will be composed of senior officials of this Department of health, education, and welfare. Through this device, it will be possible to take a unified look at all early childhood programs, including those in the Office of Education under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and those in the Follow Through program, operated under delegation from OEO; those in Social and Rehabilitation Service, which provides grants for parent education and other child and family services; and those in the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, which carries out extensive research into the nature of child development, and in the National Institute of Mental Health, which does a considerable amount of research into the biological and behavioral aspects of early child development.

The close coordination of these programs means expanded resources, increased research, greater flexibility, and the presentation of a rational and coherent picture of all that is going on in this field.

As to means of strengthening and improving Head Start, I have already referred to the specific experimental requirement which will be introduced. But another very important area to which we will immediately address ourselves is the comparative merits of eight week summer programs as compared with full year programs.

(1) It has become increasingly apparent that the shorter program produces very limited benefits, and those tend to dissipate after entry into regular school. For this reason, we are removing the previous OEO prohibition on converting summer funds to full-year programs, allowing communities, at their option, to make this transfer. OEO has had requests for some time to allow this.

While such transfer will inevitably result in a reduction of the total numbers of children served, it could enable as many as 60,000 more children to be enrolled in full-year programs.

Plans and applications for this coming summer's programs are already under way. In order not to delay this important conversion for another 12 months, this summer's grantees are being told that they may, upon application, shift all or part of their grant to a full-year program.

(2) To strengthen services being provided to the very young child, I intend doubling the present number of Parent and Child Centers from 36 to 72, with an accompanying increase in the current $6 million budget to $12 million. These programs currently serve some 3600 families with children under three years of age, and a far greater effort is required if we are to explore the full potential of programs for these early years.

(3) The budget includes an increase of $30 million for the Follow Through program. This will permit it to extend in some communities into the third grade, as well as to begin in other communities. In addition, I plan to seek further expansion of the Follow Through program by encouraging greater use of Title I funds for this purpose. This program is aimed at reinforcing in the primary grades the gains that children make in Head Start. During the fiscal year 1968–1969, Follow Through funded projects served some 16,000 which, of course, is only a small fraction of the eligible number who had been enrolled in Head Start.

I am asking Dr. James Allen, Assistant Secretary for Education designate, to work with State and local education offices to examine ways in which the Follow Through program can be expanded and strengthened to reach more of these graduates.

(4) Day care and other early childhood programs at present operated by the Children's Bureau will be transferred to the new Office of Child Development. I am convinced that only by this coordinated, cohesive approach to early childhood development can we achieve responsive and comprehensive programs.

(5) HEW will establish a series of program development panels to focus on the improvement of program quality. These panels will consist of department officials and outside experts drawn from both the academic world and from local program staff or officials. The initial panels will be centered on curriculum, research and evaluation, training and technical assistance, parent involvement and services, and health programs.

(6) A National Advisory Committee will also be established. Membership will include professionals and parents, as well as program officials. The committee will concern itself with Head Start, day care and other early childhood programs, and will establish working relationships with representatives from Follow Through and Title I programs.

(7) In the light of the present inadequacy of testing systems and techniques for working with children of this age group, I will direct the new Departmental Board of Advisors on Child Development to draw up immediately a strategy for improving testing and evaluation methods. This will involve the Office of Child Development, the Office of Education, as well as NIMH and NICHD.

(8) To lend further support to the President's commitment to the first five years of life Head Start will, in its new home, become an integral part of the White House Conference on Children and Youth.

The new Office of Child Development will mesh its activities in other areas with those existing in our education, health and social service programs. For example, using a portion of our demonstration funds, we will encourage school systems using education monies, and community groups using Head Start monies, to collaborate in order to provide a continuous program of child development. Similar uses may be made of funds under Title V of the Social Security Act.

I am sure that there are some admirers of the present Head Start who are apprehensive lest the essential ingredients of the program will be changed in its new home; that some of its comprehensive elements will be dropped; that parents will be neglected or forgotten.

I cannot emphasize too strongly that these fears are without substance. Community Action Agencies, as well as other public and private non-profit agencies will continue to receive funds for Head Start. Non-professionals will be employed and included in career development programs. Volunteers will remain an essential element. The educational, nutritional, medical and social services components of the program will continue. Parent involvement will be sought in every phase of operation. However, as I have already indicated, we plan a vigorous campaign of investigation, research and experimentation into the ways in which these elements can be made even more effective. Just because an element of the program is working well, and enjoys popularity, is no reason to rest on one's oars in smug complacence. The activity must be made better, not necessarily by a single method, but perhaps by a variety of methods and techniques, drawn from every available source, and using every available talent and expertise.

Resources available under Title IV and V of the Social Security Act—services to families and children receiving AFDC, and the full range of Child Welfare Services, and Maternal and Child Health Services—can be mobilized on behalf of improvement and experimentation.

It seems to me that, for Head Start, the end of a vital stage has been reached. The program has been established throughout the Nation. It has received recognition and acceptance as fulfilling an imperative need. I think largely due to the influence of Head Start, nationwide attention has been focused on the early childhood period. Now, as I have indicated earlier, we are finding increasingly that there must be greater attention to the years of infancy as well. Thus the stage is set for the second phase of the program's growth and development.

As the President said in his statement announcing the establishment of the new Office of Child Development, we are only just beginning to learn what works and what does not. A great deal of the whole area of early childhood development is still unmarked territory. Head Start will be one of the most important means of pioneering that territory, finding new ways to reach and affect entire families of young children, so that, working *with* the family, these children will have an opportunity to reach their full potential.

In carrying out all these aims and objectives, I look forward to working closely with the Office of Economic Opportunity, as we have always done in the past in other OEO-initiated programs which have been delegated or transferred to OEO. I am also looking forward to a productive and enjoyable working relationship with OEO's Director designate, Donald Rumsfeld. Of course, in line with its general innovative role, OEO will continue to conduct experimental and innovative programs in the area of early childhood development.

I should now like to give the Committee a progress report on other programs being delegated or transferred to this agency.

FOLLOW THROUGH

As the Committee is aware, the Follow Through program was delegated from OEO to HEW in June 1967, under the terms of a memorandum of understanding between the two agencies. Funds for the program are transferred directly from OEO to HEW.

The broad objectives of the program are to develop programs that meet the instructional, physical and psycho-social needs of children from low-income families, by bringing together the resources of the school, the community and the family. Participants must have usually had at least one full year's experience in a Head Start, ESEA, Title I, or other quality pre-school program.

Follow Through school districts are selected with the assistance of State departments of education, State Economic Opportunity offices, and regional Head Start offices. They have all been asked to take part in a cooperative effort in which a number of program characteristics are varied—from district to district—so that a careful evaluation of results will show which approaches are most successful.

While 40 school districts began pilot projects in the school year 1967–1968, "planned variation" experimentation was not initiated until this school year; therefore evaluative data on the program are limited at this date. However, it has been learned that participating school districts are willing to carry out program variations, and that the combination of Federal and local resources and the research community is an effective one.

Most of the emphasis in 1969 has been on assessing the progress which each community makes in developing the project. It is intended to use these evaluations in developing further projects, and for measuring successes and failures.

A number of local communities have had serious difficulty in meeting their non-Federal share requirement in Follow Through, which is generally 20 percent. Since grantees normally begin by serving children in one grade, either kindergarten or first grade, and then add an additional grade to their program each year, the amount of the non-Federal share increases each year. In several instances, the grantee has had to accept a smaller grant than it was entitled to, thus reducing the number of children served, because of the burden imposed by the constant increase in the amount of non-Federal share contributions.

The proposed revision of the Memorandum of Understanding between HEW and OEO, which would give HEW the authority to set its own criteria, with OEO's concurrence, for waiver of non-Federal share, may relieve this problem somewhat.

UPWARD BOUND

The Office of Education is currently working actively to create an environment into which Upward Bound can be placed on July 1, 1969, without interrupting the program during its peak period of operation.

Progress has been made in the development of an organization to administer the program since, under the Office of Economic Opportunity, its administration has been contracted to a private organization—Educational Associates, Incorporated—a procedure which is now prohibited. The program will be established as a branch within the Office of Education, and candidates for the position of chief of the branch have been interviewed. Meetings have been held with OEO personnel and the Civil Service Commission regarding the status of current OEO employees in Upward Bound, and employees of Educational Associates, Incorporated. All OEO-Upward Bound employees currently on board will be offered positions with the transferred function.

The Civil Service Commission is considering our request for authority to bring current employees of Educational Associates, Inc. into the competitive service on July 1, 1969, and to provide a date after which the employees retained under continuing appointments may be recommended for conversion to Career or Career-Conditional employment. We hope to be able to make positive job offers to Educational Associates, Incorporated, employees on May 1.

We are also in the process of developing a list of consultants for site visiting and membership on advisory committees.

We are now in the process of drafting regulations to be published in the Federal Register shortly after July 1, 1969. A revision of guidelines to be used during the application process for funding of programs beginning after June 30, 1970, will be available for distribution on or about September 1, 1969. We will be operating under OEO guidelines during the coming school year.

The Acting Commissioner of Education has met with the National Advisory Council for Upward Bound and the Chairman of the Upward Bound Project Directors Steering Committee, to explain aspects of the transfer. A letter has been sent to project directors by the Acting Associate Commissioner for Higher Education, reassuring them that the Office of Education desires to maintain the high standards of the Upward Bound program and to continue its progressive development in its new setting.

NEIGHBORHOOD HEALTH CENTERS

The President's February 19 message also stated that preparations were to be made for the transfer of the Neighborhood Health Center program, or the Comprehensive Health Services program, as it is titled in the Act, to HEW. To follow up on that instruction, I have convened an Advisory Committee on Health Centers, composed of eminent people in the health field from outside government. The Committee is chaired by Dr. Julius B. Richmond, who was the first Director of the OEO Health Center program, and includes several directors of operating centers.

I have asked this Committee to consider how the integrity and effectiveness of the program can best be preserved and strengthened in a transfer to HEW, and particularly to consider how existing HEW health care programs can be made to support the Health Center effort.

Some of the recommendations of this Advisory Committee have already been accepted by the Administration in the form of amendments to the Hill-Burton legislation, in which we are proposing that project grant funds be made available for health center construction. I am convinced that we must focus other health resources in our Federal programs in a like manner on the needs of the poor.

A number of critical issues, including the timing of the transfer of the Health Centers program, remain unresolved, and will be the subject of further study within the Administration.

FOSTER GRANDPARENT PROGRAM

I should like to turn now to the Foster Grandparent Program, which, since August of 1965, has been jointly administered by HEW's Administration on Aging and the Office of Economic Opportunity.

This program was launched with 21 demonstration projects, to give older citizens a new and useful role in providing services to children and other individuals.

Men and women over 60 years of age and with incomes within the poverty guidelines, were recruited to serve as foster grandparents. They were given medical examinations, two weeks of orientation, and were then assigned to provide individual attention to each of two children, serving each for two hours a day, five days a week.

President Nixon, in his Economic Opportunity Message to Congress, stated that he had directed preparations to be made for the transfer of the Foster Grandparent program from OEO to HEW. Funds for continuing the existing 68 projects during fiscal year 1970, have been placed in the budget request of the Administration on Aging rather than the OEO request. As you know, last year the House of Representatives passed a bill to amend the Older Americans Act, H.R. 19474, which would have accomplished this transfer by creating a continuing legislative base for the program. This bill, which was reported favorably by this Committee, contained the recommendations of the Office of Economic Opportunity and HEW, that the program should be transferred to this agency.

We feel that it is appropriate to complete this transfer by July 1, 1969.

In addition to its present method of operation, we plan to expand the program to provide personal relationships to elderly persons in hospitals, nursing homes, intermediate care facilities or homes for the aged; to the homebound elderly on a preventive basis; and to other persons in need of this type of special personalized attention. Older people in these settings, in particular, are often among America's most isolated, forgotten and lonely citizens. We call this program element Senior Companions.

The Administration on Aging, in administering this program, intends to continue to emphasize opportunities for low-income older persons to provide these supportive person-to-person services. We also plan to introduce, as an expansion element, the use of volunteers who would be compensated only for out-of-pocket expenses. We believe this to be a logical extension of the program, since the income paid to current participants, in effect, enables them to volunteer for this role.

At the beginning of my testimony, I described the Office of Economic Opportunity as the first real voice of the poor this country has ever known. Opportunities for this voice to be heard must continuously be broadened and strengthened, and while the poor speak, we must always be ready, willing and *able* to listen.

The delegation of certain of OEO's programs to other agencies is being carried out in order that we may be more responsive to demands, more sensitive to needs, and more inventive in our planning.

In fighting the war against poverty, we must never allow ourselves to believe we have perfected our weapons. Only by constant experimentation, the mobilization of every resource, the discarding of programs that do not work, and the strengthening of those that do, can we truly carry out the responsibilities that are rightly ours.

PAN AMERICAN COFFEE DAY

HON. WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, Pan American Coffee Day was celebrated on Capitol Hill on Wednesday, April 16, with an observance that was as fresh and sparkling as a just-brewed cup of good coffee.

The Inter-American Affairs Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee used that occasion to invite the Latin American diplomatic corps and a number of officials of the executive branch to a "coffeebreak" to demonstrate that "coffee is the bond of friendship."

I was delighted to join with my good friend and chairman, the honorable DANTE B. FASCELL, of Florida, in acting as a cohost for the affair.

We were joined by the Speaker of the House, the Honorable JOHN W. McCORMACK, Democrat, of Massachusetts; House Majority Leader CARL ALBERT, of Oklahoma; Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman THOMAS E. MORGAN, of Pennsylvania; the ranking minority member of the committee, E. ROSS ADAIR, and other members of the committee, in welcoming the Ambassadors from the Latin American nations.

Throughout the "coffeebreak," Members of Congress and some 40 Latin American envoys to the White House and the Organization of American States exchanged views with each other, and with more than 100 other distinguished guests from the U.S. Government and international institutions.

Among these were President Felipe Herrera, of the Inter-American Development Bank, Chairman Dr. Carlos Sanz de Santamaría of the Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress—CIAP—and the former Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs Thomas C. Mann, who played an important role in the establishment of the International Coffee Agreement.

An outstanding presentation of freshly brewed Latin American coffees, prepared by the Pan-American Coffee Bureau, gave evidence that coffee was literally—as well as symbolically—the bond of friendship. The Pan-American Coffee Bureau, which cooperated in marking the traditional Pan American Coffee Day, was represented by four members of the executive committee: Chairman Geraldo Holanda Cavalcanti, of Brazil; Vice Chairman Bernardo Rueda-Osorio, of Colombia; Jorge Canavati, of Mexico—who is also chairman of the World Coffee Promotion Committee—and Ambassador Luis Demetrio Tinoco, of Costa Rica, who represents his country both to the United States and the Organization of American States.

One of the highlights of the occasion was a brief, extemporaneous speech by Speaker McCORMACK who disclosed that he attended the observance because he wanted to emphasize the importance of coffee in the life of the Americas. "Coffee is indeed the bond of friendship," the Speaker declared, adding that despite any differences that might arise from time to time, the United States and the Latin American nations are also united by a "common bond of the spirit."

Following brief comments by Ambassador Guillermo Sevilla-Sacasa, dean of Washington's diplomatic corps, the principal address was delivered by Chairman FASCELL, with a closing response by Dr. Bernardo Rueda, of Colombia, on behalf of the executive committee of the Pan-American Coffee Bureau.

Chairman FASCELL's statement follows:

On behalf of my good friend and colleague, Congressman Bill Mailliard, and myself, I am delighted to welcome all of you to this "coffee break" reception arranged in honor of Pan-American Coffee Day.

Coffee has played an important part in the history of both the United States and Latin America. Our own revolution, according to tradition, was planned in a colonial coffeehouse. And coffee has been the favorite drink of Americans since the War of Independence.

Thus, long before the creation of the Organization of American States, the United States—the largest importer of coffee in the world—and our neighbors to the south—who supply the bulk of these imports—were united in a mutual appreciation of a good cup of coffee.

A wise man once said that coffee inspires the mind and refreshes the spirit. But coffee also serves other, equally important, functions.

For example, coffee is the largest single commodity in world trade—second only to petroleum in dollar volume. Annual trade in coffee amounts to more than $2 billion.

In many countries of Latin America, the coffee bean is the element which spurs the economy and energizes development. The livelihood of millions of Latin Americans depends on the production and export of this commodity. And the vigorous trade between the United States and Latin America depends in good measure on trade in coffee.

Since 1963, the tie that binds us has evolved into the International Coffee Agreement—an unusual arrangement which involves 41 producing countries and 20 importing countries. This is a unique pact in that it brings the exporting countries $500 million more a year in revenues, while providing coffee to the consumers at fairly reasonable and steady prices.

In an age which has seen the cost of living rise in virtually all of the countries of the world, it is interesting to note that the world import price for green coffee—as well as the retail price for coffee in the United States—are lower today than they were ten years ago.

On this day, when we observe Pan American Coffee Day during Pan American Week, it is surely appropriate to pause and remember what coffee has meant to the relationship of the United States and Latin America.

Working together, we have moved steadily forward to a solution of the economic problems of coffee.

It seems to me that with goodwill and the will to do it, we can in like manner seek out ways and means to solve our other mutual problems.

In concluding these brief remarks, I would like to commend the Executive Committee of the Pan-American Coffee Bureau for the fine work which they are doing and to convey to them our appreciation for their help in arranging this marvelous display of the many different ways in which coffee enriches our lives and makes them a bit more enjoyable.

In his concluding comment, Dr. Rueda said:

On behalf of the Executive Committee of the Pan-American Coffee Bureau, I wish to express to you and to all the members of the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, our gratitude for sponsoring this unprecedented observance of the Pan-American Coffee Day.

As you just said, Mr. Chairman, coffee has played a fundamental role in the relations of the United States and Latin America. And we, the representatives of the coffee-producing countries, see in this reception not only a gracious gesture but, indeed, a symbol of cooperation.

No one doubts that coffee will be for many years to come the livelihood of millions of Latin Americans, and at the same time will continue to stimulate the economy of the United States.

But surely, Mr. Chairman, more than words, this reception demonstrates that coffee is the bond of friendship.

DANGEROUS SEAS AHEAD

HON. FLOYD V. HICKS
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, our esteemed chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. RIVERS), spoke last week to the graduating class of the Calhoon Training School of the National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association at Baltimore. Because what he had to say is so timely and pertinent to our military situation in the Far East, I hope that every Member of Congress will read his speech.

No one has been a stronger or more effective advocate of American seapower, both naval and merchant marine, than the chairman, and I am proud to serve on the Seapower Subcommittee that he created in the Armed Services Committee.

At one point in his address, Chairman RIVERS asked this challenging question:

> Now, in light of what has happened in the North Korea area, we must ask ourselves this hard question: Could our American-flag Merchant Marine support sea lift operations to supply our armed forces in both Vietnam and Korea?

The answer to this question is one that our Seapower Subcommittee will be going into in the near future. I would hope that we will come up with a favorable answer, but some of the initial hard facts of the situation indicate otherwise.

I wish to insert in the RECORD the address by the Honorable L. MENDEL RIVERS on April 17, 1968. The speech follows:

DANGEROUS SEAS AHEAD

Distinguished guests and members of this graduating class.

I am happy to be here with you today—happy because this school and you young men graduating today represent an excellent quality in American life. You are achieving and doing something for your country. For this I congratulate the vision of Jesse Calhoon and all those who made this fine institution possible.

I can really only find one thing wrong with this school and the others like it. There simply should be more institutions of this nature in existence.

Today the Russians have 7000 students enrolled in schools for naval architects and marine engineers—23 times as many as we do. This is just one small and pertinent instance of the many ways in which Soviet Russia is surpassing the United States in the broad field of sea power—in training new personnel, in building new naval and merchant ships, in atomic submarine development, in oceanography and fisheries, and other pertinent areas of maritime development.

Ever so often an event takes place that forces us to look at our maritime hole cards, that forces us to ask hard questions about the status of our naval and merchant sea forces. Such an event occurred this week in the area of North Korea. The shocking act of piracy by the brigands of North Korea has once again dramatized the vital importance of our merchant fleet, our "Fourth Arm of Defense." If the North Koreans, international pirates that they are, were to provoke a full-scale military engagement, we would find ourselves dependent upon the American-flag merchant marine to supply the logistical support for such an operation.

As you well know, over 95% of the logistics support for all of our forces in Vietnam is delivered by sea—the largest and longest sea lift operation in history.

Now, in light of what has happened in the North Korea area, we must ask ourselves this hard question: Could our American-flag merchant marine support sea lift operations to supply our armed forces in both Vietnam and Korea?

The statistics of the situation perhaps provide the answer. Today some 533 ships are operated by the Military Sea Transportation Service. Most of them are old cargo ships, Victory and other such ships built during World War II. The head of the MSTS, Vice Admiral Lawson P. Ramage, recently told a Subcommittee of our Committee that these old transport ships, at the point where they reach 30 years of age, will be of questionable usefulness in supporting future military operations. He said, and I quote—"I would say generally ships built 30 years ago, although not in active service throughout, have come to the end of their useful life."

Most of the 533 ships operated by the MSTS are approaching 30 years of age. And precious few replacement ships have been contracted for.

Thus, while the American-flag merchant marine has been able to support the military effort in Vietnam, there is a question as to whether it could support two such operations.

Any analysis of these facts leads one to the obvious conclusion that the United States today has a thoroughly inadequate merchant marine to meet its basic defense needs. Were another outbreak of the Vietnam nature to occur, we would undoubtedly have to supply sea lift support by taking our subsidized general-purpose ships out of commercial trade on world trade routes. The effect on the national economy in general, and the balance of payments in particular, would be severe. For reasons such as these, I favor the long-term charter concept to help assure an adequate supply of replacement ships in readiness for any military eventuality.

I am sure that I do not have to spell out for you the hazards of shipping in foreign-flag lines, particularly for shipping in support of military operations. We could easily be at the mercy not only of those who own the foreign-flag ships, but of those who might have some influence with the crews. A few years ago, for example, the MSTS chartered a certain ship and the crew flatly refused to sail when they were informed they were going to Vietnam. This was not just an isolated case. There are other instances of foreign-flag ships chartered by American operators on which the crews refused to sail or delayed the ship when they found it was going to Vietnam.

We, all of us in this hall, know that integrated Naval and merchant sea power is an integral part of our national security. And particularly do we realize that our commercial shipping capability is an integral part of American sea power.

Because our Committee recognized the serious nature of this sea power problem, I appointed a Subcommittee on Sea Power last fall, and because I recognized the interdependence of Naval and merchant sea power, I gave the Subcommittee the broadest charter. In addition to Naval power, I asked them to ascertain the steps necessary to overcome the glaring deficiencies in the cargo and troop carrying capabilities of ships owned by the Federal Government or by American industries.

The Subcommittee has just released its first report on the status of Naval ships. I hope you will read it carefully. It can be best described in one word: Shocking!

The discussion in this report of the advances made by Soviet sea power will chill the blood. While we have been throwing words at each other about sea power, the Soviets have been making a monolithic, single-minded drive for supremacy of the seas. They have taken the great teachings of our own Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan to heart and are intent on overwhelming us in the sea lanes of the world.

I will not take the time to recite the depressing statistics for you undoubtedly know them as well as I do. Suffice to say that, at their present rate of merchant growth, the Soviets will pass us as a maritime power in a brief year or two.

Now the question we must ask is: What can be done?

How can we get American sea power back on course?

The first ingredient, and we might as well state it plainly, is money. We have not spent enough money for new Naval ship construction nor for the maintenance of an adequate merchant marine. We are going to have to increase the annual rate of spending a considerable amount to get results. I don't mean a crash program. I mean an increased level of funding sustained over a period of years. I have introduced legislation to provide a shipbuilding program to cost $3.8 billion in the coming fiscal year. In my view, that would be a beginning step.

Another step we should take is to devote funds to new technology applicable to shipping. In the last six years the Defense Department has spent around $1 billion on research and development for air lift. In the same period it has spent only $46 million in research and development for sea lift—and most of that was for the ill-fated FDL's and, incidentally, I am as strongly opposed to the FDL's today as I have been in the past. There are so many other ships we need so much more than a Government-constructed experiment which could only end up competing with what's left of our privately-owned merchant marine.

Given the proper research and development, I can't help but believe that more of the things designed for the Navy would be of value to our commercial shipping. For example, diesel power was started by the Navy for submarine use and then was adapted to all kinds of commercial uses. Our commercial airlines have benefited tremendously from the jet engine and air framework done for the Air Force. And I keep thinking the same should be true for merchant ships in relation to the Navy.

Commercial shipping as it relates to the nation's defense requirement is the next item on the agenda for our Sea Power Subcommittee. After that, the Subcommittee will make a study of U.S. shipbuilding capacity, both for Naval ships and for commercial ships which contribute to national defense requirements.

But we don't need to wait for these studies to realize our principal need in the fight to restore American sea supremacy. We need to have above all a determination to work together—Congress, the Administration, industry, and maritime labor. The helm of that leadership rests in the Administration—leadership that needs to be backed by an awareness that we must have the total package—covering our Naval forces, and commercial ships, our fishing fleet and our shipyards. We will get this leadership only if this Administration—and the President—are willing to give sea power a high national priority. We have had a multitude of promises in the past that we would get a new Navy and a new merchant marine. Now, as events are proving, time is running out.

Unless we act now, we are going to wake up one morning soon and find the Soviets in control of the sea lanes of the world. There is no other conclusion to be drawn from the overwhelming body of evidence that has been presented. The time is late, the sands are running out, and we must act now.

Thank you very much, and my fervent hopes that our pleas will be heeded and that you will be in a revitalized merchant marine go with you as you prepare to serve your country on the high seas.

A BILL TO AMEND TITLE V, UNITED STATES CODE, TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL COST-OF-LIVING ADJUSTMENTS IN CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT ANNUITIES OF CERTAIN RETIRED EMPLOYEES IN ALASKA AS LONG AS SUCH RETIRED EMPLOYEES CONTINUE TO RESIDE IN ALASKA, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

HON. HOWARD W. POLLOCK

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a bill which would amend title V, United States Code, to provide additional cost-of-living adjustments in civil service retirement annuities of certain retired employees in Alaska as long as such retired employees continue to reside in Alaska, and for other purposes.

Civil service employees in Alaska receive a 25-percent cost-of-living differential, however, today if they retire and stay in Alaska they do not receive the cost-of-living differential based on their retirement pay. This is rather unfair for the person who has resided in the State for many years to have to leave that State upon retirement because of the disastrous cut in income upon retirement.

Mr. Speaker, my bill would allow those persons, who after 10 years of employment with the Government in Alaska, to receive the cost-of-living differential in their retirement pay and thus would benefit our great State in that many of these fine people would then be able to remain in Alaska rather than for them to move outside just because of the cost of living. This cost-of-living differential would only be available as long as these persons remain in our great State.

Mr. Speaker, this bill will aid Alaska in keeping as her citizens many dedicated Government employees who have spent much of their lives working and living in Alaska.

A bill to amend title 5, United States Code, to provide additional cost-of-living adjustments in civil service retirement annuities of certain retired employees in Alaska as long as such retired employees continue to reside in Alaska, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 8339 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(m) Notwithstanding any other provision of this subchapter and in addition to the amount of annuity to which he otherwise is entitled under this subchapter, the annuity of each retired employee who has performed ten years of service in Alaska prior to separation and who, after the commencing date of his annuity, continues to reside in Alaska, without break in time after his separation, shall be increased by 25 per centum so long as he continues to reside in Alaska. This annuity differential is applicable to the annuity of any survivor of such retired employee.".

SEC. 2. The amendment made by this Act shall apply to persons retiring or retired prior to, on, or after the date of enactment of this Act, and their survivors; but no annuity differential shall be payable by reason of such amendment for any period prior to the first day of the first month which begins after the date of enactment of this Act.

A DECLARATION ON CAMPUS UNREST

HON. RICHARD (DICK) ICHORD

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, April 17, the American Council on Education, one of the Nation's major private coordinating bodies for higher education, issued a statement on campus disorders and public backlash formulated by a group of prominent educational administrators, trustees, and foundation officers.

The statement, issued under the title, "A Declaration on Campus Unrest," was written at a meeting held under council auspices during the Easter weekend in Chicago and was later approved by the council's board of directors. This document, declaring that balanced judgments are necessary in the search for understanding and solutions, emphasizes these points:

The great majority of American campuses has remained peaceful. Even on campuses where conspicuous disorders have occurred, educational programs generally have proceeded normally.

Among the young is a minute group of destroyers who have abandoned hope in today's society, the university, and in the processes of orderly discussion and negotiation to secure significant change. Students and faculty are increasingly aware of the true nature of the group and are moving to deal with its destructive tactics.

The spectacular events precipitated by the extremists should not be allowed to obscure the recent accomplishments of students, faculty, and administrators who have serious interest in constructive changes in society and in the university.

Some of society's expectations for universities are quite unrealistic. Insofar as these expectations can be dealt with, they involve a sharing of responsibilities among diverse social institutions.

Disruption and violence have no place on any campus. The academic community has the responsibility to deal promptly and directly with disruptions. If universities will not govern themselves, they will be governed by others.

The historic concern of the university community with academic freedom needs to be restated, reaffirmed, and vigorously defended against all. This reiteration is not to claim for the university special privileges that put it above the law or that free it from critical public appraisal—rather it affirms that the university must maintain a basic institutional integrity to function as a university.

Violations of criminal law must be dealt with through the ordinary processes of the law—and universities must attempt to deal with disruptive situations firmly before they reach the stage of police action. Governmental attempts to deal with these problems through special punitive legislation will almost certainly be counter-productive. Students and faculty should not be encouraged to expect amnesty from the effects of the law, or from academic discipline, the latter being "the most effective sanction in disruptive incidents."

A comprehensive effort should be made to study the underlying bases of youthful discontent and alienation "and the broad social problems to which they are related."

All universities should give particular attention to a continuing search for ways, including new social inventions, by which the life of rationality and civility, shared concern, and mutual respect may be supported and strengthened within the university community.

Council President Logan Wilson said the text of the statement is being distributed to the 1,538 colleges, universities, and education associations having membership in the counsel. Participants in the Chicago meeting included three council officers; President Wilson, Vice-President Kenneth D. Roose, and David C. Nichols II, assistant to President Wilson, and the following: Louis T. Benezet, president, Claremont Graduate Center; Landrum R. Bolling, president, Earlham College; Herman R. Branson, president, Central State University; Robert D. Clark, president, San Jose State College; Fairfax M. Cone, trustee, University of Chicago; Thomas H. Eliot, chancellor, Washington University; Robben W. Fleming, president, University of Michigan; David D. Henry, president, University of Illinois; Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., president, University of Notre Dame; James M. Hester, president, New York University; Ralph Hetzel, trustee, Pennsylvania State University; Roger W. Heyns, chancellor, University of California, Berkeley; Joseph F. Kauffman, president, Rhode Island College; William R. Keast, president, Wayne State University; Malcolm Moos, president, University of Minnesota; Mrs. Henry Owen, trustee, Washington State University; Harvey Picker, trustee, Colgate University; Alan Pifer, president, Carnegie Corporation of New York; Wesley Posvar, chancellor, University of Pittsburgh; Nathan M. Pusey, president, Harvard University; John Ritchie, dean, Law School, Northwestern University; John S. Toll, president, State University of New York at Stony Brook; Edmund A. Stephan, trustee, University of Notre Dame; F. Champion Ward, vice-president, The Ford Foundation; Herman B. Wells, chancellor, Indiana University; Charles E. Young, chancellor, University of California, Los Angeles; and Edwin Young, chancellor, University of Wisconsin, Madison Campus.

Council officers are Mason W. Gross, president of Rutgers—the State university, chairman; Anne G. Pannell, president of Sweet Briar College, vice-chairman; and Gustave O. Arlt, president of the Council of Graduate Schools in the United States, secretary. Members of the board of directors include Father Hesburgh and Mr. Heyns, who were present at the Chicago meeting, and the following: Fred Harvey Harrington, president, University of Wisconsin; Grayson Kirk, president emeritus, Columbia University; Frederic W. Ness, president, Fresno State College; Alan Simpson, president, Vassar College; Thomas A. Spragens, president, Centre College of Kentucky; Sharvy G. Umbeck, president, Knox College; Kingman Brewster, Jr., president, Yale University; G. Homer Durham, president, Arizona State University; Samuel B. Gould, chancellor, State University of New York, Albany; Darrell Holmes, president, Colorado State College; Kenneth S. Pitzer, president, Stanford University; Edgar F. Shannon, Jr., president, University of Virginia; Joseph P. Cosand, president, Junior College District of St. Louis; Martha E. Peterson, president, Barnard College; Calvin H. Plimpton, president, Amherst College; and Willis M. Tate, president, Southern Methodist University.

The "Declaration on Campus Unrest" follows:

A DECLARATION ON CAMPUS UNREST

The unprecedented, comprehensive, and often unpredictable changes that are taking place in this age both disturb and alarm large segments of our society. Most of the changes and attendant alarms affect the operations of our institutions of higher learning. They are also related to the values, concerns, and behavior of our young people. In coming to grips with the compelling issues, all who would think seriously about them must recognize that present-day society—in America and in many foreign lands—is in serious trouble on many fronts. We see around us racial conflict, continued poverty, and malnutrition midst unparalleled prosperity and seemingly unlimited promise. We are confronted by pollution of our environment, decay of our cities, the continuation of wars and the threat of war, and everywhere a vague but widespread discontent with the general quality of life.

These problems affect all of society, not the university alone or the young alone. We must all be concerned to deal intelligently and responsibly with these problems that are neither the exclusive discovery, nor the sole responsibility of the young. Yet the depth of feeling among young people in many countries today about the issues, their general dissatisfaction with the slow-moving ways of society, and the extreme behavior of a small minority of students are evidence of the profound crisis that involves our entire society and, specifically, the university community.

The university itself has often become the immediate target of student discontent, sometimes couched as legitimate complaints about the deficiencies of the universities, sometimes devised as a softening-up exercise for assault on the wider society.

How to deal with campus crises arising from the widespread protests has become a major public issue and the cause of confused and angry debate. That there should be deep anxiety about the course of the conflict and its possible outcome is understandable. No social, racial, or age group that perceives itself and its values to be seriously threatened will fail to strike back. Increasingly there are backlash temptations to enact strong, often ill-considered, and largely futile measures to cope with a youth rebellion that none of us fully comprehends, not even the youth themselves.

Certain balanced judgments are proper to make, however, as we search for understanding and solutions:

1. It is important for the public to understand that, despite the nationwide publicity given to student disorders, the great majority of American campuses have remained peaceful. On campuses where conspicuous disorders have occurred, educational programs generally have gone along their normal ways. Most students and faculty have continued to carry on their regular work. In the main, good teaching and good research, as traditionally defined, have been uninterrupted.

2. On the undisturbed campuses and among the majority of orderly students, however, there are widely shared discontents which extremists are at times able to manipulate to destructive ends. Moreover, even in the absence of violence, there has developed among some of the young a cult of irrationality and incivility which severely strains attempts to maintain sensible and decent human communication. Within this cult there is a minute group of destroyers who have abandoned hope in today's society, in today's university, and in the processes of orderly discussion and negotiation to secure significant change. Students and faculty are increasingly aware of the true nature of this group and are moving to deal with its destructive tactics. The necessity to deal with extremists, however, is placing an extraordinary burden upon the whole educational enterprise and upon those who man it. Consequently, universities are having to divert their energies and resources from central educational tasks in order to deal with student unrest in its various forms.

3. The spectacular events precipitated by the extremists should not be allowed to obscure the recent accomplishments of those students, faculty, and administrators who have serious interest in constructive changes in society and in the university. They have broadened the curriculum and improved teaching. They have moved toward a more open and participating pattern for university governance. And they have begun to make the work of universities more meaningful in dealing with the problems of society. Those efforts must continue. Reform and self-renewal in higher education are ongoing imperatives.

4. Meanwhile, the speed and scale of social change have imposed many kinds of demands upon educational institutions for which their programs, their capabilities, and their funding are not always adequate. Moreover, universities are increasingly asked to perform functions for society, particularly in reshaping the behavior, values, and life-styles of the young, on which the family and other social institutions have already had major influence—or lack of influence. Some of society's expectations for universities are quite unrealistic. Insofar as these expectations can be dealt with, they involve a sharing of responsibilities among diverse social institutions. Many of society's demands require new resources and fresh approaches to old and new problems.

5. Recognizing the right of and even the necessity for constructive dissent—and allowing for inevitable arguments over what is in fact constructive—certain axioms must be accepted as basic to the operation of any university:

a. Disruption and violence have no place on any campus. The academic community has the responsibility to deal promptly and directly with disruptions. If universities will not govern themselves, they will be governed by others. This elementary reality is increasingly becoming understood by all components of the university community. Student and faculty groups, including the American Association of University Professors and the National Student Association, have recently joined in efforts to improve disciplinary procedures and to formulate clear and realistic codes for dealing with misconduct, and more particularly with violence and disruption. Also, by involving students and faculty effectively in the governance of the university, it can be demonstrated that there are better ways of getting views considered and decisions made than by disruption.

b. The historic concern of the university community with academic freedom needs to be restated, reaffirmed, and vigorously defended against all, within or without the university, who would obstruct the right of scholars to investigate, teachers to teach, or students to learn. This reiteration is not to claim for the university special privileges that put it above the law or that free it from critical public appraisal—rather it affirms that the university must maintain a basic institutional integrity to function as a university.

c. Violations of criminal law must be dealt with through the ordinary processes of the law—and universities must attempt to deal with disruptive situations firmly before they reach the stage of police action. Governmental attempts to deal with these problems through special, punitive legislation will almost certainly be counterproductive. Meanwhile, students and faculty whose consciences demand that they express dissent through law violation must be prepared to accept the due processes and the penalties of the law. They should not be encouraged to expect amnesty from the effects of the law. Such an expectation would be the ultimate use of the *in loco parentis* concept against which many young activists passionately protest. Nor should they expect amnesty from academic discipline, which is the most effective sanction in disruptive incidents.

6. The education community needs to undertake a far more comprehensive effort than ever before attempted to study the underlying bases of youthful discontent and alienation and the broad social problems to which they are related. As social critic, the university must help society understand and solve such problems.

7. All universities should give particular attention to a continuing search for ways, including new social inventions, by which the life of rationality and civility, shared concern, and mutual respect may be supported and strengthened within the university community. The survival of the university and its long-term contribution to society depend upon the ability of the institutions to make their everyday life reflect that spirit and pattern.

CHANGING FISCAL YEAR TO COINCIDE WITH CALENDAR YEAR

HON. ODIN LANGEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, aid to education, assistance to the poor and a host of other programs administered jointly by the Federal Government with the State and local communities are being unfairly penalized by the present congressional appropriations process. Consequently, I am today introducing a bill to make the fiscal year coincide with the calendar year.

Our schools and colleges have suffered from the present July to July system. Those who work with the poor have too often waited for months past the start of the fiscal year before knowing where they were going. Individuals seeking small business loans and other assistance have experienced the same delays. It is also true for communities and townships that plan improvements such as water and sewer works, industrial expansion and the like.

With a budget approaching $200 billion a year, sound and reliable planning is needed. Changing the fiscal year to coincide with the calendar year would go a long way toward putting the entire operation on a businesslike basis. Not only would we get more for every dollar spent, but there would be substantial dollar savings that could be converted into additional aid and assistance.

The public is not the only sector to benefit from changing the fiscal year to start on January first. It certainly would assist our work here in the Congress. We must admit to the fact that this is now a year-round operation and that there have been few occasions in recent years when we have completed either the authorizations or the appropriations by July first. Working well into the fall or winter has become the rule rather than the exception, and now that we have actually scheduled our own recesses and vacations, including 3 weeks in August, it it obvious that the situation will persist.

The present system also places our Federal departments and agencies in an untenable position. We cannot expect that these departments will fulfill the intent of Congress with any degree of proficiency if they do not know our wishes or how much they will have to spend until half of the fiscal year has elapsed. We cannot expect efficiency from dedicated Government employees who are forced to work under such hardships.

Operating on a calendar year basis would benefit the public, the agencies that must administer the programs, and the Congress itself. I urge early consideration of this proposal.

THAT RARE COMMODITY: COMMONSENSE

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith an editorial from the Chicago Tribune of Wednesday, April 23, 1969, entitled, "That Rare Commodity: Commonsense." This editorial comments on a speech made by Chief Judge William J. Campbell of the Federal District Court in Chicago.

Judge Campbell for a long time has been known for the kind of practical commonsense which he attaches to hearings in his court. Very much of what he says in that speech makes sense. It is good to know that a jurist as eminent as Judge Campbell has spoken out so forcefully. I know that my colleagues will want to read it.

THAT RARE COMMODITY, COMMONSENSE

Chief Judge William J. Campbell of the federal District court in Chicago, delivering a notable address yesterday before the American Newspaper Publishers association in New York, spoke hopefully of a return to that neglected commodity, common sense.

"I feel," he said, "that the pendulum is swinging toward common sense, moderation, and an accommodation of all constitutional rights."

Judge Campbell specifically addressed himself to two problems shared by both the courts and the interests of the public. These were the imbalance created by Supreme court decisions reflecting an undue concern for the rights of criminal defendants, and the misplaced efforts of some courts and the organized bar to limit the rights of the people to know what goes on in the courtrooms.

This latter controversy is represented as a conflict between free press and fair trial. Judge Campbell said that he was "more in sympathy with the press than the bar," feeling, as he did, "that the average juror does not decide cases upon what he has read in the paper." He added, "Crime and criminal trials are and should remain public and in the open."

But, as a measure of protection in the relatively few areas where there was even a hint that the case might be prejudiced by news reports, Judge Campbell told how he had worked out an arrangement alerting the press to the problem and obtaining its voluntary cooperation. The system had worked so well, he said, that justice was done with maximum possible public information, while at the same time any substantial claim by a defendant that he was not accorded a fair trial was eliminated.

Judge Campbell generously said that his views had been based on discussions of the free press in its relationship to courtroom proceedings he had read in THE TRIBUNE, as well as speeches made by J. Howard Wood, its chairman, a former president of the A.N.P.A. He thanked "this outstanding newspaper for the support and encouragement it has always given to free constitutional government by the people."

We appreciate these complimentary references, for it has been the operating principle of this newspaper always to adhere to the counsel of its founding editor, Joseph Medill, that in all things it should "follow the line of common sense."

With reference to impediments on criminal procedure created by Supreme court decisions, Judge Campbell conceded that since his days as a federal prosecutor the criminal law had swung 180 degrees away from what it had been. Because of greater and greater rights for accused persons, he said, what could have been a salutary attempt to balance the rights of defendants and society as a whole had been pushed to the outer limit of absurdity.

"But," he said, "I think I detect the pendulum moving slowly . . . toward a more moderate or even-handed approach to the problem of administering criminal justice . . . back to where neither defendant nor prosecutor has the edge and where both sides receive a fair trial. . . . Only the press as the single continuing dynamic force in influencing public opinion today can effectively work to prevent either extreme from dominating our system of law."

We are happy that so eminent a jurist expresses optimism that common sense will prevail over "the unfortunate signs of the times that could make one lose heart and hope and take counsel of his fears." In that cause, we shall do all in our power.

ALL HE MERITS

HON. WATKINS M. ABBITT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. ABBITT. Mr. Speaker, the Lynchburg News, Lynchburg, Va., carried in its Friday, April 18, edition a splendid editorial entitled "All He Merits," which deals with recent controversy within the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission.

The Lynchburg News has been bringing to the attention of its readers for a number of months some very important problems within the Federal Government which often are played down or not carried at all in many of the papers in various parts of the country.

The particular editorial to which I make reference deals with the almost incredible machinations which have been going on in the EEOC in recent months. The controversy involving the Chairman, Clifford L. Alexander, Jr., has received some attention in the press but many of the reports tend to play down certain important aspects of the problem which I feel need to be brought into the open.

The editorial to which I refer points out very cogently the dissatisfaction with the services of the former Chairman. Some of the news media have taken great pains to try to create the impression that the so-called campaign against the former Chairman has been unfair to him and is a result of partisan considerations. I believe that any objective investigation into the circumstances would certainly show that during the 2 years in which he served as Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission activities have been carried on which far transcend the scope of that office and have, in fact, done an injustice to the people the Commission is designed to serve. This Commission was established presumably with the idea of rendering assistance in bringing about equal employment opportunities and its effectiveness can best be served by a mutual cooperation between the Commission and those with whom it must work.

From some of the information which I have seen concerning activities in which the Commission has been engaged in recent years it is obvious that not only the regulations of the Commission itself have been far exceeded but the bounds of common decency have been trampled upon. The work of the Commission is at best difficult and it certainly is made no easier by statements of the type which have emanated from the former Chairman. Harassment of employers and businessmen in the manner which has occurred in the past 24 months is incredible to say the least. It is little wonder that public acceptance of the work of the Commission has been anything but encouraging.

I feel that it is high time that Congress take note of the fact that some of the work of such Government agencies is completely distorted in the public's mind simply because some of the holders of these high offices take off on personal vendettas or philosophical binges just to get across their own point of view. I do not believe that the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission or any of the other assortment of Government agencies dealing in this very sensitive field should be a sounding board for militancy or disrespect for governmental authority.

I include the editorial from the Lynchburg News with my remarks and commend this to the reading of the Members of the House:

ALL HE MERITS

For sheer deliberate, systematic abuse, intolerance and injustice, nothing in the annals of recent American history can surpass—or perhaps equal—the campaign conducted by Clifford L. Alexander Jr., during the two years he served as chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission.

If this comes as a surprise, that's understandable. The "liberal" press and wire services have ignored Alexander's abuse and insults, his violations of the law, because he is a Negro.

His vilification of white employers and employees, however, is not a matter of opinion. It has been documented repeatedly. Senator Paul J. Fannin's article reprinted in the columns at the right adds more documentation to the ugly record of this white-hating racist.

Last week, Alexander resigned as chairman of EEOC—but remained as one of the commissioners, a position in which he—as Senator Fannin makes clear—can continue to exercise his power tyrannically. When he resigned as chairman, Alexander blasted the Nixon Administration for being soft on enforcing equal job opportunities. Such hypocrisy boggles the mind. During his tour as chairman, Alexander never demanded equal job opportunities: he demanded special privilege for minorities and discriminated contemptuously against whites.

The arrogance and bigotry of this fellow puts the worst of the Klansmen to shame. And no black militant, including Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, has done as much to vilify the white race or American free institutions as this government official, who manipulated, violated and twisted the law to vent his hatred upon whites—and lied sanctimoniously through his teeth while doing it.

To hear him tell it, he never did anything wrong. But he sneers in your face when he says it.

Last month, Alexander presided at hearings in Los Angeles on job discrimination in the aerospace, motion picture, banking and television industries. He used the hearings to revile, insult and harass the companies called to testify—and repeatedly demanded special, preferential treatment of minorities.

Here is a record of some of the statements and actions which took place during those "hearings":

North American Rockwell was asked: "Why not let minorities come into the company on a favored basis because of the lack of 100 years of equal opportunity?"

When Rockwell representatives gave an answer Alexander didn't like, he would remark sarcastically: "Very interesting . . ."

Every company which testified was asked: "Do you have any blacks, Mexican Americans, women, Indians, Orientals or other minorities on your Board of Directors, as President or at the Vice Presidential level?"

Alexander has repeatedly demanded that members of minority groups be named to top "white collar" jobs—including vice presidential and directorial posts—simply because they are members of minority races.

Warner Brothers was asked, by Alexander: "Do you know that two thirds of the world is brown or black? So you better do something about hiring some of them."

When the representative of Walt Disney Productions protested to the abusive questioning, he was told: "I will do the questioning, not you."

When a young actor, Ray Martel, called the motion picture industry "dogs" and "racist pigs" and declared that its members should be tried like the Nazis at a world tribunal, Alexander made no attempt to interfere. When persons in the courtroom drowned the testimony of another company representative with screams of "damn liar," Alexander made no move to restore order.

Senator Fannin inserted several other documented cases in the Record detailing EEOC abuse of companies. Alexander's activities have extended beyond personal abuse and arrogance; he has used government agencies to harass companies by demanding expensive and time-consuming reports and has threatened to take away government contracts unless companies comply with his, illegal, demands.

When fellows like Alexander are permitted to use the Federal Government as a club to attack the people, is it any wonder that the people lose faith in their government and become ripe for repressive reforms to protect themselves?

During his two years as chairman of EEOC, Clifford Alexander committed more injustices against the American people than the injustices he accused them of committing against minorities. That takes a lot of doing. But it is documented. And he should be exposed and treated with the contempt he merits—for that is all he merits.

The American people would not permit a white official to insult and abuse Negroes and minorities the way this Negro official has been permitted to insult and abuse white businessmen. What makes the Federal Government think it can continue to appoint such creatures to positions where they can misuse the people to attack the people, and escape the inevitable repercussions?

DUQUESNE UNIVERSITY TO INAUGURATE TEACHING BY TV OVER OWN STATION

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, I think we in Congress all are cognizant of the importance of mass communications in informing—and occasionally misinforming—the American public.

A well-educated and aware public is basic to our democratic form of government.

Serving the public in the news gathering capacity is only one of the many responsibilities of today's communications industry.

Every year, talented, conscientious, and competent young people are attracted by the thousands into the mass media field.

Journalism schools play their role in this process by educating young people to the responsibilities of the profession.

My city of Pittsburgh is fortunate to have one of the better journalism schools in the country located at Duquesne University.

Recently Duquesne began work on a new closed circuit television station for the campus. This facility will serve both as a laboratory and as an actual working station. In both regards, students will profit from the experience and excitement that producing television broadcasts can bring.

These young people will eventually enter the mass media field as technically competent and educationally aware professionals, who will bring you and me, and our constituents, hours of entertainment and information.

Heading Duquesne University's television program is B. Kendall Crane, a dedicated and selfless educator, who has been working with Duquesne students for the past 19 years.

Largely through the efforts of Mr. Crane, has Duquesne's media program attained its present stature and maturity. Many a budding professional newsman cut his teeth on B. Kendall Crane's courses.

I would like to introduce into the RECORD the following articles on Duquesne's development of radio and TV facilities:

DUQUESNE UNIVERSITY'S TV HAS UPS AND DOWNS

When the Federal Communications Commission lifted the freeze on television licenses after World War II, KDKA, WJAS and WWSW became applicants for Channel 11 in Pittsburgh. WJAS, owned by members of the Kenneth Brennan family, and Duquesne University, in the process of planning Rockwell Hall, entered into an agreement that WJAS would have studios and office space over Peter Mills Auditorium. There was to be an adjacent studio which would be used by the University as a TV laboratory for the Journalism Department. The studio could be patched into the main output of the station and student programs (meeting proper standards) would be broadcast.

When KDKA purchased the facilities of WDTV (DuMont) the FCC suggested WWSW and WJAS combine forces in the contended channel. The matter went to court and the merger was ordered.

The new combine rejected the idea of quarters on campus. This necessitated redrawing of plans for Rockwell Hall, and left the University with no prospects for television facilities.

After conferences between the University and WJAS, a grant of $15,000 was made by the Brennan family for the construction of the facilities elsewhere on campus.

This money provided for Dadge TV equipment (2 cameras, controls, monitors, etc.) The School contributed space on the fourth floor of the Administration Building, lighting fixtures, audio system and director's booth.

In the school year 1955–56 Dr. Kurt Schreiber conducted a course in organic chemistry via TV. The class was split (I.Q.-wise) with half in the studio and half in a nearby receiving room. During the second semester the groups were reversed. The following year the Rev. John Schlicht, professor of American History, began the first of three years experimental teaching without a studio audience, but with three classrooms, (some 200 students) wired for TV reception and talk-back.

During the third year of this experiment, another section in American History, and a Political Science course in American Federal Government were added.

At the end of the school year, 1959, B. Kendall Crane made a strong request to update the television equipment the better to conduct these experiments with a view to interesting the school of education, the School of Business Administration and the departments of biology and religion.

By administration fiat, further instruction via TV was cancelled, and the equipment assigned merely as a laboratory for Journalism.

Since that time the status of the TV studio has not changed until the school year of 1966–67 when the School of Education began to evince renewed interest in the prospect of TV use in the training of future teachers. George Hayward of Bus. Ad. teacher of a class in geography for Education students, used the facilities for two experimental periods in preparing student sample teaching projects.

With the beginning of renovation of Old Main as exclusively administration offices, TV was notified to move. Even the spring of 1967 saw classes continued in the studios under considerable obstacles with the noise and dust of renovation swirling about it on the fourth floor.

On June 12, 1967 a top echelon meeting was held and it was decided the new 'home' of the television installation would be a space 30 by 70 feet in what was Canevin cafeteria. This space became available with the completion of the Student Union building.

TV TO RESUME TEACHING ROLE

Some of the "old-timers" will not remember the closed-circuit television operation on the fourth floor of Old Main, nor the classrooms on that same floor wired for TV reception. Many of the students after 1953 will recall the installation with mixed feelings.

Remodeling of the Administration building evicted the TV setup, and quarters were allocated on the lower level of Canevin Hall (formerly the "caf"). No one, but no one would recognize the area now. For that matter, few would recognize Canevin at all.

Pharmacy is now installed in the new Mellon Science Center, and Education, which used to share space, will take over the entire building. The area where the TV studio is located is now filled in with offices and demonstration classrooms.

Both the radio station and television have been placed under the jurisdiction of the new Provost, Dr. Herbert Petit. (No decision has been made on the final location of WDUQ as a higher power station.)

New equipment for TV includes two RCA T–330 vidicon camera chains (complete), with operating consoles, three IVC helical scan video tape recorders, with remote controls, special effects amplifier, a Bell and Howell film and slide chain with multiplexer, (also remote controlled), and complete audio, with console, mikes, etc.

The lighting units and drapes have been retained from the old studio. The light board will still be a simple circuit-breaker type (no dimmers).

It will be possible to use the studio both for direct teaching to classrooms, or for tape recording. Distribution of studio output is planned for classrooms in Bus. Ad., the new College Hall, and Education. This may later be expanded to include the commons rooms on all floors of existing and future dormitories.

Target date for inauguration of the new facility has been tentatively set for Feb. 1. With the normal delay in equipment delivery, this date is not too realistic, according to Kendall Crane.

Already Bus. Ad, Psychology and Sociology, Speech, Education, Biology have indicated they would be interested in using television in their regular course work. The facilities, of course, will continue to be used as a laboratory for Journalism students in radio and television.

WDUQ STARTS MOVE TO 50-KW AS PART OF "NEW" DUQUESNE

WDUQ and Duquesne University have moved one step nearer to realizing the dream of a 50-kilowatt radio broadcasting station on the campus.

On June 21, 1927 the Administrative Council formally approved a recommendation by an Ad Hoc committee named to 'explore the position of WDUQ in the University structure.' After two special meetings the 14-man committee representing every facet of Duquesne, recommended that steps be taken to expand the services of the station to include the community, and to seek an increase of the station's radiated power to the maximum.

Members of the committee included: Dr. Kenneth R. Erfft, Vice President for Administration; Joseph Lauritis, C.S. Sp., Vice President for University Relations (then Dean, College of Arts and Sciences), and Dr. Lawrence Hugo, for the faculty; Dr. Kenneth Duffy and B. Kendall Crane, WDUQ director, for the staff; A William Capone, vice president-treasurer, Koppers Co., and William A. Weitzel, vice president, Calgon Co., Alumni Board of Governors; Merle Pollis and Mrs. Jean Lam, WDUQ Alumni; Donald Taverner, president, WQED, and John Gibbs, general manager, KQV, for the broadcasting industry; Mary Pat Peck and James Martin, for students. James McNamara, C.S. Sp., Vice President for Student Affairs, was chairman.

Actual expansion of the station's facilities will require approval by the Federal Communication Commission.

Capital cost will approximate 100-thousand dollars for transmitter, antenna, and facilities for multiplexing. Up-dating studio equipment such as turntables, microphones, installation of cartridge equipment and automation will take another 20-thousand dollars.

Operation of the new installation, which will service several counties in Western Pennsylvania will, in the opinion of the station director, require a nucleus of a professional staff as announcer-producers. This is necessary because much of the local programming on a community-oriented station must meet the quality standards of commercial stations in the area.

University students in Journalism, as well as other areas of study who are interested in broadcasting, will still find opportunities to gain experience as staff members in many capacities.

Plans presently are under discussion for funding the capital costs.

NINETEEN YEARS NOT SO LONG AS CRANE LOOKS OVER SHOULDER

In the words of the old song, "It's been a long, long time." August 1, 1950! On the other hand, it seems like—well, not exactly like yestrday—but not as long as it really is.

Nineteen years at WDUQ! That IS a few weeks, isn't it? Quite a stretch for a dream to incubate! Yet, with the realization of the expanded radio station operation, the dream has become almost an actuality. Another dream which hasn't yet materialized is a School of Communications. Remember, we were talking about that as far back as 1952.

How many young men and women have paused in these studios and then have passed on "into the world"? I'm ashamed to admit that many of the names have slipped and some of the faces have become a little hazy. I can only hope that a few of the values, ideas, ambitions and dreams which may have been born here have been further nurtured in the real life which came later.

It won't be too long before even the familiar studios and control room, the library and the newsroom, as so many knew them, will also become just memories. Renovation of Old Main makes it necessary to find a new home.

I wish that by some miracle all of the WDUQ Alumni could be located, that each one would take time to drop a card letting us know "what's new." It's a real joy when one of the "old grads" visits or writes a note.

But it will take a long time and the experiences of several hundred young men and women to develop a new set of memories, unless—the "old gang" can manage to maintain a continuing flow of communications among themselves.

We've had some great moments, some very satisfying moments, as well as some we'd like to forget, or at least wish they'd never happened. But that's what life is made of. They all seem to balance out.

This didn't start out to be a philosophical dissertation. So, wherever you are be assured that there is still personal interest in what you're doing; in your families—everything. And most of all, be assured that all best wishes go with you along whatever path life takes you.

I hope to see you all on January 26.

REPORT ON PROPOSED EXPANDED AID TO HIGHER EDUCATION

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, two bar association groups composed of prominent attorneys in the New York area have recently examined in depth some of the major issues surrounding the proper role of Federal law in education.

The Federal Bar Council most recently studied H.R. 6535, the Higher Education Bill of Rights, which I introduced in February with the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BRADEMAS), and which was last week sponsored in the other body by Senators KENNEDY, JAVITS, and PROUTY. The Federal Bar Council unanimously indicated its approval of this legislation, which implements most the recommendations of the Carnegie Commission on the Future of Higher Education, chaired by Dr. Clark Kerr, and made a number of suggestions concerning the direction of Federal support for higher education.

In addition, the Committee on Federal Legislation of the New York County Lawyers' Association has prepared a report on the extension of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, including approval of a 5-year bill. This document is especially relevant in light of the business of the House this week.

Both of these reports have been brought to my attention by my constituent, Mr. J. Edward Meyer III, who is a member of both bar groups, and I ask unanimous consent that they be inserted in the RECORD at this point:

FEDERAL BAR COUNCIL COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION: REPORT ON PROPOSED EXPANDED AID TO HIGHER EDUCATION

H.R. 6535, 91st Cong., 1st Sess. (1969) introduced by Representative Ogden Reid of Westchester, New York, seeks to enact a "Higher Education Bill of Rights" to remove financial barriers so that all high school graduates will have equal opportunity for a post-secondary education of good quality, and to strengthen institutions of higher education.

The Reid bill is based on recommendations of the Carnegie Commission on the Future of Higher Education, chaired by Clark Kerr.

We approve the bill, and make the further recommendations which follow for strengthening federal efforts to improve higher education.

In July, 1968 the Committee on Federal Legislation of the New York County Lawyers Association submitted a unanimous report on education legislation stating in part as follows:

"Federal responsibility in the field of education has a long tradition in this country.[1] The importance of sound legislation supporting education for technological progress is equalled or exceeded by its importance to provide a basis for wise use of technological power and to equip our future citizens for the jobs of the future.

"Special urgency has been given to concern about our schools by the role of education in the urban crisis.

"Deepening concern about our entire educational system is growing. This is expressed in many forms, including vehement revolt by many of the students themselves.[2]

The lawyers' group report placed great importance on an expanded work-study program involving students in efforts to meet crucial challenges confronting society:

"A vital function of the work-study program is to make possible education for students who could not otherwise afford further schooling. The importance of this to training for future needs of the nation is clear. It is equally important in working toward equality of opportunity for those whose parents are less affluent.

"Today, unprecedented numbers of young Americans are in school. They are required to remain in school for longer periods than ever before to be qualified for decent jobs. Academic training is largely separated from nonacademic work. Young people who in past years would have been fully responsible adults are in a position of studying for long periods in order to work later. The difficulty here is that for those of age to assume adult responsibility, study alone is rarely fully satisfying:

"Happiness lies . . . in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort." [3]

"There is, in fact, an innate need of human nature requiring that men engaged in productive activity have an opportunity to assume responsibility and to perfect themselves by their efforts." [Pope John XXIII, Mater et Magistra, Para. 82]

"In large part our young people are restricted in such opportunities today.

"One of the main reasons for widespread student discontent and the susceptibility of large numbers of students to those who pursue extreme methods is the lack of constructive responsibilities and creative opportunities open to many American students.

"In order to deal with this situation, we recommend a future extension of the work-study program on an expanded scale on the basis of the success of the program to date. We further recommend that such work-study programs encompass constructive efforts dealing with national needs which will give the greatest creative opportunities for exciting work on the frontiers of knowledge and of the greatest importance to society.[4] Such programs as the Peace Corps are steps in this direction. Such opportunities must also be made available for many who cannot interrupt their educational career for uninterrupted periods of full-time work of this kind. Perhaps arrangements can be made for academic credit in varying institutions for work-study efforts which have high educational value." [5]

The report also placed great emphasis on the necessity for long-range commitments if efforts to improve education are to be meaningful:

"ADVANCE FUNDING

"H. Rep. No. 1319, 90th Cong., 2d Sess. (1968) points out that federal educational programs have been disrupted on an extremely large scale because of the uncertainty, often up to the last minute, as to whether funds will be available. This Committee has received the same information from many sources.

"As a consequence, many qualified persons today are reluctant to work on educational programs dependent upon federal funds. Many feel as a result of past experiences that there will be no assurance that promised funds for school programs will, in fact, be forthcoming.

"To remedy this, we endorse the proposal that funds be voted during the fiscal year preceding the year in which programs are to be carried out. We further urge that consideration be given to extending this important reform to cover other federal activities in the field of education.

"The procedure is not novel. Whenever it has become clear that long-range planning with knowledge that funds are available is indispensible to the effectiveness of a program, methods have been found to achieve this.

"Any other course is wasteful and amounts to throwing away a large part of the funds spent—because they cannot be effectively used without long-term planning."

This important reform was enacted by the 90th Congress.[6] However, education still does not have the long-range funding granted in other fields where long-range planning is necessary, such as in our highway [7] and space exploration [8] programs. This could be achieved by making all monies voted for education available until expended,[9] if implemented by actual appropriation of funds for long-range educational programs.

In our view this is long overdue. There is nothing in the Constitution which restricts our financial planning to one year [10] nor could any large private business survive on such a basis. Only through long-range commitments can a work study truly be devoted to attacking crucial problems as outlined above be developed and made effective. Long-range commitments can also make possible studies of the results of differing patterns of education on selected students over a period of time, so that their value can be more effectively gaged.

The County Lawyers report concluded with a plea for an overall review of our educational policy:

"NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL POLICY

"The pending legislation and the suggestions we have made only begin to scratch the surface of national needs in the field of education. Comprehensive study and rethinking is necessary to bring our consideration of educational needs up to date to meet the challenges of the last third of this century.

"Much of our education has been devoted to 'cramming information into the heads' of students, who are viewed as passive receptacles like jars into which masses of information are to be poured, for the purpose of being checked on short-answer and multiple choice tests. This is surely outdated in today's rapidly changing environment.[11]

"Our emphasis upon formal education also often deprives citizens who did not do well in school or who lack the appetite for conventional formal education of the opportunity to work in jobs for which they are actually qualified or could become qualified by on-the-job training.[12]

"At the same time, many young Americans who would profit from additional schooling cannot get it because they cannot afford it.

"For these reasons, we approve the pending proposal that it be a national policy that every citizen be entitled to education limited only by the ability of the student to benefit. We likewise endorse the proposal for a National Educational Policy Commission to examine how to carry this goal into effect."

The Committee accordingly approved a bill introduced by Representative Wright Patman of Texas in the 90th Congress to provide for such a long-term study.[13]

The pending bill contains important steps in the directions called for by these recommendations. It would increase the authorization permitting Congress to vote larger funds for work-study program in the future. It would leave intact the 1968 reform permitting education funds to be voted in the fiscal year preceding that in which they are to be spent. It would provide for a study of possible consolidation of existing federal programs of aid to higher education. We approve each of these steps.

We further urge Congressional study of the possibilities of moving further in the directions recommended by the County Lawyers report of 1968.

It is clear that higher education needs to be strengthened to fulfill its role for the nation in the last third of this century. It is likewise clear that the objectives and approach of our higher education need intensive rethinking so that they may meet newly emerging conditions.

The day when education could consist primarily in imparting even a small proportion of existing knowledge to students is long-since gone. The urgent need today is for the ability to find information as needed and to use it effectively, wisely and courageously. The image of the mind as a storehouse must be replaced by the image of the mind as a tool.[14] Our higher education must increasingly reflect this.

Likewise, it must be recognized that academic education alone is not the only means of acquiring either knowledge or skills in finding and using it. Ways must therefore be found to increase the recognition given to on-the-job training and learning-by-doing outside as well as within our educational system. By denying opportunities to those who do not do well in our academic system we deprive the nation of vitally needed human resources. We also generate demands for ever increasing years of formal education by more and more citizens as a prerequisite for good jobs, regardless of whether the formal training to that extent is actually needed for the jobs. The tendency for academic education to become the exclusive ladder for advancement is not healthy either for education or for the nation.

At the same time as we strongly approve the constructive provisions of H.R. 6535, we believe that further exploration of the additional problems and needs outlined above is of the highest importance for the future of higher education and of the nation.

Respectfully submitted.

COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION, FEDERAL BAR COUNCIL,

Richard A. Givens, Chairman; Peter K. Leisure, Secretary; Harold Baer, Jr., Robert Belton, Vincent L. Broderick, Thomas Cahill, Sol Neil Corbin, Clarence Dunaville, Thomas R. Farrell, Mahlon M. Frankhauser, Victor Friedman, William J. Gilbreth, Arthur M. Handler, Robert L. King, Moses L. Kove, Pierre N. Leval, Anthony P. Marshall, J. Edward Meyer, III, Edith Miller, Gary Naftalis, Paul Perito, John Robinson, Mortimer Todel, Nancy F. Wechsler, Gerald Walpin, and James D. Zirin.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Land-grant colleges, for example, date back to the nineteenth century, see 12 Stat. 503 (1862) and vocational education programs to the era of the First World War, 39 Stat. 929 (1917).

[2] New York County Lawyers Association, Committee on Federal Legislation, Report No. F-5 (1968), extracts reprinted in Bulletin of the Committee on Federal Legislation, New York State Bar Association 19–21 (January 1969), also in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, pages 4410–4414, Feb. 25, 1969. Footnotes from this report have been renumbered where pertinent.

[3] Franklin D. Roosevelt, First Inaugural Address, N.Y. Times, March 5, 1933, 2 Hofstadter, Great Issues in American History 351, 353 (1958); see Drucker, Concept of the Corporation 140, 179 (1960 ed.); Drucker, The Future of Industrial Man 101–117 (1942); Committee on Labor & Social Security Legislation, Ass'n of the Bar of the

Footnotes at end of article.

City of New York, Report on Bills to Permit Social Security Beneficiaries to Earn Income to the Extent of their Ability Without Deductions from Social Security Benefits, 5 Reports of Committees of N.Y.C.B.A. Concerned With Federal Legislation 75 (1966); Levenstein, Why People Work (1964); Friedan, The Feminine Mystique (1963).

[4] CF. Givens, Toward Fuller Use of Human Resources, 17 Labor Law Journal 621, 626–29 (Commerce Clearing House Oct. 1966).

[5] Learning-by-doing can often have as much educational value as formal training. See generally Lindberg, The Democratic Classroom (1954); Hopkins, The Emerging Self (1954); Bernstein, The Education of Urban Populations, ch. I (1967); Wertheimer, Productive Thinking (1959 ed.); Dalrymple, The Case for A Hiatus Between School and College, University (Princeton University, Winter 1967–68); Hawkins, The Informed Vision: An Essay on Science Education, 93 Daedalus: J. Amer. Acad. Arts & Sci. 538 (Summer 1965).

[6] Act of January 2, 1968, P.L. 90–247, Title VI, sec. 405, 81 Stat. 815 (1968), 20 U.S.C. § 1225.

[7] 23 U.S.C. § 118(b); see testimony of Vincent L. Broderick and Hon. Charles B. Rangel, before the Senate Committee on Public Works, Subcommittee on Roads, Hearings on Urban Highways, Part 2, 90th Cong., 2d Sess. 208–220 and 374–379 (May 1968).

[8] 42 U.S.C. § 2459.

[9] See also Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, 80 Stat. 1259–64 (1966); Wallace, Congressional Control of Federal Spending 21 (1960) (10 types of appropriations used).

[10] The sole constitutional limitation on length of appropriations is contained in Article I, section 8, clause 12 referring to monies for armies: "The Congress shall have power . . . to raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years." Compare also 61 Stat. 105 (1947); 61 Stat. 134 (1947) (appropriations subsequent to borrowing from federally created institutions to finance emergency foreign aid).

[11] See Fantini & Weinstein, Toward A Contact Curriculum (1967) concerning primary and secondary education.

[12] See Dexter, The Tyranny of Schooling (1964).

[13] H.R. 16253, 90th Cong., 2d Sess. (1968).

[14] John Gardner has said that the mind should be viewed as an instrument rather than a storehouse.

NEW YORK COUNTY LAWYERS' ASSOCIATION, COMMITTEE ON FEDERAL LEGISLATION: REPORT ON PROPOSED EXTENSION OF THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT

By its terms, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, (ESEA) which provides for federal aid to education below the college level, would expire during the present session of Congress. H.R. 514, 91st Cong., 1st. Sess. (1969) would extend the Act, in some respects for five years and in some respects for seven. We approve the extension and recommend consideration of additional steps to strengthen the legal structure for federal efforts in the education field.

MECHANICS OF FEDERAL AID

The ESEA provides for federal aid to education in various specific categories such as for educational programs for low-income families (Title I), libraries, textbooks and like materials (Title II), supplementary education centers and services (Title III), educational research and training (Title IV), strengthening of state education departments (Title V), education of handicapped children (Title VI) and bilingual education programs (Title VII). Other federal education programs are similarly directed to specific kinds of programs (e.g. the National Defense Education Act of 1968 providing aid for instructional materials in science, mathematics, modern foreign languages and certain other subjects and for guidance and testing).

The number of these separate programs are often confusing to educators and the public, and increase the expense of administration as school systems attempt to qualify for as many different kinds of aid as possible. A premium is put on expertise in drafting proposals for aid under the multifarious titles and educational efforts are often distorted as those programs which can qualify for federal funds under one program or another are favored at the expense of other aspects of the educational process. To rectify this, we recommend consideration of consolidation of at least some of the separate programs or adoption of more general aid to basic elementary and secondary education not tied to individual aspects of the process such as instructional materials in specified subjects and the like.

In particular, we feel that programs benefitting the poor will be most viable and effective if extended to all. This should be in addition to some aid for specific kinds of educational efforts which will continue to be needed. Also, in moving toward more general aid programs, we should be careful to see to it that efforts in disadvantaged areas are not cut back but, rather, improved.

Experience with the viability of programs limited to any one specific group has not been favorable. We believe that middle income families should not be excluded. This would also obviate divisive controversies over who can qualify as "poor." We believe that this and other programs would have wider support and benefit as well as long-range likelihood of continuing if they were extended to all, where the programs are of such a nature as to benefit all.

Further in the past we have pointed out that there is no inherent requirements for expiration dates in authorizing legislation or specific fund ceiling in authorization bills.[1] Control of amounts to be spent may be had simply by appropriate congressional decisions on how much is to be voted in the form of appropriations for given programs. Appropriations may be voted to last a reasonable period consonant with efficient planning of the programs. Indeed this and like procedures are used in various circumstances under existing law.[2]

While we approve the five and seven year extensions contained in H.R. 514, we recommend making the program permanent and authorizing such sums to be appropriated as Congress may deem proper, funds to remain available until expended or for some reasonable time to be fixed.

The deleterious effect of lack of advance knowledge of what federal funds are finally to be made available was emphasized by the House Committee on Education and Labor in the 90th Congress, and led to advance funding for one year ahead.[3] In the past those in charge of education programs aided by federal funds often cannot get the best personnel because they do not know until the last minute whether they will receive such funds. Funds voted are sometimes wasted because of the speed of action required once the amounts finally become known. We recommend that this principle be maintained and longer lead-times be provided for truly long-range educational programs.

AREAS WHERE NEW EFFORTS NEEDED

From the investigations made by this Committee and information received through our advisory panel on education, we believe that further attention is needed to the legal structure for dealing with following other problems. Some of these matters relate to the ESEA and others to other education legislation.

1. *School breakfast and school lunch programs.* This Committee has recommended strengthened federal action on a permanent basis to provide adequate breakfast and lunch program for all children who would benefit from it, because:

"No child can learn well on an empty stomach. Nutrition is as much a part of what he needs for his own future and the nation's as textbooks."[4]

It is equally well known that many children in our schools still lack adequate school lunches. Many children in less affluent neighborhoods also come to school without breakfast. We believe the nation cannot afford not to remedy this situation, which is a national problem affecting our human resources with abundant impact on the future of all. We note that H.R. 515 is an important effort to deal with these problems.

Of course as we add such programs, we are using the schools for more than traditional educational purposes. The funds for such programs should, therefore, be voted separately or accounted for separately, or at least not considered as part of the cost of regular school aid in the usual sense. Otherwise school aid budgets look large when actually much of the money goes for other social purposes.

2. *Day Care.* A large portion of families with small children in the urban cores grow up in environments prior to entering school which make their education thereafter more difficult. Likewise many mothers who must work have no way to provide adequate care for younger children. Conversely, a significant number of mothers remain on welfare because they cannot work having no way to care for pre-school children.

Each of these situations, which exists on a large scale, underlines the need for effective national action to provide day care facilities for children of younger ages than those covered in existing pre-school programs.

Important opportunities for older citizens to contribute can also be created, along the lines of the little-implemented "foster grandparent" concept.[5] Further, much of today's informed opinion attributes a portion of the high crime rate in the ghettos to fatherless families.

If we could supply a male authority figure of any appropriate age even if only for a portion of the daytime hours we might be able to help reduce future crime statistics and lay a basis for future healthier families.

3. *Pre-School Programs.* Wide support has been expressed for expansion of federal efforts concerning pre-school programs. Head Start was a pioneering effort in this field, but because of difficulties affecting the antipoverty program generally it has been cut back. New efforts are therefore needed on a permanent basis. Bipartisan support for such a step was widely expressed in the 90th Congress, for example by Senator Hart of Michigan[6] and the Republican Coordinating Committee's Education Study Group headed by Representative Albert H. Quie of Minnesota.[7] The report of the Republican Coordination Committee's panel stated:

"Early childhood education programs should, as a matter of priority and urgency, be expanded to include all 5- and 4-year olds, and perhaps 3-year-olds from impoverished neighborhoods who would benefit."[8]

We concur with these views, with the single modification that we recommend that the programs be general rather than limited to the poor.

At the same time, as indicated by President Nixon on February 19, 1969 greater follow-through after these pre-school programs is needed (N.Y. Times, Feb. 20, 1969, p. 33). Without this the benefit of pre-school efforts is often lost.

4. *The Need for a More Relevant Curriculum.* In the technological future into which we are moving, the need for ability to handle new situations, to use, find, and evaluate information and to handle tasks requiring judgment initiative and persistence is bound

Footnotes at end of article.

to grow. This will require a new approach to education, in which the mind is viewed more as a tool and less as a storehouse. The difficulty in training teachers in such methods is great. Accordingly, the need for research in how to most effectively refine, develop and implement the most effective kind of education for the last third of this century is a national problem.

Many educators have pointed to the need for enhancing the motivation of students by beginning where they are—with their curiosities, needs and experiences.[9]

It is a problem we ignore at our peril.

In the inner cities many children regard the education we now provide as irrelevant and reject the educational system by dropping out. This represents a failure to reach these children by challenging them with opportunities relevant to their experience, from "where they are." It results in a vast waste of human resources.

The problem is not limited to the ghettos. Throughout the educational system, students in large numbers feel that their present education is not relevant.

The "old" education often regarded students as jars into which information could be poured, to be poured back on standardized or short-answer tests.

The need today is for greater involvement, learning by doing, and in the higher grades, participation in important tasks which will challenge the greatest efforts of which the students are capable.

The solutions to these problems cannot be legislated. But legislation can provide a framework in which they can be attacked.

This kind of education is needed not merely to stem the waste of human resources now occurring in our cities, but to provide the manpower needed to deal with the technological future.[10]

Research into how these problems can be tackled, communication of results achieved by teachers who have achieved breakthroughs in their classrooms, but which do not now go further because not known, and training of teachers in new methods are vital in this respect. Teacher training in new approaches and sensitivities is a key element in any approach to education for the last third of this century.

5. *Federal Assistance in Dealing With Local Issues.* Many issues trouble education today. For example, in many urban areas, demands for local control of schools have been growing. Many parents and citizens, particularly in the urban cores, feel that the schools are run by a distant series of interlocking authorities and are not "theirs." Teachers and administrators on the other hand fear action based on essentially power and political rather than educational considerations. As a result of these interlocking fears, intense conflicts have developed.

Crime in schools is also a serious problem in many areas.

Availability of Federal consultants to help localities look at the needs of each group might in some cases provide technical assistance leading to a better resolution of the conflicting interests.[11]

6. *Use of Para-Professionals.* The wider use of local community personnel as school aids of many kinds can help to free teachers for closer interaction with students, bring schools closer to communities, and open up "new careers" for many citizens. Federal action to further such efforts are therefore a high priority.

7. *Need for Overall Reevaluation of the Functions of Education Today.* The areas of concern suggested here merely scratch the surface of national needs in the field of education. Representative Wright Patman introduced a bill in the 90th Congress[12] for a National Education Policy Commission to formulate long-term goals for American education and how all can be afforded an opportunity to obtain education to the extent to which they would benefit. We endorse this proposal.

As part of such a study, we believe attention should also be given both to waste of human resources due to inadequate availability of education and inadequate challenge to children to benefit from it, and to the possibility that in other instances overemphasis may have been given to requirements for formal education in qualifications for some jobs and otherwise in our society resulting in waste of human resources.[13]

We do not believe, however, that further federal action to deal with the problems outlined in this report need await the deliberation of such a national commission. On the contrary, these needs are urgent. We must deal with them now to lay a foundation for the future of the nation.

Respectfully submitted.

COMMITTEE ON FEDERAL LEGISLATION,
Vincent L. Broderick, Chairman; Richard A. Givens, Secretary; Alan Appelbaum, Robert Beshar, Arthur Brooks, Gideon Cashman, Arthur K. Garfinkel, Vito T. Giordano, Herman A. Gray, Robert M. Kaufman, Melvin Kimmel, Bowie K. Kuhn, Jerome J. Londin, J. Edward Meyer, III, Robert S. Persky, Henry Stone, Anita Streep, John E. Tobin, Stanley Wolder, Bruce McM. Wright, James V. Hayes, Ex-Officio, and Thomas Keogh, Ex-Officio.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Bulletin of the Committee on Federal Legislation, New York State Bar Association 16–20 (January 1969).

[2] E.g., the Foreign Service Act of August 13, 1946, sec. 1071, 60 Stat. 999, 22 U.S.C. § 801, note ("Appropriations to carry out the purposes of this Act are hereby authorized"); Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, 80 Stat. 1259–64 (1966); federal highway aid program, 23 U.S.C. § 118 (b); space program, 42 U.S.C. § 2459. See also Wallace Congressional Control of Federal Spending 21 (1960) (10 types of appropriations used).

[3] See 81 Stat. 814 (1968), 20 U.S.C. §1223; see also H. Rep. No. 1319, 90th Cong., 2d Sess. 16 (1968).

[4] Bulletin of the Committee on Federal Legislation, New York State Bar Association 20 (January 1969).

[5] N.Y. Times, August 29, 1965, P. 1, Col. 28, p. 74, cols. 1–2; Reissman, New Careers for the Poor (1964); current magazine, No. 66, p. 39 (Dec. 1965).

[6] Congressional Record, vol. 114, pt. 12, p. 15305.

[7] N.Y. Times, April 8, 1968; Washington Post, April 8, 1968, p. A–13.

[8] Washington Post, April 8, 1968, p. A–13. On the effectiveness of pre-school programs see Leeper, et al., eds., Good Schools for Young Children (2d ed. 1968); Hodges & Spicher, "The Effects of Preschool Experiences on Culturally Deprived Children" in Hartup & Smothergill, eds., The Young Child: Reviews of Research 262 (1967).

[9] E.g. Fantini & Weinstein, Toward a Contact Curriculum (B'nai B'rith 1967). See generally Lindberg, The Democratic Classroom (1954); Leonard, Education and Ecstasy (1968); Hopkins, The Emerging Self (1954); Bernstein, The Education of Urban Populations, Part I (1967); Wertheimer, Productive Thinking (1959); Doll & Flemming, eds. Children Under Pressure (1966).

[10] See Hawkins, "The Informed Vision: An essay on Science Education," 94 DAEDALUS: J. Amer. Acad. Arts & Sci. 538 (Summer 1965).

[11] For example, can differing patterns of extent and timing of local control or decentralization be permitted within the large confines of a great city, so that not all areas need agree on a single approach? Can ways be found for a school system as a whole to guarantee jobs to qualified teachers so that disputes with those in charge of local districts will assume less importance?

[12] H.R. 16253, 90th Cong., 2d Sess. (1968).

[13] See Dexter, The Tyranny of Schooling (1964).

HON. RICHARD H. POFF

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, 16 years ago I came to Congress as a freshman Republican from a Democratic State with our distinguished friend and colleague, the Honorable RICHARD H. POFF. We quickly became fast friends.

In the intervening years, DICK POFF has so distinguished himself by his brilliant service in the House of Representatives that he is today rumored to be heading for the U.S. Supreme Court.

While DICK tells us there is nothing to the rumors, it is a high tribute to him, and I am proud to list such a brilliant attorney and warm friend among those with whom I have served in this House.

The Chicago Tribune on Sunday, April 13, carried an article by Aldo Beckman concerning the rumored High Court appointment and many interesting events in DICK's life which have led to his position of acknowledged leadership. I believe the article would be of interest to all who know and admire DICK, and I insert it at this point in the RECORD:

HIGH COURT RUMORS DELIGHT REPRESENTATIVE POFF

(By Aldo Beckman)

WASHINGTON, April 12.—The young sophomore at Christiansburg, Va., high school, son of a local barber, had a great interest in government. So he was disappointed to learn no government courses were included in the regular curriculum.

Explaining to his adviser that he planned someday to serve in the United States Congress, the youngster requested, and was given, a do-it-yourself course in government, which he completed during his school library hours by studying recommended books on government.

The young student who so yearned for an education in government now is 45 years old and spends every Tuesday morning at the White House helping President Nixon and congressional leaders map out strategy for his country.

LEGAL MIND ESTEEMED

He is Rep. Richard H. Poff [R., Va.], who, during his 16 years in the House, has earned a reputation as one of the top legal minds in the legislative branch of government.

That recognized legal ability, coupled with Poff's active role during Nixon's Presidential campaign, has triggered reports that Poff might be in line for a Supreme court opening. One seems almost certain to become available during Nixon's tenure in the White House.

While Nixon would be expected to hesitate to name a southerner to the court in June, when Chief Justice Earl Warren steps down, Poff might be a natural successor to Justice Hugo Black, a native of Birmingham, Ala. Black is 83 years old.

RUMOR DELIGHTS POFF

Poff just smiled at such speculation.

"It's a delightful rumor," he said during an interview in his Rayburn House Office building suite, which provides a picturesque view of the great Capitol dome. "It's one which I am grateful for, but it is no more than a rumor."

Poff, who now is second-ranking Republican on the House judiciary committee, obviously isn't spending much time contemplating such an appointment.

He is secretary to the Republican conference, which is headed by Rep. John Anderson [R., Ill.], and also serves as secretary to the Republican leadership, positions which qualify him for that prestigious Tuesday breakfast every week at the White House.

Administration officials have used him as their chief liaison agent between the White House and the House judiciary committee on all criminal legislative matters, and he played a key role in mapping the President's anti-crime drive, which is expected to be announced shortly.

PUSHES PET STATUTE

The Virginia Republican also spends much of his time pushing a new witness immunity statute, which he describes with near missionary zeal.

It would eliminate the "immunity bath" which has served as the No. 1 obstacle to persuading judges to grant immunity to hoodlum figures before federal grand juries investigating organized crime, Poff said.

Under current laws, said Poff, some federal judges have hesitated to grant immunity from prosecution for fear that some other federal agency might have independently gathered information on a hoodlum, who then could not be prosecuted with it if he had discussed those facts after being given the "immunity bath" before the grand jury.

CONFIDENT OF PASSAGE

Poff is confident his bill will pass this Congress and views it as a great weapon against organized crime.

His views on "law and order" were developed to a fine point during the last Congress, when he headed a Republican task force on crime, which was designed to offer constructive alternatives to Democratic programs.

"This law and order problem has many facets," he said, "and it's too easy to oversimplify the problem and even easier to oversimplify the solution."

"The problems include detection and prevention of crime, and the investigation of crimes already committed," he said. "Enforcement of the laws by the courts, the way criminal institutions are operated, and criminal rehabilitation all are part of the problem."

RESPECTS HIGH COURT

"You can't treat one of these things without treating them all," he emphasized.

"I've often disagreed with the rationale of some Supreme court decision's," continued Poff, "but I've never been a court cusser."

"I've always respected it as an institution."

Poff's presence on Nixon's "key issues committee" was widely felt by the G.O.P. candidate, who made law and order one of the main issues of his campaign. During the convention Poff served as parliamentarian on the convention floor for Nixon forces. The veteran legislator describes the chief executive as "a warm and close friend."

WORLD WAR II PILOT

After high school, Poff attended Roanoke [Va.] college, where, as a 160-pound blocking guard, he was named to the second Little All-American Football team. World War II interrupted Poff's education, but he studied law books in England when he wasn't piloting a B-24 in raids over Europe. By the end of the war, Poff had been on 35 missions, and been awarded the distinguished flying cross.

He married the former Jo Ann Ragan Topper in Christiansburg when he returned from the war. The couple now has a daughter and two sons. Then he entered the University of Virginia law school.

Upon graduation, he began practice in Radford, Va., his birthplace, creating what turned out to be one of the most political law offices in town. One member of the team now is in the state house of delegates, another is in the state Senate, and a third, now resigned from the law firm, is a federal judge.

FACES NO OPPOSITION

Poff made his move for elective office in 1952, when he became the first Republican in the history of the district to be sent to Congress. His frequent trips home and his meticulous handling of constituents' requests has so solidified him in the normally-Democratic area that the Democrats didn't even bother to run a candidate against him last fall.

GI BILL CRITICS MISINFORMED

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, recently there were several news stories and editorials, based on the inaccurate statement of a misinformed critic of the GI bill, that lamented the alleged low numbers of Vietnam-era veterans taking training under the bill.

The entire episode was unfortunate, first, because there is no factual basis for such criticism. The current bill is a good, workable education measure that is attracting a larger percentage of trainees into higher education than either the World War II or Korean bills.

It was unfortunate because such unfounded, carping criticism serves only to do harm to a program that has proven one of the most successful and most beneficial to the eligible recipients, and to this Government.

Let us look at the facts.

During the first 2½ years of the current post-Korean GI bill, better than 60 percent of the eligible veterans in training have entered institutions of higher learning.

During the first 2½ years of the World War II program, only 46 percent of the veterans who entered training enrolled in institutions of higher learning.

In the first 2½ years of the Korean GI bill—the same span—only 49 percent of the eligible veterans who entered training enrolled in college-level courses. Obviously, with 60 percent of the post-Korean veteran group entering higher education, that program is off to a much better start.

The record reveals that the percentage of the total eligible population, 19 percent, entering all types of training under the current bill in its first 2½ years is greater than in World War II, 18 percent, but slightly less than the 23 percent of the Korean bill in the comparable period.

It will not be surprising, when the final chapter of the post-Korean GI bill education and training program is written, that at least half of the eligible veterans will have used part or all of their training entitlement, thus equaling the total World War II rate and far surpassing the 42 percent total participation of Korean conflict veterans.

I emphasize that what has already been accomplished and what will yet be achieved in education and training under the post-Korean GI bill is neither surprising nor an accident because of the intensive and extensive effort of the Veterans' Administration to tell and sell this program to post-Korean veterans.

For the past 14 months the VA, in cooperation with other Federal, State, and local agencies that can assist veterans, has operated newly conceived U.S. veterans assistance centers in all of the largest cities. Although designed to aid all veterans, the centers have emphasized a reachout program for the disadvantaged.

In assisting thousands and thousands of disadvantaged veterans to secure jobs and resume their education, the assistance center personnel have, in many instances, employed several persistent forms of communication. If veterans do not respond to individual letters offering help, there is follow-on contact by telephone, and where this has failed to get results, USVAC employees have made home visits during the day, at night, and on weekends.

Far from keeping benefit information secret, the VA has mounted the most widespread program of benefit information in its history. Look at these facts:

The VA starts its benefits counseling before a man has even been discharged from service.

Since January 1967, 40 especially trained VA employees have volunteered for service in Vietnam, briefing combat servicemen on their benefits even before they return stateside. Two of these VA officials have lost their lives. The VA representatives have conducted 75,000 in-depth personal interviews, have given orientation lectures to 700,000 troops, and have assisted 30,000 soon-to-be veterans make advance application for benefits. Nothing like this has ever been done before.

Since October 1966, VA representatives have regularly visited stateside military hospitals offering bedside counseling and assistance to wounded and seriously disabled servicemen. They have conducted 160,000 interviews, and have helped to make out 100,000 applications for benefits. The VA has never conducted a program of this magnitude in so many military hospitals before.

VA officials also cover all 304 military separation points, and have given benefit lectures to 970,000 servicemen as well as conducting 135,000 personal interviews. No coverage nearly this comprehensive has ever been provided before.

Once a serviceman becomes a veteran he receives a letter tailored to his general needs by the VA, explaining what benefits are available, and inviting him to contact the VA. A recent sampling showed that 30 percent of the veterans responded to the letters, and two-thirds of those responding asked for detailed information on GI bill education provisions. This correspondence approach has never been utilized before.

For the first time in its history, the VA has established a foreign exchange telephone service in 34 major cities. Veterans in these cities can call a VA regional office in another city without a toll charge. To date, 350,000 telephone inquiries have been handled by the parent regional offices. In March 1969 alone, 40,000 FX calls regarding benefits were received.

The new U.S. veterans assistance centers, which I mentioned earlier in my remarks, have provided personal help interviews for more than 250,000 veterans, and 65,000 of these interviews have been conducted with educationally disadvantaged veterans. This special reachout is over and above the literally millions of interviews conducted at regular VA offices during the past year.

To a degree never remotely approached before, the VA has solicited the assistance of major veterans organizations in contacting newly discharged veterans, and these organizations have done a magnificent service in making benefits known to veterans in every city and hamlet in America.

I think that the Veterans' Administration is to be commended for this information effort. Certainly they should be encouraged to continue it, and, if need be, expand it.

When Congress enacted the Veterans Readjustment Benefits Act of 1966—the post-Korean GI bill, it did not rest on its laurels. Instead, it substantially expanded the education benefits of the post-Korean GI bill in 1967. One of the most significant provisions of Public Law 90–77, effecting these changes, gave first-time-in-history educational entitlement to veterans to complete high school with full VA educational assistance without charging any of this aid to their full, follow-on college eligibility.

This is truly an example of legislative wisdom and vision.

Further refinements were added to the present GI bill education and training program last year, and more will be forthcoming from the Veterans Affairs Committee this year.

I may be an optimist. If so, I have got lots of company. The record clearly shows that the Vietnam veteran is carefully planning the use of his GI bill education and training opportunities. It is also abundantly evident that this third great investment of America—the education and training of its veterans—will pay off more generously than ever for our veterans and our great Nation.

JUSTICE, MERCY, HUMILITY

HON. BENJAMIN B. BLACKBURN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, today I have the privilege of bringing a matter of no small meaning to the attention of the House of Representatives. Our great country, founded and developed on the principles of God, reflects the qualities of justice, mercy, and humility which the Old Testament Prophet Micah so vividly described as God's requirements for life and worship in Micah, chapter 6, verse 8:

> What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God.

It is my belief that these principles which play so large a part in our heritage should be inscribed on the $1 bill. With this in mind, I am today submitting a bill which would put the phrase "Justice, mercy, humility" below the word "One."

The matter was brought to my attention by a citizen of my district, Mr. Philip Berlin, who feels that in our dealings with our fellow man we often forget the qualities of morality and kindness, and perhaps the best place to be reminded of them is on the dollar bill. Mr. Berlin says—

> The Founding Fathers conceived our Constitution in justice, mercy, and humility. This would be an everyday reminder of our moral responsibilities. It embraces all faiths and denominations and offends no one. Not even an atheist would be offended at the motto, "Justice, mercy, humility."

I sincerely urge the House to give favorable consideration to this matter.

TABULATED RESULTS FOR POLL CONDUCTED MARCH 1969

HON. ROBERT J. CORBETT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. CORBETT. Mr. Speaker, we have completed another poll of public opinion in the 18th Congressional District of Pennsylvania. To date more than 22,000 questionnaires have been tabulated, the results of which virtually constitute a referendum on the issues considered.

The district embraces most of Allegheny County, north of the city of Pittsburgh and is basically residential and industrial. In past polls we have noted that our results generally parallel those of national surveys. This probably stems from the wide variety of ethnic, social, and economic groups that compose the district. It is almost a microcosm of the entire country.

The tabulated results with some commentary are included below:

TABULATED RESULTS FOR POLL CONDUCTED MARCH 1969

1. Do you favor the deployment of an anti-ballistic missile (ABM) system? Yes, 65%; No, 35%.

Unfortunately our questionnaire was printed prior to President Nixon's announcement of his greatly modified ABM program. However, this 65–35 response in favor of an ABM deployment indicates that a large majority of our district is willing to pay for Mr. Nixon's modified ("mini") program.

2. Would you terminate all public financial help to students found guilty of participating in disruptive demonstrations? Yes, 93%; No, 7%.

This shows the general disgust with student demonstrations that are not proper and orderly. Certainly the taxpayer is not willing to help subsidize students who destroy school facilities and interrupt educational processes.

3. Do you favor the plans to terminate political patronage in the Post Office Department? Yes, 95%; No, 5%.

The public has long been aware that one of the chief faults of the postal system is that it has been used to provide political patronage plums at all levels. This can and should be stopped. I have introduced two bills to do this. One (HR 8151) would stop political favoritism by making such acts punishable by fines and imprisonment. The other (HR 9115) would change the system of appointments and promotions by basing them solely on merit. One of these bills is likely to pass.

4. Would you vote to extend for one year the ten percent surcharge on income taxes? Yes, 40%; No, 60%.

Almost everyone is angered by our heavy tax burden, but 40% feel that we must pay as we go for the expensive government services the majority demand (see question 10), or more debts and inflation will result.

5. What should be done about our present selective service system?

(a) Convert the present method of deferments and exemptions to a draft lottery? 36%.

(b) Eliminate selective service in favor of all volunteer forces? 25%.

(c) Leave present system as is? 39%.

Our draft system is far from satisfactory, but a plurality prefers it to the most publicized alternatives. It seems that the most popular thing to do would be to keep our present draft system with some desirable changes.

6. Should we impose a graduated income tax on those who have tax-free incomes of over $25,000? Yes, 92%; No, 8%.

Most people know of, and are outraged by, the many loopholes in our income tax laws. Most of our loopholes had an original justification, but they have been abused to an unjustifiable extent. The Ways & Means Committee is currently holding hearings on the subject and ought to bring out a good reform bill. I have urged members of the Committee to do so and have promised to round up a considerable number of votes in suppport of such a bill.

7. Should a tax be levied on that part of the earnings of foundations not distributed to accredited charities? Yes, 89%; No, 11%.

This is clear evidence of one tax loophole the public wants closed.

8. What method of electing the President would you like to see?

(a) An Electoral College composed of one elector from each Congressional District and two at large from each state? 9%.

(b) Direct popular vote? 77%.

(c) No change; keep the present system? 14%.

It has long been agreed that our Electoral College is unfair and can be dangerous in close elections. Correction has not come, simply because a majority in Congress cannot agree on an alternative. We can hope and work for a satisfactory change before the next Presidential election in 1972.

9. Should segregation be prohibited by cutting off federal aid to schools that will not adhere to federal guidelines? Yes, 53%; No, 47%.

The majority of "yes" responses is not overwhelming. It is, however, typical of the divided opinion in the Congress and the Executive Branch. Many do not like forced integration and a few more do not want federal funds to support school districts that continue segregation. This issue will not soon be resolved.

10. Should we oppose all new non-defense spending programs for several years? Yes, 42%; No, 58%.

Here we go again. People, like politicians, seem to like expenditures but oppose taxes (see question 4). After establishing all the welfare and public works programs of the New Frontier-Great Society, more spending still seems to be popular. The conservative Congress of 1947–48 balanced the budget and cut taxes. It was thrown out of control in the election of 1948. Again in 1953–54 the conservative Congress balanced the budget and cut taxes. It was ousted from control in the next election and conservatives have never come close to regaining a majority since.

11. Should the federal government share some of its revenues with the states? Yes, 79%; No, 21%.

A large majority seems to hope or believe that federal grants to the States would help cut the sprawling bureaucracy in Washington and help prevent increased state taxes. The proposal is worth a thorough testing, because right now we have dozens of federal agencies making heavily supervised grants to various state agencies.

12. Should public employees other than firemen and police have the right to strike? Yes, 41%; No, 59%.

Many people are appalled by strikes of teachers, welfare workers, sanitation employees, etc. However, public workers are hurt by inflation the same as private employees. The long need for a good arbitration system is obvious here. The federal, state, and local governments have not done their jobs in this field.

SPEECH BY HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES DELIVERED AT DEDICATION AT STETSON UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF LAW

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to bring to the attention of my colleagues an outstanding speech delivered by Congressman ROBERT L. S. SIKES on the occasion of the dedication at Stetson University College of Law on March 15, 1969, in St. Petersburg, Fla.

In light of the campus disorders which have been disrupting our country in recent weeks, I believe BOB SIKES' message to the youth of our Nation is both compelling and inspiring and I commend it to my colleagues and enter it into the RECORD at this point:

SPEECH BY THE HONORABLE ROBERT L. F. SIKES DELIVERED MARCH 15, 1969, FOR THE STETSON UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF LAW DEDICATION

I don't know whether or not it will strike a responsive chord if I refer to the Stetson University College of Law as a "Cinderella" institution. Certainly the sound and substantial progress of this college leaves no picture of a Cinderella, nor do I suggest that at the stroke of 12 all of this pleasing campus with its beautiful buildings will disappear. But I remember the Stetson College of Law in its early days, first as a small institution on the DeLand campus and then, after World War II, in makeshift deactivated Air Force base facilities which you utilized in an effort to accommodate the large influx of post-war students. Certainly those were Cinderella days. And those who believe in the heritage of Stetson have found the foot the golden slipper fits.

I know something of Stetson's national renown as an institution of learning. I am confident no other college of law has an equal record of success in preparing its graduates to pass the bar examinations. I need not remind this audience of the results released each year by the Florida Bar Examiners. Stetson lawyers are always at or near the top of the list. In fact, at the beginning of this academic year, Stetson graduates had led all other Florida law schools in the percentage of applicants passing on eight consecutive occasions. On five of these examinations, its record was perfect. No school can do better than 100%. This requires a highly capable staff and faculty, and it requires dedication and a desire for learning on the part of the students and support from the alumni. On all of these counts, I congratulate you.

I am pleased and honored that you would want me to be with you for the dedication of two buildings which will provide important needed facilities for this institution; the Eleanor N. Dana Hall and the H. Jackson Crummer Hall. These buildings are possible because of the dedicated and helpful interest of Mrs. Eleanor Dana of New York City, an outstanding philanthropist who has graced this occasion with her presence, and that of Roy E. Crummer of Los Angeles, a longtime able and prominent Floridian who died just one year ago. The building established by Mr. Crummer is a memorial to his deceased son, H. Jackson Crummer, for whom the building is named.

It is good to know that the really significant work which is being done at Stetson has attracted the interest and support of these and other benefactors who recognize the value—the essentiality—of soundness in education processes, soundness such as that which is offered at Stetson.

A long time ago Horace Greeley, a man of some renown in his time, said, "Go West, young man, go West." Greeley's statement made in 1854 did not have its full impact until the post-war years following the 1860s. At that time in the South, great areas had been ravaged by war, and to many the future seemed as dead as the burned-out ashes of the Confederacy. In the North, the tremendous build-up of war industry was no longer needed, and returning hundreds of thousands of veterans required new outlets for their energies and new sources of livelihood. The undeveloped West beckoned to everyone with bright promise for a new life.

Now, a hundred years later but a thousand years removed in progress, there are different problems but equal uncertainties. And now a new frontier beckons. New Horizons wait to be pushed back. Where? All around us. When? Today, as a part of every student's college activity. And on tomorrow, as a civic responsibility or as a career.

This new frontier is the domain of public life which needs the thrust and enthusiasm and the dedication of youth. And I say to young men and women, today's brightest horizons are in the field of public service. And remember the adage, "If the mountain will not go to Mahomet, let Mahomet go to the mountain." Go ahead and get your feet wet. Don't wait to be asked. I can assure you that candidates seldom are drafted to run. Be as partisan as you want, or as non-partisan. And let me also assure you that my remarks are non-partisan, or at least as non-partisan as remarks can be from a man who has run 20 times for office on the Democratic ticket—Southern Democratic, that is. I do not counsel this course because I want you to be a part of the demonstrations and the outlandish demands for recognition which have been noted in too many colleges and universities. Nor do I counsel it as an antidote, for I would provide a different antidote for those activities. I would give those who dissent destructively short shift to get back to their books or get packing. The Justice Department finally has awakened to the fact that some of these are law violators with communist affiliations. They are not students. Instead, I urge students nationwide to enter the field of public service as a way of showing that young men and young women can provide responsible leadership. There must be those who believe in our country and who will stand up for it and make themselves heard on the campuses, on the street corners, or wherever people gather.

What I advocate offers no short cut to success or popularity. It can be as lonely as the life of a pioneer. Leadership is at times a jealous mistress which refuses to share you with the crowds around you. Success can be as heady as a gold strike. But it can also be as seldom achieved, or as short-lived. But the mark you make will be written indelibly on the walls of time. And win, lose or draw, it will say you stood for something.

No one will contest the point that it is in the schools, the colleges, and the universities of our country that our nation's future is being created, but what kind of future? Of all the paradoxical confrontations of success and confusion, there may be no better example than educational processes in America. From the time of Jefferson, we have held that education is the cornerstone of a successful democracy, and with each passing decade we have built on to the foundation of educational opportunity. And each year a bigger bite out of the tax dollar goes into education. What the public now is being exposed to would indicate that a lot of these dollars are being wasted. This, despite the very best efforts of many wholly dedicated staff and faculty members.

Now that we educate so many, and do it so routinely, there is growing concern that education is becoming a mass production phenomenon which does not really delineate goals, or mark out choices, or provide incentives of life. Too many students have told me that they have a sense of simply being swallowed up in the crowd—that they are in college because it is the thing to do, and not in the true sense in preparation for the challenge of life in a dynamic, exciting, rapidly-developing world.

I would under no circumstances urge that any college activity displace the solid substance of learning. It is the exercise of the brain which truly prepares a student for adult responsibility. But I would urge that the variety of activities which so frequently divert student attention from the real challenge of learning be enlarged to include this new area of public service which can in itself add to intellectual excellence.

I need not remind you that no country has endeavored more successfully to convert its resources and its scientific achievements to useful purpose. America has created a stupendous technological power with unbelievable capacity to provide for the needs of our people. We should have obtained, in this process, freedom of action for social betterment and individual improvement far beyond our present status. We can circle the moon and send back revealing photographs of the world and the stars, but we still cannot penetrate the jungle cover of Vietnam and tell what is hidden underneath, or solve the conflict which frustrates us there. We possess the power to destroy hundreds of millions of people with a single massive strike, almost in a single instant, but we haven't conquered disease, and we haven't eliminated poverty even for those who are willing to work to escape poverty. Modern technology is expanding more rapidly than our power and foresights; more rapidly than our understanding of the consequences of the improvements we hail. We should be masters of our destiny in today's confusion, but it would be risky to predict that we can really determine where our destiny leads. New leadership must be developed now to help delineate a safe course for the nation. Where better than through training on the college campuses?

We have created the greatest wealth and established the highest standard of living in the world, but we know these in themselves are not enough. Gross national product, which achieves stupendous new heights each year, does not really spell out the contentment or tranquility of the people. Only leadersip will do these things, leadership which attracts the confidence of the people while charting a safer course. It is the absence of that type of leadership which has encouraged dissenters who, in reality, offer nothing more than destruction of the very goals for which our nation has been building.

Leadership is the art of politics, with important additives. A most respected professor and writer on government, Dr. Charles R. Adrian, notes that, "Politics is not an evil thing. It is the catalysis that changes citizens into public officials, and individual wishes into public policy. It is essential to democracy. On the local scene—as on the college scene—it operates largely in the same manner as it does for state and national governments. Only the emphasis and the relative balance-of-forces are changed." Professor Adrian said it very well. And then if you want to know the steps to accomplish this transition to public life, these too are very simple: (1) Attract attention; (2) Win belief; (3) Impart understanding. Much of leadership is, of course, based on good public relations, but good public relations will endure only when it is deserved. Nor can it be impressive unless it is dynamic. But to be truly effective, there must be knowledge and faith among the people that the actions of a public official are done in their interest, with confidence that he also is upholding moral and ethical values. That's the way this country really is at heart.

Many times people have said to me, "What can I do about my country's problems?" The decisions which affect our lives frequently seem so remote from the average person's influence that he feels frustrated and helpless. And this is a situation which may produce apathy in which nothing more is done than a casual protest vote at the polls, or it may produce a political improvisation—something resembling guerrilla warfare—which now is demonstrated by group protests or even by riots. This power of negative thinking is not new in the United States. There have been protest movements and marches throughout our history. But the new power blocs—the blacks and the students—have developed new techniques for making their displeasure heard and their influence felt. It should be remembered that Ghandi did very well with this sort of thing at a different tempo in India. It would be dangerous to discount its potential. At the college level, it can be particularly disruptive.

Yes, there is something students can do about this situation, and I can promise a sense of personal fulfillment which can come from a total engagement with ideas, and with the intellectual problems of our days, with a magnificent promise for the future. You can be a leader in the battle to preserve America.

There are decisions Stetson cannot make for its students. Leadership is a personal thing. When the chips are down—when the men are being separated from the boys—when his future and perhaps that of the nation is being decided—that's when the student must make his own decision—to be a leader or to be one of the led. He won't find the answer in books—only in his heart. Does it really make a difference? Yes, it makes a difference because these are troubled times, uncertain and in a sense directionless times. Which way is our country going? We obviously are living in a time of great social change; we face unprecedented crises from day to day, those who administer the law do not seem to know how to respond to strange and querulous protests of minorities of our citizens. Established institutions are under attack, and accepted principles of morality, law and order seem to be in question. We hear strange proposals—and strange talk of appeasement from the most unexpected sources.

It requires no great profundity or intellectual capacity to be aware that the American way of life is in danger. It is in danger because vested authority does not seem to have the courage, the resolution, or the conviction to fully resist disorder, chaos, or anarchy. Somehow, the great majority of our citizens seem unable or unwilling to prompt or inspire the sort of action which will insure for us an orderly society, moving forward to greater things with minimum damage to old institutions, most of which most assuredly deserve saving.

President Abraham Lincoln observed in 1864 that "The world has never had a good definition of the word 'liberty' and the American people, just now, are very much in want of one." That comment is very apt today. What is really needed may not be so much a definition of liberty or freedom as guidelines for its proper use. Freedom also means the exercise of rights and franchises under restraints and protections which are justly imposed by law. Freedom implies the presence of reasonable rules for the protection of the community and for the promotion of public health, safety, morals, and welfare. Daniel Webster said, "Liberty exists in proportion to wholesome restraint." If the objectives of liberty and freedom are honorable, as I believe them to be, then the uses of freedom must be no less honorable. Freedom requires individual responsibility, and each man must be a guardian of responsible freedom. When the element of personal responsibility is added, freedom becomes a prevailing force, exerting its influence on men and governments—protected by courage, fortified by wisdom, and nourished by the roots of private morality.

Now if that isn't plain enough, let me say it this way. It is time to discipline the nut fringe, to enforce the law, and to stand up for the things America stands for—at home and abroad. We cannot afford to be directionless. We cannot afford any more Pueblos. There must be purpose and direction and determination, and for these there must be leadership.

Students, as good Americans, can contribute to a secure and progressive tomorrow. You will have great tasks before you, and they are tasks which will test your strength, and your character; sometimes your very soul. But what a wonderful opportunity will be yours in the process. You will be seeing this great land with new vision and new appreciation. And you will be writing a page—your page—in the matchless saga of America.

Now let me express my appreciation to all who have participated in bringing these beautiful buildings into being, and I am grateful to have been given the opportunity to take part in these exercises dedicating Eleanor N. Dana Hall and H. Jackson Crummer Hall to the use and benefit of mankind under the administration of the Dean and faculty of this law school.

AMERICAN PATRIOTS

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following letter which I have received from Philip Amster, of Pittsburgh, Pa., as he is to be complimented on his civic and patriotic interest in our good country:

Congressman JAMES G. FULTON,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I am one of four brothers who have honorable United States Army discharges. My oldest brother is 88 years old, a Spanish American War veteran, at present being well cared for at Veterans Hospital in Aspinwall, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Our family loves and appreciates our America and it just hurts real deep to see how little many citizens show their love and patriotism for our beloved Country. They just take things for granted and I feel they should be prodded and reminded that our United States flag stands for so very much.

When the Astronauts completed Flight 9 and stepped on the big flat top, US Carrier, they had a flag on the left sleeve. Also our US entrants in the Olympics have our flag emblem on their clothing. If millions of Americans showed an American flag emblem on their car in a certain place, say the left or right side or rear window, how wonderful it would be for everyone to see and be reminded what a privilege it is to be an American.

Uncle Sam could sell such a sticker of the US flag to be placed on all mail boxes throughout our 50 states, the Virgin Islands, etc.

How do these suggestions strike you? Can this letter be brought to the attention of President Nixon, I sure hope so.

Yours truly,

PHILIP AMSTER.

Mr. Speaker, I am glad to include this letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that not only is it brought to the attention of President Nixon, but to the attention of Members of Congress and the American people as well.

PAN AMERICAN TO BUS SUBURBAN RIDERS IN MOVE TO EASE AIRPORT TRAFFIC

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, all of us are aware of the air traffic congestion problem currently plaguing our major hub airports, particularly those in my own State of New York.

While admittedly air congestion is a critical problem needing an immediate solution, those of farsighted vision such as Najeeb E. Halaby, former Federal Aviation Administrator under President Kennedy and now president of Pan American World Airways, recognize that the problem of the future will be one of ground transportation to and from airports.

In an attempt to alleviate this problem, Pan American, under its "dispersal strategy," has instituted what the New York Times April 11 edition has referred to as a major innovation—going into the suburbs to collect passengers and bus them to the terminal, thereby relieving crowding at Kennedy International Airport.

Mr. Speaker, I request, under unanimous consent, that the New York Times article be inserted at this point in the RECORD:

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

PAN AM TO BUS SUBURBAN RIDERS IN MOVE TO EASE AIRPORT TRAFFIC

(By Robert Lindsey)

In a major innovation for the air traveler, Pan American World Airways has decided to go into the suburbs to collect passengers and—it hopes—relieve crowding at Kennedy International Airport.

The airline said that under the plan, to be implemented next month, it would establish a network of "subterminals" on Long Island, in Westchester County and Connecticut, and in the Bronx and Brooklyn.

Passengers from those areas booked on Pan American flights may go to the suburban terminals, present their tickets, check in their baggage, choose the seat they want on a plane and board a small bus. Then they will be taken directly to Kennedy to board their planes, bypassing the airline's terminal check-in facilities.

In most cases, airline spokesmen said, passengers will have to walk through the Pan American terminal building to boarding gates to reach their planes. But in some instances, passengers may be deposited directly on the airport ramp next to their planes.

Returning passengers will be able to ride the airline bus back to the suburban terminals, which will have "limited" parking spaces for private cars, the airline said. As one spokesman said:

"A passenger will be able to check in his bag at White Plains, or one of the other terminals, and he won't see it again until he reaches Buenos Aires or wherever he's going."

At some time in the future, the airline said, helicopter service may be offered from the suburban terminals to the Kennedy terminal. Pan American already offers passengers "on call" helicopter service to the airport from a heliport on East 60th Street in Manhattan.

The plan for the suburban "subterminals" was made known in an interview by Najeeb E. Halaby, Pan American's president.

ADDITION TO KENNEDY

He said the facilities were part of a "strategy of dispersal" developed by his company to cope with congestion problems at Kennedy.

The problem reached crisis proportions last summer when excess air traffic caused delays up to three hours in landings and takeoffs. And passenger facilities—check-in counters, lounges, roadways—proved far from adequate to digest the resulting overflow crowds.

Although the Government-ordered peak-hour flight restrictions go into effect June 1, and other palliatives have raised hopes for less congestion this summer, Pan American officials said they faced some special problems.

The airline is building a massive addition to its terminal at Kennedy to handle expected passenger growth. But until this is finished in 1971, the construction is expected to cause a lot of headaches at the terminal.

And, late this year, Pan American will be the first airline to fly the huge new Boeing 747—a jumbo airliner that will bring passengers to the terminals in batches of up to 362 persons.

Because of the congestion problems, Mr. Halaby said. Pan American's "disposal strategy" has also prompted the airline to move some peak-season flights away from New York.

"This summer and next summer," he said, "we plan to operate some flights from Dulles and Baltimore, Boston, Newark and other cities that we would have normally operated from Kennedy."

By 1971, the expanded terminal should be ready to permit a large increase in operations at Kennedy, he declared.

Although not all the specific sites for the subterminals have been determined, a Pan American spokesman listed these "general" locations: White Plains and the Westchester County Airport; Greenwich, Conn.; near the site of the former Roosevelt Field in Nassau County; the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn; and the Hunt's Point section of the Bronx. The airline also will establish a check-in terminal at La Guardia Airport, where it does not have air service.

Mr. Halaby said he thought perhaps 25 per cent of the company's passengers might use the new suburban check-in service.

Now, most passengers reach Kennedy by private automobiles, or on buses that leave from the East Side Airlines Terminal in Manhattan. Some arrive via taxi and a few by helicopter.

The ride to the airport from the subterminals would not be free and passengers would pay fares comparable to those charged by limousine services, an airline spokesman said.

Besides examining passengers' tickets and checking their baggage, airline agents in the new facilities will make sure passports and other travel documents are in order for overseas travel.

CONGRESSMAN WHALEN RELEASES A REPORT OF A SPECIAL INVESTIGATION OF THE STOCKADE AT THE PRESIDIO

HON. CHARLES W. WHALEN, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, the Department of the Army announced on April 14 the appointment of a committee of six prominent civilian penologists to conduct an analysis and evaluation of Army confinement facilities and practices.

According to a Defense Department news release issued on April 14 the study "will concentrate on the Army's stockade system and will include a review of the Presidio of San Francisco stockade."

Mr. Speaker, I completely endorse this action on the part of the Department of the Army and wish to congratulate our former colleague, Defense Secretary Melvin Laird, for his forthrightness in this matter. The situation at the Presidio has become a national affair. It also has become a local matter of concern in my congressional district since the young man who was shot and killed by a stockade guard was my constituent.

However, I initiated my own investigation of conditions at the Presidio before being apprised of the fact that the deceased, Army Pvt. Richard Bunch, resided in my district. As a former military officer with experience in stockade responsibilities, I decided to dispatch an investigator to the Presidio to make an inspection of conditions in that facility. Accordingly, I advised then Defense Secretary Clark Clifford to this effect on January 6 and obtained his full cooperation. Assistance rendered by Secretary Clifford and his successor Mr. Laird, was laudatory.

The investigation was comprehensive and well done by Mr. Stephen Herbits. Mr. Herbits, I might add, recently was appointed by President Nixon to membership on the President's Advisory Commission on an All-Volunteer Military Force.

After the report was completed, I forwarded it to Secretary Laird. I feel that the determinations it made were instrumental in the decision to create the special civilian committee to study the stockade. Several Members of Congress have had the opportunity to see the report. In view of the great interest in this matter, I have decided to publish it in the RECORD at this time.

Mr. Speaker, I insert herewith that material:

SECRETARY OF THE ARMY APPOINTS SPECIAL CIVILIAN COMMITTEE TO STUDY STOCKADES

The Department of the Army today announced the appointment of a committee of six prominent civilian penologists to conduct an analysis and evaluation of Army confinement facilities and practices. The study will concentrate on the Army's stockade system and will include a review of the Presidio of San Francisco stockade.

The committee will conduct its own inspection of Army confinement facilities in the United States. It will provide recommendations to the Secretary of the Army for any modification it deems necessary or desirable regarding the management, operation, and adequacy of Army confinement facilities. The committee will conduct its first meeting April 23.

In appointing the committee, Secretary of the Army Stanley R. Resor acted upon the recommendation of the Army Chief of Staff, General W. C. Westmoreland, that a committee be appointed to provide an independent and professional evaluation of Army confinement facilities and practices.

The committee represents a broad spectrum of experience in the management of prisons. It will be chaired by Mr. Austin H. MacCormick, currently serving as Executive Director of the Osborne Association, Inc., New York City. He is a member of the Board of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency and the American Correctional Association.

Other members of the committee include:

Mr. James V. Bennett, currently consultant to various Federal and State penology agencies.

Mr. Richard A. McGee, President, Institute for the Study of Crime and Delinquency, Sacramento, California.

Mr. Lawrence Pierce, Chairman, New York State Narcotics Addiction Control Commission.

Mr. Sanger B. Powers, Administrator, Division of Corrections, Wisconsin State Department of Health and Social Services.

Mr. E. Preston Sharp, General Secretary, American Correctional Association, Washington, D.C.

REPORT OF INVESTIGATION OF THE STOCKADE, THE PRESIDIO, AT SAN FRANCISCO, AT THE DIRECTION OF CONGRESSMAN CHARLES W. WHALEN, JR., FEBRUARY 28, 1969

I—SUMMARY

Intensive short-term research did not reveal the answers to many problems, but did bring to light some serious questions regarding stockade conditions and procedures.

The shooting of Pvt. Bunch during an escape attempt was "justifiable homicide" only in the sense that the guard was following orders. Unavailability of options for the guard signals serious procedural problems.

It is apparent to me that conditions at the Presidio stockade before the demonstration on October 14 regarding space for prisoners, treatment of prisoners, cleanliness, and food rationing were deplorable, lending justification for the grievances exposed at and by the demonstration.

It is also apparent to me that inattention to the manpower and budget needs of the Corrections Division of the Army has caused an acute problem in the areas of procedures, environmental conditions, mental health, and simple processing of prisoners.

II—RESEARCH PROCEDURES

In response to permission granted by General Karl Gustafson, Provost Marshall General of the U.S. Army, I flew to San Francisco on Thursday, 6 February 69 accompanied by Lt. Col. Al Ackerman of the PMG's office and Chief of the Corrections Division. We discussed the Army's correction program in general and the Presidio specifically.

Arriving at the Base at nine o'clock Friday morning, I was greeted by Col. Fee, Provost Marshall for the Sixth Army, and briefed by Col. Garnette, Judge Advocate, 6th Army, who recommended that I not speak to those prisoners under trial for mutiny. I responded that it was necessary, but my concern was not with the litigation and that I would warn the prisoners they need not talk without their lawyers.

I then inspected the stockade in the company of four Colonels and one Captain. Following the familiarization tour, I interviewed in full privacy six prisoners (one twice), three guards and two stockade officers, the Chaplain, the psychiatrist and one psychologist.

Friday evening was spent with one military defense attorney and the investigating officer of the mutiny case. On Saturday after noon I spoke with Attorney Terrance Hallinan, the leading civilian defense attorney in the mutiny case and familiar with the Bunch case.

Various reports and studies were prepared and/or made available at my request. I was able on Friday evening to examine the Criminal investigation (CID) reports of the Bunch incident and the mutiny. Also, I studied a Judge Advocate report on the history of prisoners' activities during confinement and a collection of affidavits filed in court as to the conditions of the stockade. Other miscellaneous items examined by me included a psychology report on Bunch, photostats of alleged suicide notes, photographs of the stockade taken subsequent to the alleged mutiny, prisoners' files and records of behavior and the full Bunch file.

I also inspected without prior notice a guard detention center and re-inspected without notice the segregation area of the stockade.

Finally, I was able to hold discussions with Col. Ford, Provost Marshall of the Presidio; Col. Looney, Deputy Commander at the Presidio; and Captain Lamont, Commanding Officer of the stockade.

At no time did I receive less than the fullest cooperation in each and every request made by me. All involved were eager to help and attempted their best to do so.

Col. Ackerman must be specifically commended for his unlimited willingness to be of assistance, his frank approach to the problems and his thorough knowledge of the entire area of corrections.

III—BUNCH CASE

A. Chronology

16 January 1967: Enlisted.

24 January 1967: Basic Combat Training.

10 April 1967: Advanced Individual Training.

June 1967: Promoted to PFC, fast rank.

3 July 1967: Clerk Typist.

16 August 1967: Mail Delivery Clerk.

10 October 1967: Consultation with Mental Hygiene for personal problems saw psychologist—determined minor nonadjustment.

16 October 1967: Consultation with Sociologist in response to a physician's consultation request, saw social workers, determined minor non-adjustment (claimed depression, sleeplessness, loss of weight).

31 October 1967: Went AWOL for 1½ hours, reduced in grade to E-2, 14 days extra detail.

4 January 1968: AWOL from Fort Lewis, Washington.

16 January 1968: Returned to Fort Lewis.

22 January 1968: AWOL.

20 February 1968: Dropped from rolls—desertion (standard procedure).

28 February 1968: Returned to Presidio—Special Processing Detention.

29 February 1968: AWOL.

8 March 1968: Returned to Presidio SPD when caught by civilian police with drugs.

11 March 1968: AWOL.

21 March 1968: Dropped from rolls (standard procedure).

27 March 1968: Returned to Fort Ord SPD.

* 8 July 1968: AWOL.

* 10 July 1968: Dropped from rolls.

* 8 August 1968: Turned himself in at Presidio SPD.

* 9 September 1968: AWOL.

15 September 1968: Turned himself in to Presidio SPD—put in stockade.

30 September 1968: Saw psychologist—upon own request—character and behavior disorder.

11 October 1968: Deceased.

B. The shooting

On the morning of 11 October 1968, Pvt. Bunch was assigned, with three other stockade prisoners, to a work detail on the premises of the base. Put in charge of the detail was a guard, approximately 22 years old, armed with a 12-gauge shotgun.

Following is the testimony of the guard (taken for a standard investigation of this type), as this seems closest to the facts as collaborated by other testimony and my conversations with prisoners. I have added my own comments in parentheses.

". . . Before starting to work, I decided to give the prisoners a smoke break as we had walked a long way. I asked the NCO if there were any objections to the prisoners smoking and he said no. Accordingly, I told the prisoners to take a smoke. They were sitting around on some crates and Bunch happened to remark something to the effect of whether I would shoot anyone. I attempted to ignore him and he may have repeated the question." (It is reported that he repeated this and similar questions several times. The guard in answer to questions reports that Bunch made a gesture of escape about this time. One of the prisoners suggested to me that Bunch was going far beyond normal taunting by this point and suggested so to Bunch.)

"Anyway, I told him that if I did not shoot then someone would shoot me. What I meant was that if I were to permit one of the prisoners to escape, then I would be punished. I am sure Bunch knew what I was talking about. As we started to work, Bunch asked for some water. I asked the NCO where the nearest water fountain was and he directed me to Building 244, across from the building we were in. I then marched the four prisoners to Building 244. We entered and then went to the water fountain at the other end of the room. After the prisoners drank water, and as we were walking back to the exit, Bunch said something to the effect 'Will you promise to shoot me. I won't run unless you promise to shoot me.' I didn't really know what to reply to him. I was upset over the question, of course." (It is apparently at this point that the guard responded that if Bunch wanted to know, he would have to try and find out. To this Bunch is reported to have said, "Well if you shoot, shoot me here," and pointed to the back of his head.)

"At any rate, we exited the building and I was walking behind the prisoners. As we were crossing the street, I noticed that Bunch started to lag behind. By this time, Colip, Reum, and Black had crossed the street and were next to the building." (The other three prisoners on the detail.)

"Bunch then turned and said something to the effect 'I don't really think you'll shoot.' At that time he started moving away from me and said 'don't start running'. He suddenly turned and started running in the direction of the commissary. I chambered a round and I thought he had heard me do so." (The use of the word "running" here is difficult to justify. Most other witnesses suggest that he was skipping, trotting or the like. The speed with which he did depart is open to some question.)

"He kept running and I then yelled 'halt.' He failed to stop and I brought the weapon to my shoulder and yelled 'halt' again." (Again there is considerable disagreement as to the number of times the guard yelled halt, if at all.)

"When he continued to run, I removed the safety and fired once at him. I aimed toward the lower part of his buttocks when I fired." (One of the prisoners, shocked by the shooting immediately asked the guard where he had hit him. The guard was in a state of extreme excitation and nervousness and is reported to have answered, "Right where I aimed.")

"I saw that he was hit when he fell to the ground. I ordered the other prisoners to get on the ground. Shortly thereafter, the military police arrived and took the other prisoners in custody." (End of guard's testimony.)

Bunch was hit in the lower back at 62½ feet and died within minutes.

C. Bunch's psychological condition

There is some question as to the mental health of Pvt. Bunch at the time of his death. There are a number of items which suggest that he might have been in serious need of professional assistance. Some suggest his death was in reality a successful suicide attempt.

Prisoners report he was in the habit of sitting on the edge of his bed, staring off into space and talking to himself, and in some instances speaking both parts of a conversation.

Bunch is known to have had wide experience with drugs, including LSD, as documented by one arrest and by prisoner conversations.

Bunch's mother is reported to have requested professional assistance from Dayton hospitals and the military when her son appeared home, claiming he had died and been reincarnated twice, was a warlock, and could kill with a glance. (None of this is confirmed.)

His record of 7 AWOL's and returns, both voluntary and involuntary, demonstrates, at a minimum, a strong inconsistency of behavior.

His mental state immediately preceding the shooting raises certain obvious questions. (See preceding section.)

The reported "suicide" notes found among his belongings possibly suggest a disturbed mind. The validity of the notes (copies of several attached herewith) have been challenged because they were made available by a civilian lawyer to the press. Some prisoners attested to their validity, describing to me in detail the process used to smuggle them out—a process generally supported by an outside lawyer. One prisoner suggests additional writings can be found in his books, which apparently were returned to Bunch's mother.

Various comments by him to prisoners about the best way to kill himself and various miscellaneous items hold less validity. In most instances they were seen in different light after the incident.

One prisoner reports Bunch walked into a wall twice, claiming he could walk through.

His personal history record shows a family background with his mother having recently suffered a nervous breakdown.

His personal background sheds some light: He claimed an unsatisfactory family life with inability to communicate with his father; a continuing and severe problem of adjustment with his size (5'2; 130 lbs.) and appearance of being extremely youthful; his unusual discontent with being unable to work at the MOS for which he was trained.

He more than once sought out mental hy-

* There is a discrepancy between the PMG's records and Pvt. Bunch's master military file. Bunch's records showed:

18 July 1968: AWOL.

3 August 1968: Turned himself in at Presidio SPD.

10 September 1968: AWOL.

giene, but apparently was never satisfied. He was independently referred to the Mental Hygiene group by a medical doctor in 1967. Parenthetically, one of the factors underlying the "demonstration" (mutiny) was the prisoners' belief that adequate psychiatric treatment was not available to them, especially as evidenced by Bunch's needs.

There are, however, factors suggesting the absence of a major mental problem:

An interview held by a trained psychologist 2 weeks before the incident "revealed no evidence of depression, suicidal ideation or thinking disorder." (His report, written after Bunch's death, is attached.)

A medical doctor saw Bunch once between 15 September and 11 October 1968 with no apparent reason for alarm about his mental health.

The stockade Chaplain, who often hears reports about prisoners from other prisoners, heard no such reports about Bunch.

IV—THE STOCKADE OF THE PRESIDIO

A. Conclusion

It is apparent to me that since the publicity of the Bunch death and the demonstration, the conditions at the stockade have changed dramatically for the better. I am reasonably certain, as a result of my research, that the conditions preceding the demonstration were deplorable and, further, that the general regulations governing procedures at the stockade and the rules governing decent behavior of responsible men were being ignored to an unacceptable degree. It is my opinion that the substance of the grievances made known at and by the demonstration was legitimate.

1. Overcrowdedness

For 68 of the 84 days between August 22 and November 13, 1968, the Presidio stockade was in an "emergency" status.

Stockades by Defense Department directives have three categories of space limitations: standard—70 square feet of sleeping space per person; reduced—down to 55 square feet of sleeping space per person; and emergency—down to 40 square feet of sleeping space per person. (This is in contrast to the Federal Bureau of Prisons' standard of 50 square feet of sleeping space per person.) The "emergency" category is limited to seven days at a time. Yet the stockade existed in this state over 80 percent of the time during the aforementioned period. General Skelton, Chief of Staff to General Larson, Commander of the 6th Army, has, since the demonstration, issued a directive to General McMahon, Commander of the Presidio, not to permit a stockade population in excess of 103 men (i.e. "reduced status") for more than one day without notifying him to arrange for transfers. Days when the reduced limit has been exceeded may still occur. This is not to mention the fact that the prevailing condition is still worse than standard.

Upon inspection, the prison blocks did not appear to be dangerously overcrowded, although, I am told by prisoners and guards alike that at least 10 bunks were removed between the time of notice of my arrival and my arrival the next morning.

The serious lack of space is apparently being felt across the country in Army stockades. Although the Presidio's prison population has more than doubled since June 1964, there have been no Congressional appropriations for additional facilities.

Recommendation.—The Committee on Armed Services should be asked to re-examine the space needs of the Corrections Division of the Department of the Army in light of the increased prison population at the Presidio and elsewhere.

2. Treatment of Prisoners

Reports of unacceptable actions by guards were made to me by the prisoners whom I interviewed.

Two fingers of a prisoner were broken in a scuffle with a stockade official in a room where the two were alone while another guard was posted at the door.

One incident was reported where guards used a squirt gun filled with urine on a prisoner in segregation.

At the time of my visit, a prisoner was in segregation who was currently on a dope "trip," admitting he had taken LSD just before his return to the stockade. In my opinion, he should have been hospitalized.

The deliberate decision to leave a homosexual in the same cell block with several other prisoners is evidence to me of lack of careful treatment of both the homosexual and the other prisoners. Such a circumstance existed during my inspection.

Prisoners complained of serious abuse of Form 510 (the form used to request interviews with certain officers relevant to their condition as prisoners—i.e., the Inspector General, the Commanding Officer of the stockade, etc.). A brief perusal indicated to me that there is no way of checking the charges that no action was taken on many requests. On the copies of those Forms 510 which did appear in a file, it was possible to determine the length of time it took to fulfill a given request. Time prevented accurate research here, however.

Every single prisoner with whom I spoke complained of the inconsistency in requirements put upon them by the guards. When I suggested that more consistent behavior would no doubt result from tougher, more stringent policies, they agreed without exception that that would be better. Apparently what has happened is a combination of factors—some guards have gotten to know prisoners and are apt to treat them kindly on occasion, but not at all times. Because of the general overhaul of procedures since the demonstration, there have been frequent revisions in prisoners procedures; because so much latitude is being allowed guards and lower officers, requirements are changed frequently.

3. Cleanliness

Incidents of reported failure to clean up unsanitary conditions may have been overdramatized; nevertheless, there is significant evidence of such failure. Since a complete "GI" cleaning was undertaken between notice of my arrival and my actual arrival at the Presidio, my own sanitary inspection was not meaningful. (During this same cleaning, at least 10 bunks were removed.)

One instance, reported by what I consider a reliable prisoner in relating information, concerned the flushing of a toilet which overflowed onto the floor. Not only was the initial mess left for some time, the next person flushing only added to the mess. It took several days to repair the faulty plumbing.

Setting aside the numerous incidents of toilets being deliberately stuffed by prisoners, a number of instances of faulty plumbing, leaking pipes, toilets and showers were reported.

The leaving of unsanitary conditions when they occur for whatever reason (including punishment) was reported to me in several instances.

Because of a lack of toilet facilities in the segregation cells, prisoners must yell to the guard and the guard must be willing to take the prisoner to the adjoining room. It was reported to me that on occasion it was necessary for a prisoner to urinate (and in at least one instance, defecate) on the floor of his cell—a condition which took varying times to clean up.

4. Food

Information relayed to me indicates that on frequent occasions before the demonstration, food was not available for the full number of people consigned to the stockade. The Commanding Officer of the stockade has admitted under oath at a recent trial that for the five days preceding the demonstration, food was available only at half ration.

5. Suicide Gestures

During the period from June 1968 through January 1969 there were fifty-one "suicide gestures" (as classified by medical personnel) by prisoners confined to the Presido stockade. (None of the attempts were successful, incidentally.) This unusually high rate suggests either an unfulfilled need of psychiatric counseling or a serious morale problem among those confined in the stockade. In either case, there is dramatic evidence of prisoners' finding their conditions unacceptable.

B. Further information

In summary, the impression I gained from my brief investigation suggests that the conditions in the stockade preceding the demonstration were, in fact, deplorable. The preceding discusses some of these findings. Section V of this report raises a number of issues, all of which were brought to my attention by specific problems found during my investigation and all of which contribute to my total impression.

Furthermore, it should be noted that much more complete evidence now is available in sworn testimony at the recent trials at the Presidio. Still further evidence, no doubt, will become available as additional trials are held. This report, in my opinion, is a mere sketch of the dilemma.

V—ISSUES

My investigation and the preceding material raise a number of issues. The research which I was able to undertake did not provide me with acceptable answers. That is not to suggest that in each instance there is not a very workable answer—there may very well be.

To the degree that interest and manpower exist, research by Congressional sources into the problems herein presented might yield recommendations for sensible policy change.

A. The armed guard

Under present circumstances, a guard usually armed with a 12-gauge shotgun accompanies 2, 3, or 4 prisoners (classified as "medium confinement prisoners") on a work detail somewhere on the base. The orders to the guard are, among others, to prevent the escape of any prisoner.

The guard, it seems to me, is thereby placed in a situation where, if one prisoner runs, his alternatives are unrealistic. He has the option of chasing the first, thereby releasing his watch on the other three; retaining his watch on the other three and allowing the prisoner to escape; or, to shoot the prisoner. If he is to do his job without endangering his own position, he must not take the first two alternatives—he must, therefore, shoot the prisoner.

(A NOTE: "maximum confinement prisoners" are not released from the stockade area; "minimum confinement prisoners" and parolees are not guarded with arms while on details. Most prisoners are of the "medium" type.)

The implications of the above procedure are alarming, especially when one considers the offenses for which the prisoners are generally in the stockade—repeated AWOL's. Death for an individual who in civilian society would be committing an act punishable only by being fired from a job is certainly an extreme punishment.

It seems that a number of alternatives should be available. Three come to mind immediately:

(1) Those prisoners deemed necessary to be guarded by arms should not be allowed off the stockade (fence enclosed) premises.

(2) Prisoners deemed necessary to be kept under armed guard should be assigned work details out of the stockade area only on stations where an automatic communications

system between the guard and gate MP's can seal the base to a prisoner who had fled a guard.

(3) More than one guard could be assigned any detail containing more than one man.

B. Qualifications of guards

It would be unacceptable in the private sector for a 20-year-old boy without specific training and without more than superficial experience with a weapon to be put in charge of guarding a local detention center for alcoholics, a county jail or a State mental institution. The Army evidently does not agree.

Questions involving the qualifications of guards are of particular importance, for we must ask if we are sufficiently careful to train those in whose hands we place the lives of others.

Just how much experience do the guards have with the type of weapons they use—shotguns and 45's?

Just how much experience do the guards have with the specific weapon they will have to fire in an emergency, realizing the great variance among instruments of the same type?

How much classroom, academic type training has been given a guard, who is acting as a confinement officer? Has he trained for the specific MOS he is filling?

What is the turnover for guards at stockades? Do guards spend enough time gaining experience? What is the experience average of guards assigned duty with weapons?

What is the psychological condition of the guards? Are they there for punishment or for any reason against their wills? Are they allowed to relinquish their positions if they choose? Are they psychologically tested for personality aberrations, such as sadism, cruelty, irregularity or inconsistency of behavior?

To be reliable, the answers to these questions demand full and accurate research. A brief indoctrination by me reveals a situation which, in my opinion, is somewhat less than satisfactory. The question, in the end, is manpower. Are we neglecting the safety and well being of prisoners because we cannot afford proper manpower?

C. Mental health of prisoners

It is readily apparent that many of those who end up in the stockade are in need of some sort of personal help. Most prisoners at the Presidio are there because of repeated AWOL's; few are there for violent crimes. Recognizing these needs, the Army has instituted two relevant programs—a mental hygiene unit attached to the stockade and a rehabilitation program at Fort Riley, Kansas. Both concepts are useful; neither is used sufficiently.

Should Bunch's condition have been noticed by the authorities?

Is it healthy for a homosexual prisoner or for his cell block mates if he is knowingly kept in with the others awaiting military paper work for release? (A current situation at the Presidio stockade.)

Is it necessary for a prisoner to attempt suicide several different ways before he is admitted to a hospital? I have in mind a Presidio prisoner who tried hanging, eating shoe polish and slashing wrists. He was admitted once to the hospital, went AWOL when told he was going back to the cell blocks (and possibly segregation) and then was returned later to the stockade to repeat this sequence. At this writing, he is back in the hospital.

Are "suicide gestures" so unimportant as not to call for immediate thorough mental examination rather than segregation as punishment?

Are repeated "suicide gestures" by a number of individuals to be dismissed lightly or examined as a serious group mental attitude and morale problem, reflecting some other condition?

Prisoners entering the stockade are not automatically given a consultation with a member of the mental hygiene group. Each prisoner, to be sure, has at his disposal the Form 510 grievance procedure. This assumes, however, that an individual needing help is aware of same—not an altogether fair assumption.

Although there is now someone on the premises representing the mental hygiene group every day, this alone does not insure use of such people, nor the qualification of such people to generate more than a "try-to-get-along" attitude.

A psychological "work-up" is not prepared for most prisoners. A full "work-up" would include past personal and family records, a battery of psychological examinations and repeated interviews. All of this may represent a difficult administrative problem which could generate more paper work than success. Yet, for most of these prisoners, such a work-up would determine at an early date if the individual should be discharged from the service either medically for psychiatric reasons or administratively for character and behavior disorders. There is a certain difficulty in the latter case stemming from the fact that release is the Commanding Officer's decision. The problem is heightened at the Presidio because of the strong degree of local (San Francisco) sentiment against the war. Pressures from outside add to adjustment problems and may harden the position of officers.

The issue involved, when extended to its logical conclusion, is insoluble. How can the Army, when operating under a system of coercion—the draft—release recruits when there are only marginal signs of incompatibility to the military? Although neither good for the military nor the individual, keeping him in, or sending him to jail, appears the only action consistent with the draft. In this context, the answer, then, is to examine the "problem" individual to make a definitive determination as to his fitness, attempt to rehabilitate when marginal, and then release him if rehabilitation is unsuccessful. The Army may not adequately be keeping up with the first of those steps—corrective actions for which the Army must assume responsibility because of the very nature of a draft system.

D. Prisoner deterioration

As stated by a responsible officer, prisoners entering the stockade never gain from the experience. If they are lucky they come out the same as they went in. Usually their personal condition (factually and attitudinally) deteriorates significantly and quickly. It is a spiral effect.

The prisoner is, first of all, much more likely to pile up Section 15 infractions for minor offenses. (It is ironic that an angry prisoner when swearing is apt to get an "incident report" or even a Section 15, while at the same time, officers of high rank used such language in calm, deliberate discussion with me.)

The prisoner is subjected to the prison psychology of doldrums, unhealthy company, unsatisfactory living conditions and reduced freedoms.

The prisoner, often in the stockade only while awaiting trial, begins the waiting game under the unsatisfactory condition of not knowing the status of his case or of not being able to solve personal or financial problems.

Probably the most vivid example of deterioration is seen in those Presidio prisoners who, despite the fact that they would be released from the stockade within a month, participated in a demonstration resulting in a charge of mutiny (and a possible death sentence.)

E. Special processing detachment

Directly related to stockade problems is the efficiency of the Special Processing Detachment (SPD)—that group which handles AWOL's. Most individuals under SPD jurisdiction are not locked up. Many go AWOL again. (There were some 521 at the Presidio at the time of this investigation.) To the degree that these individuals can be handled promptly, however, the number of repeated AWOL's should drop dramatically and therefore the number having to be put in the stockade will decline. It is at this stage when legal and financial matters are processed and when some mental hygiene assistance can be obtained.

The blame for the extraordinary increase in the number of individuals which must be handled by SPD is certainly outside the military. But the blame for the concomitantly extraordinary increase in inefficiency in SPD rests squarely with the Army.

So that significant improvements can be realized, I recommend that the Department of Defense undertake an immediate examination of SPD personnel requirements and administrative procedures. Every indications shows that once an individual is "caught in the SPD quagmire," he has entered a confining and deteriorating process.

F. Military justice

It can only be suggested at this point, for firm data are unavailable, that consideration be given to a comprehensive review of the Administration and operation of military justice.

It certainly would be interesting to determine where the last of this kind of study was done and by whom.

Military Justice in the United States, although facing problems unlike those in the civilian sector, should never be allowed to deteriorate to a condition of anything less than full justice. It would make senseless the very existence of the military to protect the ideals for which this nation stands.

THE 21ST ANNIVERSARY, STATE OF ISRAEL

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 23, 1969

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, 21 years ago this week the dream of the Arabs to annihilate the newborn State of Israel turned into the nightmare of dismal defeat. Since then the progress that Israel has made has surpassed our fondest dreams. Officially Israel has existed for 21 years. But the idea, the promise, the hope of Israel has existed throughout Jewish history.

I cannot speak about Israel without speaking about Levi Eshkol whom I had the pleasure, immediately following the 6-day war in 1967, to interview in Israel. As Prime Minister he guided Israel through the June war. He devoted himself completely to the Israeli dream—that dream of peace without fear, peace with pride in one's self and country, pride in being a Jew. This and so very much more is what Levi Eshkol stood for. His spirit shall always be with us along with Chaim Weizmann and Theodor Herzl.

Israel today is an example to all the people of the world that the Jewish people will no longer stand by while their basic human rights are violated. That is finished forever. The star that the Jewish people had to wear under the Nazi barbarians is now the shining star of Israel. The star of David shall with God's help light the future for the people of the Jewish faith always.

And so this week, on this 21st anniversary of the founding of the State of Israel, all men of good will join in offering their congratulations and in expressing the hope that the State of Israel will soon live in peace. The miracles wrought by the dynamic Israeli people in the economic, social, and cultural fields serve as an inspiration for all men. Israel's democratic institutions and the exercise of freedom are models for liberty-loving men everywhere. I have infinite faith in the current and future leaders of the State of Israel and in the Israeli people, and wish them every success in their quest for peace.

RAND CORP., HEAVILY SUBSIDIZED BY THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT, IS COMPETING WITH PRIVATE INDUSTRY

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, at a time when the House is considering tax exemptions for nonprofit foundations, it is perhaps appropriate to highlight an event which raises questions about the policy of a special nonprofit organization which exists and continues to exist because of subsidy by the Department of Defense.

The Rand Corp. recently signed a contract with the New York Stock Exchange to study their information systems needs and make recommendations for the future. What this amounts to is a subsidy to the New York Stock Exchange from the Federal Government—through the Air Force and Rand—which represents unfair competition to the many firms who sell these types of services. The reasoning behind this assertion is based on the fact that Rand is unique in several respects.

First, Rand receives a substantial fraction of its budget each year from the Air Force without competitive bid. Although Rand is nonprofit, the support from the Air Force contains a fee—which is a significant percentage—which can be used to support inhouse research, and, hence, to develop unique skills. The theory underlying such an arrangement is that it will provide the Air Force with unique and highly developed skills for their problems. This is good theory.

Theory goes astray and becomes objectionable, however, when Rand uses these skills, which are Government-supported for Government good, to compete with firms who do not share in the Government largess.

Since Rand does not bid competitively for work, but negotiates sole source contracts only, it, no doubt, argues that it does not compete with private firms. This is camouflage since it does negotiate, and therefore, competes. By taking on the stock exchange job, for example, it makes skills available to this nongovernmental organization and, hence, excludes a private firm from the job.

GEORGE WASHINGTON: PATRIOT AND GENIUS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, as a student of basic American history, I have realized for many years the part played by George Washington in the formation of the United States. It was, therefore, with special interest that I read in the April 20, 1969, issue of Twin Circle, a weekly newspaper published by the National Catholic Press, Los Angeles, Calif., a review of a one-volume condensation by Richard Harwell of Douglas Freeman's monumental seven-volume work on the Father of our Country.

In order that word about this latest work on Washington may be more widely disseminated, I quote the indicated review as part of my remarks:

[From the Twin Circle, Apr. 20, 1969]

GEORGE WASHINGTON: PATRIOT AND GENIUS

(NOTE.—"Washington," by Douglas Southall Freeman. Abridged. One volume; 780 pp., by Richard Harwell. Conservative Book Club, Arlington House, 81 Centre Avenue, New Rochelle, N.Y. 10801. $9.95.)

This reviewer does not remember a book in his lifetime that has thrilled him and moved him so much as this one. His feeling after reading it was that it should be in every home in the United States, and that it should be translated into every language so that it would be read in all countries.

It is a fitting antidote to the worldwide sale of biographies of Lenin, Marx, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung, Napoleon and other exponents of terror, dictatorships and military conquest. Indeed, why is it that the nation that has become the most powerful and the most generous has never filled the bookstore windows of the globe with biographies of its benevolent leaders?

Most of us take it for granted that George Washington was a great man, but few of us understand that the imprint of his integrity, patience, strength, unostentatious brilliance, absence of rancor or hatred, his restraint under provocation, and his never-ending devotion to his country rests largely upon this nation.

Instead of a wretched, tinselly, bedazzling, short-lived Napoleonism, we have the greatest country in the world—a condition that is due in considerable measure to the abilities, endurance, humanity, and self-abnegation of Washington. There are no millions of corpses behind him. In war he sought victory, not endless killing. He took no lives that he could have spared. In peace he worked for national serenity.

Instead of accepting a crown or seizing the opportunity to become a dictator, the Father of this country modestly said he was more interested in becoming a good farmer than a king or emperor, and he attributed his successes as a military leader and as President to the blessing of God. Those who are willing to inform themselves of the all-but-unbelievable hardships that Washington and his officers and men endured in order to bring this nation to birth will be able to understand this. They will come to know that Washington was a self-effacing but not altogether unacknowledged genius. He was twice unanimously elected President in a deeply divided country.

Washington was an ambitious man, with an iron constitution, and an indestructible belief in his fellow-men and the principles of freedom and democracy. Slavery existed in the country before he was born. He came eventually to the belief that he should free his slaves because he did not feel that anyone should be a serf.

That he did not achieve this aim should not be held against him, for he did more for the United States of America than any other citizen will ever be able to do—he threw his deciding weight toward giving America the character that was the foundation of her greatness.

Despite the fact that Washington was accounted one of the richest men in the country—he was always buying hundreds or thousands of acres here and there for very small sums—he was often strapped for money and had to borrow to pay the taxes on Mount Vernon. His largest fault was his land acquisitiveness, but he forgot all about it when the greatest call of duty came in 1774.

His ownership of the big plantation on the Potomac proved useful in the promotion of the national interest but something of a headache for the Founding Father as he sat down to dinner at 3 p.m. with fourteen or more house guests, many of them uninvited. The great man, with no issue of his own, had two stepchildren upon whom he showered his affection, and shared his doting wife's great sorrows over them. (The rich, spoiled boy is not the happiest. Many a poor child under a more disciplined mother lived a happier life.)

Washington cleverly used his hard-earned reputation of military genius to further his ambition to lead his countrymen to victory over the British, to national independence, and to a civilian-dominated, unified country seeking the greatest good for all. Here is a lesson in patriotism that could serve the emerging nations of the present as well as those striving for peace and prosperity in a unified world. His biography is indicated reading for the world of today.

For Americans in particular this book makes clear that the help of the French under Lafayette, de Grasse, Rochambeau and others was an indispensable aid to victory. Whenever we are tempted to give up on France, let us always remember it. And for those who have felt that their personal problems were unsolvable, they may take some comfort from the fact that Washington also often feared that he would never make it. Sheer, naked persistence, amid hunger and cold and utter impoverishment during the War of the Revolution, carried him and a new nation through. If the past is prologue, America will endure. Thank you, George Washington.—Herman H. Dinsmore.

ITALIAN GOVERNMENT HONORS DOMINIC CALI

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 22, 1969

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, Cleveland, Ohio, is proud to have as one of its outstanding citizens, Mr. Dominic Cali, a native of Italy. Mr. Cali has devoted considerable time and energy to community activities in Cleveland and was recently honored by the Italian Government for his exemplary record in working with Italians in Cleveland. Following is an account from the Cleveland Press describing this most deserving tribute:

ITALIAN GOVERNMENT HONORS CLEVELANDER

(By Eleanor Prech)

The Italian government has conferred upon a Clevelander the "Insignia of Commendatore to the Order of Merit of the Italian Republic."

This highest of honors was conferred upon Dominic Cali, 3728 W. 140th St., in the name of his Excellency Colombo, minister of the Italian treasury.

The presentation was made by Italy's Acting Consul Ilario Sanson at the consulate offices in the Bulkley Building.

Cali was given the honor for his outstanding record of work with Italians here. He received the insignia, "Knight to the Order of Merit of the Italian Republic" in 1962.

Born in Villa San Giovanni in Calabria, Italy, Cali came to this country in 1920. He and his wife, Paolina, have two sons, Anthony and Vincent. A third son, Frank, lost his life in the Korean War.

Cali's brother Giovanni who heads a large electric manufacturing plant in Milan, Italy, holds the insignia of "Knight of Labor of Italy."

Cali will be honored by members of Italian-American National Union at a testimonial May 22 at the Edgewater Park Yacht Club, Dr. J. A. Morabito is chairman.

NATIONAL LIBRARY WEEK

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, once again we observe National Library Week, a week in which we recognize and commend our librarians, trustees, and library personnel for their dedication and devotion to the education, culture, entertainment, and enlightenment of our people.

We are a better informed people today because we have more opportunities to utilize the many library facilities at the local, State, regional, and national level. During the past several years, we in the Congress have placed great emphasis on the need for more libraries and expansion and updating those already in operation. We must continue to do more, especially at the neighborhood level.

Mr. Speaker, an excellent article describing National Library Week recently appeared in the Newberry Observer. It was written by Miss Catherine Tanner, our dedicated librarian at our Newberry-Saluda Regional Library. I commend her splendid article to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress and to the people of our country:

NATIONAL LIBRARY WEEK OBSERVANCE IS UNDERWAY

(By Miss Katie Tanner)

National Library Week is here again, a time to take a closer look at libraries in general and the Newberry-Saluda Regional Library in particular. The social changes taking place today throughout the country demand changes in patterns of both living and library service.

These social changes include: population increase, prolongation of education, new occupational patterns, increase in research and record knowledge, increased political involvement in life, new urban changes and pressures, greater and more instant communication.

In our own community we have seen the growth of new industry demanding more information, the population increase, effects of automation, increased leisure time. How does the Library fit into all of this. Is it meeting the information explosion adequately. Independent study, research, and reading are more important today than ever before to bring the nation's libraries—school, public, and special—up to an adequate level of service. The National Library Week Program devotes itself to this effort.

The following is a statement of purpose of this organization:

The National Library Week Program, sponsored since 1957 by the National Book Committee in cooperation with the American Library Association, is a continuing year-around reading and library development effort enlisting the voluntary support of scores of public and private agencies and thousands of persons.

The Steering Committee marshals the talent and resources of the mass media to create a backdrop of national attention to reading, the social mission of books, and the importance of libraries. The State and Local Committees relate Library Week specifically to the needs of people in each state and community by offering opportunities to find out about and obtain books, by identifying the gaps in local library services and resources, and informing people as to what they can do about closing the gaps.

Since the inception of the National Library Week Program, public support for libraries in terms of federal aid has increased from two million dollars annually to more than 250 million. Library purchases of books and periodicals have risen from $90 million a year to nearly $300 million. Sales of books and the circulation of magazines have doubled. Book readership (according to Gallup figures) has risen from 17 per cent to 25 per cent of the population.

Despite these strides, millions of Americans are still unable to read or write well enough to compete in today's world. They do not have access to adequate library service—especially at the neighborhood level. The National Library Week Program seeks to open new reading doors to them.

Despite gains in public support, more than half of the nation's elementary schools still lack libraries; public libraries in many communities are substandard; manpower shortages handicap service; and the majority of two-year and four-year college libraries are inadequate. The National Library Week Program seeks to remedy these conditions—for a better-read, better-informed America.

To echo the theme for National Library Week 1969—Be all you can be. Read.

THOUGHTS ON NATIONAL SECRETARIES' WEEK

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, this is National Secretaries' Week—as my staff has so ably reminded me.

Based on profound personal experience I can say that a man, and certainly a Congressman, is not much better than his secretary. And so this week, National Secretaries' Week, I would like to pay particular tribute to my secretarial staff.

I am appreciative of the dedicated work of my personal secretary, Mrs. Rita Keating. Her efforts—despite bouts with the typewriter, flu, measles, just plain fatigue, and me—have been noble.

I am mindful, too, of the contribution of Miss Arlene Wiggins—whose early rounds have not been stayed by broken feet, nor wind or sleet or dark of night.

To Miss Lane Retallick, too, goes my commendation for service behind the typewriter—in miniskirt and bright plumage.

And to Florence Hall and Abby Sanders my commendation, too, for service 3,000 miles away—and 3 hours later on the job.

To Marianne Westen and Rebecca Krantz, I say thanks for those days and nights before the files and in the mess of mimeograph ink.

And so to my staff and to all the other secretaries hard at work, I extend my compliments on National Secretaries' Week.

FEDERAL AID TO CITIES VERSUS ABM

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, the cities of our Nation are in desperate need of massive Federal aid. We are not now meeting this need. At the same time, the Congress is being asked to fund an antiballistic-missile system at a minimum cost of $5 billion.

The need for the ABM has not been proven.

The effectiveness of the ABM has not been proven.

Therefore, I must oppose the administration's request.

I urge my fellow Members of Congress to join me in opposing it.

The proponents of the ABM have not demonstrated that the system will make even a marginal contribution to our national security. The Defense Department itself is not sure whether we are to be defended from the Russians, the Chinese, or both. Or whether we are suppose to be defending our cities, our suburbs, our farms, or our missile installations.

I think the shifting and sometimes contradictory arguments we have heard in the past months raise serious questions about whether national defense is really the important consideration.

We must question how great a role the "gamesmanship" of the military, so well documented by General Shoup, has played in producing the ABM.

We must question how much the needs of the defense industry have been a major consideration.

We must ask whether we will better be served by a questionably effective antimissile system, or by meeting our urgent domestic needs, especially the needs of our cities.

If anyone thinks our Nation's well-being is not threatened by the condition of our cities, I suggest he walk through the acres of rotting, burned-out houses of vacant, rubble-strewn land, of families trying to survive among the rats and the ruins, in New York or Washington, or any of our large cities. This threat to our Nation is as real as any conjectural Chinese missiles.

But how are we using our resources? The first step in the ABM system will cost at least $5 billion. Add another $500 million in annual operating costs. If history is any precedent, add 10 percent to account for underestimation. Then add this to the $70 billion we are already spending on defense. And face the fact that if a "thin" system is built there will be inevitable pressures to construct a "thick" system that will cost another $70 to $100 billion.

The amount we are spending in our cities is trivial in comparison. The President proposes to spend a mere $675 million on the model cities program, a cut of $75 million from the previous administration's proposal; to spend only $23 million for rent supplements, down $7 million from President Johnson's budget; and to spend a mere $2 billion on all poverty programs, a cut of $132 million.

It is time to face the fact that the poverty, slums, and education failure, poor health systems, unemployment, and congestion in our cities pose a greater threat and a greater challenge to this Nation—to its farms and its suburbs, as well as to its great urban centers—than conjectural missiles or "first strike capacities."

REPORT ON NEW YORK HOSPITALS

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I recently asked Dean Lewis Thomas, of the New York University School of Medicine, for a report on the crisis our New York City hospitals are now experiencing.

This crisis has several aspects: rising medical costs which affect hospitals, as well as all other areas of medical care; the awkward administrative burden peculiar to our New York City hospitals; the tremendous role our city hospitals play in service to the entire New York City community which bears, like other cities, an immense welfare burden which is partly a medical-care problem, and finally, the rising expectations we all experience as we start to understand that medical care is a right and not a privilege.

Dr. Thomas has responded with an excellent analysis of these problems which I include below:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ROSENTHAL: I appreciate your concern for the health services available for the people of New York City. I am responding now to your interest in information about the situation facing the City's municipal hospitals.

After surveying the City's hospitals, the Piel Commission concluded last year that conditions there were "not only deplorable but, under existing arrangements, irremediable." The Commission reached this conclusion because the hospitals have not been able to adjust to contemporary demands for vastly increased quantities and vastly more complicated qualities of health care. The result: preventive, ambulatory, long-term and home care needs are unmet; physical conditions in the hospitals are flagrantly deficient; professional staffing is maintained only through affiliation contracts with medical schools and voluntary hospitals.

Too little money is part of the reason for this; Byzantine administration, a function of an organizational structure devised in the 1930's, is the other and perhaps the greater. Responsibility for running New York's hospitals is so obscured that the men and women actually charged with vital responsibilities to sick and injured people are administratively paralyzed.

For example, a minor repair, such as removing a partition between two examining rooms, cannot be ordered by a hospital superintendent on his own authority. He will have to obtain approvals from at least six City agencies and departments, including the Department of Hospitals, the Department of Health, the Department of Water Supply, Gas, and Electricity, the Board of Estimate, the Bureau of the Budget, the Office of the Controller, and the Fire Department. This process will take *at least* one year.

Not only has hospital management been bureaucratically hobbled for years, it is deteriorating under new pressure from the rising medical expectations of an informed and sometimes aroused community, and from the sheer numbers of people demanding health care (nearly half of the City's population depend on City-run hospitals for some or all of their medical care). Extremely well-qualified observers feel that the situation is degenerating so badly that militant community reaction is inevitable unless substantial improvements are made very soon in the capacity of the City's hospitals to deliver adequate health services. The recent troubles at Harlem Hospital testify dramatically for this view.

The Piel Commission recommended a reorganization that would place all City hospital facilities and operations in a public benefit corporation. A bill based on this recommendation has been drafted by the City and is now pending in Albany before the Joint Legislative Committee on Public Health.

What is needed:

Realization that New York City's municipal hospitals are headed for ruin because they are badly mismanaged and underfinanced.

Recognition that the corporation solution is aimed at the *management* problem, which *must* be solved *before* present or future monies can be properly utilized.

Efforts aimed at modifying the pending draft bill in order to strengthen the base of mandated fiscal support by the City, and working actively for its adoption.

Those of us who work with the City's hospitals have a sense of great urgency about the extremely grave crisis facing them. We want these hospitals to provide the best possible medical care to the people of New York City. The reorganization contemplated by the legislation pending in Albany is an absolutely essential step toward that goal.

Sincerely yours,

LEWIS THOMAS, M.D.,
Dean.

REFLECTIONS ON PASSAGE OF THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL ACT

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues my reflections on the Elementary and Secondary School Act which this body passed yesterday. Last night I came across a review of an extraordinary book, "Death at an Early Age," by Jonathan Kozol, which I would like to recommend to my colleagues. The review, "Murder by Education" by John Erlich. Freedomways, spring, 1968, touches upon some issues that to me were not fully treated during the debate on the bill. I had hoped that more attention would be given to the children who continue to suffer the systems of educational torture devised for them by most of our large cities. But this was not the case, the Congress, like the school boards, the principals, and even the teachers have other goals which must be pursued regardless of the ultimate effects on the students.

With mixed emotions, I voted for the bill which passed yesterday because I was faced, as was every other Member, with a choice between inadequate legislation or no legislation at all. We have made our choice; inadequate legislation which provides for only a 2-year extension of funds so that no real long-range planning can be done, and further lumps four programs which should remain separate into one package. The legislation also removes the provision for participation of community and antipoverty groups from making any determination on title I spending.

I hope that my colleagues will be moved by Mr. Erlich's review, which I am inserting following my remarks, to get a copy of Mr. Kozol's book as I plan to do. I hope that both the book and the review will generate some somber reflection by this body, and that perhaps we will have the opportunity to reconsider the gravity of the school situation and our goals when we vote on future education bills.

MURDER BY EDUCATION: A COMMENTARY ON "DEATH AT AN EARLY AGE"

(By John L. Erlich)

There is a Latin proverb which goes, de te fabula narratur. Roughly translated it means something like: at the outset what I'm going to say may seem no concern of yours, but don't fall asleep, baby, this story is about you, too. And so it is that *Death At An Early Age** is more than a horror story about the inner-city schools of Boston. It is a deeply American tragedy, a tragedy born of prefabricated values that exist quite apart from the realities of American life, a deep and abiding institutionalized racism, and a series of archaic arrangements in the educational establishments that educate teachers and pupils alike. A specific and central issue Kozol raises is whether ghetto schools have actually ceased to provide real opportunities for learning.

EDUCATIONAL CONSPIRACY: THE BALLAD OF STEPHEN

Kozol uses a boy named Stephen to symbolize the systematic efforts of a Boston inner-city school to destroy any creativity and desire to learn on the part of its pupils. Perhaps, too, it was the feelings Stephen evoked in Kozol that encouraged and inspired the writing of this book. "Tiny, desperate, and unwell" eight-year-old Stephen absorbed punishment—both mental and physical, and often administered sequentially—until his final apparently psychotic withdrawal from the school. Stephen's single claim to dignity—his art work—was meticulously destroyed by an art teacher who demolished him in front of his classmates by referring to his work over and over as "garbage," "junk" and the like.

**Death At An Early Age. The Destruction of the Hearts and Minds of Negro Children in the Boston Public Schools.* By Jonathan Kozol. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston.

In characterizing the way black children are viewed by their teachers, Kozol notes:

"For it is the Boston schoolteachers themselves who for years have been speaking of the Negro children in their charge as 'animals' and the school building that houses them as a 'zoo.' And it is well known by now how commonly the injustices and depredations of the Boston school system have compelled its Negro pupils to regard themselves with something less than the dignity and respect of human beings . . . but the price that is exacted was paid ultimately by every child, and in the long run I am convinced that the same price has been paid by every teacher too."

Kozol's description of the way in which the blame for the inadequacies of the educational system, administrative personnel, and teaching staff is shifted to the children themselves is as chilling as it is real:

"A child, of course, who begins by pretending to accept blame may end up by really *accepting it. If you pretend something well, and if that pretense becomes a habit, and if that habit in time becomes the entire style and strategy with which you deal with the white world, then probably it is not surprising if at last it gets into your bloodstream too and begins to feed your body."*

Also underscored are a series of assumptions concerning the "rights" of poor, black children. One of them, viewed through the "Reading Teacher's" attitude is particularly damning:

"It was this, her assumption that people don't deserve a great deal in life, and that a little—even a very, very little for a Negro child—is probably a great deal more than he has earned, which seems the most disturbing thing about it."

The picture which emerges is of a conspiracy in which many teachers have agreed not to attempt to teach in inner-city schools, while outwardly maintaining the "image" of dedicated public servants trying manfully to do the job for which they were hired *in spite of* inadequate facilities, dangerous communities, parental indifference, and difficult, stupid children. If the children will only submit quietly to this view of themselves, teachers will pass them along without inflicting too much punishment. The disruptive child, the child who threatens to expose this conspiracy, is dealt with handily.

"One of the few things that really work well in the Boston schools is the punitive trip downward. The upward route is ten times harder and more obscure. Punishment is fast but treatment slow."

Objecting parents who seek to intervene on their children's behalf receive a sharp, persuasive rebuke which forces them to double back upon themselves.

"Up they come, angry and with proper outrage. Off they go, humbled, sad and weakly, having as it were apologized for the stupid thing they're tried to obtain. The look of embarrassed humility. The terrible parental horror that they might have made a bad mistake."

To a frightened degree the belief has been internalized that the sorry mess in the urban public school system may be attributed to the sources noted above, rather than to the teachers and the school itself. Look at what an effort Kozol, a new, bright, young, fresh substitute teacher must make to retain any objectivity about the guilt of black pupils where any "wrongdoing" has taken place.

"It seems at moments to require an almost muscular effort of the imagination to consider the possibility in a particular case that the Negro child might actually not *have done it, that he might not be telling any lies."*

OUR TEACHERS ARE DYING

New rules of "free substitution" seem to obtain in inner-city schools. Kozol points out, for example, that one third grade class in the school at which he taught had 25 substitute teachers in a three and one-half month period between September and Christmas. To continue the football analogy, it would appear that these teachers make up what is commonly referred to as the "suicide squad," running on and off the field either to run back kicks or prevent the other team from running them back. Likewise, the teacher is called upon to either maintain the illusion of continuing education or prevent some sort of disruptive student uprising. It seems almost obscene to ask whether any teaching, let alone learning, can exist under these or similar circumstances.

The full-time teacher, in a way, may be worse off than his substitute counterpart. The length of his stay in one building virtually forces him to come to grips with a wide range of energy, vitality, and creativity-sapping forces by which he soon finds himself surrounded. It is my own observation that relatively few inner-city teachers have the strength to withstand the kind of criticism Kozol, for example, received for teaching material not "intended" for the fourth grade. The supervisory reproof is sure and righteous. His response is almost predictable:

"Bewildered as you are by what appears to be a kind of idiocy, you still feel reproved and criticized and muted and set back and you feel that you have been caught in the commission of a serious mistake."

The denial of the humanity of his pupils can only result in a dehumanized teacher. A kind of vicious circle is developed in which, first, teachers are warned against any really friendly interaction with their students.

"To have any friendly relationship with a student outside the classroom would make teaching him impossible or, at the least, substantially more difficult."

Then, in order to control and restrain whatever sincere interests they may have in the children whom they teach, many teachers must not only deny their own feelings, but the feelings of their pupils as well. Any teacher who seeks a way around this usually receives the special treatment reserved for the "rate buster" or worse, the deviate. Often, if he makes a point of sticking to his own integrity, he is isolated and snubbed by his colleagues. At best, he is tolerated as a slightly demented novelty.

But the pressure on even the most innovative teacher to conform continues unabated. The "Curriculum Guide in Character Education," put out by the Boston Public Schools, offers some interesting examples of the direction taken by this pressure:

"Character traits to be developed: obedience to duly constituted authority . . . self-control . . . responsibility . . . gratitude . . . kindness . . good workmanship and perseverance . . . loyal . . . teamwork . . . honesty . . . fair play."

For the overwhelming majority of inner-city teachers, it proves exceedingly difficult to survive without conforming to a thoroughly degrading and, as Kozol and a number of others like Kohl, Schrag, Ryan and Green, have described so vividly, irrational system. In a very real sense, the question of education has become political and the teacher a kind of low-grade, amateur politician for whom survival in the system has become the primary *educational* goal. Unless a teacher has excellent political survival skills or political backing, his chances of sustaining any innovative practices which are at all disruptive to the system must be regarded as minuscule. The new inner-city teacher soon learns that he is being coerced into joining a silent service.

"A young teacher without powerful connections or impressive affiliations does not last long in the Boston school system unless he learns to remain relatively silent about the things he sees."

There is a danger, as Kozol so rightly points out, that the entire world of the teacher—especially the "old-line teacher"—will be shattered if he must admit that the "zoo" in which he teaches is partly of his own making. Not only may he be forced to a realization that his efforts as a teacher have been wasted or worse, but also, in the sense that life and growth are intertwined, he should already regard himself as dead.

ROCKING THE BOAT

The specter of Malcolm X walks the rebellion-torn streets of the black ghettos across the country. Things may not have changed very much, but they will never again be the same. The white liberal is being forced to work both his mouth *and* his body, or to keep his mouth shut. His black counterpart has received the same admonition from his militant "soul brothers." Kozol repeats the challenge that drove him from the dinner table to a sit-in protesting the inadequate protection of civil rights workers provided by the Federal Government.

"If you mean what you said and you really admire them for doing what they have done, then why aren't you right down there with them on the floor instead of sitting here talking about it and enjoying yourself just like the rest of us?"

Some white teachers are beginning (perhaps because they have been forced) to look at the prejudice which abides within them.

"I said I was certain, from any number of similar moments that there was plenty of regular old-time prejudice in me, just as in almost every other white man I ever saw."

Curricula are starting to come under fire—particularly from black leaders in the local community. The increasing power of community-based black militant groups has led—in the very recent past—to more circumspect attacks than the following rebuke delivered by Kozol's principal as a result of his use of Langston Hughes' "Ballad of the Landlord" with his fourth graders.

"No literature . . . which is not in the Course of Study can ever be read by a Boston teacher without permission from someone higher up . . . no poem . . . by any Negro author can be considered permissible if it involves suffering."

It seems almost incredible that the world in which inner-city children live, the violent, rebellious, but consensus-minded, America in which teachers must live as well, has had so little impact upon the curriculum. Fortunately the suffering to which children are exposed nightly on television (in Vietnam, for example), daily in the newspapers and on the radio, and most of their waking lives in the neighborhoods in which they live is more and more intruding into the classroom. The recent "riots" in a number of high schools (especially in Chicago) are but one vivid testimony to the explosive forces now being overtly expressed. Kozol describes "pre-riot" conditions this way:

"Segregated schools seem often to require . . . brutal discipline because of the uneasy feelings which are so often present. The children, enough of them anyway, are quietly smoldering with a generally unimagined awareness of their own degradation. The atmosphere that grows out of this may be one of real danger to the equanimity of a teacher or administrator."

Perhaps it is the children themselves who will help to liberate the schools so that teachers can teach. Even elementary pupils are starting to understand what is happening to them. They are learning a prideful disrespect for the inferior teachers by whom most are taught. As their mothers and fathers, older sisters and brothers have begun to take back their self-hood, so these very young children are learning a new kind of defense. It is different than the stubborn, bitter defiance of the past which often marked a child who refused to be "done in" by the system or one so beaten down that institutional care had to be provided. It has a new vitality and cockiness, and it has something of the flavor of "——— you, baby!" The white authority which has for so long pervaded the ghetto school systems of the nation is beginning to crumble.

"No child in his heart, unless drugged by passivity, will pay obeisance to authority unless authority has earned it, and authority based on political maneuvering and upon the ingestion and assimilation of platitudes is an authority which no person, white or Negro, adult or child, should respect."

The system will still try to crush those who dare to oppose and disrupt it. The "personal discipline" argument invoked in Eisenstadt's report which supported Kozol's discharge will be heard again.

"Mr. Kozol, or anyone else who lacks the personal discipline to abide by rules and regulations, as we all must in our civilized society, is obviously unsuited for the highly responsible profession of teaching."

But the politics of education are changing. The clamor for black control of black schools has not yet begun to build toward a crescendo, but this is the direction in which we are moving. There is a measure of change in the public schools which may be exerted by teachers and pupils acting together. More teachers may go to ghetto classrooms in the spirit with which Kozol describes his entry.

"I went in there . . . in a manner that they soon detected, with a loyalty only to them for their nerve and for their defiance and with an obvious and openly expressed dissatisfaction with the stupidity of a school system that had cheated them."

Perhaps only in this spirit can inner-city schools be redeemed.

LONGSHOREMEN THREATEN BOYCOTT OF CARGO FROM LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES SEIZING U.S. FISHING BOATS

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, in the argument with Peru over their expropriation of an American oil plant, the dispute over the seizure of U.S. fishing boats in international waters off their coast has been largely put aside.

This is serious because if Peru or any of her neighbors seize another American fishing boat there is likely to be a boycott of that nation's products in U.S. ports. I bring to the attention of my colleagues a resolution passed last week at the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union 18th biennial convention in Los Angeles, Calif., in which they clearly spell out their course of action.

This makes it all the more clear that negotiations must start between the United States and these nations that claim a 200-mile jurisdiction off their coasts so that we can avert such action as a boycott from ever occurring.

I include the resolution at this point in the RECORD:

RESOLUTION 39: FISHING BOAT SEIZURES

Whereas: Certain South American nations unilaterally claiming a 200 mile territorial water limit have seized, fined, shot at and otherwise harassed ILWU fishermen on the high seas; and

Whereas: These countries, notably Ecuador, Chile and Peru, have so far refused to bring the issue to the conference table; and

Whereas: The government of the United States, despite many promises, has so far refused to pursue a policy of protecting its fishermen on the high seas and has moved much too slowly toward convening a four power conference with the involved nations; therefore be it resolved:

1. The ILWU condemns illegal and unwarranted harassment of fishermen on the high seas; and
2. We demand forthright, immediate action by the U.S. Government to protect our fishermen; and
3. We demand enforcement of existing laws relating to such illegal seizures; and
4. We urge an immediate conference to negotiate a peaceful settlement to the claims on territorial waters; and
5. In the event that ILWU fishermen continue to be harassed, the International Officers are instructed to take whatever appropriate action necessary—including a boycott of cargo and ships from those countries who continue to harass our fishermen—to insure the protection of our members and their freedom to pursue their livelihood on the high seas.

Submitted by Local 33.

IN MEMORIAM: DR. SANDI ESQUIVEL

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, today I honor the passing of a great man, a great personal friend, Dr. Sandi Esquivel, of Austin, Tex.

In all my years in Austin, I have heard only praise for Dr. Esquivel. He was one of those rare persons who did good things for people in his own quiet way, and he always harbored only good thoughts of his fellow man. I join his many friends in mourning his passing.

Dr. Esquivel began his medical practice in Austin in 1935. He literally fought for his medical degree from the University of Texas; I say that because Sandi was an accomplished boxer and many times he jokingly remarked that he "fought his way through medical school" and used the money from professional fights to stay in school.

This gentle man was a well-rounded athlete. While he was a student, Sandi lettered in track and basketball. He played on the unbeaten 1924 Longhorn basketball team. And he set a record for the 2-mile run that stood until 1949.

Just last fall, he was admitted to the Longhorn Hall of Honor. Sandi never forgot the benefits he derived from athletics. Throughout the years, he was an ardent supporter of Longhorn athletic events in all sports. He helped with money, time, and talent.

Dr. Esquivel was one of the eminent bone specialists in the Southwest. He was proud of the medical profession. His practice was heavy; his renown was widespread. Yet he always found time to help the poor boys and girls of Texas. Through the Ben Hur Shrine of Texas he performed hundreds of operations for the unfortunate and needy people of Texas, and he did the same for hundreds of other unfortunate boys and girls in Austin and throughout central Texas. He had a heart as big as the basketball he used at the University of Texas to steer us to championships.

Today, I join the many in Austin who have sent their deepest sympathies to his lovely wife, Irene, and his son and daughter and grandchildren.

MULTIPLE APPLICATIONS OF SPACE TECHNOLOGY

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the House of Representatives Committee on Science and Astronautics, I have been appointed to the Subcommittees on Manned Space Flight and Science and Technology. As an essential part of this responsibility, I have made an inspection tour of the three principal centers for manned space flight where the meticulous preparation for our exploration of space is taking place.

In the course of this tour I have had definitive conversations with the administrators, managers, scientists, and with some of the astronauts. The broad scope of this program which does now, and will increasingly affect the lives of all of us, became evident to me. We know that the most technologically advanced are the leading nations of the modern world. No previous national effort has so stimulated technological development as has our national space program—except a major war. The eminent British writer, Arthur Clarke has suggested that space accomplishments may replace war as the international symbol of prestige and power.

For the large majority of our population, the hard-working, well-educated producer, the Americans who built this country and who by their diligence and intelligence are continuing our progress, the space program is really a synonym for scientific and technological advancement. In spite of the youth of this program—it began only 10 years ago—its effects are already being felt over a broad scientific spectrum, throughout our industrial complex and within our university community.

Meteorology, navigation, communications, telemetry, geodesy, geology, cartography, agriculture, biology, medicine, astronomy, photography—these are only a few areas which the space program has impacted and advanced.

In our industrial life, a new element has been injected—the technology of perfection. On the Apollo 8 flight which orbited the moon, only five noncritical parts out of 15 million failed. Industry has never before produced anything so nearly perfect. And the management and the systems which accomplished this feat are being applied throughout the industrial complex. Over 20,000 companies worked on Apollo components.

The requirements of the space program forced changes in the curriculums of many of our universities, and NASA's educational grants have already resulted in the achievement of 1,300 Ph. D.'s in space-related subjects. Over 200 universities have been involved in the space program.

Over 2,500 technological products have come directly from our space program, but there are thousands more which have been inspired by it, and an abundance of new products, new industries and new jobs which are just over the horizon.

Variety of the products, of course prevents their specific description, but a few will convey some idea. Miniaturization, advanced for the space program, gives us tiny appliances, improved color television, minuscule medical and surgical instruments. There is a television transmitter which can be swallowed in a capsule for visual examination of the internal workings of the stomach. Teflon frying pans and refrigerators which move at a touch, aid the housewife. Exotic lubricants, developed to withstand the extremes of temperature on the moon, −330° F. to +260° F., are being used in industry and in transportation. There is a "space blanket" which fits in a shirt pocket, and provides sportsmen with warmth and comfort.

Space research has discovered a way to use energy generated within the body to provide power for hearing aids, and for the direction and control of artificial limbs.

The space program has been a most effective spur to the development of computers and this $20 billion industry now employs 800,000 people, one out of every 100 of our total work force. The computer complex at Houston which handled the Mercury flights, only 6 years ago, performed 1 million calculations a minute. Today's Apollo system handles 50 times that many—50 million a minute—80 billion in a day. The computer is ready to do its part in solving the massive problems which beset the earth today.

A lightweight vertical stretcher invented for emergency evacuation of workers from launch vehicle tanks is being used in Vietnam for the lifting of wounded into helicopters.

There is a space-developed television camera, much smaller than the one used for inflight pictures from the moon, and from Apollo 9, about 4 by 3 by 2 inches and weighing just over a pound. Such a camera would find many uses, for police work, for firemen, doctors, and of course, roving reporters.

A new aluminum casting alloy called M-45 is being used in industry because of its superior strength and ductility at cryogenic temperatures. The problem of stress corrosion in metal structures has been intensely studied and shows signs of solution by improved surface treatment and increased thermal research in metals. New paints, resisting heat, cold, abrasion and acids were invented to coat spacecraft, and are now being manufactured by a dozen or more companies.

Ultraviolet photo tubes invented for space probes are now being tested as flame detectors in fire alarm systems. The shuttering devices used on spacecraft, when installed on the exterior of a house, reduce the amount of energy required for heating and cooling. Auto manufacturers are looking seriously at miniaturized electronic controls that will slow a car to avoid obstacles and stop it in case of imminent emergency. An adaptation of space telemetry is already being used in road signs that change automatically as the weather changes. A photochromatic space-developed material darkens rapidly when it is exposed to sunlight. It is being applied to windows and sun glasses.

Greatly improved batteries have been necessary for space activity, and these moved quickly from space development to the appliances we use every day. The fuel cell which lay dormant for many years, was dusted off, developed and improved for the production of on-board power for spacecraft. Now it gives promise of supplying total home power for lighting, heating, cooling, air purification, and later perhaps total waste disposal, without pollution. This promise is now being investigated by 27 natural gas companies in their $20 million research and development program.

The need for fireproof materials for Apollo spacecraft demanded a complete testing and documentation of the flammability characteristics of hundreds of materials. These results have been computerized and are available to all of industry. Within a short time it will be possible to avoid a large percentage of disastrous fires—from mattresses burning, to childrens' sweaters catching fire, to aircraft curtains igniting. Information on flammability of materials developed for Apollo has been passed along to Boeing for their use in outfitting the 747. Fireproof Beta cloth has been developed which is already being used for firefighter suits in municipal departments as well as on board our aircraft carriers at sea. Fire insurers should be especially interested in these developments.

In order to sustain our astronauts in deep space and on the lunar surface, the most sophisticated life support system which we can define has been developed. Since men must carry it on their backs, it is the smallest and lightest unit that we can make; yet it contains all of the equipment and supplies to support life. We have really built a system which allows man to go where he will, in our solar system or out into the universe. This little silver box will someday enable man to create livable worlds on the cold, harsh planets of our solar system. Buckminster Muller, of geodesic dome fame, has said:

> That little silver box, the life support system, may cost millions to develop, but it can be mass produced at $1000, and with it man can live anywhere. The space capsule is man's first scientific house—all previous ones were artificial. So let's stop this nonsense of not going to the moon.

The need to know the physical reactions of our astronauts while they are out in space, 200 miles away, or a quarter of a million miles out, on the moon, has forced the development of some of the most ingenious biomedical instruments that the world has ever seen. It is now possible for one nurse to monitor dozens of patients from a central console. Now a doctor can contact his patient at work, or on the golf course, and tell him to slow down, for the patient will be wearing one of the miniature sensors which reports his condition to his doctor.

There is a new instrument, called an oscillometer, which can detect life in one who seems dead. This is already in production and will save many lives each year. At least a dozen new companies have been organized to manufacture the biomedical instruments perfected in the space program. One of the great products is the astronaut helmet which has been adapted for the treatment of asthmatic children. There is an adaption of a design originally developed as a lunar walker which allows a paraplegic or other crippled person to move easily in the street, and even to climb stairs.

Systems perfected to improve the pictures taken of the moon are now being applied to human X-rays with remarkable results. The most obscure parts of the human brain can now be explored by X-ray. And a delicate sensor, designed to measure vibration in a giant booster, is so finely calibrated that it can detect signs of dread Parkinson's disease long before the onset of the illness, and permit early treatment and cure.

New developments, products, processes, and breakthroughs are almost daily occurrences. Only a few weeks ago it was announced that a NASA scientist researching the effects of space radiation on body cells has discovered intercellular linkages which may help in the understanding of the behavior of certain types of cancer.

Of course, all of us are already taking some of the most important space products for granted, like live TV from everywhere in the world via satellite, and weather reports which not only advise us in our daily newspapers and TV weather reports, but also alert areas in the paths of hurricanes. For example, satellite prediction of Hurricane Carla permitted 500,000 people to evacuate the area of Galveston and parts of Louisiana, confining losses to property damage. We have not had a serious hurricane in our area for some years, but if one should come, we would now be advised in time to minimize our losses.

We know that the way to beat poverty is with education and jobs. At its peak, the space program employed over 400,000 people in every kind of endeavor. New products create new jobs and RCA says that 80 percent of their sales today are of products which were not even invented 10 years ago.

The education necessary to equip people to work in the new technologies is coming through the satellite and the computer. A satellite in orbit with thousands of channels can provide the best education available to people in the cities as well as in the most remote villages in our Nation and throughout the world. India is now preparing such an educational satellite for the 100,000 villages of that poor nation, and they expect that their country will be literate within one generation. Our problems are not so severe, so we can hope that higher education can soon be available to all of our poor and neglected people so that they may take their rightful place among the affluent of this country.

In the south, in advanced research laboratories, I talked with some of our leading scientists who are working at the far-out edge of technology. Some of the people who support their work were, only a few years ago, subsistence farmers, scratching the ground for their living. Now they have jobs of dignity and can afford to send their sons to college. It is not unusual to find that the son of the night-watchman is a Ph. D. in one of the laboratories. His sister, meanwhile, may be the secretary to one of the directors; this is the American way. The space activity is preparing so many of our citizens to perform at the highest level.

Frank Borman and his wife told me of the spectacular reception they received in the countries of Europe. No man in our history has been so warmly received abroad, and no U.S. activity has ever been accorded so much acclaim. Our international prestige has been reestablished through our space program.

For the first time in history the available resources of this Nation, the Government, universities, and industry, have been mobilized for a rapid advancement—the first time these great forces have been unified and channeled for peaceful purposes—and for the first time great advances have been made without a major war.

I consider my work on the committees concerned with the space program of major significance for my constituents in the near and in the distant future. For the accomplishment of all of our purposes, this work will supply many of the answers. Above all, from a defense point of view, our manned space flight capability assures our national security.

ENDANGERED SPECIES

HON. R. LAWRENCE COUGHLIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. COUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, I thought my colleagues would be interested in a newspaper article that states that the Honeywell Co. is planning to reward its successful computer salesmen with one genuine Bengal tiger skin. Now Mr. Speaker, I know that the Honeywell company is a very efficient organization and that its salesmen will spend many extra hours at work to win their tiger skin prizes. I only hope that the word has been passed along to those few remaining Bengal tigers in the world.

As a matter of fact, Mr. Speaker, I have written to a Bengal tiger friend of mine in India and suggested that he and his friends should get together and give a prize of a brandnew computer to the tiger who eats the most Honeywell salesmen. He thought it was a splendid idea.

The article reads as follows:

[From the London Sunday Times, Apr. 13, 1969]

PUT A TIGER ON YOUR WALL

ESSO has got rid of its tiger—well, almost. Now Honeywell is bringing it back with a vengeance. This is to be the computer firm's Year of the Tiger. It is using it in its current advertising campaign—you can see the creature below on this page—and as a symbol to whip up enthusiasm among its sales staff for its new 3200 Series medium to large computer, a piece of equipment in the unfrivolous £300,000 to £600,000 range. Any salesman winning a firm order for one before the end of the year will get a genuine tiger skin value £120. There's an original incentive for you. And branches doing well will be awarded—wait for it—a mounted tiger's head which they can put on the wall.

To launch the new computer internally Honeywell staged a somewhat curious shindig. The organisers even had a live tiger sitting on a jungle-decorated stage in a London hotel. It sat next to a stuffed one which had a battered tee-shirt, marked IBM, in its mouth. The sales staff sat around in safari hats, drank Tiger's Milk and talked of Tiger's Days One and Two—target dates for calling on all clients and prospects. They also watched an American Honeywell film graciously entitled: "We're Really Going to Sock it to 'Em in '69." 'Em was obviously IBM. A Golath wearing an IBM shirt was felled by a diminutive Honeywell David. Thomas J. Watson, IBM's chairman, got a custard-pie in his face.

Not your actual Thomas J. Watson in person, of course. He was too busy elsewhere chortling over the dominant share which IBM has of the world computer market. Honeywell's UK Director of Electronic Data Processing, Larry Barnett, is convinced all the razzmatazz helps. "Our salesmen are in their late 20s. They are young, they appreciate the fun and it gives them confidence. It will help motivate them."

But the competition are cynical about it helping Honeywell better its claimed 14 per cent of the UK market. "Let's face it, the basic motivation is money," says one IBM man. "Who's interested in tiger skins when if you get the right order you could afford a Bengal tiger shoot of your own?"

VIETCONG DESERTIONS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, a late report from Saigon indicates that the Communist high command is so distraught over the increased large numbers of Vietcong desertions in the Mekong Delta that it sent an indoctrination squad to investigate the reason—there having been promised by all the world propaganda system that they are the only ones who can win a victory.

The Reds were further agonized to learn that the leader of their indoctrination team on reaching South Vietnam also deserted.

If there is any truth in the report then our leadership had best escalate withdrawal of our troops else we may find ourselves in the ridiculous position of losing a war where there is no enemy to surrender to.

I submit a news article from a local paper for inclusion in the RECORD, as follows:

VC PROBE RISING DEFECTIONS IN DELTA

(By David Hoffman)

SAIGON, April 23.—The Communist high command recently dispatched a "leadership team" to investigate why large numbers of Vietcong have been defecting in the Mekong Delta, according to U.S. officials.

On reaching South Vietnam the head of the leadership team reportedly defected.

Interrogated by allied intelligence, the defector reported that about 50 per cent of new Vietcong recruits were rallying to the government in the Mekong Delta. The defector, a former battalion commander, cited two reasons for this:

Impressment of stay-at-home guerrillas into roving Communist battalions. Like most South Vietnamese peasants, the Vietcong prefer to live and fight near their ancestral homes. As main-force Vietcong units are drained of manpower, more and more local guerrillas are being transferred outside their native provinces to flesh out maneuver battalions. Rather than leave home, many are rallying to the government, the defector said.

Continued intense fighting with no clear-cut objective. Prior to the Paris peace talks, Delta Communists reasoned that victory was attainable only on the battlefield. Many now foresee a negotiated settlement. Anticipating it, they balk at fighting, and when forced to fight frequently, choose to defect instead.

For security reasons, U.S. intelligence is withholding the defector's name while evaluating his credentials. It appears, however, that the defector, a Vietcong captain who surrendered April 16, was sent to Kiengiang Province by the Communist Central Office for South Vietnam.

His mission was to bolster morale, shore up discipline and decrease the defection rate in Communist Military Region 3, which embraces much of the Mekong Delta. According to the Communist captain, one of every three Vietcong in the region was suffering from a severe morale problem.

This would help explain the high Delta defection rate, which began last fall and has continued unabated ever since.

During Communist offensives in past years the number of Communist defectors dropped dramatically.

But during the offensive that began Feb. 22, the rate dipped but slightly. In the week ending April 19, 979 Communists turned themselves in to the government—671 of them in the Delta.

But some U.S. pacification workers predict that with the onslaught of monsoon rains in the Delta the defection rate will decrease, at least for the duration of the wet season. They reason that the rains ended early last fall, damaging the rice crop, and that many Vietcong rallied for want of work or food.

HOW CAMPUS REDS TRIED TO TAKE OVER A COUNTRY

HON. JOHN BUCHANAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, although the violence and insurrection now erupting on our campuses constitute a new trend in the United States, other countries, particularly in Latin America, have had long experience with radical infiltration and the attempted use of a university as a base for revolution.

U.S. News & World Report has detailed the story of one such school—Central University in Caracas, Venezuela. I believe it is important reading for anyone curious to see what happens when radical leftists grab control of a major educational institution.

Mr. Speaker, we must not content ourselves with simply saying, "Well, it can't happen here." That is exactly what Harvard men, Cornell men, Columbia men, Duke men, and Wisconsin men were saying not very long ago.

I insert the article entitled, "How Campus Reds Tried To Take Over a Country" from the January 16, 1967, issue of U.S. News & World Report in the RECORD at this point:

HOW CAMPUS REDS TRIED TO TAKE OVER A COUNTRY

CARACAS.—At a time when student leftists are causing more and more trouble on campuses in the U.S. and other countries, take a look at the Central University in Caracas to see what can happen when Communists grab control of a university.

The occupation by Venezuelan troops of the Central University in late December uncovered substantial evidence that the Reds were using the school as an arsenal and staging area in a major effort to overthrow the Government.

People in this capital city of close to 2 million inhabitants have known for more than five years that the Central University was a focal point of trouble. Communist-led gangs sallied forth from the campus again and again to stage assassinations, rob banks and blow up supermarkets and oil pipelines.

It was the most sustained campaign of terrorism in Latin America since Fidel Castro took over Cuba. Until last month, the troublemakers were able to dash back to safety through the university gates.

Central University, like most others in Latin America, held the status of an autonomous institution under the constitution. The campus grounds were immune to Venezuelan law and off limits to any type of federal or municipal law enforcement.

THE LAST STRAW

Tolerance of the Communist sanctuary finally ended abruptly last month when a judge was assassinated and the Venezuelan Army Chief of Staff was wounded in a new wave of violence.

Findings made on the campus since troops moved in are enabling Venezuelan authorities to piece together the full story of the conversion of the university into a base of terrorist operations.

Even though the university was on vacation when the troops struck, they arrested some 650 persons there. Many were not students at all but professional troublemakers in the pay of the Communists. Forty-five were singled out as ringleaders. Among them was a retired Army major who had been involved in an abortive uprising in 1960.

Within the university, troops found caches of arms hidden in every part of several buildings—even in the spaces between ceilings and roofs.

The arms included automatic and conventional rifles, a light machine gun, assorted pistols and revolvers, grenades, electric detonators, explosives for making bombs, and stores of ammunition. The dormitories in which some of these weapons caches were uncovered bore such terrorist nicknames as "Stalingrad" and "Chicago."

Thirty stolen cars were rounded up on the campus, including a Volkswagen with homemade armor which one enterprising student had been renting to various terrorist groups. There were supplies of Army and police uniforms, false passports and identification papers, a Castro-Cuban flag, guerrilla films processed in Russia and a printing press for turning out counterfeit money.

KEY FIND: DOCUMENTS

To Venezuelan intelligence officers, their most important find was a mound of papers and documents. These included files on guerrilla units in the mountains, plans for future operations and maps of National Guard posts with instructions on how to attack them.

There were lists of Army officers marked for assassination. There were also sketches of utility plants in the Caracas area—a favorite Red target—and manuals on ambushing Army patrols.

How did Venezuela's main university become such a bastion for the Communists? Intelligence officers say it came about mainly through a combination of three things—a maximum abuse of the constitutional immunity of the campus, intimidation of non-Communists, and an appeal to the romantic streak in many naive students.

Of the total enrollment of more than 25,000 students at Central University, fewer than 1,500 are considered Communists. Most of the students are regarded as seriously devoted to their studies and opposed to Communism.

ONLY 200 RED ACTIVISTS

It is now clear, however, that the armed Communist minority, with approximately 200 activists in various gangs, intimidated all other students into silence. One non-Communist student now says that everybody knew what was going on but was too afraid to talk for fear of Communist reprisal.

Some key members of the university administration and faculty were Communists or sympathizers, so allowed the terrorists a free hand. In this situation, campus dormitories become the refuge of professional criminals as well as professional agitators. The criminals teamed up with students to rob banks—"for the people's cause," as they told bank officers and customers.

The campus became a recruiting ground for guerrilla units in the hills as some students took "mountain sabbaticals." Many of these were attracted to the guerrillas by the supposed glamour of becoming mountain fighters.

"If you were in the mountains with guerrillas," said a non-Communist student who did not succumb, "you were irresistible with girls."

At the same time, the university sanctuary was used as a rest and recuperation area for the regular guerrillas, as well as their fund-raising center.

TRIALS AND TORTURE

Evidence also is emerging that the campus was used for Communist "trials" and torture. One recent victim was Alfredo Rafael Seijas, a lawyer who worked in liaison between the police and Army. Seijas disappeared last September while on a visit to the university. His bound body was found the following night on a deserted Caracas street with 16 bullet holes. His mouth was stuffed with a handkerchief.

Police say Seijas was seized and hidden at the university by Communist terrorists, "tried" in a university auditorium, beaten and tortured, stuffed into the trunk of a car, then shot to death.

The main function of the Communist base at Central University, however, was to serve as the staging ground for an all-out campaign of terrorism against the capital itself. That campaign got under way in 1961 after Fidel Castro publicly declared Venezuela his No. 1 target.

The terrorists' objective was to subject Caracas to so much turmoil as to provoke a military take-over and discredit the democratic Government of President Rómulo Betancourt. In the years that followed, Caracas experienced terrorist bombings almost nightly. For a time, terrorist gunners were killing a policeman a day—often from fast-moving cars that headed straight back to the university.

VOTERS DEFIED REDS

The campaign to oust the Government by such activities in Caracas failed. In 1963, the people defied Communist threats by going to the polls in record numbers to elect a successor to Betancourt. It was the first peaceful transfer of power between democratically elected regimes in Venezuela's history.

But the Communists did not give up. They just shifted tactics. After 1963, the Reds moved into the hills for a guerrilla campaign on the Castro or Chinese Communist pattern.

By 1964, guerrillas were operating in eight of Venezuela's 20 States.

Outwardly, Central University appeared to have become a more peaceful place after the Communists moved their fight to the hills. Secretly, however, it remained a beehive of activity on behalf of the Reds.

Then, in the closing weeks of 1966, violence broke out again in Caracas, and it was traced to the university. After seven persons were killed and millions of dollars' worth of property was damaged. Venezuelan President Raúl Leoni moved in with troops.

Most Venezuelans, despite tradition of autonomy for universities, appear to approve the Government's occupation of the campus. Ordinary people say they were tired of terrorist gangs' using the university as a haven. Some find fault with the Government for waiting so long to move.

As political observers here in Caracas see it, the importance of the occupation of the university is far greater than just the arrests and the seizure of clandestine material.

It puts out of action the Communist sanctuary and center of subversive activities for the most concerted drive ever launched by the Castro Communists against a South American country. And it involves a clear warning that it could happen again.

A similar change of mind over the hot subject of university autonomy is going on throughout Latin America. Universities have been occupied in four other countries in addition to Venezuela. These are Argentina, Ecuador, Colombia and Mexico.

The outlook for the Communists in all five countries, as a result, is for tougher times. No longer can they count on university campuses as their private sanctuaries in working to undermine governments.

AFRICAN LABOR

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the South Rhodesian whites have truly created a chaotic condition with their neighbor, North Rhodesia, now known as Zambia.

It seems that with South Rhodesia declaring their independence from England, the South Rhodesians were compelled to give up operating the railroad in Zambia.

A report on the plight of the defunct malfunctioning Zambian railroad shows the great disservice inflicted by the white Rhodesians for abandoning Zambia.

But then, they only did what they were asked to do and what the U.N.-U.S. foreign policy forced them to do.

Let us just hope they do not give the operation of the powerplant at Lake Kariba to the Zambians.

I include a report on the railroad, as follows:

ZAMBIA'S RAILROAD TROUBLES

Probably no other country in the world (with only 650 miles of railway track to its name), has more trouble with its line than Zambia.

In the last half of 1967, for example, there were 308 mishaps, including four main-line collisions, 20 in switching yards and sidings, 17 main-line derailments and 155 in yards and sidings.

The New York Times account of this sorry state of affairs makes what at first appears to be the rather startling statement that "many of the difficulties are attributable to Rhodesia's declaration of independence in 1965"—at which time Rhodesia gave up running the railroad.

Actually, this does just about tell the story (repeated all over Africa where the white man has "laid down his burden").

When the Zambians took over the railroad, most of the white men who had been operating it left, foreseeing the general disorganization of the country that was to come.

Of the 7,000 employes (for 680 miles of track, yet!) there are perhaps 1,000 foreigners recruited from all over the world—East Africa, India, Pakistan, etc. The general manager is even Sudanese.

Last year so much of the railway chaos was attributed to drunken train crews that 10,000 breath-testing devices were imported to help enforce sobriety—but never used because of employe resistance.

Should Rhodesia and South Africa ever founder under the black waves, the story would be the same.

PUBLIC MISLED ON CREDIT CODE PROPOSAL

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, in 2 months the landmark truth-in-lending law goes into operation, and hopefully, the utter chaos and confusion which has characterized so much of the consumer credit industry will be straightened out.

No one should consider the Truth-in-Lending Act as the final answer to all problems of the credit industry—for both lenders and borrowers alike. Still more needs to be done, and one area of immediate importance is that of credit codes at the State level. I note that it is an immediate issue because the credit industry already has begun an intensive campaign to have its version of a credit code law passed by many State legislatures.

Were the proposed State law just and equitable, I would not raise my objection. But, instead of following the lead of the Federal truth-in-lending measure, the Uniform Consumer Credit Code—as it is termed—sets out to evade the regulations just established at the Federal level.

Analysis of the Uniform Consumer Credit Code, and a strong presentation of the case against it, was published in the March issue of Consumer Reports. I place the article in the RECORD at this point:

A CONSUMER CREDIT CODE FOR LENDERS

The casual buy-now-pay-later tone of the American marketplace touches the lives not only of those who habitually use credit but also of those who cling tenaciously to old-fashioned cash buying. Lately, everyone has suffered the inflationary effects of what may well be an overdose of consumer credit. Despite such anti-inflationary strategems as a 10 per cent increase in income-tax withholdings, and despite the highest interest rates in history, installment credit contracts continue to finance vast amounts of buying. In the second half of 1968, consumers were plunging deeper into debt at the unprecedented rate of $800 million to $900 million per month.

Besides contributing to inflation, easy credit and its fellow-traveler, harsh collection methods, have lately fanned the fires of discontent in the city slums. During the 1967 riots in the black ghetto of Boston's Roxbury district, a furniture store was one of the first businesses put to the torch. According to officials of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the store's exorbitant credit charges were "one of the causes of the riot and burning." The trade paper *Home Furnishings Daily* warned its readers that Negro resentment against unfair merchandising practices might spark similar riots in other cities. The paper was right. The U.S. Riot Commission Report of 1968, recounting the causes of disorders, said its investigators heard grievances of Negro consumers against unfair commercial practices in 11 of 20 cities studied.

Much has been said of the way consumer credit accelerates economic growth and provides the material comforts of an affluent society. Less is said of the hardships it has caused. Overcommitments to credit merchants burden uncounted families in every income bracket. By the mid-1960s—20 years into the post-World War II consumer credit boom—one family out of two was paying off installment debts, not counting home mortgages; one family out of four had committed one-third of its income to such debt payments, and one family out of 10 had committed 40 per cent or more of its income. In the first eight years of the present decade, personal bankruptcies nearly doubled. In those eight years, one million consumers, under unbearable pressure from creditors, went broke.

ACTION AND REACTION

Excessive credit commitments and over-reaching by credit sellers and collectors must be dealt with as a serious national problem. On that point all responsible observers, including those in the credit industry, can and do agree. The problems are indeed being dealt with this year at the national and state levels.

Leading the way is a magnificent piece of legal reform, the Federal Consumer Credit Protection Act. Beginning July 1, its Truth-in-Lending provisions will require all lending institutions and credit merchants to give consumers the facts they need in order to shop intelligently for credit.

With passage of the Consumer Credit Protection Act, Congress for the first time established some nationwide peacetime rules of behavior for lenders and some rights for borrowers. Beyond its demands for full disclosure, the act sets an upper limit on the percentage of a wage earner's paycheck that a creditor may seize through garnishment proceedings. For the first time, too, a Federal law gives you three days to change your mind about going through with a credit contract that takes your residence as security.

Thus, Congress has entered what previously was a private preserve of the state legislatures. Contracts between borrowers and lenders have traditionally been governed by business laws at the state level. Those laws were meant to cover relationships between businessmen, who can hold up their ends of a bargain. The same credit laws have come to govern "bargaining" between consumers and lenders. But that's usually no bargaining at all—only a take-it-or-leave-it deal based on a contract drawn up by the creditor's lawyers in terms and with implications that borrowers can only dimly grasp.

An elaborate web of hundreds of state retail installment sales laws and consumer loan laws has been spun during this century, ostensibly to right the balance. However, creditors themselves designed the web, and consumers are the flies. A generation born after World War II and now forming families and households will be signing loan forms and credit sale papers by the millions in the next several years. They sorely need the protection of a more realistic set of laws—laws that may have to be imposed by Federal rather than state government. The Consumer Credit Protection Act opens the door in that direction.

INDUSTRY'S WEDGE

Ironically, the credit industry has discovered in that new Federal law an excuse for pressuring state legislatures to pass in great haste the industry's latest version of a reform law. It seems that many existing state credit laws will need amending to avoid conflicts with the Fedeal law. Added legislative incentive comes from a states-rights section of the Federal law; it says that states that pass their own Truth-in-Lending laws may obtain exemptions from the Federal one.

The credit industry's new reform law is called the Uniform Consumer Credit Code (UCCC). The code was promulgated at the annual meeting last year of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, a nongovernment organization closely related to the American Bar Association. Seldom in the checkered annals of state legislation has so complicted a bill been offered in the name of consumer protection.

The 127-page statute was drafted with the help of a panel of distinguished university professors of law, economics and sociology working with funds supplied mainly by the credit industry. Consumers are presumably expected to support enactment of the UCCC in the belief that it was written in their interest. As a UCCC committee staff member wrote in the *Harvard Business Review:*

"Most segments of the industry appreciate the advantages of uniformity and of outlawing undesirable credit practices that are used by a minority but reflect unfavorably on the majority. Responsible consumer groups similarly recognize that the code provides a much better balance between debtors' and creditors' rights than exists in current statutes."

It is true that some responsible consumer spokesmen have, despite misgivings, endorsed the UCCC, among them the White House consumer agencies of former President Johnson. But CU and its legal consultants can find little to cheer about. *We don't think any state, no matter how bad its existing credit laws, should adopt the UCCC without extensive amendments in favor of consumers.*

The UCCC's benefits to the credit industry are plain enough:

It opens the door to anyone who wants to go into the money-lending business. No license would be required unless interest rates charged were higher than 18 per cent, and no limit would be placed on the number of above-18 per cent lenders. Retailers could sell on credit, as they do now, at high legal interest rates without need of a license—and thus without fear of losing it for misbehavior.

It standardizes credit forms. Big loan companies and store chains would be able to replace scores of different credit applications, contracts and disclosure forms with one standard form. Standardization would make life simpler for consumers, too, if the contracts and forms were fair and easy to understand. But, as we will show, they could be quite unfair.

It offers an escape from Federal enforcement of the Truth-in-Lending Act. The UCCC was designed to qualify states for exemption. From the credit industry viewpoint, most state administrators are easier to live with than those in Washington. From the consumer's-eye view, state regulation of such related industries as banking and insurance is generally inadequate.

RAISING THE ROOF ON INTEREST

But the part of the UCCC best calculated to appeal to lenders is its maximum interest rates. They would exceed top rates now in effect in such industrial states as New York, Illinois and California, where credit selling abounds. Under the UCCC, maximum installment rates would be set at 36 per cent per year on the first $300, 21 per cent on the portion of a debt from $300 to $1000, and 15 per cent on any portion above that.

The UCCC would also open the way for big boosts in interest on revolving charge accounts. The usual maximums now are 18 per cent (1½ per cent per month) on the first $500 and 12 per cent (1 per cent per month) on anything above that. The new ceilings would be 24 per cent and 18 per cent on store charge accounts and 36 per cent on bank credit cards and check-credit plans. And as is now the case, interest could be charged on the balance due at the *beginning* of the billing period—before your payments and returns were deducted.

Illustrations of the extra finance charges people might have to pay in states adopting the UCCC appear in the following table. The figures are based on data supplied by a government credit official in Massachusetts, and the comparisons are made with that state's present maximum rates, which are typical of those in industrial states. Note the possible increase in the cost of a one-year installment loan or purchase involving $1000 or initial credit. It could cost you $15 more than it does now at a licensed loan company and as much as $78 more at a new-car salesroom. Although new-car dealers might seldom avail themselves of the top rate, other lenders probably would, according to the state official.

TAKING THE LID OFF INTEREST COSTS

As if maximum finance charges under present state laws weren't high enough, the Uniform Consumer Credit Code (UCCC) would frequently raise them considerably higher. Here are some comparisons between maximum charges and rates allowed in Massachusetts and the amounts consumers might pay if Massachusetts enacted the Code. Maximum rates in Massachusetts are typical of those in populous states. Credit life insurance and other charges could add significantly to the figures shown.

EXAMPLE: $1,000 OF CREDIT PLUS INTEREST, REPAID IN 12 EQUAL MONTHLY INSTALLMENTS

Credit plan	Maximum annual interest rate: Massachusett (percent)	Maximum annual interest rate: UCCC (percent)	Maximum finance charge: Massachusetts	Maximum finance charge: UCCC	Increase under UCCC: Amount	Increase under UCCC: Percent
Licensed small loan	25.5	28	$143	$158	$15	(11)
Loan to pay insurance premium	25.5	28	143	158	15	(11)
Unlicensed small loan	12.0	18	66	100	34	(51)
2nd mortgage [1]	18.0	28	100	158	58	(58)
Appliances, installment purchase [2]	16.0	28	90	158	68	(75)
New car, installment purchase [3]	14.5	28	80	158	78	(97)

[1] For comparison only, since the smallest second mortgage loan permitted in Massachusetts is $1,500.
[2] Or any other goods and services except a car.
[3] Of the examples shown here, new car credit is the only one in which prevailing rates usually are lower than the maximum.

That prediction is supported by some findings about what happened to interest rates early in 1967, when Massachusetts became the first state to require disclosure of true annual interest rates on consumer credit. All stores and credit institutions had to switch over to new contract forms and rate tables. A survey published by the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston reported that "The tendency for the maximum to become the norm was reinforced by the use of the new annual rate tables. These are prepared by commercial publishers and most orders were for maximum rate schedules, except for auto dealer financing."

You may well ask why the Uniform Consumer Credit Code seeks to raise maximum rates. To make credit easier to get? Hardly. As already noted, installment debt has been expanding at a record pace under the present rate ceilings.

The Truth-in-Lending Act, by requiring discolsure of the true annual interest rate, has the potential for sharpening price competition among lenders and credit retailers. If that happens, there may in theory be no need for rate ceilings at all. There was strong sentiment in that direction among the UCCC authors. They finally decided that it would be politically unwise to remove all ceilings.

But it will take some time for consumers to learn how to shop for credit since, after all, they have never before had the chance to learn. The competitive fruits of Truth-in-Lending will not ripen overnight. For many consumers, no amount of Truth-in-Lending would bring down credit costs. They are the poor, the uneducated, students, newly married couples and borrowers who are already overcommitted. It is an axiom that people who need credit the most are likely to pay the most for it.

Not only do the poor pay more for money, they are also caught in the net of neighborhood credit monopolies. To tighten a lucrative hold on their customers, many stores and loan companies refuse to trade information with credit bureaus. Consequently, many low-income consumers who have never missed a payment to the local furniture store or loan shop nevertheless cannot get credit elsewhere.

Raising the interest-rate ceilings may therefore be something less than satisfactory from either a political or an economic standpoint. One who thinks so is George Brunn, a municipal court judge in Berkeley, Calif., and a CU board member. He wrote to UCCC sponsors: "To give persons a right to charge 36%-plus interest * (or finance charge) shocks at least my conscience and I do not believe that I am unduly sensitive."

WHO TAKES WHAT RISK?

The credit industry takes the position that the interest rates it must charge are determined, not by good conscience and morality, but by the degree of risk to which a lender's money is exposed. People with uncertain employment, low income or nonexistent credit records are poorer-than-average risks. A maximum rate of 36 per cent interest, so the argument goes, is necessary for the sake of consumers who might otherwise not be able to get credit anywhere except from loan sharks.

Merchants and lenders who choose not to exchange information with credit bureaus do not fit very well that image of a prudent taker-of-risks who judiciously weighs each borrower's worthiness. But the image is distorted anyway. That web of state laws previously mentioned, and not the lender's good judgments, is what secures many credit risks. The law in almost all states take the plain and moral view that debtors must pay, and it backs its brand of morality with the authority of constables and courts.

Most consumer credit contracts do not result from a meeting of minds between equally well informed parties. Armies of door-to-door salesmen, car dealers and retailers are truly merchants of debt. Their goods and services are bait for the credit hook. Their sales pitch is tailored to lull the customer into total unawareness of the obligations that will flow with the ink in his signature. The special committee that drew up the Uniform Consumer Credit Code wondered, at the start of its task, whether the legal remedies given to creditors in the age before widespread consumer credit were quite fair now that "buying on time is becoming the norm and the consumer credit transaction is casual and commonplace." Judging by the results of their work, they never quite made up their mind.

The UCCC does deprive creditors of two utterly inequitable tricks of their trade. First, it outlaws confessions of judgment. A confession of judgment is a contract clause, legally acceptable in most states, in which a debtor, in effect, pleads guilty in advance to nonpayment. It's a handy item for the creditor to have when he wants a court to declare a debtor in default or to repossess collateral. Further, he can use the court's machinery to collect without giving the debtor his day in court. Second, the UCCC bans wage assignments, in which debtor assigns to lender the right to take his wages without a court order for garnishment.

The UCCC leaves the rest of the creditor's collection methods largely intact. Three case studies taken from recent Senate hearings on credit practices in the District of Columbia illustrate some abusive practices and how they are treated in the code.

HOLDER-IN-DUE-COURSE

A woman responded to a radio commercial for a 10-day-free-trial offer on a television set. When a salesman came with the set, he said she would have to pay $25 "tax" and sign a "delivery receipt." She paid and signed. The price of the set was said to be $195, but in less than 10 days a finance company sent a book of 24 monthly payment slips totaling $330. The TV set broke down after one year. The woman, finding that she had already paid $190 and suspecting the set was secondhand, stopped making payments. A court summons followed. The woman requested a hearing. She was never called to court, but some months later the finance company garnisheed her wages. As a consequence, her employer said she would probably be fired.

Though misled by a commercial and gulled by a salesman, the woman had no right under the law, to stop paying. She was a victim of the holder-in-due-course doctrine. Finance companies and banks make a business of buying negotiable sales contracts. Unless you can prove that they had reason to know a contract was fraudulently obtained, holders-in-due-course are viewed by the law as innocent parties entitled to be paid. Courts do not ordinarily question the validity of credit contracts. They routinely process thousands of default judgments and garnishments each day under the holder-in-due-course doctrine.

The UCCC should have banished the holder-in-due-course doctrine from all consumer credit transactions. Indeed, it appears at first reading to do that, but CU's legal consultants say the banishment is a sham, and the doctrine would live on virtually unimpaired. For one thing, it is banned only in sales contracts, not in consumer loans; the seller may get around the ban simply enough by wearing two hats, a salesman's and a loan com-

*The "plus" in the judges remark refers to the fact that in some cases the UCCC ceilings would permit up to 39 per cent interest. Tacked onto that would be credit life insurance premiums and possibly a few ill-defined credit fees.

pany's; and stores would be free to open their own loan departments. Secondly, the finance companies that bought installment contracts would be able to force payment even though the law said such contracts were not negotiable. You'd have to take up your case against the store or sales firm, and the UCCC does little to encourage attorneys to represent you. In fact, it gives the consumer no right to sue, only to defend himself against a suit for default judgment. And his only reward for a successful defense would be release from any further payments; he would get no refund.

Finally, the UCCC gives state legislatures the option of preserving the equivalent of holder-in-due-course doctrine for credit sales, provided the consumer doesn't raise a complaint with the finance company within three months.

In short, under UCCC the woman swindled on her television set purchase would very likely have been in the same predicament. And she was probably a victim of other bad credit practices as well.

For instance, her employer received a court order for wage garnishment even though she never had her day in court. In some states, debt collectors can obtain a garnishment without first winning a judgment against the debtor. The UCCC would stop that, theoretically. But in reality most judgments are handed down automatically, because the debtor fails to appear in court. One reason many people fail to appear is that the process server threw away the court notice instead of delivering it. That's called "sewer service," and it is a serious problem in New York City and elsewhere. The UCCC makes no attempt to protect consumers from sewer service.

Many times, too, people who do receive notice to appear in court fail to show up because they would lose a day's wages. The UCCC could have helped them by authorizing judges to award damages for such losses. But it does not.

A truly enlightened consumer credit code would banish wage garnishment altogether. Instead, the UCCC sets about the same garnishment limit as will go into effect on July 1, 1970, under the Consumer Credit Protection Act—25 per cent of a debtor's take-home pay. Several state laws with 10 or 15 per cent limits would be weakened by passage of the UCCC in its present form, as would Texas and Pennsylvania laws prohibiting garnishments entirely.

Garnishments often lead to loss of jobs and thence to personal bankruptcy. Creditors as well as debtors are hurt by the sequence. Under UCCC, therefore, the woman with the television set could not legally be fired for receiving a wage garnishment. The trouble is, many employers resent the extra payroll expenses of processing wage garnishments. They can find other reasons for firing. The only cure is to outlaw all consumer credit garnishments.

THE REPOSSESSED

In a second case study of overreaching credit practices, an elderly woman had paid $35 a month for three years—more than $1200—on a bed, a chair and a television set. With a fairly large balance still due, she begged the store to reduce the size of her payments because of a family financial emergency. The store was unsympathetic and warned her that it would repossess everything if she didn't keep making full payments. As good as its word, the store several times sent men for the furniture; but when the woman saw the truck outside she refused to open her door. One day, seeing no truck, she answered a knock on her door. A man burst in and braced the door open for his helper. Together, they hauled away the bed, the chair and the TV. A neighborhood legal assistance worker later found the woman sleeping on the floor. Meantime, the store continued billing her for the unpaid balance on the furniture it has repossessed.

Forced entry for purposes of repossessing goods on grounds of default is an everyday occurrence. State laws against it have so far proved futile. The authors of the UCCC have made no attempt to deal with the problem directly. At most, a state consumer credit administrator might be able to issue a cease-and-desist order against firms that repeatedly seized goods against the wishes of the debtor. Even that remedy is not spelled out, however.

Aside from the strong-arm stuff used against the old woman, the funiture company resorted to a nasty kind of "add-on" contract. In such a contract, payments are assigned proportionally to several items financed, and none is considered paid for until all are. The UCCC would put an end to that trick by requiring assignment of payments to one thing at a time. (Congress, rather than the code authors, deserve thanks for that rule; it is derived from the Truth-in-Lending Act.)

But can a creditor take back his goods and still demand payment of the balance due? Under present laws, he is supposed to sell the repossessed goods first and credit the amount realized to the balance due. In most states, he may then get a deficiency judgment for the rest, plus expenses of repossession and sale. Unscrupulous businesses have been able to milk that process for rich profits, as in the case of the following racket, described in the 1968 annual report of the Consumer Frauds Unit of the U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York:

"Investigations have disclosed a pattern of sales of certain used cars at many times their original cost, followed by a cycle of repossession, repurchase of the car at a low price at auction and further resale at many times that price to new customers. . . . The inquiry indicated that in certain cases some used car dealers know in advance that there will be a complaint regarding each and every automobile sold and that many customers will give up the car and default because they feel it cannot be made to work."

Under UCCC, sellers of cars or anything else priced over $1000 could continue to repossess and also get deficiency judgments. They would have to be satisfied with repossession alone on less expensive goods. But they would be allowed to keep all the proceeds of resale, even if, as was very likely true in the old woman's case, resale brought in more than the balance due. A fair credit law would, in our judgment, give creditors the alternatives of either repossession or a court judgment against a defaulting debtor, but not both. Such a law would insist further on a fair and open sale of any repossessed goods; it would give the defaulted debtor a refund if the repossessed goods sold for more than the unpaid balance due on them.

LAND GRABBING

The last case history is that of a home owner and his troubles with one of those home-improvement salesmen whose practice is to follow, buzzard-like, on the heels of city building inspectors. The victim, who owned his house for 20 years, fell for the salesman's line and signed up for $3000 worth of repairs. He signed a number of mysterious papers, one of which was a deed of trust putting up his property as security. Later, a bank sent him a payment schedule totaling $5250.

Finally realizing his mistake, he decided not to go through with the deal. But although no work was ever done on his house, the bank threatened to foreclose. Furthermore, the home owner learned that a neighbor had lost her house under similar circumstances. He therefore borrowed $400 to make up back payments. He wound up paying more than $100 a month for nothing.

No one knows how many houses have been lost to the home-improvement racket, with its redoubtable sellers of aluminum siding, patios, water softeners, furnaces, central vacuum-cleaning systems, intercoms and anything else attachable to a house.

The number is certainly large. For according to the executive vice president of a finance company specializing in home improvement "paper," his firm usually has an inventory of about 300 houses throughout the country as a result of quitclaims and foreclosures. He estimated a foreclosure rate of 1 to 2 per cent.

The UCCC would perpetuate the whole reprehensible process. It specifically sanctions taking real estate as security for home-improvement debts of $1000 or more.

MISSING: THE RIGHT PHILOSOPHY

In far more ways than can be recited here, the Uniform Consumer Credit Code seems dedicated to perpetuating current unhealthy practices. The influence of the credit industry comes through in section after section.

Missing, in letter and spirit, is a proper legislative regard for economic incentives. If deprived of most of the forces of law now operating for him, the lender would truly have to rely on his prudent judgment. And the borrower would have to protect his reputation as a reliable risk. The proposition was well stated a few years ago by some experts on consumer credit:

"More and more in our modern society credit is essential for the wage earner to obtain his share of goods and services. Credit grantors, relying on credit information, can refuse credit to debtors who have not paid their debts. The emergence of electronic data processing equipment makes it even more likely that in the future rather complete information will be available to an inquiring credit grantor. The . . . debtor's fear of getting a bad credit rating may be one of the strongest collection remedies the creditor has—far surpassing his ability to deduct a few dollars from his debtor's paycheck. . . . A lack of self-restraint, coupled with aggressive selling by credit grantors . . . has led many to buy more than they can afford. . . . It may be that one answer is to force creditors to exercise self-restraint in the granting of credit."

Those words come not from outsiders—they come from a staff memorandum to the drafters of the Uniform Consumer Credit Code. As long ago as 1965, the code-drafting committee reported, "Our present thinking is that harsh collection laws may result in damage not only to debtors but also to the consumer credit industry and to society as a whole."

Perhaps if those same men were allowed to return to their task, unhindered this time by pressure from the credit industry, they would draft a law in harmony with their own thinking.

It might prove a very good law indeed.

"IN THE BEGINNING GOD—"

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, Aristotle wrote in his "Metaphysica," book 2, chapter 1, that—

> The search for truth is in one way hard and in another way easy, for it is evident that no one can master it fully nor miss it wholly. But each adds a little to our knowledge of nature; and from all the facts assembled there arises a certain grandeur.

A certain grandeur—a certain grandeur that struck the higher senses and nature of man, and captured his imagination in a way never done before in world history—is represented by the commemorative stamp for the Apollo 8 space flight. "Earthrise"—as Apollo 8 began its first lunar orbit on the far side of the moon, at 3:30 a.m. on December 24, 1968, the astronauts saw the earth rising before them, 240,000 miles away. The classic picture of the mission, reproduced on the stamp, shows the gorgeous royal blue of half of the earth, marbled with white clouds, the sunset terminator bisecting the African continent. Its cloudy, oceanic majesty contrasts with the lifeless, cratered gray surface of the moon below, and both earth and moon stand out against the deep blue background of space.

The poet, James Elroy Flecker, had sung of such a sight:

> And God shall make thy soul a glass
> Where eighteen thousand aeons pass;
> And thou shalt see the shining worlds
> As men see dew upon the grass!

Later that day, on a Christmas Eve that gave a waiting world the most unique and beautiful Christmas message of all time, the three astronauts marked what was at that time the peak of Man's scientific and exploration achievements by reading the first 10 verses from the first chapter of the Book of Genesis:

> In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.
>
> And God said, Let there be light; and there was light.
>
> And God saw the light, that it was good; and God divided the light from the darkness.
>
> And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night.
>
> And the evening and the morning were the first day.
>
> And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters.
>
> And God made the firmament and divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament; and it was so.
>
> And God called the firmament Heaven. And the evening and the morning were the second day.
>
> And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear; and it was so.
>
> And God called the dry land Earth; and the gathering together of the waters called He Seas; and God saw that it was good.

"In the beginning God—" The words were not part of Apollo 8's flight plan; but nothing could have been more fitting, and they have become, in the public mind, firmly associated with man's first full sight, with his own eyes, of his home planet hanging in space. And nothing could have been more proper than to include these words on the stamp.

At such a moment in our span of existence, we can only turn inward to that fundamental part of our nature that seeks to cloak our souls with reverence for the very beauty that our eyes behold. Of all living creatures, man alone has the capacity for awe and wonder, to marvel at the mysterious and haunting beauty manifested in so many forms throughout the universe. And only man is empowered to realize, deep within himself, when the time has come when he stands before something that is beyond his power to fully grasp.

There was probably only one other time in all human history when there was an equal parallel, and to find it we must leave the written records and go back even further into the darker and more mysterious channels of time, to that remote period when, at the world's dawn, some first early man saw and was, for the first time, aware of, the splendor of the full moon rising into the heavens.

Full moons had risen, times without number, for uncounted centuries, but there had to be this one first moment when, somewhere in the course of the evolution of humanity, and in a brain that was first of all to be fired by the creative spark, there arose first awareness of what was actually being seen.

Fear, yes—but wonder, too. Man was on his way toward fulfilling his destiny. The road is long; we have come but a relatively short way; and no one can say where or when the end will come, if indeed, it ever does.

Man is an imperfect creation, but he struggles to overcome and to refine his imperfections, to fathom not only the vastness of the universe about him but also the innermost recesses of his own soul and intellect. "Man's reach must exceed his grasp, or what's a Heaven for?" wrote Robert Browning, but man does reach. And he does grasp.

Early man worshipped the moon; he could not understand it and he very probably feared it; to him it was a diety, to perhaps be praised, when its light showed him the way through his savage world, or to be feared when that same light led his enemies to where he was hiding. But he did something else, too; it was not all worship and fear. Man today, in the 20th century, will use the moon as both Rosetta stone and jumping-off point for the solar system, and ultimately the universe. But early man, it is now believed, used this marvelous object in the sky to give him his first reckoning of that most difficult concept of all: Time.

Man's powers of observation and deduction and his abilities to note the regular changes in the world of nature about him were long thought to be relatively new in the span of his existence on this planet. But there seems sufficient evidence to prove that these powers go back thousands of years before they were thought to have developed.

Archeologists have, for years, been greatly puzzled by the large number of ordinary scratches and other markings on walls of caves, bones, tools, and bits of human utensils dating back into the last ice age. Random marks? Hardly; it seemed they had some significance, but what could it be?

A thorough statistical analysis of upward of a thousand marks in sequence, from bones, stones, and cave walls dating back 30,000 to 35,000 years, to the upper paleolithic age, showed many more groups of 29 and 30 marks than any other, and far more than random association could account for.

The cycle of the moon is 29.5 days.

And there was even more. There were even markings for subunits of the cycle, for the weeks; and for the phases of the moon. One painted notation in Spain shows actual reproductions of the crescent moon for the two crescent phases. Both are accurately shaped, and properly oriented.

Nothing is older for man than the study of the universe. Before he could write, he named the bodies of the sky. Before he knew of ethics and while his nature was still coarse and base, he bowed to images of the sun and the moon. Before he devised any way to measure time, he used the heavens to number days, weeks, months, and years. Before he made maps, hunters, sailors and explorers traveled by the stars. Before he began to understand why things grow in the soil, he marked planting time by the sun and the moon.

The stars in their splendor, space in its vastness, and the universe in its infinity have throughout all of recorded time, and even before that, served as a constant symbol and reminder to man of his creator, and that "in the beginning God."

As Saul went to look for donkeys, yet found a kingdom, so has man sought to measure the depth and unlock the secrets of the cosmos—and in so doing, has found his God.

The greatest scientific minds of our age have openly acknowledged this fact. Dr. Arthur Holly Compton, scientist, educator, Nobel Prize winner, and responsible for the work that led to history's first controlled atomic chain reaction, put it in this fashion:

> Among the more thoughtful members of the American community there appears no longer any serious intellectual threat by science against an adequately formulated religion. Saint Paul described the religious man as one who is "alive to all true values." By enabling men to see more clearly what these values are and to work for them more effectively, science has as Dean Inge recently remarked, become an ally of religion.
>
> I find that prominent in my mind is the confidence that the God who made us holds for us an increasing destiny, to be achieved through our own efforts in the world setting that he supplies. This observation is significant in the present setting because it is my strong impression that most of those who have the firm faith in man's future that gives them courage to work strongly toward man's advancement likewise have a religious basis for their faith. If this impression is valid, its consequence is clear. It means that it is men and women of religious faith on whom we must primarily rely to work strongly toward achieving a favorable world society. It means also that those of religious faith have because of their faith a better chance for survival, a fact that has bearing on the attitudes that may be expected in the society of the future. . . .

And let us look now at one of the greatest minds of all time.

RAFFINIERT IST DER HERR GOTT

At the time of his death in 1955 it was recognized that his marvelous brain had had greater impact on the world of physics than that of any other man since Isaac Newton. Out of his work had arisen much of the mathematical structure for understanding the microcosmic laws of the atom, and the macromosmic laws of the universe.

He created a totally new cosmology, as intellectually beautiful as it is difficult to comprehend. He locked space and time together into one cosmos, inseparable, dependent upon one another, and inconceivable apart from one another.

When Euclidean geometry did not serve to explain his concepts, he produced a new one. His work can be proven or conceived of only in mathematical equations, as there is absolutely nothing in human experience which can parallel his ideas. His gravitational field formulas have been acknowledged the basic formulas for the structure of the universe itself. He himself always maintained that although the world can be understood in terms of reason, the eventual criteria for acceptance of the theoretical, in the final analysis, is esthetical—dependent upon art, beauty and, by implication, order and pattern.

Shortly before his death he thought he had reached what he had been seeking for almost 40 years. It would be, as one writer has described it, a concept of space itself being "an eternal play of currents and movements which by its very motion generates all the fundamentals of the universe: matter, time, light, gravitational attraction."

He was the very essence of the skeptic, the hard-headed realist, the stern follower of logic, the rational thinker, the ever-inquiring mind—but his reached out farther than human mind has ever gone before. A photo taken of his study at Princeton shortly after his death quite clearly indicates he left unfinished cosmic business behind them.

But Albert Einstein was aware of something else, too, that could not be put into an equation. In his native German:

> Raffiniert ist der Herr Gott, aber boshaft ist er nicht.

Literally translated, it means "God is mischievous, but not wicked." A more commonly-used version, and one of which I am sure Albert Einstein approved, is: "God does not throw dice."

> *He hath shewed thee, O Man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?* (Micah, VI, 8)

Dr. George Wald, professor of biochemistry at Harvard, who devoted years of work to the search for the understanding of life's origins, has said:

> Life has a status in the physical universe. It is part of the order of nature. It has a high place in that order, since it probably represents the most complex state of organization that matter has achieved in our universe. We on this planet have an especially proud place as men; for in us as men matter has begun to contemplate itself . . .

Dr. Harlow Shapley, the famous American astronomer, has also found great spiritual wealth in the advances of man that have contributed "to the unfolding of a magnificent universe."

> To be a participant is in itself a glory. . . . we are associated in an existence and an evolution that inspires respect and deep reverence. We cannot escape humility. And as groping philosophers and scientists we are thankful for the mysteries that still lie beyond our grasp.

These men and others reflect on the universality of life itself. The greatest question in scientific philosophy at this time is that of the existence of life in other parts of the universe. In the middle 19th century, the truly cosmic question was considered by the Jesuit astronomer, Father Angelo Secchi, whose work helped lay the foundations for modern astrophysical science.

Consider what Father Secchi contended with as he grasped the problem. We speak of the vastness implicit in cosmology. Distances are measured in light-years—the distance covered in 1 year, traveling at the speed of light: 6 trillion miles. The population of the universe is counted in galaxies, these great island-universes, as great in number as the 100 billion stars in the Milky Way, and each galaxy containing on the average of 1 billion stars and probably still larger a number of planets. And with each advance in human seeing power through our telescopes, we continue to see more and more galaxies, numerous and distant to the point where the farthest yet perceived is 5 billion light-years away.

Secchi asked how it could possibly be that only one tiny speck, earth, in this incredible vastness, would be the only source of life?

> It would seem absured to find nothing but inhabited deserts in these limitless regions. No! These worlds are bound to be populated by creatures capable of recognizing, honoring and loving their Creator.

> "Yea, that first morning of Creation wrote
> What that last dawn of Reckoning shall read."
>
> (Omar Khayyam, Rubaiyat).

The British philosopher and mathematician Bertrand Russell has pointed out that universality of life also has implicit meaning concerning not only mortality of man but of our planet earth, and the solar system itself.

> . . . all the labours of the ages, all the devotion, all the inspirations, all the noonday brightness of human genius, are destined to extinction in the vast death of the solar system.

And it will surely die, but our direct descendants will very probably survive that fiery expansion of the sun, 5 or 6 billion years in the future. There will even be a time when the tiniest stars of the Milky Way go out forever.

Our universe still grows; astronomers know the sky is growing fainter as galaxies speed away from each other into the distance. Yet, in the more distant galaxies, there are signs that this expansion process is gradually slowing down. Eventually it will stop, and after inconceivable periods of time, long after the light of the last star has died, the universe will contract again. Billions of years pass, then the contracting universe, pulled together once more, has turned into a superdense, superhot state, with all matter dissolved into the basic and elemental protons and neutrons upon which to build again.

And then expansion begins once more, and the never-ending cycle starts anew.

All things that have a beginning will have an end, but nowhere in religion or in science do we find assertion that the time will come when there is an end to beginnings.

This, then, is eternity—immortality, if you will. The philosopher Santayana has expressed it best:

> He who, while he lives, lives in the eternal, does not live longer for that reason. Duration has merely dropped from his view; he is not aware of or anxious about it; and death, without losing its reality, has lost its sting. The sublimation of his interest rescues him, so far as it goes, from the mortality which he accepts and surveys.

"THE STARS IN THEIR COURSES" (JUDGES V, 20)

> (I) rely upon a faith that our universe is not a chaos but an orderd cosmos—

Wrote Dr. Arthur Holly Compton. One of the most basic principles, that goes to the very root and foundation of all scientific thought, is the uniformity and order of nature. This has been eloquently expressed over the ages. John Milton, in his great epic poem "Paradise Lost," spoke of "in the beginning, how the Heavens and Earth rose out of chaos" and applied the name Pandemonium to the palace Satan ordered constructed for the capital of Hell.

Laws of nature and of physics may change but merely because they are changeable does not mean that there is no order, no plan, no pattern. Nothing is random; "God does not throw dice."

Charles Darwin wrote in "The Origin of Species":

> There is grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one; and that, whilst this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed laws of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been and are being evolved.

"In the beginning God" and the beginning has never stopped. Radio astronomers today, gazing deep into the heavens, feel that for the first time Man is witnessing the stormy creation of one or more planets like the earth. If this is so, and their observations are correct, then it may be possible within a human lifetime to chart the birth pangs of a new planet.

"THE PAST IS BUT THE BEGINNING OF A BEGINNING"

H. G. Wells wrote:

> The past is but the beginning of a beginning, and all that is and has been is but the twilight of the dawn . . . A day will come when beings who are now latent in our thoughts and hidden in our loins shall stand upon this earth as one stands upon a footstool, and shall laugh and reach out their hands amid the stars.

Man will plumb his universe; our first halting steps have now been taken. To find—what? Colors unknown in the spectrum; music unscored and unplayed; wisdom untapped. Go to any marble quarry, look into it. Can anyone perceive the graceful shapes held within the marble itself, that will be released by the hand and skill of the sculptor?

> The greatest happiness of the thinking man—

Wrote Goethe—

> is to have fathomed that what can be fathomed, and quietly to reverence that what is unfathomable.

And so it is, and so it will always be, with Man.

> And while, with silent, uplifting mind, I've trod
> That high, untrespassed sanctity of Space;
> Put out my hand, and touch the face of God.

MINORITY LEADER FORD OFFERS COMMONSENSE ANALYSIS OF MIDEAST CRISIS

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, as a Member of Congress, one listens to many hundreds, even thousands of speeches and policy statements each year. This constant exposure to public pronouncements makes us appreciate even more, an outstanding and eloquent address.

This noon it was my privilege to hear such a talk, given by the minority leader. Congressman GERALD R. FORD was called upon to relate his and the administration's stance on the very delicate situation in the Middle East. At one of the highest level meetings of the year on Mideast policy, a Capitol Hill luncheon sponsored by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, he delivered a forthright statement, outlining in plain language and compelling logic, the dynamics of this continuing crisis.

Before a group which included many of our colleagues, including the distinguished dean of the House, whose expertise and concern for this subject is well known, and including Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, I. L. Kenen and Irving Kane, leaders of the host organization, Mr. FORD tied together with sure threads, the relevance of the Middle East crisis to other Soviet and radical-inspired events in the world.

I think Mr. FORD's speech is must reading for anyone wanting an understanding of the forces seeking to destroy Israel, and to undermine the interests and purposes of our own Nation.

Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I include the full text of the minority leader's remarks in the day's proceedings.

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE GERALD R. FORD, REPUBLICAN OF MICHIGAN, REPUBLICAN LEADER, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AT THE AMERICAN-ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE LUNCHEON, RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D.C., APRIL 24, 1969

I firmly believe that the fate of Israel is linked to the national security interests of the United States. I therefore cannot conceive of a situation in which the U.S. Administration will sell Israel down the Nile.

Concern has been expressed that the Soviet Union and France may prevail at the current Big Four talks on the Middle East. I can assure you that your government will not permit this to happen. We are conscious of Soviet ambitions.

Israel may enter its 21st anniversary confident of its manhood. Israel's record of achievement and courage makes the state worthy of that status. Israel can feel certain that Americans are aware of her dedication to freedom and of the basic affinity linking Israel with the United States.

I join with those who are concerned about overall Soviet designs on the Middle East and Mediterranean. One need only follow the news reports of Operation "Dawn Patrol," the NATO naval maneuvers now in progress in the Mediterranean. We are aware of the unprecedented Soviet naval build-up in that region. We know that the Russians are trying to exert pressures in the Mediterranean at a time when we are preoccupied in the Far East.

Your government is not naive. Nor are the members of Congress. Let me state one fact very simply and directly: Israel must not become another Czechoslovakia.

I have no illusions about Soviet policy and the attempts by the Kremlin to create a sphere of influence in the Middle East that would undermine vital American security interests and threaten the entire southern flank of NATO. The game being played by the Russians, exploiting Arab hostility against Israel, is transparent.

It is my conviction that American policy will not seek to "impose" a settlement as a result of the present Big Four Conference or outside the context of such talks.

President Nixon has pledged that Israel's vital interests will be preserved and that withdrawal can occur only by consent of the parties directly concerned, based upon a contractual agreement establishing a peace involving recognized, defensible, and just boundaries.

American participation in the Big Four Conference is consistent with efforts to test the Soviet Union's professed desire to preserve peace and to avoid a nuclear confrontation. But no accord will be purchased at the expense of Israel. As I have said, we are well aware of Soviet aims and attitudes. We are also mindful of the continuing brutal suppression of Czechoslovakia, as denounced only last Friday by President Nixon.

The U.S. Government is aware that the Soviet-made MIG's that treacherously attacked an unarmed U.S. reconnaissance plane in international airspace off the Korean coast represented the same type of aircraft and weapons systems supplied to the radical Arab states.

Our Government must therefore continue to maintain the military combat and deterrent capacities of Israel through the earliest possible supply of Phantom jets and other military hardware requirements. I am pleased to note that Israeli air and ground crews to man the Phantoms are presently receiving special training at a U.S. Air Force Base in California. The Phantoms will be ready for shipment at a time coinciding with the completion of training—a matter of months. Many of the Phantoms will be in service in Israel before the end of 1969.

We appreciate Israel's isolated geographic position, surrounded as she is by enemies. Her very life depends on airpower and civilian air links with the free world. In this connection, one must note with regret that attacks on unarmed aircraft have escalated worldwide from the hijacking of American commercial airliners to Cuba, to attacks at various European airports on Israeli airliners by Arab terrorists armed with Russian weapons, and now the criminal attack by Communist North Korean MIG-21's on an unarmed American plane in international airspace.

Are the Russians sincerely seeking a relaxation of tensions or have they merely relegated their dirty work to the fanatics and fourth-rate despots of the world?

We have heard the Kremlin profess great concern about Middle Eastern peace. But we have watched them pour naval forces into the Mediterranean. We have heard them demand American withdrawal. We have watched them build up the war potential of radical and irresponsible Arab States refuse to enter into real peace negotiations with Israel.

Moscow is attempting to achieve indirectly what Communist and Arab pressure have failed to accomplish by military pressure and threats. They have sought to roll back the Israelis from the cease-fire lines of June, 1967, without a meaningful peace settlement. Thus they would keep the sore open, restore the intolerable situation that existed immediately before the outbreak of the Six-Day War, and exploit any retreat by Israel and her friends to push further against free world interests.

The Soviet Union has not clarified her policy to my satisfaction. Indeed, they seem to have a variety of policies, to suit their convenience. They have one policy in the Middle East, another in Czechoslovakia, and yet another in North Korea. In North Korea they help us one week to search for possible survivors of the plane shot down by the Mig's they provided, then the very next week, they protest because we send a Naval force to protect our reconnaissance flights and our right to use international waters and airspace.

An assessment must be made at American Soviet bilateral talks on the Middle East and at the Big Four meetings. It is whether Moscow is sincere in seeking a reduction of tensions or whether Russia is trying to exploit the fear of war in hope of turning a complex situation to her advantage.

Not only the Soviet Union but also Communist China is fishing in the troubled waters of the Middle East. Arab terrorists are being trained in Peking. Chinese "button" mines, mortars, rockets, and other weapons used against U.S. forces in Viet Nam have emerged in the Arab guerrilla assaults against Israel. Arab guerrilla leaders have openly proclaimed that they will reject any peace settlement that might be reached by the Big Four or signed by King Hussein or President Nasser.

Citing Chairman Mao of Communist China as their inspiration, the Arab terrorists have proclaimed a so-called war of national liberation in the Middle East. Their aim is the liquidation of Israel and all pro-western Arab regimes.

There is evidence that the leading Arab terrorist movement, El Fatah, is working through Arab students at various American colleges and universities to build up U.S. support for an Arab "national liberation front" similar to the campus underground mobilized for the Viet Cong National Liberation Front. Indeed, we now find that some Arabs here on student visas are working with the U.S. Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong); the youth arm of the pro-Peking Workers World Party known as Youth Against War and Fascism, and its front group, the Committee to Support Middle East Liberation.

Indications of the flow of trained agitators from the Middle East have been revealed in contacts between the Arabs and the Black Panthers, the Students for a Democratic Society (S.D.S.), and other anti-democratic groups.

Our nation already is beset by disruption at our institutions of higher learning. We have no need of agitators from abroad.

I am confident that the Department of Justice will carefully examine the activities of the estimated 10,000 Arab students in the United States to ascertain possible violations of visa requirements. If they are abusing our hospitality in an unlawful manner, there should be some immediate administrative action.

We are painfully aware of how the Middle East conflict has already spilled over to our shores in the case of the convicted murderer, Sirhan Sirhan. This nation will not tolerate assassination and terrorism.

Let me reiterate that the Republican leadership of the House of Representatives identifies with your concerns. We are committed to the growth of Israel-American friendship. We share your aspirations for the preservation of freedom and justice for all.

CHEMICAL BIOLOGICAL WARFARE STOCKPILE IS INCREASING

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, as more and more information becomes available on the extent of America's chemical and biological warfare arsenal, the need to examine the rationale for this controversial program and the purposes of the research now being undertaken under the sponsorship of the Department of Defense in this area is apparent. Our colleague from New York (Mr. McCARTHY), through the briefing he obtained on chemical biological warfare, and the report he has made to this body on the developing stockpile, has made a substantive contribution to the growing public awareness on this issue.

We are fortunate in being able to draw on the research of several individuals who have made thorough and provoking studies of the implications of chemical biological warfare.

I include in the RECORD today an article from the May 1969 issue of the Progressive by Seymour Hersh, former AP Pentagon correspondent, who has published several articles and a book "Chemical and Biological Warfare: America's Hidden Arsenal" on this closely guarded military program. Mr. Hersh has studied the Department of Defense's chemical and biological warfare research for over 2 years. I urge my colleagues to give close consideration to the alarming conclusions which he has reached concerning the implications of this program:

SILENT DEATH

(By Seymour Hersh)

America's heavy investment in chemical and biological warfare (CBW) traditionally is a taboo subject in Washington. CBW is not mentioned in the Secretary of Defense's annual report to Congress on the nation's military posture, and all important references to it are censored out of Congressional testimony. In the late 1950's the generals of the Army Chemical Corps decided to make a public plea for more understanding, plus more money, and turned to a public relations firm for guidance. "Operation Blue Skies" thus emerged, complete with heavily publicized promises of "war without death" and dire warnings about the Soviet Union's preeminence in all things chemical and biological.

The effort produced more money, but with it the beginnings of a protest movement against the development of CBW weapons. The Army went underground again and probably would have remained there, but the use of gases and chemicals in Vietnam and in the ghettos and campuses of America has ended the dreams of obscurity for the CBW generals. CBW has been under increasing assault from a public rapidly becoming more aware of the Frankenstein monster in its midst. Recent network television shows, at least two books, and many more magazine and newspaper stores have pointed out some of the obvious pitfalls of spending millions of dollars where it is not only not needed, but is highly dangerous.

Precisely how much is being spent each year on CBW is a military secret. Recently the Pentagon gave a group of Congressmen and Senators a classified briefing on CBW and admitted it was spending about $350 million annually, far more than the Federal Government spent last year to subsidize all forms of cancer research. But even this amount, high as it might appear to most citizens, seems inaccurate. In 1963, the last year in which the cost of CBW was provided to Congress on an unrestricted basis, the Government was spending nearly $300 million. Since then, costs have soared for the tear gases and anti-crop chemicals used in South Vietnam. Expenditures at the Edgewood Arsenal, Maryland, the military's main chemical purchasing center, were more than $420 million in fiscal year 1969, according to a McGraw-Hill investment newsletter, and that base is only one of five major CBW facilities in the nation.

In the arsenals of the Pentagon (and in at least thirteen other nations) are chemical poisons—nerve agents such as the recently widely publicized GB—so toxic that one fiftieth of a drop, about one milligram, can be lethal in minutes; it was a nerve gas that was responsible for the death of 6,400 sheep on a Utah ranch in March, 1968, after an errant test near the Dugway Proving Grounds, a CBW research base.

Biological agents are potentially even more deadly: In 1960 the head of the Army Chemical Corps told Congress that ten aircraft, each carrying 10,000 pounds of a dry disease agent such as plague or anthrax, could kill or seriously disable as many as thirty per cent of America's population—about sixty million people.

Congress and the nation were aroused recently when it was revealed that the Army was regularly shipping 300-gallon containers of the deadly GB and similar lethal agents around the country by rail, a grave hazard in the event of an accident.

It is relatively as easy for CBW scientists to produce 10,000 pounds of a disease agent as it is for pharmaceutical houses to produce a similar amount of vaccines and antibiotics. Gas and germs can be delivered in combat situations by hand grenades, airplane spray tanks, bombs, shells, rockets, and missiles.

Since the early 1960's when CBW spending trebled within a few years, the aerospace industry has been increasingly involved in CBW research. Along with it has come a reliance on sophisticated computer techniques and equipment in meteorology, biomathematics, aerobiology, and other necessary disciplines.

The heavy use of defoliants and herbicides in Vietnam (some $100 million worth last year) has been increasingly questioned by scientists concerned about the long-run ecological dangers. There also is considerable evidence that the "riot control" gases used in Vietnam can be lethal to the weak, sick, and undernourished civilians exposed to them. One of the so-called "non-lethal" gases now in wide use in Vietnam is Adamiste, an arsenic-laden chemical that will kill upon ten minutes' exposure to concentrations of one ten-thousandth ounce per quart of air. One of the anti-crop chemicals also in wide use is cacodylic acid, which is fifty-four per cent arsenic, enough to make systemic arsenical poisoning a lethal threat to civilians living near sprayed areas.

In the past few years criticism of the CBW program has become increasingly led by scholars. The Army's main biological research center at Fort Detrick, Maryland, which has held many psuedo-scientific academic conferences in subject areas close to its needs—such as defoliation and genetics—suddenly found itself picketed by a small group of biologists and microbiologists at its session in April, 1968. The fact that at least sixty colleges and universities are currently involved in CBW research has also spawned scores of protests, with more to come.

But the experience of waging an unpopular war in Southeast Asia for the past nine years has taught the military's public relations representatives some lessons. Instead of ducking the blows, the Pentagon apparently has decided to counter the criticism of CBW with demonstrations of its concern with public reaction, and more openness about America's CBW efforts.

Thus, after a group of scientists complained last summer that something like 100 billion lethal doses of nerve gas were stored above ground on a CBW base near Denver, the Army announced it was going to move the gas. Most, but not all, of the gas was shipped to Utah. Enough remains stacked in steel storage tanks less than two miles from the runways of nearby Stapleton Air Field, Denver's main airport, to provide death for everyone in Denver and the vicinity, given the proper wind and weather conditions. Along with such moves, the Pentagon has embarked on a new program of carefully arranged disclosures to curb protests. "We're in the process of changing the public's mind," a Pentagon official recently told me. "We're trying to acculturate the public to deal with reality—this is the Government's responsibility."

Last fall, the Columbia Broadcasting System enjoyed the privilege of having an Air Force Captain, representing the Defense Department's Office of Public Affairs, open the doors for a CBS television unit, headed by veteran correspondent Mike Wallace, to three highly secured military installations devoted to chemical and biological warfare research and testing. Once inside, the television crew was allowed to film employes at work and interview a number of key personnel.

The network had been trying for years to film a news report on CBW: Just twelve months earlier the Pentagon had refused a similar request. CBS, however, paid a high price for the Pentagon's cooperation, a price it did not reveal to the estimated ten million persons who watched the report (shown in separate segments October 8 and October 22 on *Sixty Minutes*, a one-hour news show which the network describes as a "magazine of the air"). A few weeks before the first broadcast, more than fifty Government officials, representing twelve agencies, were given an advance screening of the completed shows in a Pentagon studio. The officials suggested some factual changes, which were made, and offered other objections to the editorial content—not all of which were entertained by the network. In return for its courtesy, the network was permitted to televise previously unavailable films.

At the outset of the two-part series, Wallace told viewers that "the Government undertook a major policy change in granting our request to show what these weapons can and cannot do. . . . This change of policy indicates an effort by the Pentagon to dispel the public horror that surrounds these weapons." One civilian in the Pentagon told me why CBS was permitted to get the rare film of biological facilities: "Our goal is to bring CBW into the sphere of rational discussion—sort of delousing it, or debugging it, like kids learning there aren't any ghosts." The official said he was delighted with the fact that the public responded only feebly to the show—fewer than a dozen letters, he said, were received, most of them asking for more information.

Shown for the first time by CBS on television (or anywhere else in public, for that matter) were some films apparently made at the Army's main biological production laboratories at Pine Bluff, Arkansas, where a ten-story, $90 million laboratory was built fifteen years ago. The footage, supplied by the Pentagon, showed the facilities America has created for the massive production of diseases such as anthrax, plague, and tularemia, all top potential biological warfare agents. Large concentrations of frozen germs were shown rolling off an assembly line device—apparently a huge, sophisticated fermentation machine. Neither the base, or the equipment, was identified, although such facilities are known to exist at the Pine Bluff Arsenal.

Scenes also were shown of the research facilities at Fort Detrick. As the screen depicted scientists determined to find and produce better killers than are available in nature, television viewers were told how easy it is to produce hundreds of gallons of an infectious organism within a few hours. Yet it is what commentator Mike Wallace did not say that is truly alarming, although the average viewer could not have known how much information was not supplied him. Wallace did not report that there are at least 251 cold-storage earth-covered vaults, known as igloos, on the Pine Bluff facility, many of them used to store biological warfare agents. The CBS programs did not tell of the sophisticated weapons assembly lines at the Arsenal, capable of filling hundreds of 750-pound bombs within hours with diseases considered to be worldwide scourges, nor of the detailed military procedures and plans for the distribution of these weapons to Army and allied units around the world. CBS did not mention the more than 3,300 accidents, half of them in laboratories, in an eight-year period at Fort Detrick, involving the infection of more than 500 men and three deaths—two from anthrax.

Many of the questions left unanswered by CBS were answered by the National Broadcasting Company when that network broadcast its special report on CBW February 4 on *First Tuesday*, NBC's response to CBS' *Sixty Minutes*. NBC correspondent Tom Pettit carefully told viewers that the show had not been prepared in consultation with the Pentagon, and millions of viewers were left stunned by scenes of laboratory experiments involving rabbits and mice, and views of the Utah sheep being bulldozed, dead, into huge pits.

Much emphasis was placed on NBC's finding that a Smithsonian Institution project was being used by Fort Detrick to locate a proper site for a biological warfare test; viewers were casually told the tularemia "once was routinely suggested for use in Vietnam. The suggestion was turned down." After this scary development of CBW, NBC concluded the hour-long show by saying that the "United States today does not have germ weapons ready to go at the push of a button [a patent lie]. We know how to build them; we have tested the stuff, but so far at least there has been no order to go into mass production. And until there is an order, the U.S. biological capability will remain only a paper tiger. Of course we don't know about Russia and Red China." It was a cop-out. The United States suddenly emerged from the hour of squalor as Mr. Clean, threatened by the Commies once again.

Because of the muddled direction, the show's most telling point was nearly wasted. NBC reported that the Smithsonian Institution has received more than $2.5 million over six years to investigate the migratory pattern of birds on one-mile-square Baker Island, an obscure uninhabited island belonging to the United States, 1,700 miles southwest of Honolulu. Former Senator Joseph S. Clark of Pennsylvania told NBC that, as he understood it, "under the screen of the Smithsonian Institution in a bird-banding project, they were looking for a relatively safe place to conduct chemical and biological warfare testing. . . It is my understanding that they are now on their way to do some testing there."

The NBC charge that the Smithsonian project was being used as a coverup for tests was incorrect and misleading; the Army does not need the Smithsonian to travel to an island and release germs—all it wants to know is where to go.

There is no evidence that a major large-scale test of a virulent and lethal biological agent has ever been conducted by the military, although many small laboratory and simulated tests are constantly under way. But one rare insight into the thinking of the managers of CBW was given in an unusually candid interview that Archie Penney, head of Canada's CBW efforts, gave to the *Montrealer Magazine* in September, 1967. Asked if there is a point at which a simulated test cannot give proper results and a live agent must be used, Penney replied:

"You sound like the scientists who are working on the job. This is exactly their problems. There comes a time when you say, 'Look, it's no good playing with the model railroad. We have to use the whole railroad.' You've hit on a very delicate and sensitive problem. There are very few areas in the world in which you can do it."

Congressional hearings on the CBW program are held every year, but by a sympathetic subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee. The hearings are usually chaired by Representative Robert L. F. Sikes, Florida Democrat, a former Major General in the Army Chemical Corps. The hearings, which are heavily censored and attract little press coverage, never touch on these questions:

Why is there a need for the heavy security blanketing CBW efforts, security so stringent that even Congress has not been told publicly since 1963 how much money is being spent in this area? Even the recent disclosure of $350 million a year was off the record, but could be confirmed by a recent Library of Congress Study.

Why will only $175,000 be spent by the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency this year to study the basic disarmament problems connected with treaty enforcement, with no immediate increase in spending anticipated by ACDA officials, while vast sums are poured into CBW?

Why has the United States not ratified the 1925 Geneva Protocol outlawing the use of lethal chemical and biological weapons? The Soviet Union, Communist China, and even Cuba have agreed to the Protocol, along with more than sixty other nations.

Is the heavy spending on CBW justified? How serious is the Soviet threat, details of which have never been made public by the military? The claim of a Soviet threat has not moved U.S. officials to take any significant steps toward civil defense against a CBW attack. There are about 20,000 gas masks stored throughout the nation for civilian use, on for every 10,000 residents.

Where are the CBW agents being stored and tested overseas? The Army is known unofficially to be field-testing its agents in Panama, Hawaii, and Greenland, and also sponsors CBW research in Japan, Malaysia, and Germany. It also supplies nerve agents in quantity to its NATO allies. Chemical defoliation agents are field-tested in Thailand before use in South Vietnam.

How the nation's CBW programs might develop under President Nixon and Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird is uncertain. Laird's specific views on CBW are not known. Mr. Nixon told a Cambridge, Massachusetts, rally during his 1960 campaign against John F. Kennedy that he was all for continued research, but his current views have not been made public.

The Nixon Administration's approach to CBW could not be much worse, however, than that of his immediate predecessors. While doing research for a book on CBW in 1967, I had a score of interviews with past and present Pentagon and Kennedy and Johnson Administration officials. They produced little evidence that there had been any serious thinking about the strategic, political, or moral implications of CBW in the Defense Department or anywhere else. When asked why CBW disarmament studies were not being emphasized, one White House official told me: "There's just a hell of a lot of more important things. CBW is far down the list of criticality."

Yet William C. Foster, then director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, told a House Appropriations Subcommittee at about the same time that CBW would pose the next major threat to world peace after a full nuclear agreement was reached.

In its television series, the best justification CBS could find for the vast U.S. CBW effort came from Albert Hayward, a relatively low-level Pentagon research and development manager for CBW. "If chemical or biological weapons are used against a nation," Hayward said in an interview filmed at the Pentagon, "and its only option is to accept defeat, or to respond with nuclear weapons, then, in fact, another nation has the ability to force you into initiating nuclear war. I think this is another reason for having our chemical and biological capability so that we are not faced with a choice of fighting a chemical-equipped enemy with conventional weapons or escalating to nuclear war."

This sort of reasoning, left unchallenged and unpursued on the television shows, ignores the fact that CBW agents only increase the number of weapons systems and possibilities available for war. Any nation that now dares to attack America with a chemical or biological agent risks retaliation with nuclear weapons and instant removal to the Stone Age; the deterrence is far greater now than if America was prepared to respond to a gas attack with more gas.

Given the military's and the executive's lack of public concern for this eventuality, the burden falls to Congress. Senator Gaylord Nelson, in a recent Senate speech, raised several vital questions regarding CBW. Among them were:

"What are the official policies for the use of CB weapons in the event that they are used first by a foreign aggressor against us? Who makes the decision to deploy anthrax, the plague, or a lethal nerve gas? What are the ground rules? What have they been in the case of Vietnam? What are the deterrent factors in a program of chemical and biological preparedness? How do we militarily defend against a CB attack? If the purpose of our preparedness is to prevent surprise, what specific steps have been taken to detect a surprise?"

Staff members of Senator J. William Fulbright's Foreign Relations Committee have been investigating CBW in preparation for hearings sometime this year, but as of this writing no final decision has been made, nor is the world waiting for U.S. action.

Last December the General Assembly of the United Nations approved a resolution asking Secretary General U Thant to prepare a full-scale report on the effects of possible use of CBW weapons. The resolution calls for broad international cooperation in the preparation of the report; wide public distribution of the conclusions, to be presented by July 1, 1969, if possible; and observance by all states of the 1925 Geneva Protocol prohibiting the use of poisonous gases and bacteriological warfare. The United States has agreed to participate in the study.

Last August the British government proposed reconvening the 1925 Geneva meeting to work out a supplementary agreement calling for a ban on the research and development of biological warfare agents. The British proposal would call upon each nation to destroy its stocks of such agents and equipment intended for their production. The proposal, on the other hand, would not deal similarly with chemical agents, because of their use in the past and the belief by some countries that they are necessary for future use.

Gas warfare already has broken out in at least two countries within the past six years—South Vietnam and Yemen. Many Administration officials, particularly in the State Department, are dubious about the legality of the U.S. use of riot control and harassing agents in Vietnam.

The chance of a serious accident involving CBW agents seems to be higher than many experts thought; the incident involving the sheep in Utah surprised many Army gas warfare experts, according to one source, because of the extreme effectiveness of the nerve agent. Ironically, an order issued May 3, 1967, nearly a year before the accident, sharply tightened the military's safety conditions for CBW handling and testing. The order noted that "the problems are further complicated by the possible political and psychological implication of an accident-incident exposure." The order was not made public.

Along with the accident problem, the chance of gas warfare among smaller nations has been increased because of the heavy World War II munitions stockpiles deposited all over Europe and Asia. The Egyptian use of mustard gas early in the Yemen War was prompted, according to English sources, by the discovery of an old World War II gas weapon depot by the Egyptians. A similar discovery was made in 1966 somewhere in India, according to sources here, when a civilian construction firm digging a highway found a cache of American mustard gas shells. After a frantic flurry of classified cables, a U.S. military team was sent to recover the shells. Details of the incident have yet to be made public.

Unilateral disarmament in CBW has few official supporters, but Congress could take a major step by urging the military to make public essential facts about CBW spending, weapons, and other information that is given out with ease about America's nuclear arsenal.

"What is the United States now doing," asked Senator Nelson in his Senate speech on CBW, "to insure that this totally destructive and little understood aspect of the arms race is reduced? . . . Congress should make it its business to look immediately into this matter. . . . We will need to review the entire scope of chemical and biological warfare. . . . What is significant is the cloak of secrecy which has surrounded our activity in CBW research. This cloak of secrecy must be removed."

Such a full-scale investigation by Congress might well be the first step toward withdrawing these terrifying agents of silent death from the world's overstocked arsenal of weapons.

NATIONAL LIBRARY WEEK

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, April 20 to 26 marks the 12th annual National Library Week. President Nixon has paid a most fitting tribute to our libraries in his statement honoring their accomplishments and role in the achievements and future development of America and its citizens.

Because of the importance all Members of Congress attach to the services and resources our libraries provide, I would like to include at this point in my remarks, the text of the President's statement:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington.

Libraries are the banks of our educational system. And they yield rich dividends in knowledge and in wisdom. They are a summing-up of past achievement and a stimulant to future progress.

Never have we had greater reason than this year to celebrate National Library Week. For never have our libraries played a more prominent role in our campaign against ignorance and for fullness of educational opportunity.

Change is sweeping our academic institutions. Our libraries are sensitive to the currents, responsive to the tide.

Modern technology is revolutionizing our system of public information. Our libraries, with new programs and new media techniques, have become exciting and effective centers of innovation.

The need to bring the benefits of better education to those who have been bypassed by existing programs is more imperative than ever. By extending their services throughout the communities of America, our libraries immeasurably advance our goal, and perform the highest public good.

For these and all their selfless efforts to serve, I congratulate America's librarians—a dedicated profession of men and women who enrich their fellow citizens, their communities, and their country.

RICHARD NIXON.

THE ALCHEMISTS IN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, in view of the recent passage by the House of H.R. 514 concerning elementary and secondary education programs, consideration should be given an extensive and comprehensive article by Roger A. Freeman, a senior staff member of the Hoover Institution at Palo Alto, Calif., dealing with various approaches to quality education in the United States today. Entitled "The Alchemists in Our Public Schools," Mr. Freeman's review seriously questions some of the almost sacrosanct premises which have held sway in American education circles in recent years.

As the alchemists of old expended time and money trying to convert common metals into gold, so too will our latter-day alchemists in education, who seek to turn ever-increasing expenditures of funds into automatic educational gains, be frustrated in their aims. By copious documentation, the author presents a creditable rebuttal to the old myth that "the claim that class size—or the teacher-pupil ratio—is the most potent factor in determining the learning opportunity of children."

The immensity of the problem was brought forth by James S. Coleman, of Johns Hopkins University, in his 1965 study for the U.S. Office of Education a study which researched the effect of inferior schools on pupil performance. This monumental study offered no recommendations for as Mr. Coleman stated:

> Indeed, if recommendations had been requested, they could hardly have been given—for the facts themselves point to no obvious solution.

Neither does Roger Freeman arbitrarily propound panaceas as in the case of the "increased funds equals improved education" formula advanced by some of our educators today. Various experiences and studies indicate that changes are in order in some approaches to our educational problems. Ample evidence is at hand to warrant a review of various academic prescriptions which might well prove as futile as those of the alchemists of old.

I include the article, "The Alchemists in Our Public Schools," by Roger A. Freeman, in the RECORD at this point:

THE ALCHEMISTS IN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS

(By Roger A. Freeman)

"Learned men have pursued this science for so long that they would already have succeeded a thousand times if it had been at all possible in any way to gain the desired end." (Geber, *Summa Perfectionis,* (Jabir Ibn Haiyan, Al Tarasusi?))[1]

For nearly two thousand years some of the most brilliant and erudiate minds of their time devoted untiring efforts and their wealthy sponsors' money to a task which, as we have since learned, is not within man's power: to convert common metals into gold by removing their impurities. For many generations the alchemists were able to fool rich and poor, wise and stupid, rulers and servants, but above all—themselves. Many or most of them were not, as often is assumed, fakers who were out to fill their pockets from the purses of ambitious princes and greedy merchants, though some undoubtedly were. With some exceptions they believed in what they were trying to do and spent their lives and fortunes in the search for a goal beyond their reach. Though they never produced an ounce of gold, they continued to attract support and carried on for centuries, each unwavering in his faith that he would succeed where all others had failed. Every defeat spurred the alchemists on to new endeavors, to new experiments, in the quest for a final victory of mind over matter, which always seemed to be just around the corner. Not until barely two centuries ago did scientists resign themselves to the sober truth that transmutation in the laboratory was but a mirage and that gold can be found only where nature placed it.

Why did the alchemists—who were scholars—and their backers—who were men of affairs—remain impervious for so long to ample evidence of the futility of their search? Their stubborn refusal to draw from their defeats the lesson that there is no shortcut to *Eldorado* suggests a deep emotional need to believe that there is. So they persuaded themselves, and others, that what *ought to be* possible, *was* in fact possible.

A modern parallel to that triumph of emotion over reason has appeared on the scene in recent years: A large number of knowledgeable and dedicated men and women assert, insist and try to prove that there is a shortcut by which poverty can be wiped out quickly and painlessly—without the price of blood and sweat and tears that the nations paid which have since become the world's wealthiest—and that this can be done.

a. in the countries which we now euphemistically if inaccurately call *developing.*

b. for Americans with an income that is low relative to the rest of the U.S. population, whom we call *deprived, underprivileged,* or simply *poor.*

That new elixir of life, a contemporary counterpart of the philosophers' stone, our latter-day alchemists believe to be *education.*

Education has made spectacular progress over the past quarter century in most countries, rich and poor, and this is of course an indispensable requirement for social and economic advances. But the income and production gap between the industrial and the backward countries kept widening through the 1960s which the United Nations had hopefully if prematurely christened the *Development Decade.* Of course, a return on the educational investment may come in later years but it does seem that some other, harder to define, ingredient or catalyst is lacking within the poor nations, as Gunnar Myrdal sadly concluded in his *Asian Drama.*[2]

Footnotes at end of article.

Likewise, the tremendous effort of the American people to raise the academic achievements of the children of the poor who are lagging a year or more in essential skills has failed to achieve its primary aim. More than 20,000 programs and projects in communities from coast to coast, initially sponsored by foundations and state and local governments, for the past four years bankrolled by the U.S. Treasury, now reach over nine million school children annually. So far they have not been able to narrow significantly the educational "gap." After endeavors and experiments launched on a small scale about a decade ago, children from low-income backgrounds who typically lag several months when they enter first grade, tend to be several years behind national norms in the upper grades and when they leave school, with a diploma or without.

Though the movement for *compensatory education*—so called because it aims to compensate children for initial disadvantages—was begun in the late 1950's it did not become a big time enterprise until President Johnson declared an "unconditional war on poverty" in his first state of the union message five years ago. To fight poverty was, of course, not an entirely novel idea. From the dawn of history the dream of abolishing poverty and misery from this earth has inspired many men—some pious or true saints, some mercenary or ambitious politicians eager to get money from the rich and votes from the poor by promising each to protect him from the other.

The people of the United States have long conducted the most successful war on poverty, anywhere, any time. Within the past two centuries the descendants of 43 million immigrants, most of whom landed here with little or nothing in material possessions, have made themselves the richest nation on earth. What is more, they have changed the shape of income distribution from the historical pyramid, wide at the base and narrowing to a peaked top, to a diamond—the great bulk in the middle with a slimming toward both ends.

That the time had come to wipe the remaining pockets of poverty off the map of the United States was an immensely appealing proposition which found an immediate and enthusiastic response from most of the public and from Congress. Popular though the idea was of a war on poverty, nearly all its individual fronts and lines of attack—from community action programs and job corps to subsidized housing and new forms of public welfare—became soon embroiled in intense and often bitter controversies. I said *"nearly* all fronts" because one escaped the crossfire and has been hailed by liberals and conservatives alike as the true solution to the problem: education.

The title of one of the poverty war's earliest booklets well expressed what had long been part of the American Creed: *Education—An Answer to Poverty.* Youngsters with a deficient education have little chance to do well in today's job market. Many or most of them will find only menial or casual, ill-paid employment, remain poor for the rest of their lives, and bequeath a heritage of misery to their own children.

The way to break this vicious cycle appears plain: give disadvantaged children more education and, above all, give them a better education; use new and imaginative methods to raise lagging school children to their proper educational level. A few billion dollars indeed seems a cheap price to pay for that. If antibiotics, serums and anti-vaccines were able to end the threat of tuberculosis, polio and other afflictions that had plagued mankind since prehistoric days, why could not educational miracle drugs lift the curse of ignorance and poverty?

Some observers have long blamed all shortcomings in education on a long-standing practice of starving the schools. At some time and in certain locations that charge was not without foundation. But its edge was blunted by the magnificent postwar record of school support when the American people treated their schools with a generosity beyond the fondest dreams of a generation ago. Just in the past twenty years, educational spending multiplied eight times while business and private investment and personal consumption multiplied only threefold. Its current annual budget of $58 billion now ranks education as the country's most ebullient growth industry. With only 6% of the world's population, and between one-fourth and one-third of its developed resources, the people of the United States are spending for education almost as much as all other nations combined.

At the time of Sputnik, public interest dwelt largely on more intensive training of gifted children, as the nation's future leaders in science, management and the professions. But over the past ten years emphasis shifted gradually to the most glaring gap in American education: learning defects of the children of the poor. After small-scale beginnings, Congress in April 1965 enacted an administration bill which in its Title I aimed mainly to raise to higher levels the essential skills and knowledge of disadvantaged children.

President Johnson called the new law a landmark, the most important breakthrough in American education in a hundred years, a forerunner of greater things to come. His sentiment was widely shared, particularly by educators who quickly went into action.

Between 16,000 and 18,000 school districts—three of every four school units in the country—participate each year in Title I funds of $1.2 billion, with projects covering every imaginable aspect of education: preschool, intensified instruction in the language arts, arithmetic and science, improved guidance, counseling and tutoring, cultural enrichment, food and health services, physical fitness, vocational education, drop-out prevention, college preparation, integration, teacher training, parent participation, remedial instruction, motivational influence, use of new materials, audio-visual and other techniques and hundreds of others. More than 350,000 new full-time and part-time positions were created in the schools mostly for teachers, supported by teachers aides, librarians, supervisors, counselors, psychologists, nurses, and many other professional and semi-professional workers.

"If the success of our efforts at facilitating the educational development of disadvantaged youngsters could be evaluated simply on the basis of the amount of enthusiasm and activity generated by those efforts, we could at once declare the majority of programs successful," stated Yeshiva University education professors Edmund W. Gordon and Doxey A. Wilkerson in a 1966 report *Compensatory Education for the Disadvantaged* (College Entrance Examination Board). Needless to say, Congress and the school boards had aimed at more than merely creating "enthusiasm and activity." They meant to raise the academic achievements of disadvantaged children. In that noble enterprise they failed dismally.

In the spring of 1968 the Associated Press conducted a nationwide survey of the accomplishments of the 1965 Education Act. It reported:

"Title I, the federal project on which $3 billion has been spent in the hope of answering the educational needs of deprived children, is not working out. On this point, critics and supporters alike are agreed.

Some critics call the two-year old project a total flop, and others claim it has actually worked against poor children."

The Associated Press quoted Rep. Roman Pucinski, D-Ill., chairman of the House general subcommittee on education and one of the bill's original sponsors: "It is a monumental flop, and the outbreak of recent riots speaks louder than anything I can say about the total collapse of the program." Assistant U.S. commissioner of education Joseph Froomkin commented, "We still have little evidence that the problem is being licked; in fact, we may even be falling behind." Alice M. Rivlin, assistant secretary for evaluation and planning of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, admitted: "I think we have found the task is much tougher than we thought at the start. . . . When it began, we really didn't know how to go about it. We still don't, really, but we are trying to find out."

Later in 1968 Miss Rivlin summarized for a congressional group an official evaluation report that was still kept under wraps: "Federal funds so far have failed to stop the downward spiral of poor children's achievement." (Congressional Record, vol. 114, pt. 22, p. 28458.)

A few months earlier, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission surveyed the major compensatory education programs since 1957 and found that "none of the programs appear to have raised significantly the achievement of participating pupils, as a group, within the period evaluated by the Commission." (*Racial Isolation in the Public Schools*, 1967, p. 138)

In an article "Is Compensatory Education Failing?" Professor Edmund W. Gordon tried to identify the cause of the failure:

"We are probably failing because we have not yet found the right answers. For all their variety the programs have generally suffered from one fundamental difficulty: they are based on sentiment rather than on facts." [3]

Some may wonder at this point why educators did not test the programs on a small scale before demanding—and spending—billions of public funds on them. The fact is that compensatory education *was* tested for six or seven years.

But negative results no more caused program enthusiasts to have second thoughts about the feasibility of their goal or the effectiveness of their methods than repeated failures were able to deter the earlier alchemists from stubbornly pursuing their objective of turning common metal into gold. Our latter-day alchemists' reaction was typified by the solution assistant education commissioner Froomkin suggested in the mentioned Associated Press survey: "I think we probably would need $5 billion a year to do the job adequately." But supposing we find a few years hence that $5 billion did not do the job either. Shall we try for $20 billion or for $40 billion" Or—should we *now* stop, look and listen? Should we now try to find out whether we are possibly barking up the wrong tree, whether, like the alchemists of yore, we are trying to do what cannot be done?

To gain a proper perspective let us review the record of compensatory education from its inception.

It all began in New York City in December 1956 when the Board of Education launched what the *New York Times* called "the most exciting educational experiment of recent years." At a Harlem junior high school (#43) the pupils with the greatest academic potential were given intensified counseling and instruction and other special services. The group's achievements in reading and other subjects improved substantially in the succeeding years. Of the 717 pupils originally selected, 379 were later placed in special classes at an academic high school (George Washington); 240 of them were ultimately graduated. Their progress so encouraged the Board of Education that, in an amazing *non sequitur*, it decided to establish a similar large-scale program, *Higher Horizons*, comprising *all* children in a number of schools in low-income or slum neighborhoods.

That action offers a close parallel to the

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decision, a few years earlier, to extend the Marshall Plan to underdeveloped countries around the globe. Japan and several major European nations had created, prior to World War II and under their own power, an advanced economy and modern industrial plant. When they were extensively damaged during the war, temporary U.S. financial aid under the Marshall Plan proved extremely effective in helping to undo the damage and to restore, within a few years, economic self reliance, rapid growth and prosperity.

In some of the more primitive countries, much of the economic and particularly industrial development was largely the result of action by the former colonial powers. Most of those countries suffered little or no war damage and gained their political independence after the war. As it turned out, even large doses of continuing technical and financial aid—aggregating today more than $100 billion in U.S. funds—failed to produce the hoped-for, promised and confidently expected industrialization, rate of growth or economic independence. Only now, after almost two decades is it beginning to dawn on some of the development planners that although development aid is essential, it takes more than foreign aid and foreign technicians to build a strong, self-sustaining, industrial economy.

Back to New York and compensatory education. *Higher Horizons* (HH), "the most extensive project ever undertaken in the area of education for disadvantaged children" was started in the fall of 1959, on the apparent assumption that what worked for a group of selected able pupils would work equally well for *all* children. By 1962 *HH* included 76 schools with over 64,000 students. Half of them scored below their grade level by more than two years; 88% were Negro or Puerto Rican.

The program's goals were defined by its coordinator in 1963:

"It is not enough for us to raise the self-image, or to broaden cultural horizons, or to improve the school climate, or to make teachers happier. If within a reasonable period of time, the level of academic functioning has not been raised, then our efforts must be adjudged largely a failure." [4]

So they were. When glowing stories of great learning advances seemed to conflict with other evidence, the Board of Education in 1964 ordered a factual evaluation of *HH* by its own research division. With great reluctance, yielding to heavy pressure, it made the report public in 1965.[5]

The investigators found little or no difference between the reading and arithmetic scores of pupils from comparable backgrounds who had attended *HH* schools and those who had not. Academic progress of the two groups was almost identical: both had gained about two years according to national norms—in three school years. Nor had *HH* improved social, school and personal attitudes of the children, their classroom behavior, study habits, educational goals or truancy rates.

That devastating evaluation serves as an ironic comment on a eulogy by the program's coordinator two years earlier, that *HH* "provided a rallying point in the fight for our disadvantaged children, and a peg upon which all—supervisors, teachers, parents and pupils—might hang their hopes." The evaluation report left the Board of Education with no alternative but to discontinue *HH* forthwith.

The life cycle of *HH* was repeated in city after city: acclaimed with fanfare when the project was launched, soon extolled for its accomplishments which proved once and for all that compensatory education offered the urban slum children salvation, unceremoniously dropped or slowly phased out when the failure could no longer be concealed.

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Waste of money was the least of the damage wrought. Far worse was the impact on the community. Slum children and their parents, faced with a multitude of problems to begin with, diffident, insecure, defeatist, cynical, often despondent, had their hopes lifted sky high by sincerely meant but irredeemable promises of political, school and civic leaders, only to be left to despair when the blow fell and the inevitable disappointment came. Small wonder that resentment turned into antagonism which often led to belligerency and finally exploded into violence. People can and will endure poverty and deprivation for a long time. But to have their hopes raised and then cruelly squashed is apt to turn even the meek into revolutionaries.

A quick look at the relevant experience of a few other cities may supplement the record of *HH* in New York. One of the nation's largest compensatory education programs is the *Banneker* project in St. Louis. Begun in 1957/58 by an energetic and dedicated educator, Samuel Shepard, it aimed, like other programs, at improving the essential skills of disadvantaged children. At the outset, eighth-grade Banneker students were lagging about one year in reading; by 1960/61 the lag was reported to have been cut to half a year, and a sharp-eyed observer commented: "A forceful educator, Shepard performs his 'miracles' on the most underprivileged school children in the city . . . the results of the Banneker effort speak for themselves." Maybe they did, for a while. But then they stopped talking.

A few years later, the same observer—Thomas F. Pettigrew, professor of social psychology at Harvard and chief consultant to the Civil Rights Commission's Race and Education Study—had his name on a less encouraging report:

"A comparison of eighth-grade reading test scores in subsequent school years, however, shows that this gain apparently was not sustained. In 1965–66, eighth-grade students, some of whom had been in the program for seven years, were tested. The majority of Banneker schools were then a year or more below the national average." [6]

In 1965–66 Banneker students were about as far behind as children from similar backgrounds in other schools. This parallels Philadelphia's experience with its Education Improvement Program (EIP) in 1963–66.

In 1962 the Ford Foundation sponsored the ambitious Madison area project in Syracuse, New York, which turned out to have no effect on the achievements of the participating students, as "before and after" tests showed. This was also true in Berkeley where after three years of compensatory education, achievement test scores disclosed no improvement. Berkeley school superintendent Sullivan wrote sadly: "As in other cities, high hopes have reaped an insignificant harvest. . . ."

During the early 1960's *Higher Horizons* was widely praised as a shining example and was copied in many cities. It also served as the pattern on which the Department of Health, Education and Welfare shaped Title I of its 1965 education proposals which were signed into law just a few weeks before the release of the new evaluation report disclosed *HH* to have been an abject failure.

Before the final curtain fell on *HH*, the N.Y.C. Board of Education, in October 1963, launched another compensatory program, *More Effective Schools* (MES). Less extensive than *HH*, with only 21 elementary schools and 18,000 students—82% of them Negro or Puerto Rican—it concentrated resources more sharply. The pupil-teacher ratio was cut in half between 1963 and 1966—from 1:25.0 to 1:12.3—in the MES schools while it declined only from 1:26.1 to 1:21.9 in the city's elementary schools generally.

Instructional costs in the ME schools averaged $914 per pupil in 1966/67, almost twice as much as in the nine "control" schools ($485) in similar neighborhoods. Total current per pupil outlays in MES schools were estimated at $1263.

Some educational organizations had long regarded per pupil expenditures as the most accurate yardstick of educational quality. They lost little time in claiming MES a rousing success.

Speaking in the Senate on December 15, 1967, Senator Joseph Tydings (D-Md.) declared that "we now have clear evidence that intensive education, on a truly massive scale, can overcome many of the environmental barriers that place ghetto youngsters on an unequal education footing. The *More Effective Schools* program of New York City is now being recognized as a remarkable example of what can be done in slum schools—with small classes, special instruction services and striking teaching techniques—what can be done, in short, if the educational expenditures for ghetto schools are geared to the disproportionate needs of disadvantaged children."

When the Civil Rights Commission in its negative evaluation of compensatory education did not mention MES, Joseph Alsop asked why it was omitted. He continued:

"Perhaps, the answer is that in the MES, all children have shown a very great average improvement, and those children who have begun in prekindergarten and continued on from there are actually performing, on the average, *at grade level or above*." [7]

The N.Y.C. Board of Education decided to play it safe and have MES evaluated by outside experts rather than its own staff. It commissioned the Center for Urban Education, a New York research organization, federally financed under Title IV, to conduct a study which was carried out by a team of 38 educators and social scientists, mostly from New York colleges and universities, headed by David J. Fox of CCNY. The carefully documented report in the fall of 1967 sent shock-waves through the school system which have not yet stopped reverberating.

The investigators found "an atmosphere and climate characterized by enthusiasm, interest and hope and a belief among all levels of staff that they were in a setting in which they could function. Moreover, parents and community, too, have responded with interest and enthusiasm. . . ." Then the report continued:

"Equally clear are the data which indicate that the MES program has made no significant difference in the functioning of children, whether this was measured by observers rating what the children did in class, and how they do it, or whether it was measured by the children's ability in mathematics or reading on standardized tests. The data of this evaluation show that children in classes in ME schools were not behaving differently than children in classes in the officially designated control schools or in classes in other special service schools. The achievement test data showed that the profiles of ME schools were no different than the profiles of these same schools before the program was instituted. Moreover, the academic year gains which previous evaluations had noted, were not maintained over the calendar year so that overall, in most grades in the old ME schools after three years of MES, the retardation below the urban norms used for reading was no better, and in some cases, worse." [8]

New York's teachers union which has many jobs at stake in the program was quite unhappy with the report and sought to discredit it. But even the union's head, Albert Shanker, had to admit early in 1969: "Compensatory programs throughout the country, as they have been evaluated, show consistently poor results." [9]

The most recent experience was reported on the front page of the *San Francisco Examiner & Chronicle* on January 12, 1969:

"San Francisco schools' special $3.2 million programs are failing utterly to bring deprived children up to national averages in reading. Instead, most children in the federally financed Title I programs are falling farther and farther behind each year. The failure was disclosed in test scores received more than a month ago by the San Francisco Unified School District but not yet officially released."

When it enacted the program, Congress ordered the U.S. Office of Education to submit annual reports on the results of Title I. The first report, in 1967, cited numerous laudatory comments of state and local school officials. It also contained a statistical table, probably overlooked by most readers, giving the results of "before and after" tests in 19 skills ranging from reading comprehension to arithmetic reasoning.

On ten of those tests, the educational lag had, on the average, been slightly reduced; on the other nine it had increased. Overall, the measurable progress was negligible.

The second annual report on Title I, released in 1968, was no more encouraging. It contained no comprehensive achievement test data and the sporadic information it provided added up to the fact that the educational lag of the participating children had remained unchanged.

With reports on significant improvement in the 3 Rs through compensatory programs hard to come by, it is hardly surprising to find that the Office of Education in a new soft cover book, *Profiles in Quality Education,* issued late in 1968, restricted itself to merely describing the aims and methods of 150 "outstanding Title I Projects" with little reference to results in terms of higher academic achievement.

The *Headstart* program aims to help preschool children from poor families to overcome their environmental handicaps so that they may equal middle-class children when they enter first grade. Over 600,000 children participate annually in Headstart at a cost of over $300 million.

Headstart helped many children to improve their performance and to score gains of 8 to 10 points on verbal I.Q. tests. But those gains proved to be ephemeral and vanished in a few months. Within less than a year no measurable difference remained between children who had gone through Headstart and children from comparable backgrounds who had not.

Why? Most people's performance can be temporarily raised by intensive training such as, for example, cramming for an examination. But the effect wears off in time as the individual gradually reverts to true form. That may well be the most likely explanation of the evanescent nature of Headstart gains.

The overall picture of efforts to raise the performance level of disadvantaged children was summed up by David K. Cohen of the Joint Center for Urban Studies at Harvard-MIT at the Conference on Equal Education in Washington, November 16–18, 1967: compensatory programs in urban schools "have resulted in no substantial improvement in students' academic competence." In view of the tremendous diversity among about 60,000 Title I projects which were largely developed by local imagination and initiative, it appears unlikely that an essential element, ingredient or possibility had been overlooked. There could not be a feature or factor which the majority of students—who perform satisfactorily—absorbed, but which children from low-income families do not get under present arrangements. Thus, to search for new types of courses or techniques does not seem to be promising. There must be something fundamentally wrong with compensatory education that makes it ineffective, something that is not under the control of the school.

When compensatory education failed to deliver what its sponsors had promised, scholars began to search for other ways to achieve the desired ends. One group of researchers, led by psychologist David Krech of U.C., Berkeley, has been experimenting with central nervous system stimulants such as strychnine, picrotoxine and metrazol and found that they could thereby appreciably improve the learning performance of goldfish and rodents. They have not yet created a super mouse, nor tried their art on human beings. Nor do they promise that a pharmacopoeia of drugs will soon make most educators unemployed. But the hope has been expressed that the *chemistry of learning* might some day succeed where more mundane methods have failed. Of all the imaginative appraisals to the improvement of education that have been made or suggested, the use of chemicals on the brain may be the closest parallel yet to the ancient quest of the alchemists.

After reviewing hundreds of projects and research studies, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights concluded in 1967 that the education of Negro children could not be adequately improved without effective racial integration of the schools. Tests showed that integrated schools score higher than all-black schools. Moreover, Negro children in partly or largely white schools score slightly better than Negro children in predominantly or all-black schools. Whether this fact is significant and suggests a causal relationship, or whether it merely means that the children of middle-class Negro families are more likely to attend integrated schools, has been argued indecisively within and without the research staff of the Civil Rights Commission.[10]

Longitudinal studies on black children who transferred to white schools have been inconclusive. The most extensive review "of evidence regarding the effects of educational desegregation on the scholastic achievements of Negroes" was undertaken by Irwin Katz, Professor of Psychology and Director of the Research Center for Human Relations at New York University ("The Effects of Desegregation on the Performance of Negroes" in: *School Children in the Urban Slum,* Joan Roberts, ed., New York, The Free Press, 1967). His final conclusion: "Reports on the academic progress of Negro children in desegregated school are on the whole inadequate for drawing any conclusions about the effects of biracial environments upon Negro performance."

Whether or not racial mixing in the schools raises the learning level of Negro children is the subject of an intense and continuing debate. But it is not the question on which a national decision on school integration depends or will be made. Though large sections of the public demand *de facto* integration as a matter of moral right and sound public policy, little was done when the U.S. Civil Rights Commission two years ago recommended that the national government make the establishment of racial balance in the public schools throughout the country its first order of business in education. Nor is the outlook for such action bright.

Most opponents do not question that integration is desirable or necessary and has to come but they would accord higher priority to other school improvements. They point at the record of the past 15 years and contend that integration is not a realistic prospect for a long time. Despite determined efforts toward a better racial balance, more Negro children now attend school in predominantly or all-black classes than in 1954. To defer educational reform until *after* full integration has been achieved could mean that the present school generation will see no improvements. The example of the District of Columbia schools is being cited where integration seems to have backfired: they had a white majority when they were integrated in 1954 and are now 94% black. How do you provide racial balance in a school system that is 94% black? Parallel trends in other big cities bear ominous connotations for the future. That is why many have regretfully concluded, as Joseph Alsop expressed it, that "the problem of the ghetto school must be mainly solved *inside the ghetto school,* at any rate for a long time to come."

Racial integration and compensatory education may have various beneficial effects on children. That higher academic achievement does not seem to be among them has been a source of disappointment and extreme frustration to the programs' protagonists. Of late they seem to have turned against each other in bitterness, as appears from an acrimonious exchange between Joseph Alsop and Thomas Pettigrew in the *New Republic* (July 22, September 23, November 18, 1967).

What makes the issue so emotion-charged and politically sensitive is a fact that is well known but can be interpreted in several ways: a much higher percentage of black than of white children lags substantially in the 3 Rs. The average Negro child may be three to six months behind in the first grade, three or more years in the twelfth grade.

To prove once and for all that such differences are largely the result of inferior schools attended by Negro children, the U.S. Office of Education sponsored in 1965/66 the most extensive study of the subject ever undertaken. Headed by James S. Coleman of Johns Hopkins University, it covered 4,000 schools with 600,000 children in grades 1 through 12. Some observers thought it a waste of money to spend $1¼ million to prove what had long been common knowledge.

But to almost everybody's surprise the 737 page Coleman report[11] showed that the differences in the physical and economic resources of schools attended by Negro children and by white children are not significant; the average number of pupils per teacher, teachers' qualifications in terms of the highest degree earned or years of experience, teachers' salaries, tenure or the age of the school building and other measurable input factors provide no explanation for the difference in output, that is in pupil performance.

The Coleman report disproved the widely held assumption of a positive cost-quality (input-output) relationship in the schools. Professor Coleman wrote: "The evidence revealed that within broad geographic regions, and for each racial and ethnic group, the physical and economic resources going into a school had very little relationship to the achievements coming out of it" (*The Public Interest,* Fall 1967). He concluded that "if it were otherwise, we could give simple prescriptions: increase teachers' salaries, lower classroom size, enlarge libraries, and so on. But the evidence does not allow such simple answers."

Nowhere is the absence of a positive cost-quality relationship more clearly evident than in New York.

"The New York City school system, which once ranked at the summit of American public education, is caught in a spiral of decline," warned Mayor Lindsay's Advisory Panel in November 1967. To be sure, the financial record reveals no "spiral of decline," on the contrary, it shows a phenomenal rise and extremely high level of the city's educational expenditures.

Over the past six years (1962/63 to 1968/69) public schools' current expenditures in New York City, relatively high to begin with, doubled (from $664 million to $1,311 million). Simultaneously enrollment grew only 9% and per pupil outlays jumped 81%. With an increase in the number of teachers of 41%, the teacher-pupil ratio dropped from 1:23.9 to 1:18.5.

The latest year for which inter-city comparisons are available is 1966/67. In that year New York expended not only more per pupil than any other large city, it spent about

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twice as much ($1,028 vs. $557) as the average city in its size class (enrollment of 100,000 pupils or more). It employed about one-third more teachers in relation to pupils than the average of all large cities. Nor did New York teachers seem particularly unhappy with their salaries and working conditions: the teacher turnover rate was only half as high (5.8% vs. 10.7%) as in cities generally.[12]

No comparisons can be made of academic achievement between New York and other cities because most school systems treat such information as state secrets.[13] New York, to its credit, publishes test results and they can be held against national norms.

City-wide tests in 1967 and 1968 show few changes and disclose that 57% of New York's public school children score lower than in reading than they should, according to national norms. One New York pupil in three lagged one year or more behind, one in five lagged two years or more.

Questioned by the *New York Times* (November 21, 1967) city school superintendent Bernard E. Donovan admitted that the scores were "the worst ever," adding, "But a headline of that nature would set back our efforts and undermine what we are trying to accomplish."

To expect that findings such as these would tend to shake our latter-day alchemists' faith in the miraculous power of the dollar to raise educational achievements, would be asking for the impossible. A review of reports, requests and recommendations reveals one common note in almost all of them: if the performance of some school children is deficient, the blame should be placed squarely on those who did not supply sufficient funds. "There is nothing wrong with the schools that a lot more money would not cure." If appropriations were boosted by 20%, or 50%, or 100%, we are told all children would in due time be mastering the 3 Rs satisfactorily.

No myth is more firmly implanted, nor has persisted longer, than the claim that class size—or the teacher-pupil ratio—is the most potent factor in determining the learning opportunity of children. With all their variety of methods, nearly all compensatory education projects, and most integration plans, emphasize a reduced teacher-pupil ratio more strongly than any other feature, as a guarantee of improved education. But as I demonstrated earlier, better performance resulting from such improvements has been conspicuous by its absence. That should come as no surprise. The *Encyclopedia of Educational Research* (1950 ed.) summarized over 200 research studies of class size and pupil achievement: "On the whole, the statistical findings definitely favor large classes at every level of instruction except the kindergarten . . . the general trend of evidence places the burden of proof squarely upon the proponents of small classes." More recently, the Coleman report found that the teacher-pupil ratio "showed a consistent lack of relation to achievements among all groups under all conditions."

New York's *HH* schools were staffed 80% better in proportion to pupils than other New York schools, MES schools nearly 100% better. But the performance in the staffwise overprivileged schools remained low. Test results in the Oakland schools in 1966–67 disclosed an inverse ratio between the staffing pattern and reading scores, with the lag of the most amply staffed ten schools behind the ten most austerely staffed schools rising from two months in grade 1 to one year and one month in grade 6.

"All that is accomplished [by small class sizes]," once commented the late President Charles Johnson of Fisk University, "is to enble the teacher to communicate his mediocrity in an intimate environment."

When none of the traditional approaches produced returns that were at all commensurate with the investment, some of their former supporters became disillusioned. In a booklet *Alternatives for Urban School Reform*, distributed by the Ford Foundation, Mario D. Fantini—who headed a Ford Foundation-sponsored compensatory education project in Syracuse in the early 1960s—admitted the failure of the old methods and suggested trying something else:

"Since the compensatory approach has apparently failed, since desegregation is not a realistic short-range prospect . . . the latest—and in my view most promising—approach to intervention is the reform of the total school systems, structurally and otherwise."

The structural reform which Mr. Fantini emphasized was a decentralization of the school system. He served as secretary, and Ford Foundation President McGeorge Bundy as chairman, of Mayor Lndsay's Advisory Panel on School Decentralization which produced what is known as the Bundy Plan: the city school system should be split into 30 to 60 districts under local boards whose majority would be elected by parent assemblies at each school. The N.Y.C. Board of Education would then transfer most of its authority for operating the schools to the local boards while retaining general supervision and the taxing power.

The rationale for community control was this: large numbers of pupils are falling behind in their learning because the schools are not giving them the education they need. Several things may be wrong with the schools—Curriculum, methods, materials, teacher competence or attitude. The parents know and have been told right along that their children *can* learn. If they don't learn, those who govern their education must be at fault—teachers, supervisors and the Board of Education. Why not give the parents authority to correct the shortcomings? They know best what their children need and can observe them daily. With their children's interest at heart they would see to it that the schools educate them properly.

Most big city school systems have become so unwieldy and encrusted with bureaucracy that their boards of education long ago had lost touch with their constitutents. Particularly in New York City, whose board is appointed by the mayor, much of the authority had drifted to professional administrators who proved relatively immune to the wishes of unhappy parents. Thus the idea of neighborhood school control quickly gained popularity among the public. The real impetus, however, came from Negro communities which had become increasingly dissatisfied with the schools' performance but found that their demands for reforms were up against stone walls. Now they asked for a right which most smaller communities, outside the cities, enjoy, at least in principle: the right to control the schools their children attend. As the head of Washington's Morgan Community School, Kenneth W. Haskins, explained: "Community control has emerged not because of the great promise that it holds for the education of black children, but because of the failure of what has taken place so far."[14]

It did seem slightly ironic that the neighborhood principle was now being espoused by the same groups which, only a short time earlier, had attacked it as a cloak for continued segregation. The Board of Education, under heavy pressure from top state and city officials, yielded reluctantly and established, with the Ford Foundation's financial support, three experimental districts in nonwhite neighborhoods in which local boards could exercise some loosely defined authority.

Two of these three districts have hardly been out of the limelight ever since. To begin with, the Board of Education built a "dream school," I.S. 201 in Harlem, at a cost of $5 million, windowless, fully airconditioned, and a planned teacher-pupil ratio of 1:13.8. The school opened in September 1966 with much of the decisionmaking left to the parents.

Eighteen months later, I.S. 201 was described as a "bedlam" by the *New York Times* (February 1, 1968) and called a "model mess" by the Associated Press (February 27, 1968). Citywide tests in 1968 showed the average eigth grader in I.S. 201 to be reading at a sixth grade level.

Nor has the experience with the eight schools in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district of Brooklyn given much comfort to the advocates of parental school control in low-income neighborhoods. "The unit's schools are a failure by any known measurement," wrote Martin Mayer in an article captioned "Frustration is the Word for Ocean Hill"[15] which described the chaotic conditions there in the spring of 1968. Ill feeling between parents and teachers grew and took a violent turn at school opening time, September 1968, when the United Federation of Teachers (AFL–CIO) resisted a transfer or dismissal of teachers whom the parents did not want.

Not only were the experimental schools thrown into a turmoil, all N.Y.C. public schools were closed for most of the fall months of 1968 when the teachers union decided to walk out rather than let some teachers be transferred from Ocean Hill.

No 1968 test results are available for most of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville schools. But many months of upheaval can only have had a deleterious effect on the pupil's learning.

An uneasy truce prevails in the experimental districts which could blow up at any time. Parents and teachers blame each other for whatever happened or went wrong and create a climate in the schools that is hardly conducive to more effective teaching and better learning.

The most unfortunate part of it is that neighborhood control of the schools was not given a fair trial, nor is likely to get a chance as long as an atmosphere of recrimination and bitterness bordering on hate pervades the community.

New York's experience does not permit a firm judgment on the true potential of parental school control. More tests need be conducted and the neighborhood councils (district boards) given a genuine opportunity to demonstrate that they can succeed where the schools have so far failed. This must include authority to select teachers, supervisors and administrators.

If it produces satisfactory results, decentralization can be expanded over broad areas to open the gates for all deprived children. But if parental school control, after an adequate trial period, turns out to be no more effective in improving academic performance than compensatory education and integration have proven to be, the entire problem of lagging children may have to be subjected to a more fundamental analysis.

Most of the approaches that have been tried so far were based on the assumption that the schools are responsible for the educational deficiencies of their students. Some of the schools, it is widely believed, are good, some are mediocre and some are bad. If the quality of the school were the decisive factor, its impact on the students would be uniform: all students in good schools would earn high scores on performance tests, all students from bad schools low scores.

But they do not. Differences in I.Q. and achievement tests within individual schools are wider than between the averages of the various schools. Some schools with low averages have graduated students with high scores and splendid academic achievements, and some schools with high averages have students who lag several years. This suggests that characteristics of the student play an important, and possibly a decisive role. Could it be that the causative factor is the reverse of what it is widely assumed to be? Is the

Footnotes at end of article.

educational quality of the school determined by the characteristics of its students more than vice versa?

The consistent failure of myriads of attempts to raise student performance through changes in school methods makes this a distinct possibility; and the findings of analytical studies turn in into a likelihood.

Reviewing the Coleman report, Christopher Jencks drew a significant conclusion with which many others agree: "Overall, the report makes a convincing though not definite case for the view that student achievement depends largely on forces over which today's schools exercise little control" (*New Republic*, October 1, 1966).[16]

The (then) president of the American Association of School Administrators and San Francisco school superintendent Harold Spears carried that thought further when, in April 1967, in answering charges that the low average test scores in certain schools should be blamed on those schools, he insisted that achievement tends to correspond to student ability. Some "students through no fault of their own are not as bright as others" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, April 24, 1967).

That bright children perform better than dull children comes as no surprise: all studies of the subject have shown that scores on I.Q. tests and on achievement tests are very closely correlated. The question is: why are some children bright and others are not?

It can hardly be questioned that children may be—and many are—adversely affected by an unintellectual and deprived home environment and placed at a disadvantage by living in an impoverished neighborhood. Some children from such backgrounds score high on I.Q. and achievement tests, but they are the exception rather than the rule.

While the surroundings in which a child grows up may cause him to be several months behind on entering first grade, this hardly explains why the lag usually multiplies to one or several years while he advances to 12th grade. Would we not expect the influence of the school to moderate rather than intensify the damage of early childhood experience and the impact of home and neighborhood? I showed earlier that the quality of the school is unlikely to be a decisive factor.

Whatever the answer may be—and some far-fetched and unpersuasive explanations have been advanced—the remedy for an injurious impact of the home environment is the injection of another influence through an earlier start of schooling.

But even pre-school education has so far not been able to produce significant and lasting improvements in disadvantaged children. That is why it has been suggested that the rehabilitation process ought to be started earlier, at age four, or two, or even at birth. But there is no evidence that even removal from the home at time of birth alters the intelligence of children significantly: the I.Q.s of adopted children were found to correlate with their natural parents from whom they have been separated since birth and to bear little relationship to the foster home. Also, the I.Q.s of identical twins reared apart are almost as closely correlated as the I.Q.s of identical twins reared together.

This suggests that intervention at birth may come about nine months late.

Numerous studies of twins and adoptive children and the voluminous literature over the past three decades of laboratory experiments and scientific inquiries into the relationship of heredity to intelligence and performance were surveyed, analyzed and summarized in an article "How Much Can We Boost I.Q. and Scholastic Achievement?" which filled the entire Winter 1969 issue of the *Harvard Educational Review*. It was authored by Arthur R. Jensen, educational psychologist of U.C. at Berkeley who has probably done more in-depth study on intelligence and the nature-nurture question in recent years than anybody else in the United States.

Professor Jensen's advice confirmed the conclusions of preceding reviews of the pertinent scientific literature, as for example, Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner's massive volume *Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings* (New York, Harcourt Brace, 1964):

"Large differences in intelligence as measured by the standard intelligence tests, are due principally to heredity. Here is one expert's review of studies on how much difference in ability results from the types of environmental differences usually found among homes and communities. One summary *with which most others agree fairly closely*, is that the variation in tested intelligence among school children is accounted for 75% by heredity, 21% by environment, 4% by accidental factors." (P. 217; emphasis supplied.)

The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1968 ed., vol. 12, p. 345) reported that: "intelligence is largely inherited. . . . The usually accepted figure based on the soundest and most extensive studies . . . employing verbal intelligence tests, assigns 75% to 80% of the observed test variation in the general population to genetic factors and the rest to environmental, physical and mental conditions in home and society."

With evironmental influences accounting for 20% to 25% of the measurable intelligence, schools still play an important role and must exert maximum efforts to develop all pupils' talents to their limit. But they can no more alter genetic factors after conception than the alchemists could change one metal into another.

The reason for the failure of compensatory and other approaches to bring the performance of students who lag substantially is now clear. It is also possible to understand the origin of the hatred between parents and teachers in New York City in 1968. The parents had accepted at face value the repeated promises of school leaders that their children's achievements would be improved—and blamed the teachers when they could not deliver. Not surprisingly, they charged the teachers with incompetence and prejudice. Many of the teachers, on the other hand, had grown weary from trying and failing time after time. They felt that their judgment, after up to ten years of dedicated work, could hardly be called prejudice and might rather be termed postjudice. The teachers' attitude also hardened and exploded in repeated and prolonged strikes which hurt all of New York's public school children.

Some social scientists disagree violently with findings that intelligence, school performance and occupational achievements have a biological basis and often react with emotional outbursts when that fact is mentioned. While no responsible scientist nowadays contends that heredity is the exclusive determinant of intellectual capacity—all accord a greater or lesser role to environment and interaction—some educators, psychologists, sociologists and others contend explicitly or by implication that genetic factors are immaterial to human intelligence which is the exclusive result of environmental influences.

Environmentalists have tried for some years to discourage and discredit research on the nature-nurture (heredity vs. environment) question. They have particularly attacked the measurement of intelligence.

It is well established that I.Q. scores predict future scholastic achievement and occupational success more reliably than any other single measure. But the tests are charged with being "culturally loaded" against children from low-income backgrounds. To remedy that defect, psychologists set out to design "culture-free" tests of "problem solving" such as the Davis-Eels Games (1953). Within a few years it turned out that the scores on such tests do little besides confirming the results of conventional I.Q. tests.

At that point those who feel that they know what the tests *ought to* show decided to abandon I.Q. tests altogether, as the N.Y.C. Board of Education did in 1964—true to the maxim: "If you don't like the fever, throw away the thermometer."

I.Q. tests are an extremely useful instrument to identify the relative ranking and prospects of an individual. How reliable they are is irrelevant to the question with which we are dealing here. All human traits such as height, weight, physical strength, etc. are distributed on a curve of some shape. There is no reason to assume that intelligence—even if it consists of several components—is not so distributed. Supposing we had no I.Q.s or other yardstick by which to measure individuals. There would still be 10% of all people whose intelligence is below that of the other 90%, although without a gauge we could not identify them.

About half the people score between 90 and 109 on current I.Q. tests, one-fourth at 110 or above, and the remaining one-fourth below 90, ranging from dull-normal (80–89) to mentally defective (69 and under).

Much recent writing on the education of disadvantaged children has assumed—or claimed, as for example Milton Schwebel in *Who Can Be Educated?* (Grove Press, N.Y., 1968)—that all children can be made to perform in the 3 Rs at least at the national norm, if not better. (Maybe there is something to the proposition that in a country as rich and powerful as ours everybody ought to be above the average.)

All can be raised to the *norm*—to the same extent to which everybody can be made to swim, run, lift weights, sing, paint or sculpture at the national average. Everybody's performance in those and other skills can be substantially improved by intensive training. But some cannot be made to run, sing, paint—or do arithmetic—at a national average by any amount of training. A child with an I.Q. of 80 or below will only in the rarest of circumstances be able to equal the national norm in the 3 Rs.

Again I want to quote from the inventory of scientific findings on human behavior by Berelson & Steiner:

"The stability of the I.Q. score holds at both the upper and the lower extremes. Bright children stay bright, dull children remain dull—although a bright child may not fulfill his potentials and a dull one may be trained to utilize his capacities more fully. More specifically: An exceptionally bright child can expect, on the average, an exceptionally bright future by almost any measure—including physical and mental health, social adjustment, and occupational success." (P. 216.)

I am painfully aware of the fact that some of the scientific findings I have cited could be misinterpreted as permitting racist implications or even misapplied to serve racist arguments. Because James Coleman was also conscious of such possibilities, he was careful to emphasize that "racial composition *per se* of the school was not related to achievement when the social class composition was controlled." The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* stresses: ". . . no experimental design has been found for reliably assigning to heredity and environment the true fractions of the appreciable differences of average intelligence tests scores found among widely different races." ("Intelligence," vol. 12, p. 345, 1968 ed.)

The evidence is unequivocal and overwhelming that an individual's intellectual capacity is not determined by his ethnic or racial background. But it is equally clear that certain physical and mental traits are to be found more frequently in some groups than in others.

Footnotes at end of article.

Children's school performance is closely and positively related to their parents' income. The Oakland public schools, one of the very few city school systems to publish detailed information on each of its schools, disclosed that the reading test scores of sixth grade children in the 10 schools with the lowest family income (median $4,143) were in 1966–67 more than two years behind those of children in the 10 schools with the highest family income (median $10,317). I.Q.s averaged 89 and 108 respectively. Not that the poorer children were discriminated against by the school system: there was one teacher for every 19.7 pupils in the low-income schools, one for every 29.2 pupils in the high-income schools.[17]

Professor Arthur Jensen, to whom I referred earlier, concluded in a paper read before the National Academy of Sciences on April 24, 1968, that "it is inevitable that socio-economic status (SES) differences in intelligence are due largely to genetic factors."

Such findings, no matter how well documented, are sheer reactionary heresy to some sociologists and others. But is it really so surprising that a child's score on the educational achievement tests of school tends to parallel his parents' score on the economic achievement test of life?

Educators of the behaviorist school hold that children from low SES families perform poorly because their parents' income is low. Is that not standing logic and causative relationships on their heads? Does it not stand to reason that a pear tree produces more pears than plums? Is it not more likely that both, low test scores and low income, are determined by a combination of genetic and environmental factors and interaction between the two?

Behaviorists act as if heredity extended only to such physical attributes as height, weight, color of skin, hair and eyes, etc. but had no bearing at all on mental traits. Animal experiments and breeding have proven that mental as well as physical characteristics are genetic. Obviously we cannot conduct such experiments on humans. But reason and observation suggest that laws of heredity apply to man and animal alike.

Professor Arthur Jensen wrote in an article "Social Class, Race, and Genetics: Implications for Education":[18]

"At most, some 10 to 20 percent of the variability in educational attainment is associated with school variables. Massive evidence now indicates that discrepancies in educational achievement by different social class and racial groups are correlated to only a slight degree with inequalities in those variables over which the schools traditionally have control.

"The overall consistency of the major studies of the inheritance of intelligence clearly leads to the conclusion that genetic factors are of predominant importance as a cause of individual differences in measured intelligence in our present society."

Could all of these scientists be mistaken and their findings be erroneous? Possibly but not likely. To clear up remaining heredity-environment uncertainties—and because the current debate is so dominated by emotional outbursts which often drown out facts and reason—my Stanford colleague Professor William Shockley, a 1956 Nobel Prize winner in physics, appealed in October 1966 to the National Academy of Sciences to sponsor relevant interdisciplinary research.

Greatly discomforted, Academy heads replied that many of the facts were unknown, that "none of the current methods can produce unambiguous results," that some of the answers might be guesses which could be biased and that social problems such as poverty, slums, school dropouts and crime were not entirely genetic [whoever said they were?]. Therefore, they questioned the social urgency of a crash program. They did remark that "a selection program to increase human intelligence . . . would almost certainly be successful in some manner," a somewhat oblique way of saying that, in common with most scientists, they recognize the at least partially genetic nature of intelligence.

That research should not be vigorously pursued in an area because we don't know some of the facts and may not be able to produce unambiguous results with presently known methods, has never before, to my knowledge, been cited by a scientific body as an argument *against* increased research efforts in that field. It has occasionally served as an argument *for* more research.

Between the lines of the Academy's statement (*Science*, November 17, 1966) we can easily read the fear that findings from such research might be of an explosive character, would arouse emotions and could cause grave splits in and beyond the academic world. Emerging facts might be offensive to certain deeply held beliefs which are impervious to scientific proof.

Environmentalists had long imposed research taboos on inquiries which might produce results that are unacceptable to them because they place big question marks behind some of their favorite goals. In that attitude they offer a close parallel to the alchemists as M. Caron and S. Hutin described them:[19]

"They were sincere empiricists, yet often they shut their eyes to their own sense experiences and daydreamed of the miracles by which their crucibles would be filled with gold and overflow with precious gems."

We may wonder: If the environmentalists were so sure of being right, as they give the *appearance* of being, would they not welcome research which in the end would prove their case?

What then is the answer to the problem of lagging children?

The most comprehensive study of American schools ever undertaken, submitted no recommendations. Its director, James S. Coleman, added: "Indeed, if recommendations had been requested, they could hardly have been given—for the facts themselves point to no obvious solution."

Experience with a variety of approaches over the past ten years has demonstrated what does *not* work. But that obviously is not enough.

Maybe we ought to say a famous prayer: O Lord, give me the strength to tackle the problems that can be solved, give me the tolerance to bear whatever misery I cannot change, and give me the wisdom to tell one from the other.

First and foremost, we need to do what John Fischer in a display of remarkable courage suggested in "The Stupidity Problem" (*Harper's*, September 1962): "We'll have to face up to the fact that all men are *not* created equal, except in the limited political sense which Jefferson had in mind when he drafted the Declaration of Independence."

As long as the schools keep acting as if *every* child had the capacity to learn and perform at a level equal to the average achievement of *all* children—the national norm—we shall continue to reap a harvest of failure, dropouts, frustration, and growing belligerency. The surest way to incite people to violence is to raise their hopes beyond any possibility of fulfillment and tell them that their defeat and misery are the fault of certain other people or of the institutions of society. That is the stuff which riots, revolts and revolutions are made of.

This does not at all imply that we should—or could afford to—give up on less gifted children. Only by establishing realistic goals for children of widely varying levels of ability, goals they can reach, can we truly offer every child the best education he is apt to absorb. Everybody's ability to swim can be improved by training. But only those with certain inherited traits can be successful in competitive events or become Olympic swimmers. This applies equally to other skills.

Children differ widely in their aptitudes and attitudes, and no power on earth can make all 6-year-olds, or 10-year-olds, or 17-year-olds perform at or near the "norm" for their age. This is why virtually all countries outside the United States operate two or more parallel secondary schools systems, why some of our own schools run several "tracks" or "streams."

That is what District of Columbia school superintendent Carl F. Hansen tried to do:

"When I came into the senior high schools in 1955, I found that the great amount of retardation among both blacks and whites made a change in curriculum structure imperative. More than 25 percent of the tenth graders read no better than at the sixth grade level, and 40 percent of the same group could do no better than sixth grade level in mathematics. Coming to me from scores on standardized tests taken by these students in the ninth grade, these facts created a great need for a curriculum that would differentiate academic instruction in relation to levels of achievement."[20]

But the track system was eventually abandoned and Hansen forced out. In the great majority of American public schools heterogeneous grouping is the common practice, in a mistaken belief that it is required by the precepts of democracy. Its ill effects were multiplied when the public schools, some years ago, discovered the secret of perpetual promotion. The teacher is now confronted with the impossible task of educating simultaneously, in one classroom, three or four or more grade levels of children. The gifted child is thereby insufficiently challenged and likely to goldbrick while the less endowed, unable to keep pace with his classmates, is discouraged and turned into a discipline problem. That the results have not been much worse than they actually were is a testimonial to the dedication of our teachers.

Teachers often find themselves in an unenviable position, as illustrated in a newspaper cartoon some time ago. It showed an irate mother with her offspring, berating his teacher: "I don't see why junior is a problem, Miss Finch! . . . Good grades are due to heredity, and bad ones to poor teaching."

Contemporary techniques of psychological testing are far from perfect but they permit us to determine with reasonable accuracy and reliability the learning capacity, and the motivation, of children. *It is just as evil not to segregate children for educational purposes according to their measurable capacity as it is to segregate them deliberately by color of skin. And it is just as destructive.*

What we have to do below the college level is what we have done in higher education: offer a broad range of programs and opportunities to meet the needs of children with widely differing levels of learning capacity. For too long, the public schools have suffered from the affliction of many monopolies or near-monopolies—rigidity.

Neighborhood school control may offer a way out. Before putting it into effect in large areas it would first have to be given an opportunity to demonstrate what it can do for deprived—and other—children. The New York experiment has not been a fair test, so far.

Discouraged by the New York upheaval, Christopher Jencks—who in prior years enthusiastically supported compensatory education and desegregation but then recognized their failure—recently suggested that government should financially assist parents in setting up private schools for their children.[21] This would give the parents a freedom of choice they do not have at the present time. Only affluent parents can now afford to send their offspring to private schools, with the

Footnotes at end of article.

possible exception of the Catholics who, however, also begin to feel that the burden of maintaining parochial schools is becoming too heavy. As in many other fields, a competition among various school systems, public and private, could stimulate each school to exert its maximum efforts.

Whether this would raise the learning of deprived children remains to be seen. Christopher Jencks doubts it—and he may be right. But if nothing else, it could provide a political *modus vivendi* which is tolerable to all sides.

James Coleman advanced another idea that merits careful consideration. He calls it *Open Schools*.[22] The teaching of basic skills, or of the entire program, would be contracted out to entrepreneurs, paid in proportion to the increased performance of children on standardized tests.

Neither the Jencks and Coleman plans nor any of the other proposals that have been advanced are free of pitfalls or do not call for elaborate safeguards. But what are the alternatives? To go on pretending like the alchemists of yore that we can transmute one basic material into another by a process which has proven to be incapable of doing anything of the kind?

Maybe we can afford to continue pouring out billions of taxpayers' money to support methods which have proven ineffective a thousand times but are favored by politicians who would do anything rather than face their constituents with an unpalatable truth. They may remember Calvin Coolidge's acid remarks: "You can always get a lot of votes by telling people that their troubles are not their own fault."

But can we afford a further crescendo in the periodic outbreaks of violence that have wracked our cities and schools with growing frequency and intensity in recent years? It is too much to hope that the latter-day alchemists in our public schools will see the futility of their quest in less time than it took their spiritual ancestors to accept the fact of life that gold can be found only where nature placed it? If it is, then the rest of us will have to take a stronger hand in school affairs than we have so far. Ducunt fata volentem, nolentem trahunt.

FOOTNOTES

[1] As translated by Ernst Darmstaedter, *Die Alchemie des Geber*, Julius Springer, Berlin, 1922, pp. 23–24.

[2] Gunnar Myrdal, *Asian Drama, An Inquiry Into the Poverty of Nations*, Twentieth Century Fund, 1968.

[3] *College Board Review*, Winter 1966/67.

[4] Jacob Landers, *Higher Horizons, Progress Report*, N.Y.C. Board of Education, January 1963, p. 9.

[5] *Evaluation of the Higher Horizons Program for Underprivileged Children*, N.Y.C. Board of Education, April 1965.

[6] Professor Pettigrew's first statement appeared in his book *A Profile of the Negro American*, 1964, the second in *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools*, 1967.

[7] "No More Nonsense About Ghetto Education," *The New Republic*, July 22, 1967.

[8] *Evaluation of New York City Title I Educational Projects 1966–67, Expansion of the More Effective School Program*, by David J. Fox, The Center for Urban Education, N.Y., 1967.

[9] Albert Shanker, "What's Wrong with Compensatory Education?" *Saturday Review*, January 11, 1969.

[10] E.g., *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools*, Appendix C3; Henry M. Levin and Samuel Bowles, "The Determinants of Scholastic Achievement," *Journal of Human Relations*, Winter 1968.

[11] *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, James S. Coleman et al. U.S. Office of Education, Washington, GPO, 1966.

[12] The New York City data for 1962/63 and 1968/69 are from the N.Y.C. Board of Education. Inter-city comparisons are from a report by the National Education Association *Selected Statistics of Local School Systems, 1966–67*, 1968.

[13] If the school administrators were as certain as they pretend to be that educational quality is positively related to the number of dollars spent, would they not be eager to publish the schools' cost and performance data to prove their claim? That most of them steadfastly refuse to release such information suggests that the data tend to prove them wrong.

[14] Kenneth W. Hoskins, "The Case for Local Control," *Saturday Review*, January 11, 1969.

[15] *New York Times Magazine*, May 19, 1968.

[16] Most other reviewers of the Coleman report agree or feel even more strongly. E.g., Robert C. Nichols, research director of the National Merit Scholarship Corporation concluded from the report's statistical evidence that "the effects of variations in school quality on student achievement are minimal, even less than the authors admit." In a paper "The Nature and Nurture of Intelligence," at a conference under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council and others, Professor Steven G. Vandenberg of the University of Louisville School of Medicine wrote:

"The recent report by Coleman . . . concludes that, of the total variability in intellectual ability and achievement, only between 10 and 20 percent is associated with differences between schools, while most of the variance is within schools. . . . These findings specifically suggest that in the United States the major source of differences in ability is no longer the quality of schooling. . . ."

(*Genetics: Biology and Behavior*, David C. Glass, ed. N.Y., Rockefeller University Press, 1968, p. 50.)

[17] From: *Report of the Oakland Public Schools 1966–67 State Test Results*, Oakland Public Schools, 1967–68, Report No. 3 (proc.).

[18] *American Educational Research Journal*, January 1968.

[19] M. Caron and S. Hutin, *The Alchemists*, Evergreen Profile Books, #27, p. 53.

[20] Carl F. Hansen, *Danger in Washington, The Story of My Twenty Years in the Public Schools in the Nation's Capital*," Parker, 1968.

[21] Christopher Jencks, "Private Schools for Black Children," *New York Times Magazine*, November 3, 1968.

[22] James S. Coleman, "Toward Open Schools", *The Public Interest*, Fall 1967.

AMBASSADOR WILLIAM CROOK RESIGNS

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, William Crook has stepped down from his position as U.S. Ambassador to Australia and I would like to honor him for his service to his country.

Bill Crook is no stranger to public service. His credentials are many and varied. He has served as president of the San Marcos Baptist Academy and regional director of the Austin Office of Economic Opportunity among other things. He served with distinction here in Washington as the head of VISTA.

In one of his last public appearances, Mr. Crook addressed the National Press Club in Canberra. In this speech, he has a little fun with the press while he reminisces about his experiences in Australia. However, the talk is not melancholy; rather, it offers a challenge for the future for both nations.

I commend this speech to you for it comes from an outstanding public servant and one of the delightful men of our times.

The speech is as follows:

SPEECH BY AMBASSADOR WILLIAM H. CROOK TO THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB, CANBERRA HOTEL, MARCH 28, 1969

Nothing so tempts a man to phoniness as an appointment with the press. And why not? Before our eyes you turn a ball point pen into a wand for a magic touch or into a stiletto for a coup de grace. Your power is awesome. Collectively you can project midgets into giants or shrink titans into dwarfs. News photographers can turn serious men into grinning morons or moronic men into serious statesmen. No wonder we comb our hair and check our deodorant before the interview begins. And imagine the magnification of intimidation when a lone Ambassador finds himself outnumbered in such an assembly as this. I sympathize with Charles D. Ferguson—a little known American who was hired as a foreman on Robert O'Hara Burke's expedition through Australia. Once into the deep interior of the bush, the American was informed that his salary had been reduced because he was a "troublesome man". Having been invited into your journalistic outback today, I may learn that you have something similar in mind. So perhaps I should remind you that upon returning to Melbourne, Mr. Ferguson brought suit against the expedition and obtained a judgment for 183 pounds, 6 shillings and 8 pence. If you should think me a "troublesome man" today please know that I do not mean to be. I have resisted the temptation to phoniness with the Australian press from our first meeting until now. In spite of a few bruises I still believe that candor is the best diplomacy even when it is interpreted as something else.

During my term as Ambassador I have managed to stay off of tranquillizers and I have learned that private conscience and public duty are not as widely separated as I initially feared. The satisfaction that is mine in having served one of the great American Presidents as Ambassador to Australia has been increased by the treatment which I have received at the hands of the Australian press. On balance, I have no criticism of that treatment and considerable appreciation for it. You have often been friendly and you have always been fair.

On Tuesday, as I prepared this speech, a protest demonstration was taking place outside my office. Reporters and photographers moved in and out among the marchers and the whole thing seemed symbolic of the times. The Embassy had been discovered and incorporated into that long list of institutions which are now under scrutiny and judgment. But the reporters and photographers—the press—what about the press? How long before your mask of detached objectivity drops away and the Fourth Estate is exposed, too, as an establishment in need of change? Enjoy your immunity, Gentlemen, while you have it, but inform your editors and publishers that the day will soon come when the protesters will form outside of your windows, too. For in this day of drastic and exciting change, nothing that is establishmentarian can escape scrutiny and probing. I personally take hope in such demonstrations. They are too simplistic—yes—superficial in knowledge and subject to mob impuses—often. Arrogant in the self-deception that only they are troubled by the contradictions of the human spirit—certainly. But without going into a critique of the excesses and successes of protest, let it be said that the protest of the sixties, as destructive as it has sometimes been, has not been without its affirmation. What people are against is often as important as what they are for, and the people who've taken to the streets in our day have, however awkwardly, expressed the better aspirations of the human spirit. No institution can indefinitely escape the scrutiny and judgment of the time. Governments, religions, movements and systems of all kind, have been indicted. Thus far you have been able to "report" those indictments but soon you, too, will be called upon for answers. As Bob Dylan, the American folksinger, has said:

"Come writers and critics
Who prophecy with your pen
And keep your eyes wide
The chance won't come again.
For the wheel's still in spin
And there's no tellin' who
That it's namin'
For the loser now
Will be later to win
For The Times They Are A-Changin'!"

"Come senators, congressmen
Please heed the call
Don't stand in the doorway
Don't block up the hall.
For he that gets hurt
Will be he who has stalled
There's a battle
Outside and it's ragin'
It'll soon shake your windows
And rattle your walls
For The Times They Are A-changin'!"

I am pleased that I have served during a period of transition for both of our governments. The time has been brief but intense. Once the election was determined in America I knew, as a cardcarrying Democrat, that my course of action was clear. It would, however, be dishonest for me to pretend that the Crooks are not disappointed to be leaving. We are taking with us, by way of compensation, many prized experiences and indelible memories. Since no one has visited my home as often or stayed as long as members of the Australian press, it will come as no surprise to you that many of these good memories relate to the Press Gallery and to that rougher element known as "The Gray Bus Crowd."

There are other things that are personally meaningful: (1) I have in my files a safe conduct pass from some students at Monash University. As far as I know, it is the only one in existence and I prize it. I do not intend to surrender it to the new Ambassador, whoever he may be, because the trauma of earning his own may be as good for him as it was for me. (2) Nor do I intend to leave behind my file of personal letters from Australians of all ages and occupations. They are warm, spontaneous letters, giving rare insights into the Australian character. (3) I am taking with me a new respect for the unugly Americans who live here and an admiration for their business methods and their personal commitments to the greatness of Australia. And, by way of a constant reminder, we are delighted to be taking with us, in the person of our youngest daughter, Noel, a trace of lilting Australian accent which we hope she will never lose.

There are some things that I will miss and some things that I will not miss. I will miss Australian art, Australian wine, the Flying Embassy, Norfolk Island, Alan Reid, the U.P.I. machine in my office, riding behind the American flag, and toasts to the Queen. I will not miss striped pants, being called "Excellency", puns on my name, National Days, the meat quota, Australian roads, Australian hamburgers, and reporters who phone at midnight. Some things that I can't take back as gifts to my country but would like are: (1) the Sydney opera house, (2) Charles Court, (3) Dame Mabel Brook's collection of Napoleona and, (4) the Government House in Tasmania and (5) the koala preserve in Brisbane.

I leave with a debt of gratitude to members of your Government who are among the hardest working people in the nation, and I share with the members of the American Embassy an appreciation for the Australian Civil Service. Eleanor and I will always treasure those special friendships which have offered hospitality, kindness and acceptance. We are especially touched by the friendship of two of the world's most beautiful people—Lord and Lady Casey.

I am, as you know, a non-career diplomat—that means a political appointee. My view as to what an Embassy should be differs, therefore, from the concept of the skilled and professional diplomat who provides the genius and the stability for our Foreign Service. Many people think that since the advent of mass media the role of the Embassy has been diminished and I have even heard talk of replacing Ambassadors with computers. The chief advantage, I think, to this would be in the fact that a computer can't put its foot in its mouth, can tell the time, and could rattle on endlessly at cocktail parties about the Canberra weather.

I believe that there is a pressing need to update the role of Embassies and of Ambassadors. I once breakfasted wtih a student in Melbourne who had been one of several demonstrators against me the night before. I asked him, "why did you grab for me last night?" And he replied, "Because I wanted to talk to you." Naive answer? Not really. How else does a kid talk to the American Ambassador? If he writes him his letter may not reach the Ambassador's desk. If he calls him he may not get through the switchboard. If he visits him he may be stopped by the receptionist. So, to get the Ambassador's attention, he grabs him. And since it is important that Ambassadors' attention be gotten, I think it is necessary for Ambassadors to make themselves as available as possible. This thought was behind the initiation of the mobile Embassy. It was an attempt to move away from the stereotype concepts. Some people think of the Embassy as a mailbox through which visas, forms and applications are sorted, processed and distributed to the proper government agency back home. Some think of an Embassy as a *store front* in which a country displays its wares. Others think of it as a *fire station* to be used only in an emergency. I believe an Embassy should be an open door through which real, live people come and go—through which glimpses can be had of the society which it represents and around which valid and relevant dialogue can be conducted. Embassies must come alive with all the risks that that involves. Too much protocol is stifling and the retreat into silence can be as condescending as it is sometimes cowardly. If an Embassy is representational then let it represent! True, a lot of precedents would be shattered but most precedents are little more than bad habits, anyway. Think of what would happen if instead of having "meaningful discussions" representatives from different countries could really air their views, share their problems, and expose their ideologies to the collective give and take of a multicultured world. The consequence might even give you gentlemen of the press something significant to write about.

In extending this invitation to me it was suggested that I might make some observations on Australia. I will do so only if you will let me step outside my role as an Ambassador and if you will accept the observations as observations only and not as criticisms. It would be terribly presumptuous for me, after so brief a sojourn, to present myself as an expert on any facet of Australian life. The only credentials I have as an observer are in my travels which have taken me to every State and Territory except for those tiny islands you have out in the Indian Ocean—and they were on a future schedule. I have also visited Vietnam, Antarctica, New Zealand, and areas of Southeast Asia. I have listened to student groups from every major campus and I have had discussions with your scholars, writers, artists, poets, historians, educators, churchmen, graziers, Aboriginal leaders, social workers, politicians, and countless others. I have flown with your Prime Minister high over the outback and have listened to his dreams for this country. I have had discussions on numerous subjects with the distinguished Leader of the Opposition. I have talked with union leaders, tractor drivers, and Australian Volunteers serving effectively in Papua/New Guinea. I have argued political theory with young backbenchers, kidded with waiters and taxi drivers and walked incognito through Kings Cross to talk with American servicemen. And in the course of these pleasant experiences I have formed the opinions which I now discuss under three headings: (1) *Natural Resources*, (2) *National Productivity* and (3) *National Self-analysis*.

YOUR NATURAL RESOURCES

I once chatted with a Digger from Western Australia. He was standing knee-deep in mud by an artillery piece in Vietnam. He was tired, dirty, and apparently disgusted. "You have enough iron in Western Australia," I said, "to sink the whole world." "Yes", he replied, "and right now I feel like starting with the United States." Then he grinned and said, "But what the hell, we're in this thing together."

No one can fully conceive of the staggering amount of mineral wealth which has been unearthed and which still remains to be discovered in Australia. You are, I believe, rapidly on the way toward an unprecedentedly high living standard. As these resources are developed and as methods of production improve and technological advances increase, Australia is certain to become a leading world economic force. There is, I think, only one thing that could retard spectacular progress, and that would be the failure to recognize that your natural resources, abundant as they may be, are secondary in importance to your human resources. No society today can seriously compete in the striving for scientific and technological excellence unless it gives priority to the development of its human assets. The time has passed when it makes sense to have anything but a broad educational system based on inclusion rather than exclusion. Education can no longer be looked upon as a privilege for a few but as a human right for all. Every child throughout the world should be able to advance as far and as fast in education as his own mentality and motivation will permit. In my country, forty-three per cent of all young people of college age are now enrolled in university. That percentage is still too low and our system is still too narrow. I do not know the figure for Australia, but it is considerably less than that. Thus, both of our countries and, in fact, all countries are faced with the challenge of human development.

NATIONAL PRODUCTIVITY

The "She'll be right" that is built into your Australian philosophy is an attitude which I would not want to see drastically changed. I would certainly not want to foster off on you those American compulsions which amount almost to a national neurosis and which were instilled into our forefathers by writers such as Emerson and rugged Carlyle who wrote, "Produce! Produce! be it only an infinitesimal fraction of a product, produce it in God's name!" We could use more leisure and less tension in America and be healthier for it. In many serious discussions with Australian leaders I have heard the expression, "We must have more Australians." May I digress here for a moment to say that I think

Australia is a promising place for Americans who want to season their lives with a little risk and challenge. I would caution you, however, not to rejoice too quickly in the reception of people who come here to escape the realities of the great American Happening. The problems of the United States are serious and pressing and are putting the fabric of our free society to the test. But let no-one feel sorry for us or wish us to suppress our problems. How great would be our loss and how complete our diminishment as a moral force if the poor, the young and the minorities were not having their say and demanding their rights as long as inequities exist.

Those few who leave my country and migrate to yours because problems at home are unpleasant, do not constitute, I believe, the kind of root stock that will serve Australia well. But it cannot be denied that your experts are right in listing an enlarged population as a desirable national objective. In my opinion, however, increased population by itself is not a panacea for economic growth. At least of equal importance—perhaps in the long run of greater importance—is increasing productivity of the average workman by the application of the most modern and advanced technology and in the case of service industries, it may be possible that scientifically applied time and motion studies would release manpower for other forms of employment and would improve efficiency to a significant degree. Obviously, as average productivity increases, the greater the overall production and efficiency of the entire economy. Thus, I think you must give as much emphasis to the qualitative improvement of your labor force as you do the quantitative increase of the force itself. We have learned in America not to fear automation, but to foster and welcome it. If three men can be made to do the work formerly done by four by the intelligent use of improved technology, it means that one man is released for new work created by new technology. It may seem strange to you that an American who uses a knife and fork in the most inefficient manner should be making such an observation, but I submit it for your consideration.

SELF-ANALYSIS

The third observation which I would make is more philosophical than practical. Again, you should be careful in accepting it without critical scrunity, because it comes from a Yank and Yanks are known to be compulsively self-analytical. We are, for instance, constantly obsessed with the kind of image we project abroad. Perhaps this is a beneficial restraint on our exercise of power. We like to be liked. I am personally convinced, however, that popularity and power are incompatible and that the best that a leading nation can expect is a reasonable blending of power and respect. America will increase in world popularity, I believe, in direct ratio to the diminishment of her powers. And I think that any developing nation will lose in popularity in direct ratio to its increase in power and prestige. But back to the observation on Australia and self-analysis. I believe that Australia, while profiting intellectually from a lack of parochialism, suffers from the bombardment of too much world news, and that the sheer volume of this external news may be permitting an atrophy of those self-analytical faculties which determine national direction and destiny. I read nine of your newspapers a day—six in the morning and three in the evening. A surprising percentage of the column inches in most of those papers is devoted to the problems of other societies and the happenings of other places. I am not prepared to say that this is wrong. I would, however, raise the question as to whether it is the most constructive role that journalism can play during a period of national self-definition and identification. Does it perhaps permit the postponement of self-diagnosis and development?

But times, they are a-changing, and you in the press like the rest of us who find security in establishments and institutions, will change with the times—for better or worse—or will cease to be needed. In the meantime, may I wish you well and may I wish your country well. Australia and I have become good mates. Whatever small influence I may have in the future will be used for the encouraging of ever closer and more realistic ties of friendship between our countries.

Finally, Gentlemen, let me in closing touch upon the unfinished work before us all. As Australia and America continue to draw closer together in friendship and interest there will be more and different items added to the lists of unfinished and new business. During the past nine months there has been, I believe, a maturation in our relationship. We have moved appreciably beyond rhetoric toward those basic realities which make for strong and lasting ties. There will continue to be differences between us, but if the lines of communication are kept open there will be no differences that can't be worked out. We must continue to treat each other in trust and with respect. Continuous criticisms, sweeping indictments and superficial judgments are hard on friendships. Problems between us—and there are no problems of a major nature—must be treated with honesty, courtesy and candor—and within the larger framework of proven good will and mutual assistance. Of the items which now occupy the agenda of the future none is more urgent than bringing an end to the carnage in Vietnam. Until peace is restored there on firm and honorable terms and until peace gains an ascendency in the world, we will continue to suffer from an incompleteness in ourselves and in the societies which we have formed. Presidents, Prime Ministers, Press Men and Ambassadors will come and go and their work will never be done. But the search for a better answer and a better way must go on. In the meantime let us not congratulate ourselves too much. As long as war continues we are all failures, you in your profession and I in mine. Men are dying on both sides of a war and as Rod McKuen reminds us—

> "Some of them fall like seagulls
> off in a foreign land,
> the blood from their cuts
> the life from their guts
> spread over the silver sand.
>
> "And some of their names are Peter
> and some of their names are Bill—
> I don't know why some of them die,
> I guess I never will."

This is the time when we all have more questions than there are answers and it may be that the agony and glory of our generation is to live with question marks rather than exclamation points. But the "why some of them die" is humanity's most urgent question and an answer must be found.

ANTON SCHUBEL

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, April 26 will mark the 70th anniversary of the birth of the late Anton Schubel, a great Slovenian-American singer and musician, who, I am proud to say, was a resident of Ohio's 20th Congressional District, which I have the honor to represent.

He was a leader of Cleveland's cultural community and a spokesman for the Slovenian-American community. He was, further, a man of national prominence, who, by his achievements, contributed in significant fashion to the cultural life of the United States.

Born in Carniola, Slovenia, Mr. Schubel studied music at the Ljubljana Conservatory of Music and the Music Academy of Berlin studying under the famous pedagog, Max Reinhardt. Upon emigrating to the United States in the early 1930's he established himself as a baritone in the chorus of the Metropolitan Opera Co., a position he held until 1945. Thereafter he worked as a choir director and music teacher in Cleveland, establishing there a music studio in the Slovenian National Home.

Mr. Schubel was a talent scout for Carnegie Hall in New York and discovered some of the finest American talents, including world-renowned pianist Van Cliburn. He organized the Slovenian Children's Choir in Cleveland, and founded the Slovenian Glasbena Matica Chorus, known as one of the finest amateur singing groups in the United States.

His life and his career are testimony to the Slovenian national character, as well as to his dedication to the fine art of music. He represented ably, by his example, the Slovenian community in America, which though small, numbering less than half a million people, is distinguished for its moral integrity, industrious initiative, and solid accomplishment. Slovenian Americans are proud that their ranks make virtually no contributions to crime, juvenile delinquency, or relief roll statistics. They are proud further of their integration into all facets of American life, including politics, the arts, and the business community.

It is therefore a privilege and an honor for me to offer my tribute to Anton Schubel, and to all Slovenian Americans for whom he spoke, on this 70th anniversary of his birth.

AWAKENING IN THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, as our domestic urban crisis deepens, the voices of discontent multiply in both number and intensity. To ignore them is to ignore the reality of new groups and a new generation rising to political and social maturity.

Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the Mexican-American community—our second largest minority group—where the passive acceptance of many years has been discarded and a new cultural awareness has produced demands for a major reordering of national priorities which have, in the past, dismissed the Mexican-American and his needs. For these people the allocation of resources is no abstract problem, but the reality of economic deprivation, of aimless violence, of institutions such as schools, health facilities, and employment services that fail utterly in being relevant to the lives of Mexican-American people.

The following editorial is indicative of the response of the people themselves when confronted with these problems. There is a new spirit, a new style of action in the Mexican-American community—one that no longer asks, but demands social and political justice. It is a voice that must be heard. I submit this editorial for inclusion in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Los Angeles, (Calif.) Carta, Mar. 1969]

FOR THE INFORMED—INTERESTED IN MEXICAN-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

Education . . . Blow Outs—one year old and still going strong. . . . President Nixon declared last week that campus violence had endangered intellectual freedom in the United States and warned that the student law breakers would lose federal assistance.

"The nature and content of that danger is as clear as any one thing could be," he said. "Violence—physical violence, physical intimidation—is seemingly on its way to becoming accepted, or at all events a normal and not to be avoided element in the clash of opinion within the university confine," he continued.

Well, Mr. Nixon should know. The youth of today know only of the ways of violence. Their country has been engaged in violence (war) since, and before, they were born. They have been eyewitnesses (TV) of the horrors of war for all of their impressionable years. The present high school and university students were born during the Korean war only to to grow up in the atmosphere of the Vietnam war. This generation has had violence inflicted upon them, directly or indirectly, from at least three additional sources. Many of these youngsters have parents who fought in WWII or they were born while their fathers were still in service after the conclusion of hostilities in 1946. While the United States signed a Peace Treaty with Japan, it has not yet concluded one with Germany . . . therefore, WWII has never been terminated officially. The residual of WWII remains sufficiently active to constitute a constant threat to the outbreak of WWIII. This concern is so great that these children and others in lower grades have been frightened by the exercises practiced in the school room as preparedness in the event of nuclear war. These youths are raised on fear and violence and nightmares.

Violence as the only method. The present adult generation has not been able to settle its differences with other countries without violence. This is an example we have set forth. We cannot place the blame for the present situation on the campuses on the younger generation. The main burden has to be assumed by the men in public office, who in the first place are unable to find other methods than war to settle their problems. Violence, no matter the source is unacceptable, and rejected as a substitute for discussion and negotiation.

The youth are hard to convince. They are idealistic and politically honest. They have not learned to play games of the adults . . . and they see their world in a mess and they want to change it.

The youth know violence . . . and what they are not able to secure by rational approach they plan to get by using threat and forceful action. They have learned that a show of strength, and violence will receive attention.

This is true even with the little tots. It has not been too long since most of the children were playing with war toys. Now the adults want to turn it off by decree. They taught the child to play with a gun . . . and how far is the step from pointing a toy gun at passing cars on the street to using a real one?

Peaceful negotiations . . . it is not war with the students that requires attention but how to develop peaceful discussion. Adults have to muster sufficient confidence in their own beliefs (even if they are outmoded) in order to sit down at a table to discuss the issues with the youth. This is particularly true in the case of the school administration. The present state of uncertainty and confusion will continue if the school administrators and principals insist on unilateral decisions, and acting on the basis of fear, force and incompetency.

There are many examples of this state of affairs in the high schools of Los Angeles, California. The principals, are acting hysterically and provoking an incendiary atmosphere where none exists. If something happens at one school the principal of the other school over reacts and take measures to prevent something that is not happening.

The schools are being kept in a state of seige . . . parents are called to the school to "observe" and to help keep "peace." However, not all parents are called. Only those the principal chooses. The others are not informed that the principal is bringing some parents onto the school campus to help in surveillance of the students. In this atmosphere the students are expected to attend school and learn. This attitude (similar to the stand taken by Reagan) to break the students' back will not produce a solution to the problems in the school.

And this is precisely the problem . . . the present administration does not want to change. Most of them are antiquated, unprepared to meet the needs of awakened students, therefore, inadequate to continue in their present positions.

It is ture that 50–60% of the students graduate from high school. However, many of these are "push outs" and cannot pass a college entrance exam. This is hardly adequate preparation for 12 years of school. Yet, there is still no serious program to change this situation. It is clear that the taxpayers are taking a beating. They are paying their taxes to educate these students but the school system is not doing the job they are paid to do. Mexican parents at times have turned down voting for school bonds because of the inferior educational program on the Eastside. But it would probably be more productive if the parents could remove some of the administrators and/or principals from their present positions.

RHODESIAN SANCTIONS: BENEFIT ONLY SOVIETS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 24, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, since the imposition of mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia, I have attempted to point out the fallacy and the unfairness of these sanctions.

Now we are beginning to see that when it comes to adherence to these sanctions, the Soviet Union—although a member State of the UNO—has no intention of abiding by them.

I include an article by the Amarillo Daily News following my remarks:

U.N. POLICY TRAPS UNITED STATES

(By Willard Edwards)

WASHINGTON.—On March 26, according to intelligence reports received here, a Russian ship docked at the East African port of Mozambique and began taking on chromium ore. This event had a critical significance.

The ore had been transported from Rhodesia, bordering Mozambique on the west, in cars marked with the Rhodesian railroad emblem. An examination indicated the ore was of Rhodesian origin.

This transaction was, of course, a brazen violation of the sanctions imposed on Rhodesia by the United Nations, with the enthusiastic cooperation of the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain. The U.N. had discovered a threat to world peace in the refusal of a small white minority in the land-locked country to agree to immediate racial parity for four million tribal Africans.

The Nixon administration now is beginning to wonder if another threat—a threat to the national security of the United States—has developed from rigid African adherence to the U.N. edict while other nations flout it with impunity.

Here is an authoritative analysis of why the Mozambique incident aroused deep concern and has strengthened demands in government circles for reappraisal of the Rhodesian policy inherited from the Johnson administration.

Chromium is so indispensable to stainless and other alloy steel essential to defense that chromium ore and the American-based industry to convert it to a ferrochrome have been declared by the office of emergency preparedness as essential to national security.

Russia and Rhodesia have the largest sources of supply. The chromium ore mines in Rhodesia are owned by two American corporations. Before sanctions were imposed, these companies imported the vast majority of the ore required for the American ferroalloy industry and were the major free world competitors to Russia.

The Rhodesian embargo cut off these suplies. The two companies have ore stockpiled above ground in Rhodesia valued at more than $8 million. They own it but are denied access to it. Great Britain, under similar circumstances, gave its industries a period of six months to obtain sanctioned material, including ferrochrome, but the United States imposed an embargo immediately.

American industry has been forced to turn to Russia, now enjoying a virtual monopoly. To nobody's surprise, the price of Russian ore promptly rose from $32 per to to $46, a 44 per cent increase. The profits are so rich, the Mozambique incident indicated, that Russia now is buying ore from Rhodesia illegally. It came from American-owned mines.

The comic opera aspects of the situation fade when these other points are considered.

One of the American-owned mines in Rhodesia, accounting for one-third of the chromium deposits in the country, must be worked continually or it will be flooded. The company kept it going at a cost of $900,000 annually until January, 1968, when it no longer could afford the expense. The Rhodesian government has operated it since then but could be forced to suspend, causing in the words of a government report, "the irretrievable loss of a significant and vital portion of the free world's chromium ore deposits."

The Treasury and Commerce Departments, supported by the Office of Emergency Preparedness, have urged strongly that the two companies be allowed to import, as quickly as possible, the ore stored above ground in Rhodesia.

The State Department has objected. Rhodesia must be strangled economically, it insists, disregarding objections that Rhodesia would reap no profit from removal of the ore.

This department dispute must be settled by President Nixon. The State Department is protesting that the United States would be "embarrassed" in the U.N. by any action favoring relaxation of the sanctions against Rhodesia.

The President must weigh this objection against the massed opinion of the other government departments that an inflexible stand may menace the nation's security.