

May 12, 1969

Terry J. Atherton
 Barry L. Babcock
 Mark C. Baker
 Peter M. Bluhm
 Robert A. Bollenbacher
 Jr.
 William S. Bozeman
 Charles S. Browning,
 Jr.
 Gregory L. Carr
 Vincent E. Clarke
 John T. Conly
 Edward J. Cordes, Jr.
 Richard G. Cowper
 Valier J. Daigle
 David E. Daube
 Roderick F. Davis
 Donald M. Dietz
 Philip A. Erickson
 Robert L. Ferriman
 Thomas O. Fincher
 James E. Force
 Stephan D. Frank
 Peter M. Fried
 Michael A. Fusco, III
 Ronald N. Gerber
 Patrick A. Hammond
 David C. Harding
 James W. Hargrove
 Jeffrey K. Harris
 Hamilton D. Hearn
 Paul C. Henshaw
 Calvin C. Humberd,
 Jr.
 Peter B. Johnston
 John P. Ketz
 William F. Kracke
 Stephen D. Kraft
 Kenneth A. Krumholz

The following-named (Naval enlisted scientific education program candidates) to be permanent ensigns in the line or staff corps of the Navy, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law.
 Raymond F. Flke Kenneth W. Key
 Robert J. Giannaris Ralph E. Lambright
 David E. Hamilton Douglas T. Lowe
 Raymond L. Hargis Larry A. Lukens
 Ronald G. Higdon Richard L. Pellegrino
 Keith A. Hirt Robert G. Williscroft
 *Howard A. Platt (Naval Reserve officer) to be a permanent lieutenant and a temporary lieutenant commander in the Medical Corps of the Navy, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law.

*Indicates ad interim appointment issued.

James R. Laughead
 Warren D. Lynn
 Tommy G. McDowell
 Randall J. McEwen
 William B. McGoe, Jr.
 Peter C. McLaughlin
 Michael Manning
 Elton J. Martin, Jr.
 Gregory R. Masters
 Scott H. Mayer
 James M. Mleziva
 Thomas A. Morrison
 Jerry M. Naeve
 Gregory M. Nazaruk
 Gary S. Nelson
 Thomas G. Olsen
 Stephen J. Parham
 James E. Pulbratek
 Thomas M. Regan, Jr.
 Robert M. Reinauer
 Thomas W. Sadler
 Paul F. Schmitt
 Charles W. Schrack
 James E. Shauberger
 Michael W. Sheehy
 George M. Sheppard
 Edward J. Sherwood
 Warren E. Small
 Alan L. Stocklmeir
 William L. Todd
 Vincent J. Valva, Jr.
 Richard F. Wall
 Edward J. Walsh, Jr.
 Joe F. Wilkinson, Jr.
 Frank R. Wilson
 William E. Wowak
 Richard L. Yoder
 Carlos M. Yordan, Jr.
 Terence K. Young

The following-named (Naval Reserve officers) to be permanent lieutenants (junior grade) and temporary lieutenants in the Medical Corps of the Navy, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law.
 *David B. Danzer
 *Lawrence D. Dorr
 *Matthew W. Duncan
 *Christian E. Hageseth
 *William J. Hoglund
 *Ralph H. Kaiser
 *Gerdi "D" Kelsey
 *William H. Labunetz

The following-named (Naval Reserve officers) to be permanent lieutenants (junior grade) and temporary lieutenants in the Dental Corps of the Navy, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law.
 Adam E. Feret, Jr.
 Thomas C. Licking.
 *Glenn Lamar Paulk.
 *Donald J. White (Naval Reserve officer) to be a permanent lieutenant in the Dental Corps of the Navy, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law.
 The following-named U.S. Navy officers to be reverted to permanent chief warrant officers W-3 and temporary chief warrant officers W-4 in the Navy, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law.
 Max A. Harrell.
 Samuel F. Keller, Jr.
 James S. Rose.

Frank E. Kline, U.S. Navy retired officer, to be a lieutenant, limited duty only (aviation) in the line of the Navy, for temporary service, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law.

DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE
 G. McMurtrie Godley, of the District of Columbia, a Foreign Service officer of the class of career minister, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Kingdom of Laos.

U.S. CIRCUIT JUDGES
 George Harrold Carswell, of Florida, to be U.S. circuit judge for the fifth circuit vice

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Stephen H. McCoy (civilian college graduate) to be a permanent lieutenant (junior grade) and a temporary lieutenant in the Medical Corps of the Navy, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law.

The following-named (Naval Reserve officers) to be permanent lieutenants (junior grade) and temporary lieutenants in the Medical Corps of the Navy, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law.
 *John D. Berryman *Paul J. McKee
 Robert E. Chambers *Prudencio Mendez,
 *John B. Cotton Jr.
 *David M. Murphy
 *James A. Murphy
 *Thomas S. Parvin
 *Thomas E. Rader
 *Joseph M. Ryan
 *James M. Thomas
 *Andrew C. Von Eschenbach

The following-named (Naval Reserve officers) to be permanent lieutenants (junior grade) and temporary lieutenants in the Dental Corps of the Navy, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law.

Adam E. Feret, Jr.
 Thomas C. Licking.
 *Glenn Lamar Paulk.
 *Donald J. White (Naval Reserve officer) to be a permanent lieutenant in the Dental Corps of the Navy, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law.

The following-named U.S. Navy officers to be reverted to permanent chief warrant officers W-3 and temporary chief warrant officers W-4 in the Navy, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law.

Max A. Harrell.
 Samuel F. Keller, Jr.
 James S. Rose.

Frank E. Kline, U.S. Navy retired officer, to be a lieutenant, limited duty only (aviation) in the line of the Navy, for temporary service, subject to the qualifications therefor as provided by law.

a new position created under Public Law 90-347.

John F. Kilkenny, of Oregon, to be U.S. circuit judge for the ninth circuit vice a new position, Public Law 90-347, approved June 18, 1968.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate May 12, 1969:

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Sherman F. Furey, Jr., of Idaho, to be U.S. attorney for the district of Idaho for the term of 4 years.

Thomas K. Kaulukukui, of Hawaii, to be U.S. marshal for the district of Hawaii for the term of 4 years.

COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE CORP.

George Meany, of Maryland, to be a member of the board of directors of the Communications Satellite Corp. until the date of the annual meeting of the corporation in 1972.

U.S. REPRESENTATIVE ON THE NATO COUNCIL

Robert Ellsworth, of Kansas, to be U.S. Permanent Representative on the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, with the rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

AMBASSADORS

Shelby Davis, of New York, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Switzerland.

Malcolm Toon, of Maryland, a Foreign Service officer of class 1, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Fred L. Hadsell, of the District of Columbia, a Foreign Service officer of class 1, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Somali Republic.

Guildford Dudley, Jr., of Tennessee, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Denmark.

U.S. NAVY

Rear Adm. Arthur R. Gralla, U.S. Navy, having been designated for commands and other duties determined by the President to be within the contemplation of 10 U.S.C. 5231, for appointment to the grade of vice admiral while so serving.

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PRAISE THE LORD AND PASS THE AMMUNITION

HON. RICHARD (DICK) ICHORD

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, it was a distinct privilege for me to be the featured speaker at the 50th anniversary prayer breakfast of the American Legion Convention in St. Louis, Mo., last Saturday, hosted by Missouri's Governor, the Honorable Warren E. Hearnes, and at the request of the Executive National Committee of American Legion, I am inserting my remarks at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

PASS THE AMMUNITION

(Address of Congressman RICHARD H. ICHORD, chairman, House Committee on Internal Security, before the American Legion, 50th

Anniversary Prayer Breakfast, the Sheraton-Jefferson Hotel, St. Louis, Mo., May 10, 1969)

Some things are fitting and proper.

Among those most fitting and proper is that this breakfast should be here in St. Louis, for Missouri and St. Louis are honored that the American Legion was founded at a caucus here May 8 through 10th, 1919. And it is fitting and proper that the Governor of our State, a chief executive who stands firmly for the principles and ideals of the American Legion should be our host.

Let me say to my visiting fellow Legionnaires who may not be intimately acquainted with the Governor of the State of Missouri that your host is not only a man who voices the call for law and order, he does not hesitate to take the decisive action to enforce law and order.

It is fitting, too, I believe that we should take up the cry made famous a few years ago, when a beleaguered chaplain shouted out the words, "Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition." For it is time, past time, I would emphasize, for us to "praise the Lord" for this great nation which is ours, the great

institutions which we have built, and then to "pass the ammunition" to those who would defend this nation and its institutions, including our great colleges and universities. We do not have a perfect nation. We have our ills and deficiencies, serious ills and deficiencies, but we can still thank our Creator for the privilege of living in a nation which has given more people greater freedom and more material comforts than any other country in the history of man.

When I speak of "ammunition," I speak not of shells and bullets, nor of mortars and men on the firing line. I speak of "ammunition" which can help us to establish the kind of internal structure that makes and keeps a nation worthy of its people.

Today, this country is fighting a great internal battle—a battle which has sprung up because of the gap between ideal and fulfillment, principle and opportunity, spirit and power. It has become most difficult to find the valid relationship between these extremes. The battles being fought are perhaps not as clear cut as the ones in which the men of the American Legion have been involved in World Wars I and II and the Korean and

Vietnam conflicts, but already there have been loss of life, maiming, great destruction of property, continuing chaos, riots and rebellion. Perhaps we shall never succeed in fully bridging the gap between ideal and fulfillment, but at least we should not "kill ourselves off" in our struggles to accomplish this end.

And, if I may be so blunt, though the battle lines aren't so clearly drawn, the issues are requiring the same kind of decision-making as was necessary at Verdun, the Battle of the Bulge, the 38th Parallel and Khe Sanh. As one of our past Presidents once said, "When hours may decide the fate of generations, the moment of decision must become the moment of action."

This is the kind of world we face today, with the campuses of our colleges and universities the battlegrounds today, the playgrounds of our high schools and grade schools the battlegrounds of tomorrow—unless we assess the problem quickly, decide upon what action to take intelligently, and act responsibly.

Toward solving our problems we could do much worse than look at the techniques used by the American Legion to serve the returning veterans of America's wars.

When the American Legion was founded there were three major ideals uppermost in the minds of the men who made up the American Expeditionary Force. Those ideals were:

1. Creation of a fraternity based upon firm comradeship born of war service and dedicated to a square deal for all veterans, particularly the disabled, their widows and orphans;

2. National security for America, including a universal military training program for the prevention of future world conflicts;

3. Promotion of a 100 percent Americanism and the combatting of communism, nazism, fascism, socialism and all other foreign isms.

No organization ever lived up to its ideals so well as has The American Legion. It organized a Veterans Bureau to consider the needs of the disabled veterans resulting from the unwieldy mass of laws and regulations governing them. Through the efforts of The Legion, Congress has enacted law after law—born out of the efforts of The Legion to aid the returning veterans.

With the establishment of the Veterans Administration in 1931 to handle veteran benefit programs, The Legion's continuous campaign for justice to the war-disabled and for equalized treatment of widows and orphans began to show results. Pension legislation was passed. Rehabilitation services began to be provided. Medical programs were expanded. Education services were enlarged. Home, farm and business loans were made possible. Veterans employment has been protected. Readjustment allowances have been provided for the unemployed. Child welfare programs have been improved.

The American Legion has provided a home base for its members to get things done. The American Legion Child Welfare Foundation filled. The Legion's need for an organized method in which grants could be made in the future which would bring the best results to the greatest number of children.

The National Legislative Committee, now Commission, was established early, in the life of the Legion when it became obvious a central legislative unit was necessary if legislative programs and proposals of the Legion were to be presented effectively, if they were to compete with the proposals of others interested in the same issues.

The Legion has made a few decisions wiser than that, for it has enabled the American veteran to wield the kind of influence that is his due on the American scene. Through the efforts of the Legion, such great legislation as the National Defense Act of 1920

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was passed. This act, for example, gave the U.S. its first workable plan for a small Regular Army, augmented by a large National Guard and Organized Reserve.

The recommendations of the American Legion, made principally through its National Security Commission, have had a profound effect on our Nation's history.

Three of the Legion's activities have long been of interest to me, and truly of vital interest to the entire nation. I speak of the Legion's interest in *Americanism*, in anti-subversive activities and in youth activities.

Since the inception of the Legion, *Americanism* has been one of the Legion's great concerns. At the caucus here in St. Louis 50 years ago, among the things those assembled considered were: "relief work, employment, and *Americanism*." At the charter convention in Minneapolis that same year, the *Americanism* Commission was established by convention action.

In the beginning, the Commission was charged with the task of combatting anti-*Americanism* tendencies, educating citizens old and new in the ideals of true *Americanism*, distribution of information about "the real nature and principles of American government," and fostering the teaching of *Americanism* in all schools.

This mission sometimes led the *Americanism* Commission over difficult routes. For example, as many of you know, early in the 1920's unemployment and other conditions contributing to national unrest coincided with an upsurge of communism and other subversive isms. Through the years the Commission served yeoman duty in helping to solve these problems through education and action.

Much of the Commission's work was concerned with the problems of unemployment until that phase was taken over by the National Economic Commission of The American Legion.

In the field of anti-subversive activities, The American Legion continues to be the outstanding opponent of communism and other divisive dogma. Throughout the years, the *Americanism* Commission has gathered data which has been filed and catalogued, so that now any Legionnaire, through his post and department, has at his command one of the best library and information services on subversives and subversive activities available anywhere.

"To foster and perpetuate a one hundred per cent *Americanism*." The Legion has channeled much of its efforts into education of our youths—for their roles as leaders of tomorrow.

Hundreds of programs with literally thousands of participants have benefitted from the generosity and the foresight of The American Legion—Junior Baseball, Boys State, Boys Nation, Oratorical Contests, School Awards to youths outstanding in honor, courage, scholarship, leadership and service. All these have helped to make America strong. I, myself, am a beneficiary of the programs initiated by the men, we honor this morning, the founders of the American Legion. As a 14-year-old participant in the American Legion's oratorical contest, I had my first experience with the Legion.

All these efforts, so brilliant and so capably administered, have done much to help this nation adhere to the principles and philosophies on which this nation was founded.

Today, this nation is battling new isms, isms which I am sure are outgrowths of old cancers breaking out anew with new characteristics, attracting new leaders and a new cadre of supporters. These isms are emerging as indigenous, radical, partly revolutionary groups, apparently controlled neither by Moscow or Peking but infiltrated to a considerable degree by their agents.

We are alerted because these groups, like

their progenitors which gave them birth, are taking advantage of serious weaknesses and illnesses within our society, fomenting disorder rather than contributing solutions to these problems. They are putting their tentacles down, obtaining every toehold they can, especially in our colleges, our universities, and even among our strong business, labor and civic organizations.

For their coup d'état, they are seeking to wither away the crusading spirit of this country by attacking the very heart of our country, through those we love the most, our youths, and the institutions which we have established to give them the best preparation we possibly can for their roles in life—our colleges and universities. And, today, they are going one step farther, even into our high schools and grade schools, since they realize quite analytically that thousands and thousands of our youngsters will not be going on from high school into our colleges and universities, but are preparing themselves for lives outside the fields requiring college and university training.

As chairman of the House Committee on Internal Security, one of my major responsibilities is to insure that this is not done. This does not mean that the Committee will be going into the communities of this country and onto the high school, college and university campuses to operate programs in opposition to these efforts.

But it does mean that we have a responsibility to investigate, report and recommend to the Congress of the United States what the situation is, how extensive the problems are, and what might be done to curb the revolutionary violence which is tearing this country apart. Those investigations are now being conducted and have been in progress since the Committee was established on February 19th.

The student rebellions which have paralyzed our colleges and universities are not a sudden event. They have been building up for many years. The causes are not solely attributable to Marxist and communist activity but the Marxist oriented actions of the old and new left are becoming more visible with the occurrence of each campus disorder.

The general public has false notions about the nature and methods of totalitarian revolutionary groups, believing they operate only secretly behind closed doors and a deep conspiracy. But, the public, I think, overlooks the fact that human beings are limited in communication, for the large part, to speech and writing—and revolutionaries, whether of the far Left or the far Right, are human beings. To communicate with each other they must write and speak their thoughts and disclose to one another their plans.

They communicate small circulation magazines and newspapers and publicized in direct mail appeals to groups of their interest. Admission fees to their meetings are always nominal—from 50 cents to a dollar, rarely more than five—hence, almost any individual or the representative of any group has, almost for the asking, access to such meetings where plans are made and decisions rendered.

Toward solution of our campus problems today, I would recommend a return to the ideals which led to the founding of The American Legion and urge once again:

One. That we give of our efforts so that all students will get "a square deal" on the college and university campuses of the United States, that the classrooms and services belong properly to the majority of the campus students, not to the disruptive minority. This does not mean that universities should be run by the students anymore than they should be run by politicians. Universities should be run by experts—expert educators, who are charged with the responsibility of developing the most important

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resource of this nation or any nation—our youth;

Two. That we exert pressures on those administrators who require a stiffening of backbone, to establish a policy of firmness in dealing with those on the campus, who in the name of dissent, flout the law and invoke violence. Too long this nation has suffered from the result of permissiveness. Suspension and expulsion are still effective tools of discipline if they are wisely and timely used. Our campus problems will never be solved by the "namb-y-pamby" attitude exhibited by some of our university administrators. Those who fail to take the necessary disciplinary action or who follow a policy of appeasement only should be forthwith removed; and I might observe that timely disciplinary action in nearly all cases requires action long before the campus explodes into firebombings, the seizure of university buildings, and other forms of violence;

Three. That we in the Congress re-evaluate our draft laws. Personally, I have come to believe that our policy of college deferments are the primary underlying cause of campus disorder. College deferments should be abolished and those who have not fulfilled their military obligation and fall within the prescribed age group should take their chances by lottery;

I make this recommendation not by way of punishment, but to remove what I consider one of the basic underlying causes of campus disorders. The lottery method, I recognize, as not the best way to utilize our manpower requirements, but I believe it should be employed at a time we are faced with the problem of answering the question: Who is to serve when all are not required to serve?

Four. I call upon responsible governmental officials, university officials, and news media officials to work to achieve balance and perspective in campus coverage. There is no doubt that there is a direct relationship between the intensity of violence in a college confrontation and the number of TV cameras and the number of reporters on the scene. Don't accept my word as an accurate assessment of this phenomenon. Discuss this problem with the intelligence units of every police department in St. Louis, Chicago, New York, Los Angeles, the men who work with these problems continuously; and you will hear the same assessment;

Five. That we listen more to the voices of strength and reason and less to the voices of weakness and indecision. Americans cannot afford the luxury of living in the world of "make believe." The world is not what we would have it to be and unilateral action to achieve the world of our dreams will not bring it to pass. Those who love freedom in Czechoslovakia today will testify to the folly of such self-delusion;

Six. That we cease to confuse legitimate dissent with criminal action. I am firmly convinced that we need to improve our enforcement of existing laws much more than we need new laws. This recommendation includes the necessity for many of our judges and courts to descend from the ivory tower and deliver us more realistic decisions that will permit our law enforcement officers and university officials to more effectively cope with complex and difficult problems.

Seven. That we re-define "national security for America," to insure that it includes the internal as well as the external security of this country; and

Eight. That we re-dedicate ourselves to promotion of 100 per cent Americanism and the combatting of the harmful aspects of any ism—communism, nazism, fascism, socialism—that we re-examine the isms and explore the operations of them so we can combat effectively those which would destroy our country and the principle for which it stands.

I am convinced if this Nation would give as much intelligent and responsive attention to controlling the riots and disturbances on our campuses and removing the causes for them as The American Legion has done in solving the problems of the American veteran, this country would be on the threshold of a new era in human understanding.

With the support of The American Legion and other organizations like it, I think we can go a long way toward getting the job done. This will be the "real ammunition" we seek.

Thank you.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: TODAY AND TOMORROW

HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, the invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 was a shock to the conscience of the world and a brutal act of tyranny that all free men deplored.

The consequences of the invasion seemed inevitable—loss of the few freedoms so briefly exercised, renewed police terror, and a change in government leadership. Few thought, although many hoped, that Alexander Dubcek would remain in power indefinitely and maybe restore the lost reforms. It is true that Mr. Dubcek sought to preserve communism in Czechoslovakia, but he also wanted to give his people a degree of freedom; not freedom as we know it in the United States, but at least freedom from arbitrary terror. Now Alexander Dubcek has been replaced as party secretary, and a few leading figures remain as symbols of reform.

It is now that the people of the world who desire freedom and respect courage must remember the people of Czechoslovakia and stand with them during the coming period of increasing repression. Person-to-person contact keeps this memory poignant and alive.

Recently, a series of five articles came to my attention. They are anecdotal accounts of life in Czechoslovakia, as the author saw it during the Christmas holidays of 1968. The author is Don Miller, a young administrator from the University of Michigan. Mr. Miller has visited Czechoslovakia three times since 1964 and has become good friends with a number of young Czechoslovaks. His outlook on Czechoslovakia is that of a man concerned for his friends' welfare but tempered by his training as a historian. Mr. Miller has a degree of bachelor of arts in history from the University of Michigan, a master of arts degree from Brown University, and has done work toward a degree of Ph. D. in history at the University of Zurich, Switzerland.

News coverage of the invasion and occupation has mostly given us accounts of troop movements, group protests, and scenes of street fighting. The world has viewed it as a national tragedy and has thought in general terms of the loss of independence for the Czechoslovak nation. This coverage has not brought home

the feeling of fear, rage, and frustration from broken dreams that was shared individually by millions of Czechoslovaks. Mr. Miller's articles help to bring these feelings home.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the entirety of the five articles entitled, "Czechoslovakia: Today and Tomorrow," written by Mr. Miller.

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

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: TODAY AND TOMORROW—I

(By Donald E. Miller)

Since the Russian invasion this past August, and during the days of the Dubcek liberalization in the months before, thousands of articles, and perhaps millions of words, have been written about Czechoslovakia. They have sought to examine the country and its people politically, economically, socially—and in every other conceivable way.

Yet few articles have discussed Czechoslovakia in human, or individual, terms. We know about groups cheering, fighting, protesting, and demanding. But we have read little about individuals in Czechoslovakia. Assuming one of the purposes of the liberalization was to re-assert the dignity and worth of the individual—and that of the Soviet invasion to suppress individual freedoms—what is the individual in Czechoslovakia thinking about these days? What does he think about the events of the past year? How does he regard the future?

I recently spent two weeks in Czechoslovakia, my third trip there in the past four years. During my visits I have come to admire the people greatly; perhaps, too, I even understand them just a little bit. I hope that in this forthcoming series of articles you will gain a greater understanding of the people of Czechoslovakia, whose fight for freedom has lasted almost a thousand years and may perhaps last a thousand more.

As my plane, a sleek British European Airways jetliner, broke out of the cloud cover and approached the runway of Prague's Ruzyně Airport, I had mixed feelings. I couldn't help being excited at the thought of being back in Czechoslovakia; but this excitement was tinged with the normal amount of apprehension, in view of the events there these past months.

My excitement mounted as the plane came to a halt before the main terminal building. I looked out the window at it—new, modern, and functional like so many thousands more around the world. Above the building in huge block letters I could read the word PRAGUE. I wondered how much Prague had changed from my visit three years before. It wasn't long before I would find some answers!

My first few hours in Prague were crowded with what seemed like a million impressions. A few things stand out above the rest: the friendliness and interest of the people—it was there and strong—exactly as I remembered it from my last visits; at the airport my luggage hadn't been inspected or opened; on the way from the airport into town, I saw the names of the Czechoslovak leaders, Dubcek and Svoboda written literally a hundred times on the sides of apartment buildings, grocery stores, and fences. On many buildings, writings had been already whitewashed—I could only wonder what these had said.

After registering and settling in at my hotel, I took a short walk on Prague's Wenceslas Square, the main street of the city, a combination of New York's Fifth Avenue and London's Piccadilly Circus. At the head of this broad avenue, and on a height commanding the whole street, is the National Museum. It was here where much of the fighting be-

tween the Russian tanks and the Czechs took place—and it is very evident.

The Museum is a dull implacable gray—much like many of the buildings in Paris before the French embarked on a government program to white-wash them. The Museum had, in fact, had a white-washing of its own—not by a government program as in France, but by the guns of Russian tanks. The front of the Museum, facing on Wenceslas Square, had been riddled by thousands of Russian bullets. In a thousand places, the dull gray of the Museum had been chipped away by Russian gunfire, leaving gaping white holes. It was an awesome sight. I will never forget it. The Museum became the symbol to me of the Russian presence and power in Czechoslovakia. If life on the street had gained a semblance of normality once again, as indeed it really had, one had only to look at the National Museum to understand the magnitude of the problem lying beneath the normality in the streets.

To understand how the Czechoslovaks were facing up to this problem you didn't have to walk very far from the National Museum—in fact, only about one hundred and fifty steps to be exact, to the base of the statue of Good King Wenceslas. (Wenceslas had been one of the most famous kings of Bohemia, which encompasses Prague and the western part of Czechoslovakia; and many years ago this statue had been erected here in his honor.) The Czechs had turned the Wenceslas statue into a memorial for those who had died during those first days of the occupation. The first to die was a 14-year-old boy, killed near the statue, and people began bringing flowers and laying them at the base of the statue as a memorial to him. Others died in Prague, and they were similarly honored with flowers at the base of the statue.

Soon the statue became more than a memorial honoring the dead of the Soviet invasion. It became the focal point of passive Czech resistance and defiance to the Russian presence in Czechoslovakia. Today, the statue is always crowded with people looking at the flowers placed there daily and reading messages of sympathy and support placed there by Czechoslovaks and foreigners. One wreath placed there especially touched me. It was placed there by Americans. On one side was the Czechoslovak flag; on the other, the American flag. The message, in bold large black letters, read simply:

"We are with you.

"We care about you.

Signed Two USA STUDENTS."

Before I left Prague, I decided to place a tribute of my own. I took my luggage tag—red, white, and blue American Tourister—reversed the address side and had some Czech people I had met write in Czech: "Our sympathies and our admiration. From one American and from All Americans." I was given a commemoration wreath free of charge by a florist when I happened to mention to him what I was planning to use it for. Slowly, carefully, on Christmas Day, with many persons watching, I placed the wreath and the tag carefully wrapped around it, at the base of the statue. This was not only my tribute but the tribute, I thought, of the many Americans who could not be there with me. I think often of this tribute. I wonder if it is still there and what people think as they read it.

In the United States, just prior to my trip, I had taken some Czech lessons. In Czechoslovakia, I determined to, and did, speak Czech. One of those with whom I spoke was a very pretty young girl, a student at Charles University in Prague. After talking with her for some time, she called her home and then invited me to spend Christmas day with her and her family. This was something I really had not expected, for Christmas in Czechoslovakia is a very personal holiday, a family holiday, and not many foreigners are

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invited into Czech homes to share it with them.

To spend Christmas with a Czech family, less than four months after the Russians had invaded their country, would be a very special experience. I wondered, as we drove there, what it was going to be like.

First of all, I can say it was charming. In the corner of the living room, was a huge Christmas tree. Instead of multi-colored electric lights, there were real candles and sparklers on the tree—an enchanting sight. A while later, one of the lighted candles fell, setting fire to a part of the tree. We put it out with wine.

Christmas dinner was delicious. Fish is the traditional Christmas fare in Czechoslovakia, with potatoes, salad, chocolate cakes, and wine. All very special, and very fattening, I thought to myself, as I let my belt out a notch.

After dinner came the exchange of presents. This especially touched me, for the presents were simple and the family feeling strong. (Bars of soap for the daughter, a scarf for the son, cigarettes (Kent) for the father.) At least, superficially, Christmas in Czechoslovakia 1968 did not seem so different from Christmas elsewhere in the Western world. Later on, when we began discussing politics, I realized how different it really was.

Our discussion began humorously. I learned that this year in Czechoslovakia, people were sending one another special Christmas and New Years greetings. Instead of the traditional "Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year," Czechs were wishing one another: "Merry Christmas and a Better New Year."

The Soviet invasion, all thought, was a sign, not of Soviet strength, but of Soviet weakness. From the Czech point of view, perhaps the invasion's most telling and long-lasting effect would be its impact upon Czechoslovak youth. Until now, the Germans had been looked upon as the great enemy. Though the Russians were never exactly considered buddies, it had generally been felt that they weren't such bad guys and that it benefited Czechoslovakia to have them around looking after Czechoslovak interests.

Today, this had changed. The Russian invasion and the continued Russian presence in Czechoslovakia is considered by the country's youth to be the act of a mortal enemy. This they will never forget, and this is bound to have a telling effect on Russian-Czechoslovak relations far into the future.

On the streets, Czechoslovak kids still plays their favorite cowboys and Indians game. But it now has a new twist. The cowboy now says to the villain, "You're a Russian soldier, and when I say 'Bang,' you fall down dead."

On August 20, 1968, Russian tanks crossed the border into Czechoslovakia. Life there would never again be the same.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: TODAY AND TOMORROW—II (By Donald E. Miller)

Presov, not far from the Russian border, is about 400 miles east of Prague; yet it is as different from Prague as it is from Chicago. Presov is a provincial town with about 40,000 inhabitants. Its people, a mix of Slovaks, Ukrainians, Hungarians, and gypsies, tend to be gay, extroverted, and interested in fun and the good life, whereas those in Prague are dour, hard-working, and materialistic—not much different, in fact, from people in most big cities in the West.

It is almost as if Presov and Prague exist in two different worlds, let alone one country. Yet, there is one thing uniting the peoples of Prague and Presov—hatred of the Russians and unflinching support for Czechoslovakia's liberal leaders.

I arrived in Presov at eight in the morning after a grueling thirteen-hour train ride

from Prague. If the Czechs could survive their trains, I thought to myself as the train pulled into the station, they could survive anything.

I wasn't in the best mood as my friend Richard and I greeted one another after an absence of more than two years. My mood changed, though, as we walked from the railroad station to his apartment, for there was much on the way to interest me. As in Prague, pictures of Dubcek and Svoboda were everywhere. They were in the shop and dwelling windows. A poster of a smiling Dubcek called for unity from a fence.

Fifteen minutes—and one thousand pictures of Alexander Dubcek and Ludvik Svoboda later, Richard and I reached his apartment. We were greeted warmly by his wife Natasha and their two sons, Vladko (6 years old) and Milanko (one year old) and were ushered into the living room. There in the living room were the inevitable photos of Dubcek and Svoboda—but with a difference. Between Dubcek and Svoboda, there was a photo of me. What an unlikely triad—Dubcek, Svoboda and Miller, I thought to myself.

Richard told me why I was up there. "You see, Don, Dubcek and Svoboda are the hope of Czechoslovakia. They are here; we know them and we respect them. But America, too, though it is so far away, remains one last hope. Your picture there reminds all of us about America. We like to think that you care about what is happening in Czechoslovakia. Besides, your big American smile helps when the going gets a little rough here some days."

Later in the day, Richard and I walked around Presov. It is an attractive and an interesting town, but the most critical thing about it is its location. It is on the high road from the Russian border, about 60 miles to the east, into the heartland of Czechoslovakia and is the first town of any size in Czechoslovakia west of the Russian frontier. Hundreds and thousands of Russian military vehicles had poured through during the Soviet invasion and many stayed. Still, through the first difficult days of the invasion, Presov had remained relatively quiet. There were demonstrations in the streets, sit-downs at the University (hearing this made me feel at home), and work-stoppages at the factories. But the Russians had the power, and the people of Presov knew it.

It was a far different story in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia's second largest city, I learned some days later when Richard and I visited there. The city had been in turmoil for days. According to whichever rumor you chose to believe, from five to two hundred people were killed in Bratislava, and at least 15,000 fled the city for the Austrian border, less than an hour away.

During my visit, Bratislava was quiet, but scars of the invasion days remained. There were two memorial plaques in the city center—one was near the University—listing those, mostly young, who had died. As in Prague, flowers were placed on the tablets daily.

At the Slovak Parliament Building, near the Technical University, one could spend an interesting few minutes watching workers plaster over the many bullet pock-marking the front of the building.

Visible reminders of the invasion and occupation remain in Bratislava; but in truth you have to look for them. For life in Bratislava, as in Prague, or Presov, or Olomouc or any one of a hundred other Czech cities and towns, has in fact returned to something approaching normality.

But the people haven't. I heard them discussing politics heatedly in the streets and in their homes—something unusual before the Dubcek liberalization began a year ago: Newspapers, still basically free to write what they think, stimulate their thought—as do radio, television, and the theatre.

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In Bratislava and everywhere else in Czechoslovakia, the communications media still seemed free. Perhaps, as one American later said to me—it is a verbal catharsis. Perhaps, it is something more. Let me relate some of the incidents, in any case.

One night in Bratislava, Richard and I went to see "Fiddler on the Roof" in the Slovak language (In Bratislava, Slovak is spoken, and in Prague, Czech. They are quite different languages, though someone speaking Czech in Bratislava can be understood.) It was one of the most magnificent and unusual musical comedy productions I have ever seen—and no doubt would probably be a sensation in the United States performed exactly as it was. Aside from the brilliant production, the highlights of the evening were certainly two political jokes, relevant to the current Czechoslovak political scene.

"Fiddler on the Roof" is about Jewish life in Russia, under the threat of Russian persecution. (I felt that this alone had some political significance.) In one scene, the family, threatened by the Tsar's police, decides to leave their little town to emigrate to America. Before leaving, the old father offers a prayer. Looking up into the sky, he says: "Oh God, won't you help us now?" The audience, catching the political significance of the line, cheered and applauded wildly.

In another scene, a young couple promise to marry only each other—against the wishes of the girl's father, who alone has the power to decide whom she will marry; and he wants her to marry an old but rich Jewish man. The father, hearing of the couple's vow to one another, confronts them and says: "So you have promised that you will marry only one another. What good are your promises? Where do you think you are—in Moscow?" The applause was deafening!

The next night in Bratislava, we saw "Madame Butterfly" at the National Opera. In the opera, Madame Butterfly falls in love with an American sailor, and three or four times in the musical scoring one could easily detect the first two lines of "The Star Spangled Banner." I still wonder whether the playing of "Madame Butterfly" in Bratislava at this particular time was coincidental. Later on, I was told that the program schedule of the National Opera in Prague, which up until that time had been determined by the opera administrators, was to be from now on dictated by the government.

Nor was it any different on radio and television. One night in Presov, we listened to Radio Bratislava, the official government radio, from eight until eleven o'clock. If you didn't know you were listening to Czechoslovak radio, you might think it was WJR in Detroit. For three straight hours. Radio Bratislava played nothing but American music. The most popular song in Czechoslovakia today is a ballad called "Massachusetts"—in effect, a New England "I Left My Heart in San Francisco," California was represented by "Do You Know the Way to San Jose" and "San Francisco." Nor should I forget to mention "Give My Regards to Broadway" and "Back Home Again in Indiana."

The big thing on Czechoslovak television during my visit was the Apollo Eight mission. Coverage was complete, from lift-off to splash-down. Borman, Lovell, and Anders were hailed as warmly throughout Czechoslovakia as in the United States. Along with the Apollo Eight coverage were broadcast reports out of Moscow to the effect that the mission was reckless and unsafe. People smiled at these reports, and prayed for the success of the mission and the astronauts. Before Dubcek, such TV coverage of an American space mission would have been completely unheard of. Today, four months after the Russian invasion, the American space spectacular was covered in the greatest detail.

Czechoslovakia today is in transition. The Russians want to turn back the clock; the Czechoslovaks want to push ahead. There is a giant tug of war going on there and the prize is Czechoslovakia itself. It would be difficult to predict the ultimate winner. What is certain is that during the contest, the Czechoslovak people will suffer greatly.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: TODAY AND TOMORROW—III

(By Donald E. Miller)

I spent much of my time in Presov at the university.

Czechoslovakian universities, like their counterparts in the United States, France, and Japan, are in ferment. Students are in revolt against old ideas, the Establishment, the Russians. Students throughout the country were, in fact, in the vanguard of the Dubcek liberalization drive. They were in the front lines of those who fought the Russian invasion; they protest and demonstrate and agitate to this very day.

I learned that in Presov, university students had organized demonstrations and sit-ins, in protest against the Russian invasion and the large garrison of Soviet troops stationed in the city. Now, during my visit, however, the university was comparatively quiet.

I had hoped, while in Presov, to talk with many people at the university. This I did. I remember, in particular, one young professor of English. I talked with him more about American problems than Czechoslovak problems, for after all, as he exclaimed: "What is there, after all, to discuss about Czechoslovakian problems. Our future is settled, we have no choice. We never did. We go with Russia."

He was interested and curious about Vietnam, America's racial problems, America's attitude toward Russia and Czechoslovakia. But most of all, he showed his greatest interest—and he was the rule, not the exception—in the Kennedys—John, Robert, Jackie, and Ted. Adulation of the Kennedys is not confined to the United States alone.

Though we spent some time talking about John and Ted Kennedy, his interest focused mostly on Robert Kennedy and Jackie. "Why?" he asked, "was he killed? He was a good man." This comment I heard at least six or seven times during my stay in Czechoslovakia. "He was a good man." I think about it often.

And Jackie Kennedy! His comments on her marriage were much the same as in the United States. "Why did she marry that old guy?" Did she marry him for his money? But why? She had enough of her own, didn't she?

Another of the people I met that day at the university, who made a great impression on me, was an administrative secretary, a woman in her forties. She had little cause to love the Russians. Her father, a doctor, had been sent to Siberia by the Russians at the end of World War II and had come back in 1950 or 1951 a broken man. The Russian invasion for her was simply one more sad saga in her life sponsored by Russia. Still she radiated courage and humor. I admired her greatly.

I was also taken on a short tour of the liberal arts building of the university, by my friend, who at 27 years of age was Chairman of the university's Department of English. It was unprepossessing by American standards and rather dirty (like most buildings in Czechoslovakia). A foul smell permeated the building. But the most important impression I left with was this: where it counted, the building's facilities were excellent. For example, I saw a language laboratory there second to none. I saw an excellent science lab, and well-lighted, well-equipped classrooms. And, the ratio of students to teachers at the liberal arts faculty

of the university, I was told, was only 10 to 1. It gave me something to think about.

My conversation with Richard, as we toured and later talked, inevitably got around to student unrest. The target of student discontent, he told me, in Czechoslovakia, as in most other countries around the world, was the established order. Students, in fact, had been agitating for many years. They were idealists. They wanted to change things, to make a better life for themselves and for those who followed. And, he smiled and nodded, there was much that needed changing. Could you blame them for trying?

For example, he told me, admission to the university was not necessarily based on ability. He had several times been forced to admit unqualified students who were the sons and daughters or relatives of Communist party members. Though a practical man, Richard still clings to the idealism of his youth. Telling this story upset him.

Students, he said, also wanted a voice in the running of the university. They demanded a vote and a voice in the highest administrative councils of the university and backed this up by class boycotts and sit-ins. Eventually they got what they wanted. It was still too early, he said, to judge their performance, but he was clearly for giving them a chance—if only because he felt they couldn't do any worse than those already wielding power.

As if to support this conversation, I had noticed a sign on one of the university bulletin boards during the tour. It announced a meeting of one of the student governing groups. "Come to the next meeting of the Student Government Council. Participate. Speak your mind. Vote. This isn't like former Student Government Councils. We're no longer a rubber stamp. We have the vote; we have the power. And we want to use it for you."

Later on in the evening, Richard and I went to the Dean's Office. This was not the Dean's Office at the University, but it was the name of a nearby tavern, very popular with students. We talked, and we drank. Mostly, I guess, we drank. And after we had drunk enough, we sang. Richard would sing a Czechoslovak song and I would follow with an American song. So it went into the early hours of the next morning, I was told. I didn't remember.

Nor did I recall the songs I had sung, on behalf of America. Later on, I was told that I had sung stirring renditions of the national anthem, "America The Beautiful," "This Land Is My Land," "Rudolph The Red-Nosed Reindeer," and "Moon River." Much of the singing elsewhere in the Dean's Office—for singing in Czechoslovakia always accompanies drinking—had stopped, and the other people in the tavern watched and listened to the American songs being sung less than 60 miles from the Russian border. A couple of times, I was told, they applauded. I'll just have to believe it, I guess, for I honestly don't remember.

This day in Presov, as I reflect upon it, was most unusual. I had learned a great deal about Czechoslovakia that day, and about what it meant to be a citizen of Czechoslovakia.

As I thought further about it, I also had probably learned a good deal more about what it meant to be an American. I thought about my country and its problems and I felt, that day in Czechoslovakia, that we in America could and would solve our problems. I felt good.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: TODAY AND TOMORROW—IV

(By Donald E. Miller)

There is a big joke in Czechoslovakia these days that in Communist countries, "nothing works." And it's almost literally true. On the train from Bratislava to Presov, the central

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heating didn't work, and I froze. On another train, I saw one of the pullman beds completely collapse when a young guy jumped in too enthusiastically. The home water supply is equally erratic; now you have it in your apartment, now you don't. It's as mystifying as the magician's magic rabbit.

The funniest thing that "didn't work", though, occurred during the performance of "Madame Butterfly" in Bratislava. Butterfly's great love, the American naval officer, has just sailed his ship into the harbor and an ecstatic Butterfly, singing a beautiful aria, rushes over to the sliding Japanese door in her home overlooking the bay, so that she might see the ship for herself. She pushes open the door—or rather tries to, because it "didn't work." So she completed the aria leaning on the door which had only opened a few inches or so.

So, on and on. I would like to think that nothing does work in a Communist country—not even a Russian invasion. But, in fact, I do not know. It is still too early to tell. I can draw some conclusions, though, from what I observed among the people, and from what people themselves told me.

I'll never forget news feature I saw in a movie in Presov. It described graphically the events of 1968 in Czechoslovakia, from the heady and happy days of the Dubcek liberalization drive through the Russian invasion. As Russian tanks poured across the border and through the Czechoslovak heartland, women were crying. I felt the tears well up in my eyes too.

Life on the street seems more or less normal. People laugh and smile again. Lots of them scowl, but it's not really so different anywhere else in the world. It's hard to tell that anything extraordinary happened in Czechoslovakia, much less a Russian invasion and occupation by half a million troops.

But when you talk with people, when you spend time with them in their homes, then you begin to realize the seriousness of their situation. For beneath the "normal" surface, it is evident that they are deeply worried, and more than a little frightened and concerned about their future and the future of Czechoslovakia.

They wonder when, not if, Dubcek will go. The most popular leader in Czechoslovakia since the days of its founder Thomas Masaryk, Dubcek is a legend almost in his own time—streets have been named after him, even a breakfast roll. Alexander Dubcek's days are numbered, and everyone in Czechoslovakia knows it. The only question is how many more days does he have left. It might happen by some miracle or other that Dubcek will be able to hang on and salvage his liberalization drive, but nobody I talked to in Czechoslovakia really believed it.

They wonder, too, how long it will take before the freedoms acquired during the Dubcek days will be totally taken away from them. For if, as I have said before, Czechoslovaks still seem as free to say what they think, they also seem more cautious when they speak. A Czechoslovak will talk to you quite willingly about the political situation in his country, on the street or in a train or in any other public place, but, as he does, he'll now glance over his shoulder from time to time. If he sees a policeman, and even if the policeman gets close enough to hear the conversation, he will go on talking. Perhaps, he'll say something about how stupid the police are; but the important thing, I think, is that he is thinking about them once again and is being conditioned little by little to their presence again.

In truth, the secret police are beginning to make their move again. They are not moving quickly; they are not moving effectively. Today, they are only a minor irritant

more or less, and few seem really afraid of them. But tomorrow—it's hard to tell.

Most thoughtful and realistic Czechoslovaks think that little by little their freedoms will be taken away. Czechoslovakia today is not quite the place it was during the golden days of Alexander Dubcek. There is a difference. It's perceptible enough, and as time passes, the difference will be greater.

Not much time has passed since the Soviet invasion—not enough time to consolidate the conservative ends of the Russian invasion. There will be resistance to conservatism and it could be considerable. But few people think that the resistance can or will be strong enough to stop the inevitable return to more repressive days.

Czechoslovaks are considered a practical people. More than one forecast the doom of freedom in Czechoslovakia, not without a tear or two in their eyes. But this isn't the first time freedom has been crushed in Czechoslovakia, and if history is any judge, it won't be the last.

Czechoslovakia, however, does not exist in a vacuum. Where it goes from here depends not only upon itself and Russia, but also to a certain extent upon China and the United States.

The Chinese have never been terribly popular in Czechoslovakia—until now, that is. Czechoslovaks, it is evident, share many of the same color prejudices as Americans or Englishmen. There is little sympathy for the Negroes in America, for example. And the many students from Communist China who have come to Czechoslovakia to study have never really been accepted into the society. Heaven help the young Czechoslovak girl who brings home a Chinese date to meet Mom and Dad!

But now this has changed. Russia, Czechoslovaks realize, must contend on three fronts: Eastern Europe, China, and America. Now, Russia has its hands full in Eastern Europe (i.e. Czechoslovakia) and has the freedom to do what it feels necessary to secure its position there. America is still occupied in Vietnam, so will give the Russians little trouble—at least, until the Viet-nam conflict has been resolved.

But the Chinese—that is another story. The Chinese-Russian border, extending thousands of miles, now seems relatively quiet, although if you want to believe the rumors, there has been serious and bloody fighting along the border for many years. If this fighting does get worse, and Czechoslovaks consider this inevitable, then Russia would have to switch its military emphasis eastward, leaving Eastern Europe free to . . . Well, it's hard to say.

Today, then, Czechoslovaks look upon the Chinese as a kind of yellow saviour. Until now, the Chinese have been unsuccessful in gaining any kind of foothold in Eastern Europe—with the lone exception of tiny Albania. The Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia may have changed all that.

What about America? America has always been popular in Czechoslovakia. Over one million Czechoslovaks emigrated to the United States, and rare is the Czechoslovak family which doesn't have a relative or know people in America. Moreover, Woodrow Wilson, back in 1918, was in effect one of the founding fathers of the Czechoslovak republic.

There is a great reservoir of good will for America in Czechoslovakia—something I will discuss in greater detail in my next and last article. Nobody in Czechoslovakia expected America to come to her aid after the Russian invasion; but most Czechoslovaks believe that Russia informed America beforehand of the invasion, and that we said we would not oppose it. This is disturbing. It may even be true. Who knows?

Still, America's reaction, or inaction if you

will, has not emptied this reservoir very much. Czechoslovaks are tied to America and Americans by strong emotional bonds. They admire us and would like to be more like us. America is Czechoslovakia's ultimate hope—in an emotional, not a political sense.

There are things we can do, under these present and difficult circumstances to help Czechoslovakia. First and foremost, Czechoslovakia's door on the West must be kept open—and widened if, and as far as, possible. The most important and critical wedge we have to do this is economic. Communism, in addition to everything else it has done to Czechoslovakia, has shattered its economy. One of the most prosperous nations in Europe, and in the world, between the two world wars, Czechoslovakia, under Communism, has plunged into an economic abyss. It has fallen so far, that it is now behind East Germany, Hungary, and Poland in Eastern Europe, in terms of its economic productivity. And this, for the proud people of Czechoslovakia, is humiliating.

One of the bases of the Dubcek reforms was, in fact, economic. Dubcek had promised to get Czechoslovakia moving again economically, a promise which brought him strong support from most segments of Czechoslovak society.

Today, as a result of the Russian invasion, Czechoslovakia remains in the economic doldrums, tied to Russia, with little hope of extricating itself. In such a situation, Western currency, especially American dollars, through trade, become highly desirable and important. Some may say that increased trade between Czechoslovakia and the United States can only help international Communism. This may be true in some few instances, but it is essentially a naive comment. Increased trade between Czechoslovakia and the United States, and increased economic contact will, in point of fact, open Czechoslovakia's door on the West wider. And if you want to consider this from a political and psychological standpoint, this helps us more than it helps international Communism.

Increased cultural exchanges and stepped-up student and faculty contacts and exchanges are of critical importance. Czechoslovaks hunger for contact and news from the West and from America, and such contacts supply them.

I save for last my thoughts that more travel by individuals to Czechoslovakia would be of great benefit to Czechoslovakia, to America, and to the individual. In my next article, I will give you a few hints on how to travel in Czechoslovakia. You won't have to know very much; just tell them you're American.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: TODAY AND TOMORROW—V

(By Donald E. Miller)

If you have seen most of the world and are looking for a rewarding experience on your next trip—or if you have seen nothing and want to make your first big trip one to remember—why not consider a trip to Czechoslovakia. The country is beautiful beyond description and what is more, has not undergone the ravages of commercial tourism. Its people are hospitable to all visitors, but their interest, curiosity, and warmth for Americans is exceptional. American probably has no greater ally and supporter in the world than the people of Czechoslovakia, and American tourists in Czechoslovakia benefit greatly from this fact of Czechoslovak life. Let me give you a few examples.

In Bratislava, Czechoslovakia's second largest city, "Fiddler On The Roof" was being performed on stage. I was dying to see it. There was only one performance which I could attend, however, and it was completely sold out. Here's what happened when my friend Richard and I tried to get tickets:

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RICHARD. Could we please have two tickets to tonight's performance of "Fiddler On The Roof?"

TICKET SELLER. I'm sorry, but tonight's performance is sold out.

RICHARD. Isn't there anything? Standing room? This is our last night in Bratislava, and we'd like very much to see it.

TICKET SELLER. I'm sorry, there's nothing left. We've had to turn away hundreds of people.

Mr (aside): Richard, tell her I'm American.

RICHARD. Excuse me. I forgot to mention that my friend over there is American. He saw the play in New York and would like very much to compare it with this production here in Bratislava.

Mr (in the Czech language). If it's possible, I would like to see "Fiddler On the Roof" please. Thank you.

This was already too much for one poor Czechoslovak ticket seller to take. She picked up the phone and talked with her boss. That night, Richard and I watched "Fiddler On The Roof" from two of the better seats in the house. It was a magnificent production.

Lest you think that example was the exception rather than the rule, here's what happened in Presov, when Richard wanted to buy for me some Czechoslovak records to take back to the United States:

RICHARD. I'd like to have a copy of "Massachusetts" (the biggest current hit in Czechoslovakia) on a 45 r.p.m., please.

STORE CLERK (gruffly). So would fifty other people. We're out of it. We don't know when we'll have it in. (He then walked away.)

RICHARD. Excuse me. It's not for me. It's for my friend over there. He's an American and lives near Massachusetts.

Mr (in the Slovak language). Hello. How are you?

STORE CLERK. You're American! I have a brother in America. He lives near Chicago.

So, again, the defenses caved in. He left his other customers (there were six or seven of them, as I recall) and spent a half-hour with us. Not only did he "happen" to find a copy of "Massachusetts," but he selected five or six others "that I am sure you would enjoy listening to back in America."

It has been my experience, in my travels, that Americans do not often get "favored nation" treatment in many countries around the world. In Czechoslovakia, such treatment is regarded as our national, and natural, right.

Such treatment in a country which is literally a still undiscovered tourist paradise should make for an unforgettable vacation. Here are some of the things you might want to see on your trip to Czechoslovakia.

THE PRAGUE AREA

Prague, Czechoslovakia's capital and largest city, is the most beautiful city in Czechoslovakia, and perhaps one of the most beautiful cities in Europe. Wenceslas Square, Prague's main street, is worth seeing in its own right. The fact that Wenceslas Square has played a major role during and now, after the Russian invasion makes it for me the single most fascinating tourist attraction in Prague. On the Square are located the National Museum and the Statue of Good King Wenceslaus.

Of great beauty and interest in Prague, as well, is Hradcany Castle, high above the city. Hradcany Castle today is the seat of the Czechoslovak government and the home of the president of the republic. Also, see Charles Bridge. Spanning the Vitava River, which runs through Prague, Charles Bridge is one of the most beautiful, most interesting, and historic in all of Europe.

Just outside Prague is the small village of Lidice, scene of a German massacre in 1943. In retaliation for the assassination of the German governor of Prague, the Germans

shot all the men and women of Lidice, buried them in a common grave, and sent the children of the town off to camps in Germany. They then levelled the town to the ground with bulldozers. After the war, the Czechs erected a monument in the former town and built a new Lidice nearby. A trip is a reminder of man's inhumanity to man—and a good one at that.

Not far from Prague are Carlsbad and Marienbad, two famous watering-spots of the past and two excellent vacation towns of the present. The famous spas of Carlsbad and Marienbad are just as good as ever.

South of Prague is the small city of Ceske Budejovice (in German, Budwels), one of the beer capitals of Czechoslovakia. Besides beer, there is history in Ceske Budejovice. It is called by many the Florence of Czechoslovakia and is considered one of the most beautiful Renaissance cities in Eastern Europe.

Not far from Ceske Budejovice is Hluboka, a perfect reproduction of England's Windsor Castle in the heart of Southern Czechoslovakia. The grand tour of Hluboka is interesting and great fun, as you have to shuffle around the castle in over-sized house slippers.

In the vicinity, too, is the town of Ceske Krumlov, one of the most beautiful little towns I have ever seen. The main attraction in Ceske Krumlov is a castle, but as far as I'm concerned, the whole town is the attraction.

Having covered the western part of the country, let's move east to Slovakia.

Slovakia, comprising over one-half of the country in area, is, I think, one of the more beautiful and varied tourist areas in Europe.

Bratislava, its capital, is, in effect, a river town on the Danube. High above Bratislava sits its castle, commanding a superb view of the city and the river. On a clear day, you can't see forever, but you can see Austria—not far away.

For skiers looking for something new, exciting, beautiful and cheap, why not try the High Tatras of Eastern Slovakia. The Tatras are called the Alps of Eastern Europe, the Tatra area, Little Switzerland. In 1969, the World Skiing Championships will be held in the Tatras, bringing this area to the attention of the ski world. The High Tatras are a year-round vacation resort.

In addition to visiting the main tourist attractions of Czechoslovakia, may I also suggest, after my own experiences, that you consider visiting one or two of the small towns. It is in the small towns and cities that you will have the best chances of meeting and talking with people.

I don't know if any, or how many, of you will actually visit Czechoslovakia. If you do, you'll enjoy it and you'll remember it.

And if you do, will you do me one favor: speak with the people. Try to get to know them. Your efforts will pay off one thousand fold—for you, for America, and for Czechoslovakia. In these days of rapid travel and instantaneous communication, person-to-person and face-to-face contact is still one of the most effective means of fostering international understanding, and each of us has the opportunity to be our nation's unofficial ambassador to the world.

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Mr. HARVEY. Mr Speaker, perhaps more than any other American com-

May 12, 1969

pany, the Midland Dow Chemical Co., headquartered in Midland, Mich., has been a chief "whipping boy" by certain groups regarding its manufacturing of napalm for use by U.S. military forces in Vietnam. Dow Chemical has been maligned, criticized, belittled, and set upon.

In recent days, the courage of this company has been tested again. And, once again, Dow leadership placed their country above an easy way out. Other companies made napalm; other companies can make napalm. Dow also would forewarn all that there is no "profit" in serving the requests of our country and its need for napalm. Dow's President Herbert D. Doan told company stockholders last week:

They say we are in this for profit. This is not true. It has cost us a thousand times more than the profit. We do it because it must be done.

I am enclosing a lengthy editorial on this entire subject which appeared in the May 9, 1969, edition of the Saginaw News, Saginaw, Mich. I believe that a vast majority of Americans will agree that, as the editorial stated:

Nevertheless, if ever a company and its top officials merited the support and respect of the American people for patriotism and willingness to accept corporate sacrifice, Dow does.

I join this newspaper in saluting Dow Chemical Co. as a "corporate patriot of unquestioned courage."

The entire editorial follows:

A SALUTE TO DOW: COURAGEOUS CITIZEN

A dilemma, which in terms of suffering, conscience and duty has few equals on the modern scene, reached a new confrontation at Midland this week.

Each side has great and compelling arguments to offer.

Each side Wednesday spoke in reasoned debate. Yet even recognizing the strength of appeal of the other side, one still can offer support.

It is hard to argue against the words of the Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam: "We bitterly protest the use of chemical genius of American industry for making products that so terribly mutilate the human body as napalm does," they said.

Spokesmen for the group emphasized that the Dow Chemical Co., has been selected as a symbol, that it is not the only producer of napalm and war materiel. They obviously have chosen napalm because of its nature, for among the many horrible weapons of war it is one of the worst.

We sympathize totally with their reaction and we agree that Dow has become a symbol.

Nevertheless, if ever a company and its top officials merited the support and respect of the American people for patriotism and willingness to accept corporate sacrifice, Dow does.

The Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam are first and foremost an anti-war group. Napalm and Dow are merely handy targets—as they themselves say, symbols—of their basic desire to end the war in Vietnam.

We do not quarrel with the integrity of their belief nor the grounds upon which they base it. That is their right.

We happen to believe, however, that when a fire breaks out, you must have a fire department to fight it. All history has shown the ineffectiveness of war, yes—but history also has shown that no ideals survive the conqueror's heel.

There would be no United States of America today had there been no American Revolution.

Praying God that war will be abolished, that all of its weapons and all its symbols—not just napalm—will be rendered unnecessary, one still must ask: what is to be done when war is thrust upon you? Just give up?

We know the Vietnam protesters argue that this war was not thrust upon us. That's their opinion. We disagree. So have many able and distinguished Americans—men of both parties, in fact all the leadership faction of this country for the last 25 years—who have hewed to a policy that communism must be contained. So far, it should at least be noted, that policy has saved the world from nuclear destruction.

And, horrible as napalm is, is it that much worse than a bullet in the heart?

Every weapon of war has its own distinct and personal horrors. That mankind has succeeded in outlawing some, such as poison gas, and staving off the use of others, such as atomic bombs, is a mark of his recognition that those weapons endanger total existence over wide, wide areas—in the case of the nuclear bombs, the earth itself.

Napalm, like aerial bombs, like bullets, like shells, is primarily a target aimed at individual, specific objectives. Thus, it differs from weapons aimed at entire states and even continents. Maiming? Yes. So is an exploding grenade, a knife slash across the eyes that blinds. The horror is war itself and all its weapons.

We like napalm no more than the clergymen group. But, if it is to be abandoned, their target must be those government policy makers who classify it as a usable weapon—not Dow Chemical Co.

We find it absolutely impossible to believe that, in a time when our country asks its young men to risk their lives in conflict, any company can refuse to serve as well.

Dow has stood fast on this principle. As its president, Herbert D. (Ted) Doan, said Tuesday:

"They say we are in this for profit. This is not true. It has cost us a thousand times more than the profit. We do it because it must be done."

Mr. Doan is absolutely correct. The American men in Vietnam must be supported.

If wrong is being done, if improper decisions have been made, the place to remedy them is at the source. Government would turn to chaos if each citizen—be he individual or corporation—had the power to accept or reject every governmental decision.

We recognize that the dissenters are seeking to publicize their philosophies and, as long as they do not interfere with the right of others, we support them fully in the voicing of their dissent.

But their continuing bitter attack on the Dow Chemical Co. makes it imperative that the rest of us recognize that this company is serving our country and our men in Vietnam by refusing to give in to their protest. As Mr. Doan said, it has cost them and cost them dearly—but that has always been the price of patriotism.

And in this case, Dow is corporate patriot of unquestioned courage. We salute the company and its officers.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Stone, of Chicago, would have to be classified as a successful man. He achieved this success by starting humbly and building a fortune through his own diligence and ingenuity.

But, Mr. President, Stone deserves our attention and our respect because of a philosophy of life he has developed and which he willingly shares with others. He calls this positive mental attitude, and it has guided his own dynamic life as well as encouraged others to face their problems and go about the business of finding constructive solutions.

Clement has used a positive attitude in his own career and attributed much of President Nixon's political success last year to his—Stone's—book on the subject. He has given freely of himself in the spreading of his philosophy for good and as a leading figure in the Boys Clubs of America.

Napoleon Hill is credited by Stone for guidance and inspiration. I join in this appreciation to a writer-speaker-teacher who once lived in West Virginia. His book, entitled "Think and Grow Rich," has helped millions of men and women throughout the world.

I hold Mr. Stone in high personal esteem because the philosophy and outlook of this unique and successful business personality stresses a positive approach to all endeavors, and I believe this is the only rational outlook to have today.

A comprehensive discussion of Mr. Stone and positive mental attitude was published recently in the Washington Post. I ask unanimous consent that Marie Smith's article be printed in the RECORD.

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

STONE AND SUCCESS: THE REASON NIXON IS WHERE HE IS?

(By Marie Smith)

CHICAGO.—A key to President Nixon's success, both in office and in winning the Presidency last year, according to one of his close friends, is his Positive Mental Attitude.

"PMA" is the term W. Clement Stone, Chicago centimillionaire uses for the Nixon attitude and philosophy that Stone claims can spell success to anyone who has it.

Stone, who has practiced it through the years while building a \$100 investment into a \$400 million fortune, is co-author of the book, *Success Through a Positive Mental Attitude* which, he says, Mr. Nixon has read.

A small advertisement in The London Observer recently credited the book with changing the "once defeated Republican candidate into the world's most powerful politician."

"There is no question, he has a positive mental attitude and has had for a long time; that is why he enjoys the presidency so much," Herbert Klein, a longtime Nixon aide said recently.

As for the book, Klein said, "It may be that he has read it, but I wouldn't give it all the credit that the ad does. I am sure Nixon got a copy and he may have read part of it, but I doubt that he read the whole book."

"I know he read it," said Stone whose coauthor was W. Napoleon Hill. "But in all fairness, I must point out that after Nixon went to New York he attended Marble-Collegiate Church where Norman Vincent Peale also preaches PMA (positive mental attitude)."

It was shortly after Nixon moved to New York in 1963, following his crushing defeat

for Governor of California, that Stone sent him a copy of the book.

Since then the two men have had a close "Dick" and "Clem" friendship.

Already Stone and his wife have been guests at the White House twice since Jan. 20, and they were among the close "family friends" invited to the wedding of Julie Nixon to David Eisenhower last December.

Stone doesn't credit his book with changing Nixon's life, but he said, "those exposed to this type of literature can expect something to happen. It has changed the lives of countless Americans, and motivated them to help themselves."

"Nixon was emotionally naive in California, but he had the good judgment, or was influenced, to change his environment and move to New York," Stone explained, puffing on his ever-present cigar.

Some people think Nixon's bounce back from his second major political defeat began during a period of seclusion at a tropical estate immediately following the 1962 election.

The candidate, who two years earlier had been defeated in the presidential race, his family and his closest friend, Charles Gregory (Bebe) Rebozo spent two weeks on New York millionaire Huntington Hartford's estate in the Bahamas.

For hours on end, the deeply depressed Nixon and his consoling companion, Rebozo, walked the beach under the sun. Sometimes they talked, sometimes they strolled in silence.

Whether Nixon's decision to change his base—or environment—from California to New York came then or later is not clear, but some observers think it came shortly after the tropical hiatus.

At any rate, that was the beginning of Nixon's comeback, according to Stone.

And vigorously as Stone promotes PMA, he credits something else with Nixon's winning of the Presidency.

That something was Nixon's decision to succeed former President Herbert Hoover as head of the Boys Club of America. It was through this organization that Nixon and Stone, chairman of the board of the Chicago Boys' Club, came together.

"If Nixon had not become chairman of the Boys' Club of America, he wouldn't be President today," Stone asserts firmly.

As Stone tells it, three weeks before Herbert Hoover died, the former President asked Nixon to come to his apartment where he asked Nixon to accept the chairmanship should it be offered to him.

During the conversation between the former and future Presidents, Stone said, Hoover was asked to evaluate his life's works and say what efforts had given him the greatest satisfaction. "He said it was his work as head of the Boys' Club," Stone related.

"Nixon accepted the chairmanship and after that he changed his thinking to positive. You admire a man who changes his thinking," Stone continued.

Stone, who describes himself as a Republican who occasionally supports Democrats, admits he gave "in excess of \$200,000" to the campaign. Some reports put the figure as high as \$500,000.

But he expects nothing in repayment except that Nixon be a good President, and he thinks he is.

However, the 67-year-old Stone who still works a 16-hour day, would not be averse to accepting an Ambassadorship were it offered ("I could do the job," he said), although he wouldn't want it offered just as an "honorary thing." It "would have to be a job to be done," he said.

Talking about Nixon as President, Stone said "he has done a fantastic job. The big thing is to see the war ended . . . and if we weren't concerned with Russia and the Chinese starting a world war, we could wind it up in a hurry." He almost always uses the

**POSITIVE MENTAL ATTITUDE OF
W. CLEMENT STONE IS GUIDE
TO SUCCESS**

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, if he never did anything else, W. Clement

personal pronoun when referring to the Administration.

There is one thing Stone would like from President Nixon.

"What I'd like to see him do is let me talk to the powers that be and prove to them what we can do with PMA. I'd like to have the Federal Government encourage the states to use the techniques to accomplish what they want to do" in the field of rehabilitation and training of the hard-core unemployed and welfare recipients.

The "powers that be" to which he referred are Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Bob Finch, Vice President Agnew and "whoever in the Pentagon is in charge of education" of the military.

"I want to give them an opportunity to see what it is all about. We're going to do it with or without Government aid," Stone stated emphatically.

The "it" to which he was referring is his main goal in life: "to change the world" through PMA.

Stone admits he built his fortune and success with PMA and has taught it to his executives and salesmen who do what he calls "cold canvassing"—soliciting in banks and office buildings for new insurance business—and in his work with the Office of Economic Opportunity trainees in Chicago and in Boys' Club work.

To develop PMA, Stone advocates repeating one or more of a variety of platitudes (he also calls them "mind conditioners or self motivators") 50 times each morning and night. Some of his favorite platitudes are "God is always a good God," "Do it now," and "What the mind of man can conceive and believe, the mind of man can achieve." Or, if he is feeling low, he repeats "I feel happy, I feel healthy, I feel terrific."

"And I do," he added with a smile.

The platitudes become so firmly embedded in the subconscious mind, they pop into the conscious mind when needed, according to Stone.

PMA, he said, "is the solution to every problem, whether you want to make a million or end the war in Vietnam." He also has a formula for making \$1 million in ten years. It's outlined in his book.

Stone said he wants the military to teach PMA to servicemen as a safeguard against brain washing by the enemy in case of capture. He wants penal institutions to teach it to criminals so "the urge to do the wrong thing may be superseded by the urge to do right"; he wants educators to use it to motivate students to achieve.

He also wants it used in diplomacy—between two warring factions such as the "Arabs and the Jews," he said, "but it can't be a one-sided thing; both sides must have it (PMA)."

Stone practices PMA 16 hours a day in the studio of his gray limestone Tudor house in Evanston, Ill., on the shore of Lake Michigan and just off the campus of Northwestern University.

He gets up at 6:30 a.m. and is ready to work when a secretary arrives at 8:30. At 5 p.m. that secretary leaves and another arrives to work until 8 p.m., when a third arrives to work until midnight. Stone calls the two hours between midnight and his 2 a.m. bedtime his "reading and thinking" time. He usually reads business reports and publications.

Stone who takes daily vitamins for a "healthy mind and body", takes frequent one-and-two-day vacations with his wife, Jessie, who was his high school sweetheart. These vacations usually occur at the end or beginning of trips in connection with his business.

He is happy that President Nixon takes frequent one-and-two-day vacations also for this is part of the technique for maintaining a positive mental attitude.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

As he talked about PMA and cited one success story after another of its use Stone fingered a knuckle size black opal ring to which he whimsically attributes magical powers.

"I bought it in Australia eight years ago. If the rightful owner rubs it three times, he gets his wish, but if anyone steals it, that person will meet a violent death in three days," he said.

Stone, who sees images in the ring which changes colors with the light reflections, claims he saw Nixon's image in the ring before the election and knew he was going to win.

President of the Combined Insurance Company of America, Stone is also president of Hawthorn Books, Inc., New York, and Combined Registry Co., a Chicago publishing and distributing company, and editor and publisher of "Success Unlimited," a monthly inspirational magazine. He lectures frequently throughout the world on PMA and gives away thousands of his books including "The Success System That Never Fails" and "The Other Side of the Mind", written with Chicago reporter Norma Lee Browning.

Despite his practice of PMA, Stone admits he sometimes has a defeat, but he prefers to call it a "problem." When I do," he said, "I say that's good, we have a problem, now let's see how we can turn it into an advantage, and usually we do."

That's practising the platitude of "with every adversity there is the seed of an equivalent or greater benefit."

The Nixon Administration," he said with a smile, "is fortunate it has so many problems, for Nixon has the opportunity to become one of the great, if not the greatest, Presidents we've ever had."

THE MISSILE HASSLE

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the Christian Science Monitor, in its issue of May 10, 1969, has an editorial which is objective and points out that the average individual may well wonder what to believe. However, it concludes that the proponents are under heavy obligation to show why an ABM system should be set in motion now, just before talks with Moscow.

My argument has been that a delay will not jeopardize our security. So far, no one has shown me that I am wrong.

Under unanimous consent, I include the editorial referred to above:

THE MISSILE HASSLE

The battle for and against deployment of the Sentinel antiballistic missiles wages fitfully in Congress and the public forums. Predictions suggest that the Nixon administration, favoring the ABM system, may win in the House and lose in the Senate, but no one is quite sure. Now the anti-ABM case is bolstered by the Wiesner-Chayes report, a lengthy analytical document which argues that the ABM system for destroying incoming missiles would be ineffective, unnecessary, and mainly a contribution to international tensions.

This 344-page report—by Jerome Wiesner science adviser to President Kennedy and Johnson; Abram Chayes, former State Department legal adviser; plus a group of scientific and academic experts—was in part politically inspired. Sen. Edward Kennedy commissioned it last February, when he decided to take up the cudgels against the adminis-

tration's—and Pentagon's—ABM proposal. It will be referred to, and quoted from, a good many times from here on in the crescendoing debate.

The Pentagon has promptly retaliated with its own evaluation—by two scientific experts and Nathan Twining, former chairman of the joint chiefs—which brands the report as unscientific in method, inconsistent and full of errors.

The average individual will wonder what he should believe. Probably the most compelling argument by the Wiesner-Chayes document is its conclusion that there is no need for a decision, now, to deploy a missile defense system. In short, why go ahead with a new system when the United States is just about to engage in crucial arms-cutting talks with the Soviet Union?

The impact of the report also is to cast further doubt on the testimony of Defense Secretary Melvin Laird, already disputed, that Moscow is seeking a "first strike" capability against the United States—an ability to knock out America's total defenses in a first devastating blow. Hence the report concludes that deployment, now, of an untried and controversial new defense line would not enhance, but would lessen, national security.

It is useful, to public debate and final decision, that this report is at hand. Dr. Wiesner was one of those who labored long to persuade Moscow that arms-cutback talks would be worthwhile. It is also useful to have the Pentagon's rebuttal which declares the ABM system to be workable and effective. Let the debate continue. But let the administration and Pentagon realize they are under heavy obligation to show why an ABM system would need to be set in motion now, only shortly before talks with Moscow begin.

THE JOB CORPS

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I believe President Nixon's recent decision to close 59 Job Corps training centers without equivalent expansion of other training opportunities for the disadvantaged is ill advised.

The Job Corps program has demonstrated considerable success. Since 1965, over 200,000 disadvantaged youths have participated in Job Corps activities. Approximately seven out of 10 Job Corps trainees are now either employed in civilian jobs, serving in the Armed Forces, or pursuing their education. A recent followup study cited in the Department of Labor's 1969 Manpower Report to the President found that those who were not employed included many who dropped out of the program, as well as women who withdrew to become housewives. Studies have also shown that average earnings are substantially higher after Job Corps enrollment. This is obviously a record accomplishment, particularly in view of the fact that Job Corps participants come from the most deprived sector of our population.

Government analyses of the Job Corps indicate that the benefits of the program far exceed its cost. One of the most significant benefits, which cannot be measured in dollar terms, is the opportunity the Job Corps has provided thousands of

underprivileged young people to escape the vicious cycle of poverty. Another of the unique advantages of this program is the opportunity that the Job Corps centers provide for underprivileged youths to obtain valuable training in a new and improved environment.

As AFL-CIO President George Meany pointed out:

To take away this option for a better life . . . would be a cruel blow directed at a group who have already known more than their share of failure and disappointment at the hands of the larger society.

I agree with President Meany, that indiscriminate closure of Job Corps centers should be avoided at this time. We must not scrap the efforts organized labor and others have made in training and placing young people in the Job Corps.

I strongly urge President Nixon reconsider the decision to close the 59 training centers and that he rescind the Job Corps cutbacks. I believe the Job Corps is a sound and worthwhile program. Shutting down these centers will deal a devastating blow to the program. Our economy cannot afford the burden of unproductive citizens, and the loss of a single potential contributor to our society.

POOR CHILDREN HAVE WEALTH OF AMBITION

HON. CARL D. PERKINS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, recently members and staff of the Committee on Education and Labor were invited to attend what I consider an exciting and stimulating career seminar for sixth-grade students. The program, which was designed to encourage dialog between adults established in their careers and young boys and girls unknowing yet eager to know about the world of work, proved to be a most rewarding experience for both.

The "Why Work" Seminar was conducted at a local elementary school within the shadow of the Capitol, the Lenox Elementary School. I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate the principal of Lenox School, Mrs. Jennie Gross, for her foresight and dedication in providing these young students with a unique, yet practical experience and to share with my colleagues a recent news article describing the seminar. The article follows:

POOR CHILDREN HAVE WEALTH OF AMBITION (By Wauhillau La Hay)

In the sixth grade at Lenox elementary school in one of the District's deprived southeast areas are boys and girls who know what they want to be when they grow up and start working.

Hopefully, there's an oceanographer, a brain surgeon, a chemist, a mathematician and a prima ballerina taking readin', writin' and 'rithmetic at Lenox and if their prin-

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pal, Jennie Gross, has anything to do with it, they'll reach their goals.

For the second year, Mrs. Gross had a "Why Work?" all-day seminar in the school yesterday. She had more than 40 consultants representing as many different trades and professions, from a linguist to a barber, a doctor and a bus driver, a minister and a cook. And this reporter.

It is a rewarding experience—this being questioned by boys and girls, about 95 per cent of them black. "What's good about your job?" "How much schooling did you have to have?" "Do you really tell it like it is?"

"What would you write if you saw a black man being beaten up by a white cop?"

STIMULATES THINKING

They think, these kids. Many of them are from comfortable, clean, well-run homes with hard-working parents. And many of them live in slums and broken homes, with not enough food to eat or enough money for decent clothes.

They are concerned with money. "What does your job pay?" they invariably asked. "What's the starting salary?" They are concerned with being black and how their color will affect them not only in the working world, but in college.

"I want to go to college," said Catrina, primly tugging at her miniskirt. "But then I get scared and think maybe because I'm black nobody will be nice to me."

Valerie was torn between nursing and the Peace Corps. This 11-year-old in her neat print dress and bright hair ribbon whispered confidentially, "I like to read poetry. I read an awful lot of poetry. I have a library started in my home. Poetry makes me feel good."

A real estate man at Lenox as consultant asked one boy if he wanted to sell houses. "Nope," said the 12-year-old, "I'm going to be an oceanographer." Asked if he knew what that long word meant, the boy shrugged and said, "Of course I do. It is the study of the ocean's depths. You know, we eventually face overpopulation on the earth and we must know everything there is to know about the ocean."

TRANSPLANT BRAINS

The real estate man was dumbfounded, but not as much as a doctor when informed by an 11-year-old girl, "I've just got to be a brain surgeon. By the time I'm ready, the medical world will know how to transplant brains. That's what I've got to do."

The lawyer consultant said that a few of his visitors were interested mainly in "how to beat a rap."

"I told them they couldn't so they might as well look on the good side of the law. And they were interested, believe me."

A police officer admitted that quite a few of the boys he talked to wanted to know about police brutality. "I told them no policeman wants brutality, but sometimes a young officer will lose his temper and get rough. That's bad. We can't afford to lose our cool."

After the sessions with the boys and girls, the consultants met for a "feedback" on what they'd heard. The consensus was: This is good. This gets away from the sometimes bad influence of Black Power. They gave us their confidence. They talked freely.

There wasn't so much free talk when the children had their own "feedback." A little girl who had said earlier she wanted just one job—that of the President of the United States—was too shy to tell her fellow students her goal in life.

One of this reporter's three "converts," who told their classmates they wanted to get into the newspaper business, came up to say goodbye.

"Hold a job for me, ma'am," he said quite seriously. "I'm gonna make it!"

LOVE FOR AMERICA

HON. EDWIN D. ESHLEMAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. ESHLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, there are times when this job of representing thousands of people in their Congress has its deeply personal moments. We, in our efforts to help constituents with a variety of problems, become involved with the happiness, grief, and even the dreams of many individuals. In each instance, our interest in the personal concerns of the people who entrusted us with this office provides us with a little deeper appreciation for that which all Americans hold most dear.

Recently, a saddening experience very poignantly brought this point home to me. A valued constituent, George Bobish, died 2 weeks before U.S. citizenship was to be conferred upon him. For 57 years Mr. Bobish strived to become a citizen and dreamed of the day that he would be able to take our oath of allegiance. On four separate occasions the redtape of the immigration process kept him from his goal. Finally, this year, long-lost records were found and it was arranged for George Bobish to complete the naturalization process on May 16. However, on May 5 Mr. Bobish died at age 87.

In all those years his struggle with the Government's administrative machinery never made him lose faith in his adopted country. In fact, there are probably few among us who love this Nation and its way of life more than did George Bobish. His daughter relates that he wanted to become a participant in the democratic processes of the United States so badly that in his later years the goal of obtaining citizenship pervaded much of his thinking.

So far as official governmental policy is concerned, Mr. Bobish died a citizen of his homeland, Austria. But his love for America, his contributions to his adopted home, and especially his dream of becoming a U.S. citizen, should not go unnoticed. In every respect but official recognition, George Bobish was a citizen, and I am proud that Pennsylvania's 16th Congressional District was a benefactor of his devotion to this country.

REPRESENTATIVE HENRY P. SMITH III ANNOUNCES RESULTS OF 1969 QUESTIONNAIRE

HON. HENRY P. SMITH III

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, last month I submitted a nine-part questionnaire to each family and boxholder in the 40th Congressional District of New York. This questionnaire deals with many of the critical domestic and international issues facing the Nation today.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

May 12, 1969

I am pleased and proud to report that to date I have received more than 28,000 completed questionnaires. In addition, I have received hundreds of letters accompanying the questionnaires in which the people choose to give additional comments and opinions on these issues. This overwhelming response is clear evidence of the sincere interest of 40th District residents in the affairs of their Government.

The many views and opinions I have received from the residents of the 40th District will be of inestimable value to me in deciding which course of action I will pursue in the months ahead.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure that the Members of this House will find the results of my questionnaire both interesting and helpful. The following is a percentage breakdown of the final tabulated results of my questionnaire:

RESULTS OF POLL OF HENRY P. SMITH III
(Answers in percentage breakdown)

1. Do you believe that the Paris peace negotiations will result in a conclusive settlement of the Vietnam war? Yes, 17; no, 79; no response, 4.
2. If the Paris talks are abandoned or reach a hopeless stalemate, would you then favor:
 - a. a sharp intensification of the total war effort. Yes, 41; no, 22.
 - b. unilateral withdrawal of U.S. troops. Yes, 31; no, 23.
 - c. a continuation of our present military strategies and tactics? Yes, 10; no, 25.
3. Do you believe an all-volunteer army can be established to replace the draft system after Vietnam? Yes, 37; no, 60; no response, 3.
4. Do you favor a Constitutional amendment to lower the voting age to 18? Yes, 47; no, 52; no response, 1.
5. Do you favor expulsion of students who violently disrupt the academic life of colleges and universities? Yes, 94; no, 5; no response, 1.
6. Viewing the economy as it stands today, would you favor renewal of the 10% income surtax when it expires on June 30? Yes, 30; no, 66; no response, 4.
7. Should the Electoral College be abolished and the President be chosen by direct popular vote? Yes, 85; no, 13; no response, 2.
8. Should the Federal Government be permitted to use wiretapping and electronic surveillance to fight organized crime? Yes, 90; no, 9; no response, 1.
9. Do you support the proposal to convert the Post Office into a government-owned corporation to operate on a self-supporting basis? Yes, 74; no, 19; no response, 7.

ROTC PROGRAM**Hon. G. V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY**

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, in recent months the ROTC program on some of our college campuses have been the object of student and faculty protests. This program is vital to the security of our Nation and we should not let it be destroyed by a militant minority. I commend to my colleagues the following statement from the advisory council of the National Society of Scabbard & Blade:

The Advisory Council of the National Society of Scabbard and Blade, representing 6,000 Army, Navy and Air Force honor cadets of Reserve Officer Training Corps units on 192 University campuses, has taken note of the challenge to continuance of ROTC at some institutions.

We have restated our philosophy contained in our Society's theme, "Military service is an obligation of citizenship."

We believe strongly in the Nation's tradition, upon which our national security rests, as stated nearly 200 years ago by George Washington that, "Every citizen of a free government owes his services in defense of it."

The Reserve Officer Training Corps is a vital part of the structure which supports this national tradition. We applaud the recent commitment of the Secretary of Defense, the Honorable Melvin Laird, to this principle, expressed in his statement that the Department of Defense will not see the Reserve Officers Training Corps degraded in any way.

We believe that a lessening of support for the Reserve Officers Training Corps would result in a weakening of our national defense structure, would constitute an invitation to aggression, and would endanger our very nation.

We urge all citizens to consider this matter seriously and to give support in every possible way to continuance of the Reserve Officer Training Corps programs of the military services.

PLOWSHARE DIALOG**HON. CRAIG HOSMER**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 contains provisions requiring our Government to facilitate peaceful applications of nuclear energy. The recently ratified Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons contains a clause requiring nuclear powers to furnish nonnuclear powers "nuclear explosives services" for peaceful purposes.

In a recent speech to the symposium on "Public Health Aspects of Peaceful Nuclear Explosives" I questioned whether the AEC has geared itself up to furnish such services on a truly commercial basis. That speech is found at page 8944 of this RECORD for April 14. It provoked a response from Dr. Michael May, director of the AEC's Lawrence Radiation Laboratory at Livermore, Calif., where the plowshare program is centered.

I believe Dr. May's response, contained in his speech delivered April 29, to the atomic industrial forum plowshare committee in Houston, is a good one. In it he also covers other subjects. It follows:

**COOPERATIVE ROLES OF LRL AND INDUSTRY
IN THE PLOWSHARE PROGRAM**

(By Michael M. May)

I would first like to contrast the way a Plowshare nuclear explosion is currently carried out, as a joint industry-government experiment, with the way it might be carried out under conditions of commercial exploitation when that time comes. Second, I would like to mention what is needed from our point of view to get from here to there. In

doing this I will discuss the role LRL now plays, the role it should play in the future when commercial applications are established, and the way it should help during the transition period.

TODAY'S EXPERIMENTAL PLOWSHARE APPLICATION

Let's look at a joint industry-government Plowshare experiment as it might be done today. The site must be carefully evaluated from two points of view. First of all, the geologic formations down to shot depth must be studied to determine the site's suitability from the standpoint of potential usefulness for the industry concerned. Second, the site must be investigated from the standpoint of safety. Such investigations are concerned with—among other things—the rock's ability to contain radioactivity produced by the shot, and with the possibility of damage to nearby structures from seismic ground motion resulting from the shot.

The device used will be either an old stockpile weapon or some existing tested nuclear design. It will emphatically not be a design that is optimized for use under the conditions of commercial exploitation. No prediction of the radionuclides to be expected from the explosion will be made publicly, although, as in Gasbuggy, statements may be made about radioactivity in the product of interest to industry. The debris resulting from the explosion will remain classified. The possible cost benefits of reducing the diameter of the device or the nuclear material content, or both, will not be known.

The firing system, the canister, the cables, all of the systems required to lower and fire the device will contain many improvements contributed by the Plowshare program and already tested in the field in nuclear shots for the Weapons program. Plowshare benefits a great deal from the fact that the Weapons program testing provides a large base of experience.

The cost savings from the Weapons program result from our ability not only to save on materials and labor, but also to standardize equipment. Such savings—based as they are on familiarity with an area—cannot be expected at the location of a first Plowshare experiment, however. The emplacement hole will very likely be the first large-diameter hole drilled in that area. As a consequence, many difficulties are likely to be encountered in drilling the hole. Downhole conditions will also be new.

The safety measures must be elaborate, and rightly so. The experiment being prepared is likely to be the first nuclear test in that State. It will surely be the first one in that locality. The neighboring residents, the regional and State leaders, and the local newspapers will all be very much aware of the event. There probably will be the usual fraction of local people and news media who will be more jittery than the facts warrant. Accordingly, everyone concerned, the AEC, the Laboratory, the company involved, will want to make sure as far as possible that nothing goes wrong. In case something should go wrong, they must be sure they know what it is and how they can trace and correct the trouble.

There will be extensive monitoring for radioactivity to check any possible leakage should it occur. There will be many operational trailers. Most of these trailers will be sent to the site by organizations that have little to do with the actual nuclear firing process but instead are concerned with safety aspects. With the trailers will be people, cars, and support facilities. Everyone will bend over backward not only to make sure the event goes exactly as predicted, but also to find the right time for the event, the right weather, the right safety situations, and any other conditions required for political or scientific reasons. This is all fitting and proper. Since such an event will be the first of its kind in the area, there are likely

to be some surprises. Meeting such surprises will require the ingenuity of all participants.

After the detonation a great many things will need to be measured. To this date we have not properly measured more than one chimney and that one was not in a joint industry-government Plowshare experiment. Whenever we detonate in a different medium for the first time, the questions will arise: Did we get a chimney? Did we get a cavity? If we got a chimney, does it contain all one pile of rocks or several piles separated by impermeable regions? Did we get cracks? How far do they extend? How great was the shock pressure? Can we correlate the shock pressure with the existence or nonexistence of cracks? What is the temperature down there? Can we correlate that with the existence or nonexistence of a cavity? Where did the radioactivity go, not just the radioactivity that will wind up in the product, if any, but where did all of it go? Can we account for it? Can we answer questions regarding its eventual fate?

All of these questions and all of these measurements I have mentioned are entirely justified in the case of a first experiment in one region or one type of application. They all occurred on Gasbuggy. I believe they are going to occur on Rulison, and they will occur on Dragon Trail. They will take place whenever we go and do something for the first time. As a result of the work needed to resolve these and other questions, the experimental cost will be several million dollars. The high cost of the information obtained will be justified, however, by resultant savings on later applications.

TOMORROW'S ESTABLISHED PLOWSHARE APPLICATION

Let us now look at how a Plowshare nuclear detonation could be carried out in a future commercial exploitation. The emplacement hole is, let us say, the fifth or tenth in that area. The area is very well understood geologically. Of course, there is always some concern that not all the underground faults will be mapped which allows the possibility that some escape of radioactivity might occur. But we have had extensive experience with such ventings. They have been minor. We have always been able to control them without any danger to the surrounding area. Nevertheless, there will be residual concern any time we shoot under the ground, which is, after all, a heterogeneous and poorly known medium.

Since the hole will be one of many which have already been drilled in that area, drilling techniques will be known and understood. The nuclear device will have been optimized by joint industry-AEC-Laboratory study. In the case of gas stimulation at great depth, for instance, the device will be narrow in diameter to reduce the cost of drilling the emplacement hole. It will have a minimum of expensive material, and will be designed to minimize production of any radionuclides that would be difficult to deal with for that particular application. I am talking here about things that can be done within the state of the art—things we can undertake right now, given the funds to carry out one or two tests.

The outputs of the device—yield, radionuclides, neutrons, and so forth—will all be known in advance. The scientists and user organizations will be familiar with them and so will the Public Health personnel of the State involved. The debris will be classified. The downhole conditions will be known.

After emplacement of the nuclear device, a tractor will drive up towing one trailer with perhaps one or two people from a commercial organization to do the firing and a few NVOO personnel for physical control and safety of the device. Since the weather conditions will be well known for the site, a minimum of time will have to be spent in waiting for the

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right weather pattern. The device will be fired by a radio link; no cable will need to be laid from the firing racks to the top of the emplacement hole. There will be some measurements near surface zero to monitor for unexpected leaks. Otherwise, measurements will include only those necessary for product evaluation and for safety.

There will be no Laboratory people at the site. The operation will be handled on an industrial basis with the government being satisfied that appropriate safety and device security measures are being followed. Since it will be the fifth or tenth shot in that area, public reaction will be minimal.

GETTING FROM HERE TO THERE

What we need to do in going from here to there—from today's experimental application to tomorrow's established application—has been described in some of your papers, among others, in Ted Brown's paper on "The Legal Aspects of Plowshare." Former Commissioner Gerald F. Tape briefly analyzed the problem by commenting that all we need are two things—money and declassification. I think that, as a first measure, this is as good a summary as can be made. Money is needed from both industry and the AEC to develop and test the first few device designs; in addition, there is a need to further government participation in joint industry-government experiments. These include measurements of underground explosion effects, which are an essential part of learning about how to handle nuclear explosives in various media.

I think the government should pay for the device experimentation. The Nonproliferation Treaty states that devices will be provided to foreign countries without their having to pay for research costs, which include device design. Our own domestic companies should not have to pay for the cost of device research, either.

There will be an intermediate period for each field of application during which enough experiments will have to be done to give commercial exploitation a reasonable assurance of profit. How many experiments for each application, and how long the period will be, is clearly not something which can be forecast with any certainty. The number of experiments and the length of time it takes to do an experiment meaningfully will vary with each application. As a lower limit, the Rulison experiment, for example, could demonstrate within some months after completion that commercially profitable exploitation of the gas at either site is possible. This might be followed directly by exploitation of the gas-bearing areas in question. By contrast, it will more likely take several experiments to determine whether the exploitation of a gas field at great depth would be practicable. Several experiments also might be necessary to determine whether the mining of oil shale by nuclear explosions is feasible.

The one general principle of which I am confident is that the more carefully the experiment is done—the more intelligently and thoroughly the measurement program of a given experiment is carried out—the farther that experiment will go and the fewer experiments will be needed. In most fields of applied science it has been the regrettable experience that the original experiments planned were not complete enough to give as much information as they could have with the result that they essentially had to be done over again. For industrial uses of Plowshare, the one feature which we really are after is a pile of rubble underground. If we do not measure enough about it the first time around, quite a bit of the data is still there, down below waiting to be measured, and can be recovered. On the other hand, the radioactivity continually decays and has to be measured initially to a great extent.

During this intermediate period, LRL will

have to be heavily involved in making the experiments as successful as possible. We can help both by making specialized measurements, principally in the areas of radiochemistry and shock motion, and by relating the data obtained to the properties of the earth media in which the shots are made. As described to you in symposia and talks by members of our Plowshare program—Glenn Werth, Gary Higgins, and others—these data include basically the measurements mentioned above involving physical dimensions and characteristics of the chimney and the radioactivity. Such data-taking is not particularly complex, and ordinarily it does not amount to more than 5 to 10 percent of the cost of the experiment. A more substantial part of the experimental cost concerns what has to be done to recover the product and to purify it. Here, of course, the same remarks apply, although this part of the experimentation will not be carried out by LRL, but rather by the industries involved.

I hope that, during this intermediate period of experimentation, we as a laboratory and you in the user industries can work closely together, and as openly as possible. I realize that there have been difficulties in communication in the past, difficulties which I think could perhaps have been expected, since your people and ours, by and large, came to the job with their different backgrounds of experience and different criteria for success. I think, however, that most of these communication difficulties are in the process of being eased. I think it is essential, both to you and to us, that they be eased and remedied.

There are many ways we can open the communication lines between the Laboratory and industries. Symposia, such as those for Gasbuggy, ought to be held frequently and informally on a regular basis in every area where experimentation is going on. Mutual visits and, most important of all, frequent informal direct contacts between the Laboratory and members of industry are necessary. I will be happy to help with all such means of communications.

One of the major hindrances, of course, has been classification. Both the Division of Peaceful Nuclear Explosives of the AEC and we at LRL are working very hard to remove as much as possible of that particular obstacle. We thoroughly believe that most of this barrier can be removed, and it must be removed before there is a fully successful program. We hope that action will be forthcoming sometime this year.

Other areas, referred to in Ted Brown's summary, have to do with insurance or legal requirements. These subjects are outside the scope of our particular competence, and I won't say any more about them.

When commercial exploitation, as distinct from experimentation, comes along, there are two fields where LRL should be permanently involved. Number one is the designing of appropriate nuclear devices and related fixtures for industrial and for commercial use. Your requirements for devices are different in detail than the requirements of the Army, Navy, and Air Force. You are likely to need, for applications at great depths, small diameter devices without regard for weight. You will require a minimum use of expensive materials, again without weight restrictions. You will want to minimize particular radionuclides that interfere with the end product. You will require as low cost a device as possible, as do the Services. You will want reliability, as do the Services. No firm, no agency wants to be stuck with an unexploded atom bomb 4,000 to 15,000 feet below the ground, with no way to get at it except drilling back. This has been done once or twice at the Nevada Test Site; it is painful and expensive. You will want assurance of yield within a reasonably specified range, as do the Services. You will place a

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heavy emphasis on lowering the cost of the fixtures necessary to emplace and fire the nuclear device, but at the same time you will of course want these fixtures to function well. You will probably not want to have diagnostic information on details of the device performance for every firing, and neither do the Services. Such diagnostics will not be incorporated in the future devices to be fired on a repetitive basis.

The design of industrial, commercially profitable devices is a major challenge to the Laboratory. It is one which we are prepared for, and one we believe we can accomplish. Work on Plowshare device requirements involved the same kinds of scientists and engineers as those who work on military requirements. We have devoted a great deal of thought to such devices, and where funds have made it possible, we have proceeded with tests and relevant engineering studies. Unfortunately, except in the case of the excavation explosive, not enough funds have been made available to mount an effective effort. As noted in a recent letter to Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, we have felt strongly that the work should be done and have pushed very hard in that direction.

The design of nuclear devices—whether for Plowshare or weapons applications—relies heavily on supporting research and development programs, mainly in the field of materials, such as plutonium, tritium, and other special purpose materials, and in the field of computer code development. These programs all exist at the Laboratory, and support Plowshare as well as weapons development.

The Laboratory has a separate Plowshare group, which reports directly to me. It is not an adjunct of the Weapons group. Its device design teams work under its control. The Nevada Test program serves Plowshare in the same way it serves other groups at the Laboratory.

The second major area where I believe LRL should contribute over the long range is the understanding and prediction of underground effects. This is a part of the understanding of nuclear explosives, which is our major overall mission at the Laboratory. It is work to which we believe we have something to contribute. We know, in particular, that our codes for predicting the effects that various geological structures have on what happens after the explosion will be of significant use to industry. The Laboratory has a role to play in explaining the techniques we use and making them widely available to industry.

On the other hand, there are areas where I believe we should not be involved. When that truck with its trailer drives up with a few people to fire the device, I do not think we should be involved. That is not an R&D job. Where the devices are actually produced, we are not currently involved, and I do not believe we should be in the future. Again, that is a production job and not an R&D job. As for product measurement, while we would be happy to make available such counsel and expertise as we have, and to participate as needed, this again is primarily a job for industry. Private industries will be the ones who will have to meet the AEC regulations on purity of product. They are the ones who will have to make the measurements and design the plants.

I have outlined where LRL should and should not participate in the future. During the transition period for any particular application, our guiding principle will be to make it as rapid and as smooth as possible. Most of all, we will try to avoid those major mishaps and blind alleys which can be avoided, to permit identifying and following up the best opportunities. A successful application will do a great deal to integrate nuclear explosives into the basic fund of technological assets of the country. We feel this is a much needed development. Atomic devices

have been considered an awesome black box far too long for all our good. We hope to help in every way to establish their usefulness as new tools of industry.

LESESNE STATE FOREST

HON. RICHARD H. POFF

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, May 16, some of the leading citizens of Virginia will meet to dedicate the Lesesne State Forest.

This ceremony marks an event of more than passing importance. By way of a brief explanation, I quote herewith an excerpt from the dedication program:

The Lesesne State Forest is a gift to the Commonwealth of Virginia from Dr. and Mrs. Arthur De T. Valk, Jr., of Wilmington, Delaware.

The new State Forest will be dedicated to the development of blight resistant strains of chestnut that have the many desirable qualities of the native American Chestnut destroyed by the fungus *Endothia parasitica*.

Research has been and is being done in the field of hybridization and irradiation. On the Lesesne State Forest are some of the pioneer efforts in irradiation by Dr. W. Ralph Singleton, University of Virginia, and Dr. Albert Dietz of Wadsworth, Ohio.

The hybridization research is the work of Dr. Richard A. Jaynes, Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station.

The Virginia Division of Forestry, Department of Conservation and Economic Development, is the custodian of the Lesesne State Forest and will serve as coordinator of the research project.

The American Chestnut was once a major component of the mountain forests from New York to Georgia. The blight, introduced into America in 1904, spread like "wildfire" and destroyed, in two decades, all of the commercial stands of one of America's most valuable hardwood trees. Hopefully, the Lesesne State Forest research effort will one day be instrumental in "bringing back" the American Chestnut.

The citizens of Virginia join hands in thanking Dr. and Mrs. Arthur De T. Valk, Jr. for their generous gift to the Commonwealth.

HELP TEENAGE ADDICTS

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, we are all well aware of the increasing problem of drug traffic and narcotics addiction, and there has been frequent discussion in the House directed at discovering ways to halt this illicit traffic and cut down this addiction. I have been active in attempting to improve the coordination of the efforts of Federal, State, and local narcotics control officials.

An area in this general field which has not had nearly enough attention is the rehabilitation of narcotic addicts. In many cases a drug addict is treated as any other criminal with little or no recognition of his particular needs. Ideally,

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our penal system should contain two elements, incarceration and rehabilitation. Unfortunately, the emphasis up to now has been focused on incarceration. Whatever the cause of this state of affairs, and I recognize that the sharp increase in the crime rate plays no small part in this, we should not lose sight of our goal of providing adequate rehabilitative facilities and programs to drug addicts.

A recent article by Ethel Beckwith entitled "No Help for Teenage Addicts" which appeared in the April 27 edition of the Connecticut Sunday Herald offers some insight into this problem, and I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the RECORD:

NO HELP FOR TEENAGE ADDICTS

(By Ethel Beckwith)

FAIRFIELD.—Here comes another teenage addict case and not a place in all Connecticut where he might get help.

Nineteen-year-old Vincent De Eramo of 14 Leonard Place, Trumbull, has a lot of law stacked up against him, when he appears next Tuesday in Bridgeport Superior Court. But not all the politicians and not all the king's men have provided a hospital.

They make sincere speeches. They have committees and task forces. The only solution they offer, however, when it comes to the nitty-gritty, is jail. For a variation, once in a while, a young addict gets sent to Fairfield Hills in Newtown which has no program for addiction.

What will the court do with Vincent De Eramo?

It is a question that many parents ask today with little optimism. Since The Herald told the story of Bridgeport's 16-year-old Lenny Forte, who was sent to jail for nine months after being called by the judge "a hardened criminal," parents from all over Fairfield County and of every social class have come out of their secret worry to look to this newspaper for some light.

It is not, of course, only Vincent and Lenny. Hundreds of adolescents in the twilight world of drugs have been in effect thrown to the garbage can. The idea of bringing them back to normal life is a matter too sensible or too hard for the average politico. "Off with their heads" is an easier way. In other words, the Bridgeport jail or Cheshire Reformatory.

Getting back to Vincent, like almost every other addict his departure from society has been linked with burglary.

GOT JAIL TERM

In his first court appearance he was sentenced to 30 days in jail when he pleaded guilty to stealing an electric fan. When he comes back Tuesday, it's heroin.

In jail the 19-year-old was kept in solitary, with no clothes on, and strapped down. One day when Vincent's devoted sister, Mrs. Gloria Northrop, tried to visit him, she was told she would have to talk to Dr. J. M. Lesko, psychiatrist.

What Gloria learned then was that Vincent had been taken to Fairfield Hills. When she went there, she found that her brother was receiving no different treatment than at the jail. The "cure" was incarceration. This is not the fault of the hospital, which offers no addict treatment but may not refuse any committed patient.

The laugh—if one can in a pathetic situation—is that when Gloria asked if she could take her brother home the answer was "Of course you can." Treated for weeks as a dangerous criminal, strapped down, Vincent suddenly was going home in his regular clothes.

More than the "rehab" side is being forgotten in the case of the young addict. It took Atty. Bernard Green from September to January to get the youth's larceny case to court. Fortunately for the prisoner he was spared those months of jail because his father, a mason contractor, was able to supply the bail.

Attorney Green says, echoed by many others today, "This state has no defined program for young addicts."

Such establishments as Renaissance in Westport and Daytop in New Haven appear to work with more mature men and women who have a will to "get back."

Shamed parents, who also were uninformed, used to accept jail or its alternative, Newtown, as the expected finale in the family's tragedy. To hear these days from awakened parents, they want a hospital, with possibly maximum security, where the very young will be treated first with therapy and secondly with punishment.

TO HONOR THE DEAD

HON. HOWARD W. POLLOCK

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a bill which would require that when the American flag is flown over a national cemetery it be flown at half staff.

Our national cemeteries are created to honor American veterans and, since the national cemeteries contain mainly American veterans, there is no reason why these persons should not be continuously honored by the flying of the American flag at half staff over their graves.

The cemetery itself is a place to honor the dead. The flag at half staff is to honor the dead.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I propose this legislation.

WE ARE FED UP

HON. GEORGE W. ANDREWS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the revulsion being felt by responsible taxpaying Americans at the reign of terror and anarchy being conducted on college campuses and in our churches across this Nation was never more pointedly and candidly expressed than in a recent editorial by Mr. J. C. Henderson, executive editor and publisher of the Alexander City, Ala., Outlook, an outstanding weekly newspaper in my State.

The people are saying that enough is enough, and this Congress, not the next one, or the next, had better listen—and act. Consider the timely words of the Outlook:

WE ARE FED UP

This newspaper has not been one to cry wolf everytime there is a disturbance in the bushes, nor has it been prone to see devastation in everything that deviates from the norm. We realize that the threat of commun-

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nism to our form of capitalism is always prevalent, but we don't usually see an aggressor behind every shrub.

However, the time has come when we must say that we've had it. We've had it up to here, and we think it high time something is done to put a halt to the ridiculous schemes that are being worked in this nation.

It is time to put our senators and representatives on notice that we demand, not request, that we demand, they do everything they can to move with the national congress to quell rioting, looting, shooting and burning, fighting and every disturbance on our college and university campuses. Today it is quite clear that those who would disrupt the processes of higher education are doing so not out of a clear conscience of dissent, but for a deeper motive, a motive for stopping the processes that base the country's stability. We know now that these are no longer spontaneous outbursts, but organized moves to destroy in the end.

Now come black militants to more unbalance our national mores by demanding that churches turn over huge sums of money to "their cause" as set out in a "black manifesto." Sunday last, James Forman "crashed" a church service in New York, brushed the minister from the pulpit and told the 500 of the 1300 who did not walk out what he was "demanding."

The movements begin to take shape. First, destroy the processes of education, then throw into turmoil the theology of a country, pit clergy against clergy and member against member. Keep government in an uproar at home and abroad in a "police action" that can never be won.

Whether these events are directly linked with the workings of the Communists is inconsequential; they are so closely related to those tactics that they are serving the same purpose.

The Negro, too, is finding himself pushed farther and farther away from the society into which he once wanted desperately to be accepted. He called upon the courts of this nation to make him an equal part, and the courts responded vigorously in his behalf. Millions of individuals in this country bent over backwards to accept the Negro without being forced to do so. Now he comes demanding another kind of separation—black studies, black dormitories, black students to lead, black policy makers.

We must question. Does the Negro know what he really wants? By now he should, although it seems he is as the willow in the wind, always swaying, never stable. Then, we must surmise that he is working his ugly plan purposely and with profound cause. If so, it must cease for it has become unhealthy for all races, the Negro included.

So, we are fed up. We will make a few demands ourselves. In Washington we call upon our representatives to restore tranquillity to the campus; we urge college officials to fight back, relent to nothing that is demanded by coercion or force. And as far as black demands on the churches go, we feel certain that will be dealt with in a time far removed and certainly yet to come.

The time has come to put a foot down, to take a stand, to mop up and clean house. And our small, weekly voice says "Do it now!"

VETERANS' SALUTE TO BILL PEDERSEN

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker I would like to bring to the at-

tention of my distinguished colleagues in the U.S. Congress the veterans' salute to William F. "Bill" Pedersen, the managing editor of the Tribune Publishing Co., Hyde Park, Mass. Bill will be honored at a dinner Saturday evening May 17, 1969 at Murray Hall—behind the Fargo Building. At this salute to Bill entertainment will be provided by an exhibition by the Swedish Folk Dance Club of Boston and music for dancing by Walter Barker's Scandia Orchestra.

Serving on the committee to honor Bill are: Chairman Tim Prendiville, Treasurer Carroll P. Sheehan, Ticket Chairman Joseph Alecks, and Head Table Chairman John J. Tierney, Jr. Others serving on the committee are:

Steve Allen, Commissioner Manny Aronis, Adm. Roy AS. Benson, Hon. Ted Buczko, Representative William Bulger, Hon. JAMES A. BURKE, Capt. Ralph H. Colson, Hon. Francis X. Davoren.

Representative Si Epstein, Judge Joseph Feeney, Representative M. Paul Feeney, Senator Sam Harmon, Sheriff Charles Hedges, Hon. Louise Day Hicks, S.C. John Kerrigan, Councillor Fed Langone.

Hon. JOHN W. McCORMACK, Hon. Louis Musco, Hon. William F. Keenan, Representative Paul Murphy, Dr. William H. Ohrenberger, Hon. Thomas A. Sheehan, Judge Jerome Troy, Representative Joseph Walsh.

Charles Butts, Frank Baranowski, Dave Breadmore, Harry E. Carlson, Joseph Corcoran, Joseph Celata, Jim Conley, Dr. Vincent Connors, Joseph Drago, Jerry Feeney, Fred Foye.

Hank Fuoco, Thomas F. Gallagher, Gus Griffin, Phil Eshchuck, John Harold, Joe Harold, Jim Harrington, Ron Johnson, John Kiley, Kay Kyle, George Lynch.

Everett Mills, Francis Maher, Don McGill, Jeff Moulton, Francis X. Moynihan, Commissioner Tim O'Connor, "Dapper" O'Neil, Cliff Ornell, Laurence O'Sullivan, William Long.

Dr. Robert Sheehan, Francis X. Sheehan, Richard Sheehan, Louis S. Silvey, Vincent Sica, Commissioner Horace Still, Alexander Thomas, Frank Walsh, Herbert G. White, Louise Wills, and Draft Young.

Although not a veteran himself, William F. "Bill" Pedersen of Wollaston, Mass., has long been a friend of the veteran and has been cited on many occasions by various military and veteran groups for his zeal in promoting their common interests.

Bill is a graduate of the historic Mather School in Dorchester, Mass., and the world-famed Boston Latin School. He has been a newspaper man since 1935, and the managing editor of the Tribune Publications Co., Hyde Park, Boston, Mass., since 1938.

During World War II, Bill was frozen into his newspaper position. He edited moral-building newspapers for servicemen at installations at Fort Devens, Camp Edwards, the Boston Harbor defenses, Narragansett Bay defenses, Long Island Sound defenses, Stewart Field, the Wings of West Point at Newburgh, N.Y., and the Ordnance Depot at Fort Wayne, Ill.

Following the war he edited special

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publications for Veterans' Administration hospitals in Boston, West Roxbury, Providence, R.I., Manchester, N.H., Newington, Conn., Orange, N.J., and the Fitzsimmons Army Hospital in Denver, Colo.

Bill's record in behalf of the military extends to actual ties with the services. Mrs. Pedersen, the former Alice C. Waite, enjoys the distinct honor of membership in the American Society of Sponsors of the U.S. Navy.

Mrs. Pedersen is a great, great, great grand-daughter of Gen. John Glover of Revolutionary War fame. The U.S. Navy selected her to be cosponsor of the U.S.S. *Glover*—AGDE-1—which she christened at the Bath Iron Works in Maine of April 1965. In November of that year Mrs. Pedersen assisted in the commissioning of the destroyer-escort research ship at the Boston Navy Yard.

Mrs. Pedersen is a sister of retired Navy Polar Scientist Amory H. "Bud" Waite, Jr., of Long Branch, N.J., who on the first of his 13 missions to the Antarctic was one of the three men who participated in the rescue of the late Adm. Richard E. Byrd from his lonely outpost in the Antarctic wilderness. For this feat Bud Waite was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Another brother of Mrs. Pedersen, Henry E. Waite was an Army medic at Fort Shafter in Hawaii, during the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

A brother of Bill's, Henry Pedersen, a naval shipyard rigger during World War II, was a member of the U.S. Coast Guard Reserve.

The Pedersen's son, William F. Pedersen, Jr., of Braintree, Mass., was a "Sailor of the Month" at Quonset Point Naval Air Station and served with the Atlantic Fleet.

Upon termination of his active service William Junior was presented the following letter of appreciation by his commanding officer.

MAY 8, 1968.

From: Commanding Officer, Helicopter Anti-submarine Squadron Five
To: ADJ3 William F. Pedersen, Jr., USNR,
119 39 08
Subj: Letter of Appreciation

1. As Commanding Officer of Helicopter Anti-submarine Squadron Five I wish to extend my sincere appreciation for the extraordinary manner and spirit with which you have fulfilled your responsibilities to the squadron and the Navy.

2. Since reporting to the squadron in December 1966 you have consistently demonstrated all the desirable traits of an outstanding petty officer. A measure of your performance and the high esteem in which you are held was your selection as Sailor of the Month for March 1968. The initiative and thoroughness with which you have pursued your duties as the leading petty officer for the First Lieutenant Division in the hangar area has resulted in the outstanding physical appearance of the Squadron.

3. Your personal integrity and pride is reflected in the manner in which you comport yourself with others. Your immaculate appearance and military bearing have served as an inspiration for all. You have every reason to be proud of your record in Service to your country.

J. G. KAMRAD.

The Pedersen's daughter Nancy and her husband, Harold Jones, reside in

Scituate, Mass. Harold also has a service record—he is a U.S. Air Force veteran.

Mr. Speaker, distinguished colleagues, for such an outstanding family and record, I believe Bill Pedersen is truly deserving of this veterans' salute.

AFRICAN TREK WALK FOR DEVELOPMENT

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, in 1967, young people in Canada raised \$1,165,000 in organized walks throughout the country. These young people were supporters of Oxfam, Canadian Operation Crossroads Africa, UNESCO, CARE, and other organizations dealing nationally and internationally with human welfare.

In 1968, they doubled their efforts and raised \$2,974,543. During that year the American Freedom From Hunger Foundation five similar walks here in North Dakota, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Colorado raised \$113,530, of which about 20 percent was sent to help African programs.

Now Operation Crossroads Africa and the American Freedom From Hunger Foundation plan a walk in Washington.

The walk is scheduled for Saturday, May 17. The 25-mile route winds through Rock Creek Park, passing African embassies or ambassadors' residences. There will be decorated booths along the way representing most of the African countries accredited here. These booths will be manned by Crossroads alumni and African diplomats. Each hiker must find several sponsors who will promise to pay him so much for each mile he walks.

The money raised will fund four programs. It will send 10 young people from District of Columbia public and private high schools to Africa this summer with Operation Crossroads Africa. On behalf of their schools, they will establish contact with similar schools in 10 African countries. These relationships will be continued when they return home through the exchange of information and opinions.

The American Freedom From Hunger Foundation will send two or three graduate students in home economics from Howard University with Operation Crossroads Africa to do nutrition surveys of Liberia, Ghana, and Congo-Kinshasa. They will update surveys done previously by Dr. Flemmie Kittrell, head of the school of home economics at Howard University.

Third, the high school students who are helping to organize this program will choose an innercity project, such as a day-care center, one of the ongoing programs of Junior Village or the Children's Hospital, or one of the other private projects now being suggested by the local community, to receive 42½ percent of the proceeds.

Finally, 15 percent of the money raised will go toward Freedom From

Hunger's accelerating efforts to alert American communities to their role in the fight against domestic and international hunger.

This walk is an excellent opportunity for the young people in the Washington area to show their concern for domestic and world hunger as well as their zeal for international understanding. The time and effort they spend on this project will, I think, be amply rewarded by their new or renewed acquaintance with our African friends.

At a time when so many seem somewhat cynical about the effectiveness of volunteer service programs abroad, it is gratifying to see that these high school students and the alumni of Operation Crossroads Africa wish so sincerely to communicate their enthusiasm for international service to the rest of their community.

I note that the Honorable Walter E. Washington, Mayor of the District of Columbia, in his endorsement of the walk says:

Your program is uniquely capable of forging real understanding of the firm ties that bind the African continent and the U.S. together. At the same time, your capability of assisting to relieve hunger in Africa, and to apply the experience gained abroad in work in the inner-cities of our own country comes at a time of critical need.

I wish you well in pursuing your program.

Mrs. John D. Rockefeller IV, national alumni chairman of Operation Crossroads Africa, underscores the same point in a statement to Washington, D.C. alumni:

My summer with Crossroads Africa in 1966 was the most important and meaningful experience of my life. The personal friendships and ties between young Africans and young Americans will be a permanent bond between the two continents in the coming years.

I urgently hope that the Africa Trek: Walk For Development, sponsored jointly by Operation Crossroads Africa and the Freedom From Hunger Foundation, will be a resounding success. . . . It is worthy of our total support.

Already, several Members of the House and Senate have identified themselves with the Africa Trek: Walk for Development, both as walkers and as sponsors.

I wish to commend the high school students and the staffs of Operation Crossroads Africa and the Freedom From Hunger Foundation who are promoting this constructive program in the Nation's Capital and to enjoin all the Members of this House to give all the practical support possible.

COLLEGES SHOULD EXPEL AGITATORS

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, there is nothing anti-academic-freedom in a clearly announced university policy that any student who willfully violates university regulations will be expelled. Perhaps

it would help to also specify that in the event of expulsion that student's tuition will be defaulted for the school year and will be nonrefundable.

Most people do not understand why the colleges have not expelled the deliberate agitators in the student body who willfully refuse to obey school regulations, neither do most Members of Congress. In this connection, the column of James Kilpatrick appearing in yesterday's Washington Evening Star is interesting.

The column follows:

WHY AREN'T RINGLEADING STUDENTS EXPELLED?

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

NEW YORK, N.Y.—The student riots go unchecked, and the questions go unanswered. For the time being—but at a fearful price—some of our great institutions are quiet. But Columbia was violated again last week, and two campuses of the City University of New York had to be closed in the wake of violence.

A number of difficult questions will not yield to simple answers: What motivates the radical students? Where is the ultimate blame for revolution to be lodged? But one elementary question continues to baffle the ordinary layman: Why aren't the ringleading students expelled?

It is beyond comprehension. When students clearly are guilty of outrageous conduct—of violent and criminal conduct—why aren't they summarily tossed out of school? When non-students trespass upon private property, why aren't they prosecuted to the limit of the law?

Such a direct reaction, on the part of the university administrations, would appear to be automatic. Yet it almost never happens. In one instance after another, on college campuses across the country, student militants go scot free and non-students rarely get arrested.

It is not a matter of "due process." No question arises of "insufficient evidence." At Cornell, everyone knew precisely which black students were involved in the seizure of Willard Straight Hall. Their photographs appeared in every paper in the land. There they were, bandoleered with ammunition, bearing guns, flowering their defiance of the law. Why weren't these students expelled?

At Queens College last week, 40 black students marched through three buildings, smashing windows and overturning furniture. It is beyond belief that these students were not identified. Of course they were identified. Why, then, were they not booted out?

At City College on May 1, a band of black militants overturned card catalogues and broke windows in the faculty dining room. At Brooklyn College on May 2, student hoodlums broke down the door of the dean of faculty, Harry Albaum. "The handful of staff members inside locked desks and files and surrendered the building to the students." What is wrong with the college officials? Why weren't the students first expelled, then arrested, and then sent to jail?

Time after time, names are named. This from Cornell:

"In a show of contempt for President James A. Perkins and the trustees of Cornell University, members of the Students for a Democratic Society entered Barton Hall last night, taunted Army Reserve Officer Training Corps cadets at drill, and then broke into a restricted area to paint peace slogans on a three-inch Navy destroyer deck gun. . . . Some entered an R.O.T.C. office and tore military maps from the wall. They openly defied arrest. Charles S. (Chip) Marshall 3d spoke from the gun turret. . . ."

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

That was last Friday night. Why wasn't Charles S. (Chip) Marshall 3d expelled on Saturday morning?

The same questions cry out for answers at Columbia. An estimated 100 students and a handful of non-students seized and occupied Mathematics and Fayerweather Halls. Thirty of them were swiftly, positively identified. When they finally were ousted, Dr. Andrew Cordier, acting president, made an inspection tour.

Did Dr. Cordier institute expulsion proceedings at once? No, indeed. "It's most regrettable," he said, "that students see fit to mess up a hall this way. It's obvious they don't know the first rules of good housekeeping."

It is equally obvious, or so it seems to some of us, that Dr. Cordier and his fellow administrators don't know the first rules of keeping order. When it comes to summoning police, or to asking for help from troops, questions of judgment doubtless arise. Reasonably minded men may disagree on matters of timing and necessity. But the power to expel a disorderly student is something else. It should have been invoked long ago; and it ought constantly to be invoked today.

WASHINGTON STATE LEGISLATURE URGES CONGRESS TO ESTABLISH FISH AND SHELLFISH JURISDICTION OVER THE CONTINENTAL SHELF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, on the day that this 91st Congress convened, January 3, 1969, and as I had done in the previous 90th Congress, I introduced legislation (H.R. 506) to establish U.S. jurisdictional rights over all fish and shellfish existing in the coastal waters over the Continental Shelf of the United States. Under the International Convention on the Law of the Sea, this outer boundary would extend to the 200 meter depth contour. This legislation is needed in the interest of conserving fishery resources.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, it was gratifying to note that the Washington State 41st Legislature, in its first extraordinary session last April, passed Senate Joint Memorial 15, petitioning the President and the Congress to enact legislation to establish this extended fishing jurisdiction.

Hereinafter, Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include the text of Washington State's Senate Joint Memorial 15:

SENATE JOINT MEMORIAL 15

To the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, and to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled:

We, your Memorialists, the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Washington, in legislative session assembled, respectfully represent and petition as follows:

Whereas, there are large and valuable stocks of fish and shellfish in the waters over the continental shelf of the United States; and

Whereas, these stocks of fish and shellfish will become more valuable to the United States as the population increases and the need for food products becomes greater; and

Whereas, in very recent years huge foreign fishing fleets containing hundreds of ocean-going fishing vessels, larger and more modern than our own, have been taking tremendous amounts of fish and shellfish from the waters adjacent to our shores and above the continental shelf; and

Whereas, such harvest of fish and shellfish by foreign fishing fleets has exceeded a billion pounds annually; and

Whereas, such harvest has depleted and endangered certain stocks of fish and shellfish to the detriment of and loss to our own fishermen; and

Whereas, foreign fishing nations control and supply approximately 75 percent of the United States' fishery markets; and

Whereas, the United States has slipped to sixth place in the world as a fish-producing nation, being outranked by Peru, Japan, Red China, Russia and Norway;

Now, therefore, Your Memorialists, the Washington State Senate and House of Representatives, respectfully pray that the Congress enact legislation to give the United States complete and full jurisdiction over all fish and shellfish existing in waters over the continental shelf of the United States.

Be it resolved, That copies of this memorial be immediately transmitted to the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, the President of the United States Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and each member of Congress from the State of Washington.

Passed the Senate April 25, 1969.

JOHN A. CHEREBERG,
President of the Senate.

Passed the House April 28, 1969.

DON ELDREDGE,
Speaker of the House.

ULYSSES S. GRANT: A TRIBUTE

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, on April 27, 1969, Mr. Eldin Billings delivered an address on the late and influential Gen. Ulysses S. Grant. The occasion was the 147th anniversary of this great man's birth. Mr. Billings is an outstanding student of American History and especially of the Civil War period. He is well qualified to speak on any subject and on any person of that period. This speech is another of his very valuable insights into the life of a great man and helps us to better understand the man and the time. It is for that reason that I invite my colleagues to read this dissertation:

ULYSSES S. GRANT: A TRIBUTE

(By Eldin E. Billings)

Today we are met to commemorate the 147th anniversary of the birth of General Ulysses S. Grant, but I should like first to commemorate also his grandson, Ulysses S. Grant 3rd. Outwardly different, the two were alike in many characteristics. Both seemed to cling to life for one purpose—to complete their books. General Grant's struggle against death to complete his autobiography in order that he might provide a competence for his family, after a series of financial disasters, is well known. It is a moving story, full of

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

pathos, yet it is a lesson to all in what perseverance and fortitude can accomplish. Two days after he finished his manuscript General Grant died.

The story of General Ulysses S. Grant 3rd is not widely known—save to a few intimate friends; yet it, too, has drama.

Many years ago, before his father's death in 1912, the later General Grant had promised him to finish what he had been unable to accomplish, a life of General Grant. Throughout a busy career the grandson had kept this promise in the back of his mind, but his life of service to others prevented fulfillment. Suddenly, as he said to me a number of years ago, and I quote almost his exact words as I remember them:

"Suddenly I realized that I was 80 years old and that I had not begun writing the promised life of my grandfather and that if I ever expected to live to complete the study, I had better begin immediately."

Let me say, parenthetically, that the General had been collecting for many years the material for the biography.

He began working steadily on the manuscript, devoting as much time to it as his busy life would permit. Despite his age, General Grant's daily schedule of activities was that of a man half his years.

My wife and I spent the last weekend of his life with him on his estate in Clinton, New York. He had just mailed to his publisher some last minute corrections and the maps to be included in his books. A great load seemed to be removed from his mind, although he still faced the problem of preparing the volume for publication. As was the case with his grandfather, so it was with him; other hands had to finish the task, for General Grant died in his sleep four days later.

A meticulous scholar, General Grant 3rd had spent countless hours analyzing the activities and unraveling many disputed points in the life and career of his grandfather. No incident was too small for consideration. Soon will be published a fitting memorial to today's subject in the book, "U.S. Grant: Warrior and Statesman".

Both Grants, despite their military training, were ardent advocates of peace. Over the entrance-way to General U. S. Grant's tomb on Riverside Drive in New York City are inscribed the words, "Let Us Have Peace", which were the same as he had chosen for his presidential campaign; in fact, those simple words might be said to have been the goal of his life. General U. S. Grant 3rd also worked staunchly for peace, and for a number of years he served as President of the American Peace Society.

Soldier, Engineer, Scholar, City Planner, Historian, General U. S. Grant 3rd was all of these. He will be sorely missed.

Now to the subject of today's memorial service:

In his relatively short life of 62 years, Ulysses S. Grant achieved worldwide fame. Best known for his military accomplishments he considered more important his contributions to peace.

Despite the fact that he received the highest military honors which our nation can give to an individual and the fact that he became world-famous as a military strategist and leader, Grant had a humble opinion of himself. In a letter to his family, he wrote:

"The truth is I am more of a farmer than a soldier. I take little or no interest in military affairs."

Nevertheless, Grant was dedicated to the principle of total subordination of military to civilian rule in a people's government. In a little-known passage, he wrote:

"So long as I hold a commission in the army I have no views of my own."

One of the greatest triumphs of the Grant

administration was the establishment of the principle of arbitration as a method of settling international disagreements. At the meeting called primarily to settle claims made by the United States that Great Britain was liable in damages for losses caused by Confederate cruisers, which had been built in British shipyards during the Civil War, the ensuing Treaty of Washington also settled other problems between the two nations. Thus was laid the foundation for the long and close cooperation between Great Britain and the United States which still exists today.

Immediately after his service as President, General Grant, his wife, and son, Jesse, left for a European vacation. Before this family returned more than two years later, the trip had become a triumphal world tour. Wherever he traveled Grant emphasized that bonds of friendship must be extended between and among nations. He foretold the League of Nations and also the United Nations.

So moving, so modern are many of the passages in Grant's remarks to European peoples, that one is tempted to quote all or as much as possible of them to any audience. To one group Grant said (in part): "... nothing would afford me greater happiness than to know ... that, at some future day, the nations of the earth will agree upon some sort of Congress, which shall take cognizance of international questions of difficulty, and whose decisions will be as binding as the decision of our Supreme Court is binding on us. It is a dream of mine that some such solution may be found for all questions of difficulty that may arise between nations."

Everywhere he traveled he carried his message of peace and good will; in fact, Grant seemed almost an unofficial ambassador seeking worldwide harmony and understanding. When he returned the world seemed much better as a result of his self-imposed mission. The soft-spoken, shy, taciturn general had become an outspoken advocate of world harmony.

Possibly he could have become our first three term president. In the 1880 convention a strong movement for his candidacy sprang up. Although he did not actively seek the nomination, Grant did not refuse permission for his supporters to present his name; his sense of duty precluded that. He had more pledges than any other candidate, but not enough for the nomination. John Sherman, a prominent candidate with enough votes to give Grant the nomination, agreed to withdraw in his favor in exchange for an appointment as Secretary of the Treasury. Grant's reply was characteristic of the man:

"It was my intention, if nominated and elected, to appoint John Sherman Secretary of the Treasury. Now you may be certain I shall not. Not to be President of the United States would I consent that a bargain should be made."

True to his ideals, Grant ended his political career as uncompromisingly honest as he began it.

In the few brief years left to him Grant fought the gallant fight to provide for his family. He died having lived as a soldier who was a pacifist, a failure who was a success, a man of action whose greatest and last victory was as a man of letters. Truly a life of contrast!

Today this statue gazes serenely over this city which he helped save. This second largest equestrian statue in the world, symbolizes the rise to the pinnacle of success of an unwilling soldier; also it perpetuates the memory of a man who achieved the greatest elective office which the American people can bestow. Finally, and in his eyes far more important. It honors a sincere advocate of world peace.

May 12, 1969

CLIFF ALEXANDER PUTS HEAT ON THE FAKERS

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include the following article:

CLIFF ALEXANDER PUTS HEAT ON THE FAKERS

When 35-year-old Clifford Alexander, Jr., the recently resigned chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, first came to Washington, some of the black leaders wondered if he was truly committed to the cause.

The skepticism arose primarily because of his background. Cliff looks, talks and acts like an Ivy Leaguer all the way.

He attended an exclusive high school in New York's Riverside, went to Harvard for his college work and took his law degree at Yale. While at Harvard he was elected president of the Student Council and finished cum laude. He met his wife to be while she was attending Radcliffe college.

Cliff also had all the Ivy League mannerisms, softspoken, very polite and always wore those Brooks Brothers suits. As one black leader commented to me Cliff had "all the earmarks of Mrs. Charlie's boy."

In this big-mouthed militant period with everyone beating his breast like King Kong, trying to prove that he is blacker than the next guy, or feels blacker, an individual with Cliff's background and attributes has a problem.

What the skeptics overlooked was the fact that Cliff was born, brought up and lived all his life, prior to coming to Washington, in the middle of Harlem.

You have to have rocks in your head not to know and understand the ugly facts of racism if you live in Harlem.

Another point the skeptics overlooked is that the more intelligent a person becomes the more sensitive he becomes toward injustice. Our white friends who are worried about Negro militancy seem to be under the illusion that education will cool off restive, angry blacks. History, however, offers plenty of proof that the only way to control and keep people in a servile and subordinate position is to keep them ignorant.

The slave masters understood this well and that is why they often punished the blacks who were found trying to learn to read and write. I know of one story where the slave owner caught one of his slaves with a book and proceeded to put his eyes out.

As a matter of fact it is this fear of waking up blacks, along with sex obsessions, that lay behind the rigid segregation of the races after emancipation. The white racists insisted that the Negro was inherently inferior but they would not risk giving him any educational opportunities.

Clifford Alexander, Jr., for several years, first in the White House and later as chairman of EEOC, has been battling the biased bureaucrats in Washington and winning some of those battles.

The measure of his effectiveness was finally clear to the nation when, a few weeks ago, Senator Dirksen at a public hearing on Capitol Hill threatened to go to President Nixon to have him fired.

According to Dirksen, Cliff was harassing those big businessmen. Nixon didn't wait to get a call from Dirksen, according to the papers. The President's press aide let it be known that Cliff was going to be replaced as chairman of EEOC.

Still more recently Cliff, in a speech in

Washington, laid bare the scandalous racism in the U.S. Civil Service Commission which is the agency that hires and fires the 2,800,000 employees of the federal government. He also charged that President Nixon is using the Civil Service Commission as a clearing house for rewarding his political friends.

Under the administrations of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, blacks opened many new doors in Washington, including the Supreme Court and the Cabinet. We called them beachheads in the war against racism in the federal establishment. A beachhead, to be of any value, must be followed up by the regular troops. The Civil Service Commission represents the agency that can do that job. The problem is, however, this agency is almost all white. Cliff pointed out that of the 43 super grades in the Civil Service Commission not a single one is black.

We know already the testing methods and procedures for employment are oriented toward middle-class whites. Negroes and Spanish speaking Americans have long complained about this problem.

It is such an agency as the U.S. Civil Service that we find what can be called institutionalized racism. The operation is structured to keep out blacks and others who are regarded as "unqualified."

It is our hope that Clifford Alexander sticks to his fight. He has the brains to checkmate the racists and expose their tricks. We must give young black Americans the opportunities they seek and deserve.

The phrase "equality of opportunity" has become one of the most overworked phrases in the English language. All the politicians and business leaders make certain they throw the phrase in whenever they make a public speech. They are getting so they even do it in the deep South.

Our corporations in their advertisements proclaim they are an "equal opportunity employer." Can a black man get a job for which he is qualified? Does a black employee have the opportunity to rise to the top of the corporation? That is what equal opportunity means.

Young Americans have been lied to so often by the establishment that they are now in almost open revolt. The least the establishment can do is stop lying.

REVENUE SHARING

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, the equitable distribution of tax revenues between Federal, State, and local governments is one of our major problems which does not readily lend itself to simple solution. State and local officials are finding it increasingly difficult to meet their financial responsibilities and must seek Federal aid to alleviate this chronic condition.

I submit for the RECORD and call the attention of my colleagues to an editorial by Earle WittPenn, on the subject of revenue sharing from the Homestead Messenger:

Among the tax reforms that we may hear more about as time goes on will be discussion of methods for achieving more equitable sharing of tax revenues between federal, state and local governments. A growing body of opinion of both conservative and liberal tendency appears to be developing with the view that the top-heavy federal establishment which collects two thirds of all taxes

in the nation must in one way or another return some revenue and initiative to local government. This may sound illogical in the light of seemingly chronic federal financial difficulties, but the truth is local government is in potentially worse shape than the federal government due to the nature of the taxing system.

According to an article in Fortune magazine on "The Enticing Logic of Revenue Sharing" by Mr. Lawrence A. Mayer, the income tax on which the federal government depends heavily "... harvests roughly a 15 per cent increase in revenues for every 10 per cent increase in the G.N.P. (Gross National Product). State and local governments, on the other hand, get 85 per cent of their revenues from property, sales, and other taxes, which tend to increase only in one-to-one ratio with the G.N.P. Since state and local spending goes up perhaps 8 to 9 per cent a year, a rate that is normally faster than the growth of the G.N.P., state and local governments can balance their budgets only by continually raising the rates on existing taxes or introducing new ones."

Mr. Mayer outlines a number of proposals suggested for redistributing tax revenue. On the surface, the most appealing proposal is that urged by Governor Rockefeller of New York under which the federal government would automatically give a portion of its revenues to state and localities each year. One plan recommends that the federal government turn over to the states annually a specific percentage—as much as 2 per cent—of the amount reported as net taxable income by all individuals in the U.S. The funds would be distributed to the states on a per capita basis with supplemental funds going to the poorer states.

In theory at least, tax sharing of this nature would take the place of the unbelievably complex grant-in-aid system, whereby the federal government has its finger in every pie in the country. However, as Mr. Mayer points out, the idea of abandoning the grant-in-aid feature of federal operations is far from popular with Congress. "Congressmen," he observes, "are naturally pleased with a situation that shows them to good advantage, getting federal money for the folks back home."

Others oppose the revenue sharing idea on different grounds. Representative Wilbur Mills, chairman of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee, believes that those responsible for spending tax money should also be responsible for raising it. He appears to agree with the conservatives who prefer reductions in federal taxes in the hope that states and localities would increase their own taxes as they assume the burdens now borne by the federal government. It is clear that under any form of tax sharing, whereby taxes are collected by Washington and then returned to the states, ultimate control of how the funds are spent will remain with the federal government. Advocates of tax sharing offer a number of plans for minimizing such control and, at the same time, facilitating the modernization and streamlining of state and local government.

The whole idea of strengthening the fiscal position of local government seems to be based on the premise that centralized government in a nation the size of the United States is simply unable to respond efficiently to local and regional needs. As Mr. Mayer concludes, "The remorseless arithmetic of state and local budgets is certain to heighten interest in some form of revenue sharing. The issue is not primarily ideological. Many liberals, disenchanted with big, centrally directed federal programs, are as anxious as conservatives to see a rejuvenation of state and local government. But governors and mayors will have to put on a lot of pressure if the reluctance of Congress is to be overcome."

ADMONITION TO EGYPT

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, as the New York Times says editorially, the Soviet Union's call for strict observance of the United Nations' call for a ceasefire in the Middle East implies an admonition to Egypt which has originated most of the Suez fighting.

Cairo indeed should heed Moscow's advice and urge Arab guerrilla groups, particularly the Syrian-backed Saqqah, to cease their activities in the interest of arranging peace talks between Egypt and Israel.

Otherwise, Nasser may provoke an all-out attack which might even include nuclear-bomb attacks such as we used in Japan to bring peace through force.

Mr. Speaker, it is a horrible thought, but all war is horrible.

Hereinafter, by unanimous consent, I offer for printing, the text of the editorial referred to above:

Good Advice From Moscow

The Soviet Union's call this week for strict observance of the cease-fire in the Middle East is a welcome response to Secretary General Thant's recent warning that things were getting out of hand along the Suez Canal. This implied admonition to Egypt, which has originated most of the Suez action, is the nearest Moscow has come in a long time to an even-handed approach to the problems of the area.

A decision by Cairo to heed Moscow's good advice and cool the canal front would add credence to the Russians' concurrent pledge to devote "all efforts" to promoting a political settlement. Such action could strengthen and speed the Big Four talks now taking place in New York and the Big Two talks in Washington. The harmony of these discussions has not been helped by the discordant clamor across the canal of Soviet guns fired by Egyptian troops, operating with Soviet advisers.

Another threat to the talks that deserves urgent attention from the Russians and their Arab friends is the pressure currently being placed on Lebanon by Arab guerrilla groups, particularly the Syrian-backed Saqqah. The Syrian Government and various guerrilla leaders are avowed enemies of a negotiated settlement. If they should succeed in destroying the moderate Beirut regime or even in upsetting Beirut's prudent policy of non-confrontation with Israel, they could touch off repercussions that would wreck all prospects for peace.

If Moscow and Cairo have any influence in Damascus and with the guerrilla chiefs, now is the time to use it before it is too late. Today the guerrillas pick on Lebanon because it is small and weak. Tomorrow they may be after bigger fry—not necessarily Israel.

DR. ONABANJO GETS VERY UPSET OVER BLACK ATTITUDES

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, I include the following article for the perusal of Members:

**DR. ONABANJO GETS VERY UPSET OVER
BLACK ATTITUDES**
(By Louis Martin)

My learned Nigerian friend who has become a keen student of America affairs, Dr. S. O. Onabanjo, is disturbed by the treatment given Tom Mboya of Kenya who spoke recently in Harlem.

It seems that some Harlem brothers came close to clobbering the Kenya statesman because he suggested that American Negroes stay in America and work out their own salvation rather than try to migrate to Africa.

"You black Americans," Dr. Onabanjo told me, "are not Africans and we Africans have enough trouble trying to help our own people. Now if black Americans can give us money and technical assistance as the American Jews provide for Israel, there would be no problem. But the few black Americans who have money and technical skills do not seem to be interested in coming to assist us."

Dr. Onabanjo seemed considerably upset. He continued: "You have many wonderful black orators but we don't need any oratory. We need scientists, teachers, manufacturers, tool and die makers, electricians, plumbers, physicians, dentists, bricklayers, carpenters, and highly skilled helpers."

I finally interrupted Dr. Onabanjo to tell him about the new wave of student interest in black studies and African history. After a few moments Dr. Onabanjo responded: "You black Americans are trying to find a past and we Africans are trying to find a future."

He added: "Of course, I understand the psychological needs of black Americans and I do not want to deal harshly with their needs. It is a pity you cannot ignore the white man."

I pointed out that considering the realities of American life, his suggestion did not seem very bright. This set him off again as follows:

"All you black Americans seem to do is react to the white man. You react instead of act. If all the whites in America dropped dead tonight, you would be confounded tomorrow. The only practical people you seem to be developing are those Muslims. They have some strange beliefs but at least they are practical about meeting basic needs."

Before I could comment he rushed on: "This is a cruel world we live in. You blacks have permitted white Americans to paralyze your minds. It is almost witchcraft. Instead of crowding the public libraries to learn from all those millions of free books, your young people are drowning their sorrows in pot, sex and hooliganism. In areas where you do have good educational opportunities, instead of mastering the arts and sciences you are trying to impress whites with your blackness or with your clothes or your hairdos. In cold reality you are obsessed with psychic retaliations against the white man. The white students snub you and you spent your time trying to figure out how to snub them back. You are playing the white man's game all the time. You are obsessed with getting even with whitey, as you call him."

"I told Dr. Onabanjo that many black students were seriously at work mastering their subjects and not all of them were psychologically crippled as he suggested. He brushed this off and continued:

"I know that the white man has been and remains the great oppressor in your society. He wants to keep you as a subject, colonial people I understand this mentality."

"The only way for him to do that, however, is to keep you ignorant, poor and helpless. Thus when you fail to take advantage of every opportunity to get an education, to become skilled, to mobilize your economic and political resources, you are playing into his hands."

"My argument is very simple. Stop playing

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around with silly, retaliatory, time-wasting, irrelevant, posturing and play-acting schemes. Stop eating your heart out because the white man does not love you. Love between people is a very difficult thing. As a matter of fact in my native Nigeria you know there is no love lost between some of our own tribes and we are all black."

Dr. Onabanjo has learned some American profanity and I felt I had to delete some of his words because this is a family newspaper. Anyway he continued: "The reason I am so anxious for you black Americans to become skilled, intelligent and wealthy, is a very selfish reason. The time may come when you may be able to help our struggling new nations in Africa. You may be able to do some of the things for us that the Jews, as mentioned earlier, are doing for Israel."

"Your country has moved slowly in providing you with opportunities but I feel so sad when I see how your psychological hang-ups prevent you from taking advantage of the opportunities that come your way."

Dr. Onabanjo finally ran out of steam. As we parted company, he asked me to find some beads and a drip-dry dashiki for his young son in Nigeria who wants to visit him here.

SCANDAL AT SBA-V

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ
OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, these past days and weeks I have had the duty to inform the House of serious evidence that the special assistant to the Administrator of SBA, one Albert Fuentes, has misused and furthermore intended from the very beginning to misuse his office. I have called upon the Administrator to suspend this man from his duties pending an investigation, but the Administrator has only stated that an investigation is taking place; the press reports that Fuentes is still not suspended.

Mr. Speaker, not only have I evidence that this man abused his office and intended to do so from the beginning, but I also believe that by no stretch of the imagination was he ever qualified to perform his high office in the first place. I do not believe that even a routine investigation was made into his trustworthiness; and in fact I am compelled to the conclusion that a waiver of such an investigation was made by the Administrator. If such an investigation had been conducted the appointment probably would never have been made.

I wonder, what does a special assistant do at SBA? Is his job to process loans, or to help applicants with their loans?—and if he did help anyone it appears that a price was charged above and beyond the salary taxpayers provide. Or is he instead a sort of political handyman, hired to help with the difficult business of making sure that the political plums and hatchets fall in the proper hands and on the proper heads? Or is he a sort of secretary, to deal with the problems that befall any high official? Whatever he is, is he qualified for the job? What did, or does this man know that makes him so indispensable to the Administrator?

May 12, 1969

Mr. Speaker, I am awaiting answers from the Administrator, and thus far I have heard only an empty silence.

CONGRESS MUST ESTABLISH GUIDES FOR CONGRESSIONAL REDISTRICTING

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, in view of the dilemma posed by recent Supreme Court decisions, I am convinced that the Congress must act promptly to set reasonable guidelines for congressional redistricting.

Since the Supreme Court did not set any standards in ruling invalid certain State reapportionments—including New York's of last year—it is essential and proper that Congress fill this gap.

Indeed, unless Congress acts to set some reasonable standards, these court challenges are going to continue indefinitely. As the situation is left by the Court, a variation of a single resident between congressional districts can be the basis for court challenge.

Until the Court's famous one-man, one-vote ruling several years ago, the States were left to their best judgment based upon "rules of thumb" which they believed would withstand challenge in court.

I have no intention here of criticizing the Court for its rulings. That is the Court's function and it acted upon the basis of existing laws. Further, I would not go along with those who would seek to limit the Court's jurisdiction.

ACTION IS IMPERATIVE

But I do feel it is imperative that Congress exercise its responsibility and set standards for redistricting.

Today I am introducing legislation which would prescribe standards for congressional redistricting, allowing a maximum variation from the State's average of 10 percent above or 10 percent below.

I think this is a reasonable variation to permit States to follow practical geographic—municipal or county—lines in drawing district lines.

The base for setting lines should be the decennial census and there should be no more than one redistricting within the decade.

The fallacy in redrawing the congressional district lines in New York State in 1968—or, as now decreed, again in 1970—is that the census data is now nearly 10 years old and completely out of date.

Let me use my own case as a glaring example—but, it is by no means the only example that could be cited.

LOOK AT MY CASE

As a result of the 1960 census, the lines for my 41st District were redrawn so that my district had a census population of 435,858. My neighbors had 436,022 in the

40th District and 435,077 in the 39th. The three districts together comprise two counties—Erie and Niagara—which form the Niagara frontier. The balance in population between the three districts was and is completely reasonable pending a new statewide census.

These three districts were not changed in the 1968 redistricting by the State. But the new Court order would require a change for the 1970 election because all three districts exceed the 1960 average for the State.

Today, my district is estimated to comprise only about 375,000 persons—nearly 61,000 less than in 1960. This is because of a loss of population as a result of urban renewal and major superhighway projects which have cut through my district. In contrast, the 39th District is now estimated to contain 515,000 persons.

CENSUS DATA 10 YEARS OLD

Yet, when the State follows the Supreme Court's edict and redraws the district lines for next year's election, it will be on the basis of a 1960 average of about 410,000 per district.

Since there has been no statewide census since 1960, that means my district will be reduced by about 26,000—down to an actual total of about 349,000 persons as of today. The 39th District will be cut by about 25,000 from its 1960 figure to an estimate as of today of about 490,000. Similar distortions will occur elsewhere in the State.

So where is the practicality of a novation redistricting based on 1960 census data when it is simply going to compound the distortion rather than solve it?

The fault, of course, lies with the lack of standards. It is the job of Congress to fix the standards, particularly since the court did not take the opportunity to spell out its own views. Clearly, of course, this is a legislative function anyhow, and perhaps we can be glad the court did not set standards.

COSTLY EXERCISE IN FUTILITY

But it does set the stage for a completely ridiculous and wasteful exercise in futility in advance of the 1970 election.

Indeed, I am informed reliably that it will cost our already financially hard-pressed New York State a million dollars to undergo another futile congressional redistricting for the 1970 election in order to comply with the Supreme Court decision.

The new population census will be taken next April, but the detailed breakdown in the larger cities, which is essential for redistricting, will not be available until the end of the year.

The 1970 population data will be used for the redistricting for the 1972 election, but Congress certainly needs to have set standards well in advance of that time if the States are to have the guidance they need and deserve.

MUST HALT HARASSMENT

If Congress fails in this responsibility, not only New York, but most all States, face continual harassment in the courts until such time as the Congress does act to clarify the rules.

In December 1967, Congress did take a step in the right direction by barring statewide at-large congressional elections because of challenges of State apportionments. That action was necessary at the time to prevent chaos in States where lines were challenged and a deadlock developed on redistricting.

Can you imagine the chaos that would result if the 41 New York seats were filled by statewide election?

Congress cannot leave the vague legal basis that now exists in view of the one-man one-vote edict. The Congress must exercise its responsibility and put guidelines into law so as to cut off harassment and nuisance challenges in courts after a State makes a good faith and responsible reapportionment.

CONVENTION ACTION UNLIKELY

If a State fails to meet the guidelines set by Congress, it still would be subject to court challenge, as is proper and necessary.

Actually Congress should go a step further than simply writing guidelines to apply to future redistricting. Congress also should seek to overcome the ridiculous and distortion-prone redistricting now ordered for next year's election in New York and other States.

I am fully aware of the pending call for a constitutional convention to deal with the one-man one-vote rule for reapportionments.

But, I think it would be a grave mistake to delude ourselves into thinking that such a convention—if, in fact, it ever is called—would set guidelines for congressional redistricting. This job, I repeat, is a job and a responsibility for Congress.

AN EXTRA STAFF MEMBER FOR EXCEPTIONALLY LARGE DISTRICTS

HON. HOWARD W. POLLOCK

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a bill which directly affects the 19 largest congressional districts in area. Of this number, Mr. Speaker, three represent entire States. According to the Library of Congress, the average size congressional district in the United States, and this excludes Alaska, is 6,972 square miles. My district is 586,400 square miles. I can give to each and every Congressman 1,345 square miles and still have a congressional district left over.

Mr. Speaker, my bill, as I mentioned, affects the 19 largest congressional districts. The total area in square miles of the 19 smallest districts is 226 square miles. The 18 largest districts excluding Alaska is 1,030,641 square miles. The largest 19 represent an area of 1,617,241 square miles.

Mr. Speaker, in my State the distance between the capital city and the largest city of the State is 884 miles by highway. The distance between the other two major cities in Alaska is over 500 miles. Mr. Speaker, these large districts and

those Congressmen who represent entire States face unique problems that are not faced by the majority of our colleagues. Most of us have innumerable Federal programs and projects operating within our areas. We have problems of such a diverse nature that they cannot be totally appreciated by a man who represents 4 square miles.

In the 19 smallest districts that is one Congressman per 11.8 square miles. In the 19 largest districts including Alaska that is one Congressman per 85,117 square miles and even excluding Alaska the next 18 largest districts have one Congressman per 57,257 square miles.

My bill would authorize a Congressman who represents an area which is five times the size of an average district, and Mr. Speaker, including Alaska there are only 19 of us, one additional member for each staff and a base pay of \$4,800. This body has recognized that a Congressman who represents a district which has more than 500,000 persons is entitled to an extra staff member and justifiably so. But in the same vein, those of us who represent the exceptionally large districts are also entitled to an extra staff member.

COLLEAGUE HARRY R. SHEPPARD, OUR CALIFORNIA CHAIRMAN

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, a book was closed last week with the departing of this life of our colleague, Harry Shepard. Harry represented well his 27th San Bernardino District of California—witness his reelection for nearly 30 years when he voluntarily decided to step back out of history at the end of the 88th Congress at the age of 80 years.

Of diverse background, Harry, a Southerner by birth, was schooled in engineering at Georgia Tech, studied some law, worked for the Santa Fe Railroad, coppermined in Alaska, detected in Fresno, developed Kings Beverage and Kings Laboratories. Over 30 years in Congress, Harry rose to vice chairman of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee and chaired the Military Construction Subcommittee.

Most of all we younger Members revered Harry as the unpredictable melancholy chairman of our 38-member congressional delegation.

A sincere partisan voice for the Democratic Party, Harry's spirit will kindle future generations.

NEWSLETTER

HON. WILLIAM LLOYD SCOTT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, since coming to Congress, I have attempted to keep my constituents informed of my activi-

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ties as their Representative through a monthly newsletter. A copy of the May issue is inserted at this point in the RECORD for the information of my colleagues:

**CONGRESSMAN BILL SCOTT REPORTS
VISIT WITH THE PRESIDENT**

Since the last newsletter, I have had the opportunity to confer with the President at the White House with regard to several matters of importance. In view of our long delay in obtaining relief for commuter traffic, I suggested that there should be a federal interest in getting government employees and others in and out of the Capital of our Nation in a reasonable manner. A second matter related to correctional institutions at Lorton and the manner in which the District of Columbia Government has handled disturbances by its prisoners within the State of Virginia with the suggestion that the U.S. Bureau of Prisons take over the operation of all of the District correctional institutions at Lorton. A third matter discussed was the concern of a number of school districts with federal direction of the operation of school systems. The President was attentive to all these concerns and directed his assistants to work with me to try to alleviate the problems insofar as possible. Regardless of the ultimate outcome, it is comforting to know that we have someone in the White House to whom these problems can be presented and who appears to have an interest in helping with solutions.

POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

Retirement

HR 9825, a bill to strengthen Civil Service Retirement Fund financing and retirement benefits, mentioned in last month's newsletter has been favorably reported by the Full Committee and cleared for floor action by the Rules Committee, but the House Leadership has been reluctant to schedule it. It now appears, however, that it will be considered in the House in about ten days.

Postal reform

The Full Committee on Post Office and Civil Service has been conducting hearings for a number of weeks on various postal reform proposals. There is near uniformity of the Committee that partisan politics should be removed from the day-to-day operation of the Department and that appointments and promotions should be based upon the merit system except for top policy positions. However, wide differences of opinion exist on most other reform measures. Some would establish a public corporation to operate all phases of the Department; others would constitute a postal authority with power to borrow money and issue bonds to construct facilities and modernize machinery for the handling of the mail. Some would have a Postmaster appointed for a 12-year term and his principal assistants for 6-year terms on a non-partisan basis. This Department renders a vital service to the country, employs more than 700,000 people and I believe we should carefully consider all proposals including the recommendations of the Postmaster General before determining what action should be taken to strengthen and improve the postal service.

Postal rates

The President has recommended to Congress that postal rates be increased in order to cut the \$1.2 billion deficit that faces the Post Office Department in fiscal year 1970. These recommendations include: (1) Increasing first class letter mail to 7¢ per ounce; (2) Adding a handling charge of $\frac{3}{10}$ cent per piece on second class mail—newspapers and magazines mailed outside the county of publication; and (3) Increasing the bulk third class mail from its present level of 3.6¢ per piece to 4.2¢ per piece. Of

course, Congressional action is necessary if these recommendations are to become law. Under the present rates, first class mail more than pays its way and I am inclined to oppose this feature. On the other hand, second and third class mail is handled at a loss and an increase may be warranted. It seems reasonable that users of the mail should pay for the service they receive, unless a subsidy is clearly in the public interest, and the rate increases in these two classes of mail which the President has recommended appears to be proper.

COLLEGE DISTURBANCES

The Committee on Education and Labor has been looking into the Federal Government's role in dealing with the growing number of disturbances on college campuses. Members are concerned with the adequacy of existing law involving federal funds for higher education. Current law does deny federal grants or loans to any student convicted in a court of a criminal act in connection with a disturbance. However, some institutions have been reluctant to file complaints and the age of offenders has sometimes protected them. Recent developments, however, raise the question as to whether federal laws must be strengthened and additional hearings are planned for the end of the month. It does seem, however, that the primary responsibility for handling campus disorders lies with college and local authorities, with the right to call upon state and Federal authorities when they consider it necessary.

YOUNG VISITORS

We enjoy having school groups visit the Capitol and are listing some of our recent visitors. If your group would like assistance in arranging a tour, please call us at 225-4376.

Gunston Elementary, Lorton; Wolftrap Elementary, Vienna; Hollin Hills Intermediate, Mt. Vernon; Burrows Elementary, Prince William; Dale City Elementary, Prince William; St. Louis Parochial, Mt. Vernon.

Fort Hunt High, Mt. Vernon; C. T. Smith High, Ladysmith; Woodson High, Fairfax; Fred M. Lynn, Woodbridge; Stonewall Jackson, Manassas; York Academy, Shackleford.

NEW BILLS

In view of the increasing violence being portrayed on television, I have joined with a number of my colleagues in introducing a resolution, H.J. Res. 254 which directs the FCC to conduct a study and investigate the effects that television violence has on viewers. What may be another facet of the same problem is the pornography or "smut" literature that is being sent in great quantities throughout the nation. It is almost impossible to control the distribution of this material as long as there is a market for the smut-peddler's product; however, I have joined with other members co-sponsoring H.R. 6288 which prohibits the mailing of obscene matter to minors, and H.R. 10876 which will afford protection to the public from the offensive intrusion into their homes by sexually oriented mail.

PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE

We have the following Agricultural bulletins available for distribution. Please let us know the names of any you would like to receive:

- Simplified Clothing Construction.
- A Guide to Budgeting for the Family.
- Food for Families with School Children.
- Calories and Weight.
- Equipment for Cooling Your Home.
- Making Basements Dry.
- Removing Stains from Fabrics.
- Fertilizers from Lawns and Gardens.
- Exterior Painting.
- Suburban and Farm Vegetable Gardens.
- Sanitation in Home Laundering.
- How to Buy Fresh Vegetables.
- How to Buy Fresh Fruits.

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SALEM CHURCH DAM

The revised budget of the President has included the sum of \$150,000 for pre-construction planning for the Salem Church Dam and Reservoir. You will recall that this project, which has been the subject of interest for a number of years, was finally authorized by Congress last year and this initial funding will permit plans to be commenced for ultimate construction. The Appropriations Committee plans to conduct hearings on the matter on June 11.

WARSAW MAN RECOMMENDED FOR CARNEGIE MEDAL

Some constituents in Warsaw thought Charles Lewis had done a marvelous job of life saving last November when he rescued three men whose boat had been swamped in the Rappahannock River. They asked me to look into the possibility of his being awarded the Carnegie Hero's Medal for his bravery and this week the Carnegie Hero Fund Commission advised that in recognition of his heroism he is being recommended for their bronze medal. Let me add my congratulations.

CENSUS HEARINGS

The Subcommittee on Census and Statistics is continuing to hold hearings on the 1970 Census of Population and Housing both in Washington and in various localities around the country. One public hearing on the various proposals to reduce the size of the questionnaire or to eliminate its mandatory provisions will be held at 10 A.M. on Monday, May 26 in the Council Chamber of the Town of Vienna, 127 Center Street, S., Vienna, Virginia. Should you desire to testify, please let me know promptly and I will request the Subcommittee to issue an invitation to you.

HEARINGS ON PRINCE WILLIAM COUNTY LAND PURCHASE

The District of Columbia Committee commenced hearings on April 29 on legislation to authorize the City of Washington to convey 350.4 acres of land along the Potomac River just north of Neabsco Creek near Woodbridge to Prince William County to be used for a sanitary land fill, a sewage disposal plant and for recreational purposes. The portion initially to be used as a land fill also would ultimately be utilized for recreational purposes. There were some non-resident witnesses who appeared in opposition to the proposal but the County Board of Supervisors had unanimously requested me to introduce the Bill and apparently the acquisition is desired by people of the Woodbridge area to meet necessary governmental and recreational purposes in this fast growing area. The Subcommittee appears to be favorable to the legislation but Members have indicated a desire to make a personal visit to the property prior to taking final action upon the bill.

SOMETHING TO PONDER

Our real problem is not our strength today; it is the vital necessity of action today to ensure our strength tomorrow. Dwight D. Eisenhower, January 9, 1958.

RUMANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, May 10 marks the 88th anniversary of Rumania's independence from the old Ottoman Empire and her establishment as a separate nation in 1881. Four years earlier, on May 10, 1877, the Rumanian people had pro-

claimed their independence but had to fight on the battlefield to attain it and crown Charles I, King of Rumania. Charles had served as Prince of Rumania since May 10, 1866, when the Rumanian dynasty was established from the southern branch of the Prussian Royal Family.

May 10, therefore, marks three notable events in the history of the Rumanian people. They have remembered this date through the strife-torn Balkan wars, World War I, World War II, and the Soviet occupation. They remember it even though the Communist government shifted the official national celebration from May 10 to May 9 to mark the Soviet military victory in 1945.

On May 10 we salute these gallant and courageous people who have withstood the trials of hot and cold war alike. We extend national holiday greetings to those Rumanians who over the years have migrated to this country and to those who remain behind to await the day when full freedom will be restored to them.

POSTAL REFORM URGENT

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, our Committee on Post Office and Civil Service has begun hearings on reform of the postal service. This is a most urgent and important matter and I want to commend my colleagues on the committee for the conscientious interest and attention which they are giving to this vital matter.

There is no question in my mind that the American public wants reform of the postal service. It is the Post Office Department which has the responsibility for providing mail service.

However, the Department never has been given the authority it needs to do the job, nor has the Department been released from the incredible financial and administrative shackles which have been imposed over the years.

Mr. Speaker, my attention has been called to a perceptive May 6 editorial in the Sacramento, Calif., Bee. Following is the text of the editorial:

U.S. POSTAL SYSTEM CRISIS DEMANDS OVERHAUL, SELF-SUPPORTING BUDGET

Overhaul of the US postal system along the lines of a measure proposed by Rep. Thaddeus J. Dulski, D-NY, chairman of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, is needed urgently if the system is not to suffocate in a paper blizzard of mail.

The system, which directly affects every citizen yet is taken so for granted, confronts the worst crisis in its history.

President Richard M. Nixon has recognized the gravity of the situation in his plan to institute basic reforms of postal rates.

Year after year the system's problems multiply, and solutions lag far behind. It is the prime government agency operating with a built-in deficit, predicted at more than \$1 billion for the next fiscal year. It faces sharply rising costs, slowly rising revenue, mounting volume of mail and often erratic service.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Considering the Herculean task with which it is shouldered, the wonder is the system does not break down more often than it does—a notable example being that of Chicago a few years ago. The U.S. Post Office handles more than half the world's mail. There were 62 billion pieces handled last year and before long the figure will mount to an incredible 100 billion pieces.

Postmaster General Winton M. Blount put it bluntly: "The sort of breakdown that happened in Chicago could happen today in any one of a dozen places across the country—and it could happen in a lot of places at the same time."

One of the handicaps confronting the Post Office, according to many experts, is bureaucracy and its sidekick, political patronage.

It was to eliminate this that the Kappel Commission urged creation of a government-owned corporation to operate the postal service as a self-supporting business, free from politics. The commission's recommendations have been embodied in House and Senate measures.

Yet this would not be the best way to solve the problem in the long run. It would replace bureaucracy of government with the same self-serving structure of a semi-private corporation.

Dulski's proposal is in the right direction. It would overhaul the postal service, keep it as an executive department, but would require that it set its own budget and support itself from its own revenues. This approach should result in more responsive public service and distribute the costs among the populace more equitably.

Mr. Speaker, now that the administration has come up with its proposal for a postage rate increase—buried as it was in an inadequate bill aimed at controlling obscene material being sent through the mails—a television station in my home city of Buffalo, N.Y., WGR-TV, has recalled an interesting editorial which it broadcast at the time of the last postage rate increase.

Following is the text of the WGR-TV editorial broadcast on April 28:

POSTAL RATE INCREASE No. 2

It's almost as though we were looking into a crystal ball! The Postmaster General has made a request to Congress for a rate increase.

We broadcast this editorial in December of 1967 . . .

"Cast your mind into the future, way forward to say . . . the year 2 thousand and 15. The President of the United States has just announced the 85-cent postage stamp. In announcing the 85 cent stamp the President expressed his regrets that the 80 cent stamp just didn't work out, but with the extra billions that the additional nickel a stamp will bring he is sure that the postal department will solve its huge problems, including the minimum 4 week delivery time for first class letters.

The Chief executive went on to scoff at reports of an attempt to revive the Pony Express of frontier days. He also called laughable the "Mail Pools" that have sprung up in major cities across the U.S. where drivers are taking turns delivering the neighborhood mail on a private basis.

When reminded that through the years many experts had recommended streamlining the post office department, of installing more efficient methods borrowed from private industry, instead of continually raising postal rates, the President had no comment.

In response to a reminder that last years Christmas mail wasn't delivered until Valentine's Day, the President muttered darkly, "There's always the 90 cent stamp."

That editorial was broadcast 16 months ago. We still contend that a postal rate in-

crease is not the answer to the problem . . . and that 85-cent stamp could become a reality.

VALUE OF DRAFT AND ROTC

HON. WALTER FLOWERS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. FLOWERS. Mr. Speaker, much of the unrest prevailing on college campuses across our land has been generated by student protests against ROTC and the draft. Along with many other Americans, I am concerned at the prospect of the far-reaching effect if the protestors are successful in abolishing the draft and driving ROTC from all campuses.

No reasonable alternatives are suggested. Perhaps none are desired. Likewise, the protestors apparently have not carried the matter out to its logical conclusion.

I would like to offer for inclusion in the RECORD an editorial appearing in the May 8 edition of the Graphic, a newspaper published twice weekly in my hometown of Tuscaloosa. The editor and publisher of Graphic, Mr. Karl Elebash, Jr., has wide respect in our area for his editorial ability and policy, and regularly produces important, forthright and well-considered material for his readers.

The editorial, which follows here, contains much food for thought in establishing the value and importance of the draft and the ROTC program.

VALUE OF DRAFT AND ROTC

Opposition to the draft and Reserve Officers Training Corps system are given as reasons for some of the student protests around the country. They are popular targets of criticism since they easily lend themselves to emotional arguments against the war and militarism.

The arguments are far short of the mark. It would be a sad day for the basic principle of the citizen army that underlies defense thinking in the United States for either the draft or ROTC to be abandoned. They are keys to our overall defense program.

They prevent growth of a powerful military caste system in this nation. They insure that our services will be heavily leavened by civilians there solely to serve their country and not there for love of militarism.

A volunteer defense force would lose much of the special esprit de corps that a grousing civilian influence gives our present military organization. We have our doubts that a strictly volunteer service would give us the numbers of men needed. To build such a force would be to encourage the development of a military caste system, to create a separate group of people, largely mercenaries, with little in common with the traditional ideals of American freedom.

The ROTC system is the very heart of the leadership mechanism for our civilian defense force. Our service academies would have to be expanded and multiplied many times over to fill the demand for officers were there no ROTC. To eliminate ROTC—the means by which civilians are trained as officers—and replace it with powerful new service academies surely would be the way to creation of a new society of professional militarism in the United States.

We think the campus opponents of the draft and ROTC do not know what they want. In abolishing them they would create the militaristic society they profess to abhor.

HEADSTART DELEGATION TO HEW

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, the air is filled with considerable concern about the delegation of Headstart to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, as well as about the value of Headstart itself.

Jude Wanniski's column, "This Week in Washington" places the controversy in good perspective and I draw it to the attention of persons genuinely interested in bringing the best possible education to all children.

THIS WEEK IN WASHINGTON: A LAGGING HEADSTART

(By Jude Wanniski)

The White House has known for some time that the Head Start program has not earned its widespread popularity. But instead of puncturing public euphoria by denouncing this Great Society effort as a failure, President Nixon has decided to have another go at making it work.

The dimensions of the program's shortcomings, revealed last week in a study undertaken for Head Start's parent, the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), suggest any new effort will have to start almost from scratch. Westinghouse Learning Corp., working with Ohio University, spent almost a year studying the impact of preschool "compensatory education" on deprived youngsters.

Their study, covering tests on 2,000 children, flatly asserts that Head Start youngsters have acquired no more learning ability than equally deprived children who did not go through the program. Some slight learning-ability improvement accrues to the children who participate for a full year rather than only a summer, but even these benefits of the full-year Head Start "cannot be described as satisfactory," the study concludes.

Not all those associated with the study, however, agree with its conclusions. Dr. William G. Madow of Stanford University, a leading statistician who was a consultant to OEO on the study, asked that his name be removed from the report. Government statisticians and other outside advisers also criticized the study, arguing that its design and interpretation were faulty.

The report did not measure the "spin-off" effects of Head Start, although these are considerable. By getting into school situations earlier than usual, poor children do get medical and dental attention, free lunches, and other beneficial extracurricular amenities. But it is difficult to justify a program that isn't meeting its primary objective: stimulation of the child's emotional, social, and intellectual development.

Because of the program's popularity in the nation and with Congress, the Westinghouse report had had a chilling effect in the Capital. From the day Head Start was unveiled in February 1965, it seemed an obvious solution to the problems of culturally deprived poor children. Sargent Shriver, then OEO director, announced it as an experimental program and put out a call to educators for 10,000 children. In three weeks, OEO had requests for 100,000 slots and in that first summer 576,000 children participated. Participation grew while it was assumed that Head Start was achieving a high degree of success. But as Head Start children moved through the lower elementary grades, there were signs that their early advantage had faded.

President Nixon and the Urban Affairs Council had advance knowledge of the West-

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inghouse findings and in February hinted of "mounting evidence that Head Start has not yet proved as effective as had earlier been thought." But rather than disparage the effort, Mr. Nixon stressed that "it is still experimental" and called for a "national commitment to provide all American children an opportunity for healthful and stimulating development during the first five years of life."

As a result, Head Start will be pulled out of OEO on July 1 and transferred into a new Office of Child Development within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW). In line with the Westinghouse recommendations, the summer Head Start will be terminated gradually, starting in 1970. This year there are 218,000 full-year slots and 476,000 summer slots, costing \$1,050 per full-year student and \$220 per summer student. Next year the number of summer students will be halved and the number of full-year students increased by 50,000.

More importantly, the program will lose some of the "institutional" status that it was acquiring through its popularity and revert in part to an experimental effort, albeit a vast and costly one. Educators and social scientists who had envisioned Head Start doubling in size and ultimately solving all the preschool deficiencies of the poor will now have to wait until HEW finds a formula that it believes will work. HEW Secretary Robert Finch now will require that 5 percent of all Head Start funds going into bigger cities be earmarked for experiments. The Administration believes that with varying techniques being tried throughout the nation, some one will turn up a form of compensatory education that will stick.

Westinghouse suggests a model program: "Such an intervention program would begin prenatally, with education and medical help to the mother, followed by a program of infant education for the first two years, then a two-year Head Start program, and suitable kindergarten and elementary-grade school experience, all articulated and operating as part of one system." Such a scheme stops just short of installing infants in state-run nurseries as a means of breaking the poverty cycle.

After four years and the expenditure of \$2 billion, Mr. Nixon suggests that the one clear lesson learned from the Head Start experience is that intervention in child development "is more complicated and difficult than had been expected, and more fraught with frustration." This difficulty, Mr. Nixon adds, tweaking social planners who offer pat solutions, is perhaps something "that mothers have always understood but that only men have failed to take notice."

UTAH COMMEMORATES THE DRIVING OF THE GOLDEN SPIKE

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, as you know, this past weekend at Promontory Summit in Utah there was a reenactment of the driving of the Golden Spike, commemorating the 100th anniversary of the thrilling occasion when East met West for the first time by rail. It was my privilege, along with some 16,000 others, to attend these ceremonies at which Secretary of Transportation John A. Volpe drove a golden spike at the same spot where Leland Stanford, the Governor of California and the president of the

Central Pacific Railroad, and T. C. Durant, vice president and general manager of the Union Pacific Railroad, had driven it a century before. My feelings at this historic ceremony could not be better expressed than was done by the Christian Science Monitor in its editorial of Saturday, May 10, 1969, entitled "The Golden Link." The editorial follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, May 10, 1969]

THE GOLDEN LINK

In this day when the railroads are not all that they once were in the public eye, above all passengerwise, it is instructive to think back on the thrill which swept America exactly 100 years ago today. On that day, May 10, 1869, the famous "golden spike" was driven at Promontory Point, Utah territory, linking the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the United States. An immense land, some 3,000 miles in width, had been spanned by thin steel rails, a crucial jumping-off point in America's steady movement to a position as the richest and mightiest nation on earth.

With the terrible travails of the Civil War behind it, the nation was able to turn its bursting and growing energies to the most romantic of its many sagas, the winning of the West. With vast numbers of Chinese coolies swinging pick and shovel from west to east, and with equal numbers of strong-backed Irish immigrants doing the same from east to west, the Central Pacific and the Union Pacific drove toward each other. And as they did, new economic blood surged behind them, opening fresh lands and building new industries.

Today, in many ways, the sense of America's physical immensity is being lost. The steady crushing of regional differences, the speed of jet travel, the influence of television and radio, all combine to bring people and areas nearer together mentally. That this is good in most ways is indisputable. Yet something has gone from national life which was present when the very thought of traveling from Boston or New York to New Orleans, to San Francisco, to Dallas was breathtaking and involved days in a railway coach. Perhaps if more of us would ride the rails transcontinentally we could recapture some of that old-time thrill.

SOME PEOPLE DO GET INVOLVED

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday I addressed some remarks to the need for public support in the Federal effort to combat organized crime. The need for the individual to "get involved" is also imperative if we are to stop the alarming trend toward street crimes which have been plaguing our Nation.

WTVJ-TV in Miami, Fla., has begun to make Good Newsmaker Awards to citizens who do get involved and who care enough to stop and help when they see a fellow man in distress. On April 28, 1969, this award was presented to 64-year-old Edward Whittlesey, a bond sales coordinator for the expansion of South Miami Hospital.

While driving near downtown Miami one late afternoon, Mr. Whittlesey saw three men attacking an old man. He

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stopped his car and ran to the aid of the fallen victim. The attackers released the old man, who ran away, and then beat and robbed Mr. Whittlesey.

This example might say to some, "all the more reason not to get involved." However, as Ralph Renick, of WTVJ, noted:

Perhaps Mr. Whittlesey's courage and concern . . . will rub off on more of us. If it does, everything will be a lot better for it.

Mr. Speaker, I commend both Mr. Whittlesey for his heroic act and WTVJ for recognizing the need to support the good news as well as the bad by initiating these Good Newsmaker Awards.

A RESOLUTION

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on March 20 I had included in the RECORD a resolution of the city of Cambridge opposing the anti-ballistic-missile system. It is my privilege today to request permission to include a resolution from the great and General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts memorializing the President of the United States, the Secretary of Defense, and the Congress of the United States to suspend and halt the construction of the Sentinel anti-ballistic-missile system.

Mr. Speaker, there are several whereas phrases preceding the resolutions, and I would like to call my colleagues' attention to them. The great and general court understands that there is great doubt and disagreement within the scientific and political communities concerning the effectiveness of the ABM system. Besides this, there are great dangers in the ordering of priorities represented by a huge commitment of funds necessary for an ABM system rather than a commitment to the domestic needs of our Nation. There can be no doubt that a decision to begin an anti-ballistic-missile system will not end with a thin system. But, as the legislature says "will inevitably increase the pressure for the construction of an even costlier and more elaborate 'thick' anti-ballistic-missile system." The cost can only escalate and with it comes the escalation of the arms race and diminished chances for peace and security in a nuclear age.

Mr. Speaker, I include the resolution in the RECORD at this point:

RESOLUTIONS MEMORIALIZING THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE AND THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO SUSPEND AND HALT THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE SENTINEL ANTI-BALLISTIC-MISSILE SYSTEM

Whereas, The United States Army Corps of Engineers has temporarily suspended the construction of Sentinel anti-ballistic missile sites in the Lynnfield-Reading and North Andover areas of the commonwealth of Massachusetts pending further study; and

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Whereas, There have been repeated reports emanating from the Department of Defense that the current study will not lead to the abandonment of the anti-ballistic missile system but merely to its redeployment in other less populated areas of the commonwealth of Massachusetts; and

Whereas, The entire concept of the deployment of a "thin" anti-ballistic missile system against the possible penetration of missiles from the Chinese communists is highly questionable and could substantially increase the risks of enemy attack to the citizens of Massachusetts without offering them any additional security or protection; and

Whereas, Considerable doubt exists within the scientific and political communities and among informed national leaders as to the wisdom, desirability and effectiveness of the Sentinel Anti-Ballistic Missile System; and

Whereas, The deployment of the anti-ballistic missile system will commit the United States to an extremely costly defensive system, and will inevitably increase the pressure for the construction of an even costlier and more elaborate "thick" anti-ballistic missile system, designed to intercept ballistic missiles fired at the United States from anywhere in the world, thus escalating the arms race; and

Whereas, The history of military strategy demonstrates quite clearly that defensive systems tend to become obsolete very rapidly, cannot achieve their purpose against offensive innovations and tend to encourage a false, Maginot Line sense of security; and

Whereas, The deployment of the anti-ballistic missile system in any form, including the so-called Safeguard System, would result in the further distortion of essential national priorities, particularly on the domestic scene, and would deprive the cities and states of this nation of the federal financial assistance which they desperately need in order to meet their pressing problems; therefore be it

Resolved, That the General Court of Massachusetts respectfully urges the President of the United States, the Secretary of Defense and the Congress to undertake appropriate action to suspend and halt the construction and deployment of the Sentinel Anti-Ballistic Missile System; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be transmitted forthwith by the State Secretary to the President of the United States, the Secretary of Defense, to the presiding officer of each branch of Congress and to each member thereof from the Commonwealth.

Senate, adopted, April 2, 1969.

NORMAN L. PIDGEON,
Clerk.

DECLARATION OF PEACE

HON. J. HERBERT BURKE

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I have always been a strong advocate of Israel independence, and during the 90th Congress I called attention to my colleagues in the House of the Soviet buildup in the Mediterranean and of the explosive conditions that then existed in the Middle East. These danger signs have by no means abated at the present time.

Today, Israel is a beacon light of freedom in the Middle East amid a group of Communist-dominated or Communist-influenced countries. We in this country

owe a great responsibility to preserve the freedom of Israel.

A majority of my colleagues in the House signed the declaration of peace in the Middle East on the occasion of Israel's 21st birthday, which was presented by our colleague, EMANUEL CELLER.

Many Members of Congress were not advised that this declaration was available for signing. I was one of those, even though I had previously indicated my desire to join with my colleagues in such a declaration. I am therefore taking this opportunity now to express my wholehearted support of this declaration of peace and join now in toto with the intent and purpose of the full text as previously printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

UNNECESSARY TAX AFFLICION

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Oscar E. Kiessling, a senior economist with the Government, has written an interesting proposal, which was printed in the Washington Post, Sunday, March 30, 1969, entitled "Unnecessary Tax Affliction: Withheld Funds From Summer Students' Wages Deemed Wasteful, Costly," which I thought might be of interest to the House during this time in which the Ways and Means Committee and the country are so concerned with tax reform. The article is as follows:

UNNECESSARY TAX AFFLICION: WITHHELD FUNDS FROM SUMMER STUDENTS' WAGES DEEMED WASTEFUL, COSTLY

(By Oscar Kiessling)

Federal income tax time at our house causes not only the usual stir, but, as for many American families, it entails a special form of unnecessary affliction.

Let me explain that the Kiesslings are on the very last lap of putting 5 kids through college. Each of our five has always found paid summer work. But recapture of the income taxes excessively withheld from their short-term pay requires a formal report and request for a refund.

Excessive withholding comes about because an employer is required to deduct taxes at a rate that assumes the students are paid at the summer scale for full-time work the year round. So the old man not only has his own tax return to prepare, but he is called on to help the kids with their reports.

Some years back a couple of our brood did have a small amount of taxable income after personal exemption and deductions. But this has not been the case in recent years owing to more liberal allowance for deductions. Presently summer work has to bring in over \$900 before a student owes taxes, and very few do that well.

Thus the entire operation—withholding money the kids do not owe and going through the paperwork involved in a refund—has now become an exercise in futility for the government and an unwarranted burden on our students.

CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT INVOLVED

What's involved isn't hay. The Office of Education reports that there are over 6 million college students in the country, and a

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large proportion have summer jobs with taxes withheld. There are in addition nearly 6 million students in the last 2 grades of high school, and many of these youngsters also work in the summer and have taxes withheld.

Multiplying these millions by a few pieces of paper going back and forth for each person makes it apparent that the annual tax hassle generates a mountain of costly and unproductive waste paper.

The tax overwithholding headache with regard to students could be largely cleared up without loss of revenue. If a student filed a form with his summer employer, he then would not withhold income taxes until summer pay totaled a certain figure, say \$899 (the largest amount not taxable with one exemption and permitted nonitemized deduction).

Such a procedure, which has been used successfully in England for some time, was suggested to Sheldon S. Cohen, the previous Commissioner of Internal Revenue. However, the IRS has rejected this proposal, mainly on the ground that it would not be a universal solution for all tax overwithholding problems (particularly those of intermittent annual workers), and also because it "would set a dangerous precedent."

NOT ACCORD WITH REALITY

The IRS view that summer work of students cannot be separated, for tax purposes, from work done by fruit pickers, grain harvesters, field hands, and other itinerant and intermittent annual workers does not accord with reality.

For the bulk of the students, summer work has now become virtually a regular feature of life. Students are a clearly definable group, with a circumscribed employment pattern, that deserve to be accorded fair treatment with regard to tax withholding even though the IRS is not now able to come up with a broad solution to all tax overwithholding problems.

Moreover, as students work primarily to help pay current high education expenses, it is grossly unfair for the Federal Government to withhold for the better part of a year money that they need and do not owe.

It is hardly surprising that the IRS, regarded as reflecting the views of the Treasury, remains remarkably silent on a main issue in this matter—namely the very large amount of money that is withheld from students.

APPROXIMATE SCOPE

The scope of the student withholding can be approximately delineated on the basis of conservative estimates. The Office of Education reports that in the 1966-67 school year there were 6,055,000 students in colleges and 5,881,000 in the last 2 years of high school. If half the college students (or about 3,000,000) and one-fifth of the senior high school students (or about 1,200,000) have summer jobs, a total of 4,200,000 students have taxes withheld. (This figure coincides closely with figures on student employment given in U.S. Department of Labor Special Labor Force Report No. 55).

On average 3-month summer earnings of \$600 (our 5 kids have earned from \$600 to \$900), the amount of tax withheld per student would be about \$60. Multiply this figure by the number of working students and the estimated total amount withheld from students' earnings comes to a startling \$252,000,000.

The Government starts taking this money in June, pays no interest on it, and does not pay it back—and then only on request—until the following March or April.

Counting interest at 5 percent for three-fourths of a year on the funds so "borrowed from students," the Government use of the interest-free money represents a net saving in interest of \$9,450,000.

Little wonder that stewards of the nation's purse strings find reasons for not changing

this pattern. But what a shoddy way to treat the Nation's industrious youngsters!

Fortunately, some members of Congress are now aware of the students' tax situation and have indicated their support for corrective action. But archaic and blunderbuss tax procedures die hard. To get our students a fair tax shake will require broad support at grass roots.

DR. IRWIN I. TANAKA, FORMER HIGH SCHOOL DROPOUT, TO HEAD HAWAII'S NEW STATE LAW ENFORCEMENT AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY PLANNING AGENCY

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

MR. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, "From a dropout to a doctor" is a fitting tribute to Dr. Irwin I. Tanaka, the director of Hawaii's new anticrime agency, the State law enforcement and juvenile delinquency planning agency. Dr. Tanaka's life story is one which could inspire today's disturbed youth. Having distinguished himself in his work with disturbed and delinquent youngsters, he now directs the work of a State agency intended to help youngsters who find themselves in the same predicament in which he found himself in his youth. Recently, in an interview with Honolulu Star-Bulletin reporter Helen Altoon, Dr. Tanaka described his feelings toward these youngsters as "empathy for their plight":

It really goes back to empathy for the plight of these kids—that I was one of them myself.

I always look at it from their point of view. Through their eyes, you get a better perspective of things. Too often we turn this around and the perspective is out of focus . . .

This is a subtle and yet important difference in approach. And I don't think too many people agree with me.

Perhaps Dr. Tanaka may not have too many takers on his approach to the problems of the disturbed and delinquent youngster, but it is this philosophy which has carried him from a high school dropout to the planner and coordinator of the State's new anticrime agency which he hopes will bring together existing services in law enforcement and juvenile delinquency.

As one of the keymen in the State's department of education, Dr. Tanaka has held a myriad of jobs within the department from the gifted children program and vocational education to many of the antipoverty projects. On leave from the department of education, to which he plans to return once the new agency is running smoothly, Dr. Tanaka does not expect his task to be easy.

He says:

If any place can make it, we can. I am tremendously optimistic.

I can see the odds. But hell, I'm a fighter.

Mr. Speaker, by way of congratulating and commanding Dr. Tanaka, I take great pleasure in submitting his story, which appeared in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin of April 28, 1969, for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

May 12, 1969

HELD MYRIAD JOBS IN DOE—DROPOUT TO CRIME FIGHTER

(By Helen Altoon)

The head of the State's new anti-crime agency traveled a tough road to his \$22,000 position—starting as a high school dropout.

"I was always a rebel at heart, I guess . . . never conforming," said Dr. Irwin I. Tanaka, named this month by Gov. John A. Burns to direct the State Law Enforcement and Juvenile Delinquency Planning Agency.

The highly respected 41-year-old educator pondered his past as he discussed his new responsibilities in still sparsely furnished offices at the Trustco Building.

"I would say the rebellion I exhibited, in principle, was no different than what kids are reacting against now," he mused. "I was really anti-establishment at that point."

"Naturally, coming from a Japanese home, I was a disgrace to my parents. I caused them a lot of sleepless nights."

He said he had trouble adjusting during his first year at McKinley High School because he balked at being ordered to do "voluntary pineapple work" to aid the war effort.

"I flunked an easy thing called Core Studies—a combination of English and social studies—one of the going things at the time. . . ."

"Then I found my way to the Hawaiian Mission Academy, the last school on the rock I could find that would take me," he grinned. "Six weeks before graduation, I was informed that I wasn't going to graduate, so I was kind of pushed out."

At 17, he decided to go to work and obtained a job at Hawaiian Tuna Packers as an electrician's apprentice working on landing craft. But a few months later he was drafted into the Army.

During the next two years, he said, "I found I couldn't fight the system. The Army is a good place to learn—the hard way."

He continued his education through the Armed Forces Institute, obtained his diploma and even began a few University of Hawaii courses.

Immediately after his discharge he went to Michigan State University on the GI bill, earning a bachelor's degree in sociology and anthropology in 1950 and a master's degree in social work in 1951.

Returning home, he worked four years for the YMCA, assigned to the rural branch at Wahiawa—where he still lives with his wife and five children.

His wife, who teaches kindergarten in Wahiawa, was a high school sweetheart, Tanaka noted. "Even then," he recalled, "to show the kind of reputation I had, we planned to get married when I was out of the Army and her parents stopped it."

When he arrived at Michigan State, he said he urged her to join him. She did and they worked their way through college together. But her parents were still opposed. "I didn't blame them," Tanaka smiled.

He went to the Department of Education in 1955 and because of his experience with adolescents was hand-picked to teach disturbed youngsters in a pilot project at Kalakaua Intermediate School.

Distinguished for his work in that program and many others concerning disturbed and delinquent youngsters, Tanaka explained, "It really goes back to an empathy for the plight of these kids—that I was one myself."

"I always look at it from their point of view. Through their eyes, you get a better perspective of things. Too often we turn this around and the perspective is out of focus . . ."

"This is a subtle and yet important difference in approach. And I don't think too many people agree with me," he added.

When the Kalakaua project was completed in 1961, he said, "I decided I was too dumb and stupid yet, so I went back to Michigan

State for my doctorate in guidance and personnel services."

He also spent much time in seminars on delinquency and emotionally disturbed children.

Coming back to Hawaii in 1963 to do his dissertation, he took over the Juvenile Court's Detention Home for a year.

For the past five years he has been at the DOE handling a myriad of assignments from the gifted children program and vocational education to most of the anti-poverty projects.

The jobs falling in his lap as director of compensatory education would fill several pages and keep 50 people busy. But he tackled them with a five-man staff, including himself.

He is commuting now between his DOE and anticrime offices, helping to finish a plan by May 5 for a federally funded school dropout program.

His next big deadline is June 5 when a comprehensive State plan for law enforcement and juvenile delinquency must be prepared for federal approval.

"Unless we get more help, it's going to be awfully difficult," he said.

His staff is not fully organized yet, he pointed out, gesturing to the unoccupied offices. However, he said he's depending heavily on his deputy and longtime personal friend, Barry J. Rubin.

Working nights and weekends, even before their appointments to the new agency were announced, they put together a preliminary plan for crime fighting programs in all the Counties.

Tanaka sees his new role largely as a coordinator, to bring together existing services in law enforcement and juvenile delinquency. "The problem seems to be that each one operates separately," he said.

"Really, what we will do will be planning on a joint basis. We will actually sit together in dialogue and come out with a concrete proposal and plan of action."

Tanaka notes that he is only on leave from the DOE and has "full intention of going back" when the new agency is running smoothly.

He doesn't expect his task to be easy. But he said, "If any place can make it, we can. I am tremendously optimistic."

"I see the odds. But hell, I'm a fighter."

REV. LEON J. HUBACZ—CHRISTIAN AMERICAN CLERGYMAN

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, in these confused times when one encounters a dedicated Christian clergyman, it is necessary to stop and comment.

Reading a South Carolina newspaper I came across a news report covering Reverend Hubacz, pastor of Blessed Sacrament Roman Catholic Church of Charleston, S.C.

I think that his pro-American statements are worthy of reading by all our colleagues. As for my comments on Abernathy, I make reference to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 6, 1968:

[From the Charleston (S.C.) Evening Post, May 9, 1969]

FATHER HUBACZ DEPLORES METHODS OF DISSIDENTS HERE
(By Jack Leland)

The Rev. Leon J. Hubacz is a big man with a firm voice and a very determined mind.

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When he says: "Standing in the street and singing 'I am somebody' isn't going to make these children somebodies," he means it—literally.

So literally that the pastor of Blessed Sacrament Roman Catholic Church borrowed some money from a bank and took out a half-page advertisement in the Charleston newspapers. It chided the leadership of the present move to force union recognition for hospital workers at the Medical College of South Carolina.

Father Hubacz's immediate targets were the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and four Roman Catholic priests referred to in the advertisement as "Bill, Jim, Leo and Tom." These are the Revs. William Joyce, James Sauchelli, Leo Crogan and Thomas Duffy. Father Sauchelli is Father Hubacz's assistant at Blessed Sacrament.

Asked if he considered himself a "conservative", Father Hubacz demurred, saying he did not care for such labels. However, he agreed that, by comparison to the Committee of Concerned Clergy, that he was indeed a conservative and they were liberals.

"I would have to say that these priests consider themselves liberals. They believe, and probably honestly, that they have found the answer to all things that are wrong with our society. I disagree with their beliefs and, particularly, with the methods they use to gain the ends they believe will be achieved."

"If they, and the Rev. Abernathy, would go to Columbia and put their case before the General Assembly, I would contribute to their cause and support them in every way I can. Most certainly I am in favor of low-income people getting better wages so I cannot argue when they say that this is their goal."

"But is their goal something else. Apparently they want more than anything else to march in the streets and to obtain the fullest possible publicity. It's too much. Too much," he said.

"A priest is a priest wherever he goes. Catholic children have priests held up to them as examples. When they see or read that a priest is thrown into jail they are horrified. But when they find out that priest had broken a law, what is their reaction? I think it is one of disillusionment. I think they may reason that if it is all right for a priest to break a law, then it is all right for a child to do so," Father Hubacz said.

"It's somewhat like alcoholism. I never go to wedding receptions and drink because I'm afraid there might be an alcoholic there who might be tempted to take a drink because he saw me, a priest, do so."

"Just remember, that Jesus Christ never broke the law. He told his inquisitors, 'render unto Caesar, the things that are Caesar's—in other words, pay the tax even if it appears unjust. Christ was tried unjustly and unjustly convicted but he didn't break the law and he asked that his persecutors be forgiven.'

Father Hubacz charged the liberals with "wanting to be allowed to break other people's rules without permitting other people to break the rules they (the liberals) have agreed on."

Abernathy's publication of a half-page advertisement locally prompted Father Hubacz to answer in kind.

"When Mr. Abernathy stated that he and the so-called Concerned Clergy were trying to prevent violence, I had to answer. After all, was there any violence in Charleston prior to Mr. Abernathy's arrival? Of course there always is 'potential violence' anywhere you go but it didn't happen here until the SCLC appeared on the scene."

He said he was refusing the many offers of money to pay for the advertisement. His secretary was instructed to handle all calls and not refer them to Father Hubacz.

"I don't want to hear about it. It's something I felt I had to do and I did it. There's

a time to keep quiet and a time to get on the rooftops and shout. This was one of those times."

"We confuse justice and charity in this country," he said, "We cheat people out of their just due and we give them handouts to make up for it. That's not right. We should give them their just due in the first place."

"We must fight for the rights of all persons and that's what I was talking about when I mentioned the rights of 200 kids who had to miss a band practice because of the marchers. Those kids have just as much reason to have their rights protected as the marchers."

"The answer is not marching in the streets. The answer can be found in one place only—the General Assembly in Columbia. It is that body that can decide what the law of this state will be. The governor is a creature of the state. He cannot do more than the General Assembly has laid out in the laws it has passed."

The 51-year-old priest was born and brought up in Boston, where he lived in an Italian neighborhood.

"They called us Polacks and we called them Wops or Guineas. The Irish were in control then, they were the glorious race in Boston with Curley as mayor and later governor. I understand discrimination. I grew up with it."

He has been in South Carolina more than 25 years, having spent three years in Columbia, one in Batesburg, one in Florence and 20 in the Charleston area.

Asked if he would mind his parochial school teachers joining a union, Father Hubacz said: "No. But they would have to work and teach the way I wanted them to. If they tried otherwise, out they would go. Life has to be lived by a set of rules and we cannot make those rules up as we go along. We can't try to rule the world on what our consciences might tell us from day to day."

"I'm convinced that people feel about towns the same way they feel about their homes. If you come into a town and tear it down, people are bound to react. You can't break up something simply because you happen not to like it."

Father Hubacz said he knew the Rev. James E. Groppi, the Milwaukee civil rights priest who was among those who broke into a Selective Service local board office and destroyed documents.

"I knew him as a sort of scapegoat martyr. His bishop allowed him to continue as long as he could take the abuse. Nothing happened. But once you tell people, by your actions, that it's all right to break into an office and destroy records, then the lay people begin to think they can do whatever they like. If you recall, people began interrupting church services conducted by priests. You cannot condemn the one without condemning the other."

And, he said, all priests feel the reaction that occurs when some priests join the demonstrations.

"We all wear the same uniform," he said. "Just two days ago a Sister at the orphanage asked me to pick up two kids at the County Hospital. First, a policeman told me I couldn't park on the street. Then as I walked along looking for those two kids, I could see passersby staring at me. It's a natural reaction, I suppose."

Just where is the duty of the priest?

"I won't answer that because I can't. But I'd like to point out what Father Quinlan has done in Kingstree. He's badly hurt by arthritis but he continues his work. Years ago he began getting second hand clothing from richer parishes. To preserve the pride of the Negro people, he didn't give them the clothes—he charged a dime or so. I know that many a Negro child continued going to school because that priest saw to it that he had proper clothing."

"You can't take me—a white man—and train me to associate properly with the people

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who live on The Battery because I don't understand their way of life. And you can't take a black man and raise him to other levels overnight without revolution," Father Hu-bacz said.

INTERNATIONAL BOYCOTT DAY

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday, May 10, was proclaimed International Boycott Day by the Delano grape workers. Consumers everywhere were called upon to withhold their patronage from stores selling table grapes.

When the Congress enacted the National Labor Relations Act over 30 years ago, agriculture workers were excluded from the provisions of this act. In effect, the Congress made second-class citizens of farmworkers by refusing to protect their right to form unions and to bargain collectively with their employers.

For the past 7 years, efforts on the part of the grape workers to bargain collectively have been largely ignored by the growers. Without the protection of the law, the workers had nowhere to go but to the public.

Two years ago, the farmworkers of California called upon consumers to boycott grapes in an effort to force the growers to recognize the rights of the workers and to bargain collectively with them. The boycott has been more and more effective as the public has become more and more aware of the plight of the farmworkers. By boycotting grapes, consumers tell growers that they will not purchase their product until they know that the workers who harvest it are assured of a just wage, humane working conditions, job security, and other employee benefits taken for granted by most working men and women in America.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the proclamation of the Delano grape workers for International Boycott Day at this point in the RECORD:

PROCLAMATION OF THE DELANO GRAPE WORKERS FOR INTERNATIONAL BOYCOTT DAY, MAY 10, 1969

We, the striking grape workers of California, join on this International Boycott Day with the consumers across the continent in planning the steps that lie ahead on the road to our liberation. As we plan, we recall the footsteps that brought up to this day and the events of this day. The historic road of our pilgrimage to Sacramento later branched out, spreading like the unpruned vines in struck fields, until it led us to willing exile in cities across this land. There, far from the earth we tilled for generations, we have cultivated the strange soil of public understanding, sowing the seed of our truth and our cause in the minds and hearts of men.

We have been farm workers for hundreds of years and pioneers for seven. Mexicans, Filipinos, Africans and others, our ancestors were among those who founded this land and tamed its natural wilderness. But we are still pilgrims on this land, and we are pioneers who blaze a trail out of the wilderness of hunger and deprivation that we have suffered even as our ancestors did. We are conscious today of the significance of our present quest. If this road we chart leads to the

rights and reforms we demand, if it leads to just wages, humane working conditions, protection from the misuse of pesticides, and to the fundamental right of collective bargaining, if it changes the social order that relegates us to the bottom reaches of society, then in our wake will follow thousands of American farm workers. Our example will make them free. But if our road does not bring us to victory and social change, it will not be because our direction is mistaken or our resolve too weak, but only because our bodies are mortal and our journey hard. For we are in the midst of a great social movement, and we will not stop struggling 'till we die, or win!

We have been farm workers for hundreds of years and strikers for four. It was four years ago that we threw down our plowshares and pruninghooks. These Biblical symbols of peace and tranquility to us represent too many lifetimes of unprotesting submission to a degrading social system that allows us no dignity, no comfort, no peace. We mean to have our peace, and to win it without violence, for it is violence we would overcome—the subtle spiritual and mental violence of oppression, the violence subhuman toil leads to the human body. So we went and stood tall outside the vineyards where we had stooped for years. But the tailors of national labor legislation had left us naked. Thus exposed, our picket lines were crippled by injunctions and harassed by growers; our strike was broken by imported scabs; our overtures to our employers were ignored. Yet we knew the day must come when they would talk to us, as equals.

We have been farm workers for hundreds of years and boycotters for two. We did not choose the grape boycott, but we had chosen to leave our peonage, poverty, and despair behind. Though our first bid for freedom, the strike, was weakened, we would not turn back. The boycott was the only way forward the growers left to us. We called upon our fellow men and were answered by consumers who said—as all men of conscience must—that they would no longer allow their tables to be subsidized by our sweat and our sorrow: They shunned the grapes, fruit of our affliction.

We marched alone at the beginning, but today we count men of all creeds, nationalities, and occupations in our number. Between us and the justice we seek now stand the large and powerful grocers who, in continuing to buy table grapes, betray the boycott their own customers have built. These stores treat their patrons' demands to remove the grapes the same way the growers treat our demands for union recognition—by ignoring them. The consumers who rally behind our cause are responding as we do to such treatment—with a boycott! They pledge to withhold their patronage from stores that handle grapes during the boycott, just as we withhold our labor from the growers until our dispute is resolved.

Grapes must remain an unenjoyed luxury for all as long as the barest human needs and basic human rights are still luxuries for farm workers. The grapes grow sweet and heavy on the vines, but they will have to wait while we reach out first for our freedom. The time is ripe for our liberation.

RUMANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, in Rumania's long and eventful struggle for its people's freedom, May 10 stands out

as a memorable landmark. On that day of 1877 Rumanians proclaimed the birth of their independent kingdom by the union of the two historic provinces, Moldavia and Wallachia. It is true that for more than a decade they had already become masters of their national destiny, but only after 1877 was their national independence officially recognized by the sovereign states of Europe and elsewhere.

The Rumanian people are among the oldest inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula, and today, even after the breakup of their historic country by the Soviet Union at the end of the last war, they constitute the largest single ethnic element in the whole Balkan region, numbering close to 19 million. The tragedy of the Rumanian people is that for centuries they have been subjected to unwanted alien regimes.

In the middle of the 15th century Rumania was overrun by the Ottoman Turks, and for more than 400 years Rumanians suffered under the tyranny of callous Ottoman administrators. In the 19th century, when they succeeded in their attempt to secure their independence from the Turks, they were threatened by Russian aggression. Rumanians, however, managed to keep their country and their independence in the course of many wars. At the end of the First World War they even regained some of their lost provinces, but the last war brought them disaster and tragedy. Since 1945 they have been under Moscow-dominated Communist tyranny, even though in recent years Rumanian Communist leaders have asserted their independence from Moscow. Still, these gifted and courageous people, who have sacrificed much to freedom, are not allowed to enjoy it. Unhappily, they are not even free to celebrate the anniversary of their national independence.

Here in America, at least, friends and sympathizers of the Rumanian people can and do observe Rumanian Independence Day with due solemnity and respect, and thus honor the underlying patriotism and love of freedom of the Rumanian people.

JOAN MERRIAM SMITH-AMELIA EARHART AVIATION DAY

HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, during the opening days of the 91st Congress, I again introduced a resolution, House Joint Resolution 237, to honor two of our Nation's most distinguished aviatrices by proclaiming May 12 of each year as the Joan Merriam Smith-Amelia Earhart Aviation Day.

It is particularly appropriate, then, that I bring this legislative proposal to the attention of the Members of Congress and the American people today, May 12, which marks the anniversary of Joan Merriam Smith's historic solo flight around the world at the equator.

These two women, Joan Merriam Smith and Amelia Earhart, have made significant, lasting contributions to our aviation history, and their achievements well merit our official recognition.

Most Americans know the outstanding accomplishments of Amelia Earhart—the first solo flight across the Atlantic Ocean by a woman and the first solo flight by a woman from Hawaii to the mainland of the United States. Three times in the early 1930's she was awarded the prized Harmon International Aviation Trophy. As our first aviatrix and one with such noteworthy accomplishments, Amelia Earhart set an example of personal courage and dedication to the field of aviation.

Through her daring solo flight around the globe, Joan Merriam Smith also contributed to the distinguished accomplishments of American aviators, adding a new "first" to the growing history of important flights. In 1965, Joan Merriam Smith received the Harmon International Aviation Trophy, awarded posthumously.

Mr. Speaker, exactly 1 week ago the other body considered and adopted a similar resolution making May 12 a day of tribute to these women. I would urge this body also act promptly to memorialize Joan Merriam Smith and Amelia Earhart by designating an annual day in their honor.

CONGRESSMAN FRASER EXAMINES U.S. DEFENSE SPENDING

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, it is encouraging to note that the assumptions and programs of the American defense effort are coming under increasingly critical scrutiny by Members of the House and Senate. The Defense budget has long been regarded by Members of Congress with a degree of awe and reverence that has not always, in the long run, served the public interest. The new skepticism toward defense spending is long overdue, and promises to have a rationalizing influence on the entire matter of national defense, both in its own right and in relation to other national needs. In this regard, a most thoughtful review of defense assumptions and programs was presented recently by our colleague from Minnesota (Mr. FRASER) in a speech before the Unitarian Church of Washington. This speech raises the kinds of questions that I think desperately need to be more carefully examined prior to the vote of the House on the fiscal year 1970 military authorization legislation. I am pleased to provide a copy of Congressman FRASER's speech for the RECORD:

SPEECH OF CONGRESSMAN FRASER AT UNITARIAN CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D.C., APRIL 27, 1969

The federal government's expenditures for national defense are seen as very good or very bad, depending on one's point of view. You might say that defense spending is a many splendored thing—a stimulus to the economy or a drag on social progress; a prudent in-

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vestment in security, or a spur to an arms race; a necessary element in a wise foreign policy, or a force that distorts our relations at home and abroad.

For the first time in many years a national debate over defense spending is in progress. Until last year the military budget was the sacred cow on Capitol Hill. Congressional committees worried about whether the Department of Defense had enough money, and for three successive years, 1965-67, gave their own answer by increasing the requested figure.

Actually, defense spending by the U.S. has not been growing as fast as some people have thought. Military spending since the mid-fifties—since the Korean War—has had a slower growth rate than other governmental spending. For the past 12 years, defense spending—including the cost of the Vietnam war—has consistently absorbed from 8% to 9% of our Gross National Product. In the same period, all other governmental spending—at the federal, state, and local levels—has increased from 18% to about 24% of our GNP.

Moreover, the military doesn't deserve sole blame for many past policies. The civilian leadership in our government developed and defined the basic assumptions upon which the U.S. has proceeded.

Nevertheless, I believe that a searching review of our military posture is justified. The \$80 billion spent by the U.S. each year for defense is far more than is spent by any other nation. It approximates the annual productive wealth of all Latin American countries combined. It exceeds the total U.S. federal budget for 1950. At the same time, the U.S. has steadily lowered its economic and technical aid to the developing world. We were once number one in the share of our wealth we gave for development. Now we are fifth or sixth. Our military spending is twenty times our spending to help other nations. Moreover, unrest in the U.S. is more threatening to the strength of our nation than some of our external security concerns. The recent follow-up study one year after the Kerner Commission report told us our domestic problems are worse, not better, one year later.

For those who would like to adopt a constructive, though critical, stance in reviewing the military budget, answers are not easily found. Dr. Herman Kahn of the Hudson Institute appeared before a House subcommittee recently. He was asked whether or not an analytical framework exists which could aid us in determining what our security requirements are. He responded that too many judgments had to be made to permit such objective analysis. Other strategists and national security analysts concur.

Among the judgments which must be made are certain assumptions that our government has made about our security needs. At least three of these assumptions deserve closer scrutiny and I would like to discuss them with you this morning.

These are:

First, the assumption that the U.S. must always be prepared to fight two wars at the same time: one in Europe and one non-European war, larger even than the Vietnam war. Second, the assumption that Communist nations by their very nature pose continuing threats of physical military aggression and, third, that we must always have parity or superiority in the nuclear arms race.

Each of these assumptions may be wrong, and certainly each leads to sizeable defense expenditures. Yet, these assumptions are rarely reviewed as such by the Congress.

First, the two-war concept. How sound is it? The U.S. commitment to Western Europe deserves to be continued. The five divisions and supporting forces which the U.S. keeps in Europe cannot guarantee victory in a European war but they assure our involve-

ment. Successful aggression against our NATO allies in Europe would involve a shift in the world balance of power. We should, of course, seek a gradual reduction in forces in Europe, but we cannot escape involvement in this area so vital to our national security. The risks in this area are not, however, as high as we commonly believe, as I shall shortly point out.

But how sound is our assumption that we must keep prepared for a concurrent second war? Where would that war be? War between China and Formosa or between North Korea and South Korea may be possible. In either of those cases, however, successful conventional aggression against our allies would not shift the power balance measurably against the United States. Then why should we intervene? I can see two arguments in favor of U.S. intervention to protect Formosa or South Korea if either were attacked. First, putting down aggression strengthens the collective security concept envisioned by the UN charter. Second, we should protect those who seek to exercise the right of self-determination. This is an ideological reason-framed in more affirmative terms than our usual slogan of anticomunism. I assume without argument here that both of these reasons might be applicable.

But neither of these reasons are central to the national security interests of the United States. In such a case are we not wise to pare down the forces kept in readiness for such a war? Both Formosa and South Korea have large armies and the capability of defending themselves. Time would be available to mobilize added U.S. forces if necessary.

A paring down of U.S. forces would certainly be beneficial if we don't need to keep ready to fight two wars at once. Our armed forces now number 3.4 million. Our pre-Vietnam forces were about 2.6 million.

These forces compare with Soviet strength of 3.2 million, and Chinese forces of 2.8 million. China and Russia feel the need for such large forces because they face each other and other potential enemies directly across thousands of miles of their borders. The United States, on the other hand, has friendly neighbors north and south, and oceans on its flanks.

A reduction in U.S. forces by 500,000 would save enough in personnel costs alone to more than double federal aid to all levels of education in the United States. The total savings from such a cut would be far higher.

The second assumption being used by the U.S. in deciding the size of our military budget relates to the nature of Communist expansionism. For many years it has been accepted doctrine that the Soviet Union by its very nature poses a continuing threat of physical military aggression. However, I recently heard the opposite view expressed quite convincingly by Professor Fred Neal of Claremont Graduate School in California. He says that there is considerable confusion about the relationship of the Soviet Union as a state, Communism as an ideology and a system, and revolution in general. Let me quote Professor Neal. "Soviet ideology, far from committing the USSR to military aggression, either for national expansion or expansion of Communism, commits it against such action. According to Lenin's concept of 'objective conditions' of revolution, it is both impossible to foment a revolution in the absence of such conditions and wrong to make the attempt."

Professor Neal continues, "Since Stalin, following Lenin's ideas, held that objective conditions for revolution were not present, Soviet policy under Stalin, no matter how uncooperative and unfriendly, was always inward-looking, defensive and even isolationist. The extension of Soviet influence into Eastern Europe—resulting from the Red Army's defeat of the Germans—is usually the evidence cited as proof of Soviet military aggressiveness. It was, in a sense, a type of political aggression, but certainly not physi-

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cal military aggression in the sense we have been taught to fear it. Our first major policy effort based on this fear, the Truman Doctrine, sought to save Greece from Soviet Communist domination. As has now become known, in fact Stalin not only did not support the Greek revolution but actively opposed it," says Professor Neal.

He continues, "With the new doctrine of coexistence evolved under Krushchev, the Soviet Union began to play an active, offensive foreign policy role—based on Stalin's idea of supporting nationalist movements of all kinds—but at the same time was committed to the idea that a *détente* with the United States was necessary to avoid thermonuclear war—not because the Soviet Union is especially "peace loving" but because it was decided that this was necessary for the interests of Communism and the USSR. It is necessary also, I think, for the interests of democracy and the United States." says the Professor.

"Despite these facts, the whole direction of American foreign policy since the end of World War II has been based on the idea that we face a constant threat of Soviet military aggression, that the Soviet Union is committed to the physical destruction of the United States. We now seem ready to repeat the whole process in regard to China. This assumption about the danger of military aggression from the Communist states has permeated our whole social fabric."

Finally, the nuclear arms race has been fueled by the third assumption that the U.S. had to be certain of superiority or at least of parity in nuclear weaponry. The catch is in the word "certain". Because of the long lead time in weapons systems development the most dire assumptions about the other side have become the point of departure.

The U.S. consistently has been well ahead of the Soviet Union. We have moved to successively higher plateaus of nuclear development and deployment. We have literally forced the Soviets to respond to us and then, assuming the worst, we have responded to them in turn.

Consider the reasoning advanced a few weeks ago for money for a new bomber called the new Advanced Manned Strategic Aircraft. The Air Force argued that improved Soviet air defenses made it harder for existing U.S. bombers carrying nuclear bombs to reach their targets in the Soviet Union. So the Air Force wants a more complex and expensive supersonic aircraft to carry nuclear bombs against the Soviets on the sole ground that our current bombers have caused the Soviets to build defense to such bombers. If we proceed with the new supersonic bomber, the Soviets will be forced to spend billions for an improved bomber defense or to acquire their own strategic bomber force which in turn will force us to spend more billions for new counter measures.

If the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. each keep trying for superiority or parity in numbers of nuclear warheads, we can be sure of wasting many billions more on MIRV's (multiple warheads) and anti-missile missiles. The MIRV program, as you may know, would place in the head of each of our missiles several nuclear bombs, each capable of being directed to a separate target. Under present U.S. plans for MIRV's we will have over 10,000 warheads deployed across Europe, the U.S. and the oceans. Each one of our 41 submarines will be able to destroy 160 Soviet cities. We will have an overkill capacity of 50 times.

It may be hearsay to say this, but we could afford to temporarily fall behind in the numbers game and still be safe. There is no political objective important enough to induce either nation to risk the loss of a single city—much less a whole nation. Thus, imbalances are not inherently dangerous, for even with substantial imbalances the risk of such losses would remain high. Adopting such

a view would provide more safety in the long run than the breast beatings of the super-patriots whose uncritical demand for superiority threatens both us and the world.

Perhaps the arms control discussions scheduled to be held with the Soviets this summer will provide a way of slowing the arms race. The possibility of success may depend in part on the degree of certainty we require. Delay in starting these talks may make agreements far more difficult, for the MIRV programs will have become fully tested and operational in a short while.

These three assumptions which I have questioned: the requirement to be able to wage two wars at once, the nature of the Communist threat, and the need for certain nuclear parity or superiority, have not originated with the military establishment in the United States. These have been adopted as doctrine by the political and civilian leadership of the United States government. If these assumptions are in error, it would seem that responsible political leadership should accept the burden of questioning these assumptions and developing new positions which would accord more clearly with the security needs of the United States. It may well be that these assumptions and others of like nature are widely shared within the military establishment. But in the past, at least, they also have been widely shared in the Department of State and among those who have generally spoken out on the questions of security and the nature of American interests in the world.

Certainly it would help if there were more widespread discussion about these and other assumptions which underlie the military posture of the United States. A careful examination of these questions can lead to more prudent use of our resources, and lessen the dangers which come from the growing arms race across the world.

In the United States our unfinished tasks are taking on new urgency. The United States must solve its racial and related urban problems. With progress in meeting our domestic problems and a foreign policy which more closely reflects our moral concern for others in the world we shall be doing better than we are today. We will be advancing the cause of humanity of which we are, after all, a part.

JOB CORPS

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the administration decision to close 59 Job Corps centers by July 1, 1969, is an extremely serious action which will result in 16,500 less places for the training of unemployed young people in need of job training opportunities away from their home environment. In addition, it will utterly disrupt the lives of more than 4,000 youngsters now enrolled in the Job Corps program who will not have completed their training by the time of the scheduled closings.

In light of the misunderstandings surrounding the administration action and in view of the importance of the issue, I insert at this point in the Record a staff study prepared by the Democratic Study Group which summarizes the situation as it has developed and analyzes the arguments for and against closing the centers:

JOB CORPS

On April 11, 1969, the Nixon Administration announced plans to close 59 Job Corps

centers serving 16,500 young men and women by July 1, 1969. This decision has generated considerable controversy in Congress as well as from public interest groups concerned with poverty and employment. This DSG Staff Study provides a summary of the action taken, background on the Job Corps, and a summary of the arguments for and against retaining the 59 Job Corps centers.

SUMMARY

On April 11, 1969, Secretary of Labor George Shultz announced that 59 of the 113 residential Job Corps centers would be closed by July 1, 1969. Responsibility for the remaining centers would be shifted from the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) to the Department of Labor. Of the centers to be closed, 50 are conservation centers located outside metropolitan areas, and the remainder are urban centers of which seven are for men and two for women. In all, they accommodate 16,500 youths.

Shultz said that the 59 centers would be replaced with 30 newly proposed centers to be located in or near urban areas. The 30 new centers would accommodate 4,600 youngsters when they are completed. However, they are not yet authorized and no funds may be appropriated for them. The Administration will seek \$24 million for fiscal 1970 to launch the centers. Administration spokesmen believe construction of 10 of them could be underway this year. Therefore, the proposed centers will not alleviate the disruption in the training programs in which 16,500 young men and women are now participating.

Secretary Shultz has indicated that the Administration plan will allow a \$100 million budget cut from the \$280 million requested for the Job Corps by the Johnson Administration. However, House Education and Labor Committee staff estimates reveal that the cost of closing the 59 centers will total approximately \$101.8 million. Included in this figure is \$80 million spent on construction, renovation and equipment. The cost of terminating contracts and providing severance pay and transportation will be among the extra costs. Since there is no specific appropriation request for these costs, they would most likely be taken out of the \$180 million appropriation request, thereby resulting in an additional program cutback.

Reaction to the proposal to close the Job Corps Centers has been sharp. The House Education and Labor Committee Task Force on Poverty and the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty both summoned Secretary Shultz and other Administration officials to hearings. Testimony from public witnesses and Job Corps enrollees and personnel was also heard. Three resolutions, one in the Senate and two in the House, urge that administrative action to shut down any Job Corps centers be postponed while Congress conducts its review of antipoverty programs in connection with the Economic Opportunity Act extension amendments and the appropriations process. The Senate resolution, S. Res. 183, sponsored by Senator Cranston and 30 colleagues, was ordered reported by the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee on April 30 after a party line vote of 10-6. The resolution is scheduled to reach the Senate floor this week.

Resolutions urging delay by the Administration were also filed in the House. H. Res. 372 was sponsored by Rep. Rodino and all other Democratic representatives from New Jersey. H. Res. 381, 382 and 383, were sponsored by Rep. Ryan and 45 colleagues. There has not been any committee action on these resolutions.

BACKGROUND

The Job Corps was established by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. It provides a voluntary national residential training program for underprivileged young men and women. To be eligible for admission to a Job Corps center an applicant must be:

- (1) 14 through 21 years old;
- (2) A U.S. citizen or permanent resident;
- (3) A school dropout for three or more months;
- (4) Unable to find or hold an adequate job;
- (5) Underprivileged from having grown up in impoverished surroundings;
- (6) In need of a change of environment in order to become a useful and productive citizen.

Six of every 10 Job Corps enrollees come from broken homes; 63% from homes where the head of household is unemployed; 60% lived in substandard housing; 64% were asked to leave school; 80% had not seen a doctor or dentist in 10 years. Only 60% ever held a job, full or part time. Their average annual salary was \$639. Over half of the draft-age male recruits are unfit for military service for health or educational reasons.

Once admitted to the Job Corps training centers, the enrollees learn job skills and basic academic subjects and work on public resource conservation projects. Each enrollee receives room and board, medical and dental care, work clothing, a nominal allowance for dress clothing, a monthly living allowance of \$30 less deductions and social security. In addition, each receives a readjustment allowance of \$50 for each month of Job Corps service.

Enrollees are assigned to three types of centers:

(1) Conservation centers—located on public lands and operated by the Department of Interior and the Department of Agriculture or the States.

(2) Urban centers for men or women—these centers are operated under contract by businesses and universities and are located on demilitarized federal installations or leased land.

(3) Demonstration centers—which provide experimental programs.

Education

The Job Corps undertakes an intensive educational program unequalled by other federal manpower training programs. Over 85% of the Job Corps enrollees have not finished high school. The average grade completed is 9.6. Upon arrival at the Job Corps, the average enrollee is reading at a grade level of 5.4. Academic achievement levels are even lower for conservation center recruits. Their average reading level is grade 3.7 and only 6% read at grade 6 or above levels.

For every 10 months spent at the Job Corps, the average youngster gains one and one-half grade levels in reading and almost two grade levels in mathematics.

Job Corps reading and math programs have proved so effective that they have been adopted by Project 100,000, the Air Force program which trains airmen with inadequate reading and math proficiency. Lackland Air Force Base, Texas, reported that within an eight week course of study (120 hours), non-high school graduates showed an average reading level increase of 1½ years. In addition, 21 school systems have adopted some portion of the Job Corps-developed education materials.

Job training

Job Corps centers offer a wide variety of job training programs. These include training in the following areas: Automotive, building services, clothing services, computer operations, cosmetology, construction, education and social services, electrical and electronics, food services, graphic arts, health services, heavy equipment, landscape, machine trades, office and clerical, office machine repair and retail sales. Since 1967, the Job Corps has contracted with labor unions to provide training programs in such fields as carpentry, culinary and stewardship training for maritime jobs, painting, etc. These programs guarantee that a Job Corpsman who completes the program will be accepted for union apprenticeship.

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There now are 49 union programs in effect or for which contracts have been signed. As a result of the planned closing of 50 conservation centers, 23 of these programs will be terminated or not undertaken. In some cases, program participants will be unable to complete the course designed to guarantee them union apprenticeship before the closing of the center.

Earnings

Job Corps trainees obtain and keep better jobs as the result of their Job Corps experience. The recently completed Louis Harris study of over 10,000 ex-Job Corpsmen, commissioned by OEO shows that annual earnings before and after the Job Corps for those not in school or the Armed Services increased 80% or \$903 within six months of leaving the Job Corps. Similarly, 79% of those not in school or in the Army were employed. This figure compared favorably with the 62% working before their Job Corps experience at lower wage levels.

The Harris study also shows that the average hourly wage before the Job Corps was \$1.41. Six months after the Job Corps experience it had increased to \$1.79.

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST ADMINISTRATION DECISION

Administration reasons for closing the centers, as given by Secretary of Labor Shultz, and rebuttal arguments presented by critics of the proposal are as follows:

Need for the centers

Shultz argues that the centers are no longer needed. He maintains that in 1964 when the program was instituted existing manpower programs could accommodate only 27,000 trainees and can now serve 600,000. He argues that the 16,500 persons who will be turned out of the centers on or before July 1, can be placed in jobs or other training programs.

Shultz points to the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS), and Man-Power Training Act (MDTA) programs as serving the same need. He also questions the necessity of residential programs for all Job Corps applicants.

Critics charge that the installations are essential because Job Corp provide the only comprehensive education and job skills learning program available to youths between the age of 14 and 21. They point out that the average age of participants in the JOBS program is 27 with only 20% of the participants under 22. In addition, they assert that since JOBS merely reimburses the employer for on-the-job training, it cannot provide the assistance needed for those who lack such basic skills as reading proficiency. They indicate that the CEP program, now underway in less than 100 communities, is an urban program providing only limited job skill training. Over half of the CEP participants are over age 22. MDTA programs are also considered to be of little use to most youngsters under 21 since the statute limits the number of enrollees under 22 to 25%.

The critics also charge that there are no available places in manpower programs in many communities and Job Corps recruits will simply not be able to get into programs in their locality. They argue that the effect of the disruption will also discourage those who might be eligible for other programs from applying. It is estimated that at least 4,000 persons now in the 59 centers will not have completed their training by July 1.

Opponents of the Administration decision also express particular concern that the residential and relatively isolated nature of the programs at conservation camps will be disturbed. They maintain that many youths will not thrive in their home communities in which they are subject to unfortunate influences. For these youths, the rural conservation corps are necessary. They therefore

oppose the elimination of two-thirds of them.

Cost

The Administration claims its proposal will permit reduction of the Job Corps fiscal 1970 budget by \$100 million from the \$280 million requested by the Johnson Administration. The Johnson request was predicated on serving 35,000 youths. The Secretary of Labor argues that the cost of training at conservation centers is excessive—\$8,000 per trainee. He argues that the proposed urban mini-centers will cut costs to approximately \$5,200 per enrollee and that the JOBS program operates at less than half the cost of the Job Corps.

Opponents of the decision respond that the Secretary's per corpsmen figure is inaccurate. They cite the June 1968, *Jobs Corps Report*, published by the Office of Economic Opportunity, which indicates that the average direct operating cost per corpsman in fiscal year 1968 was:

Men's urban centers.....	\$6,990
Women's urban centers.....	7,227
Conservation centers.....	6,026

Opponents of the decision also argue that JOBS program costs are not comparable since that program does not provide a wide range of medical, educational and other supportive services and does not attempt to place youths who cannot read.

In addition, many argue that the poverty program is not an appropriate place to cut corners to curb inflation. They question the expenditure of billions for defense while young people are deprived of an opportunity for increased chance of success due to fiscal stringency.

Further, many question whether the closing of the centers will bring about a real saving. The House Education and Labor Committee staff estimates that it will cost over \$101.8 million to close the centers. They point out that there is a high investment in construction and equipment, that contracts will have to be bought out and that severance pay and transportation costs will mount up.

Isolation

Shultz argues that the Job Corps has experienced problems because of the relative isolation of the conservation centers. He indicated that this factor has contributed to "their inability to retain enrollees for a period necessary to achieve significant improvements in educational and vocational skills." He charged that about 65% of the youths left the Corps before graduation, almost 40% left before 90 days, and most enrollees were retained for less than six months.

Opponents of the Administration decision argue that many youngsters need a change of environment in order to become useful and productive citizens. They claim that there are often too many distracting and unfortunate influences in the home environment.

In addition, they argue that Secretary Shultz' assumption that the length of stay is shorter in conservation centers than urban centers is incorrect. They cite a GAO report on Job Corps performance in fiscal 1968 which gives the average length of stay as 5.7 months in men's urban centers and 6.3 months in conservation centers. Job Corp data for the second quarter of fiscal 1969 shows that the average length of stay in both men's urban centers and conservation centers is six months.

Critics also point to the Harris study which reveals that Job Corpsmen who do not complete the program still show improvements in ability to attain a job and in their earning levels.

Education record

Shultz claimed that the 50 conservation centers would be closed because they have a "poorer record in improving a person's education than do urban centers. Corpsmen in

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

conservation centers only increased their verbal grade level 80% as much as urban corpsmen; the increase in the arithmetic level was only 50% as great." He also scored lack of interest in the high school equivalency program.

Critics charge that the data used to develop these figures is misleading. It considers only the educational gains for corpsmen who complete the entire program in men's urban centers while the data used for conservation centers includes all corpsmen who terminate the program. The data therefore compares the top 40% of men's urban center Corpsmen who complete the program with all of the men who spend any length of time in conservation centers.

In addition, the Shultz statement fails to take into consideration the fact that until recently enrollees were assigned on the basis of educational ability. The top half of all entering recruits were sent to men's urban centers, the remainder went to conservation centers. About a third of the conservation corps enrollees cannot read or write when they enter the program. For this reason, the conservation centers have tended not to be overly concerned with the high school equivalency program.

Placement record

Shultz termed the placement record of the program as basic to any evaluation of success, he said that the conservation centers which are scattered in isolated places were unable to provide the necessary placement assistance. The conservation centers have not been able to take much responsibility in placing corpsmen after they leave the centers, he said.

Critics respond that under the present arrangement, the conservation centers do not have responsibility for placement. The Department of Labor through State Employment Agencies has placement responsibility under terms of contract with the Job Corps. Placement data for the first half of fiscal 1969 covering over 30,000 youths shows that 64% of all youths are placed. Of that total, the employment service places 20%, the Job Corps 8%, self placement 32% and community councils and others place the remaining 4%. Further, the Louis Harris study reveals that 85% of the ex-job corpsmen included in his sample who had been at conservation centers and were not in school or in the Armed Forces worked in the six months after they left the Job Corps either full or part time. Their earnings were up 80% over their earnings before the Job Corps experience.

Job training

Shultz states that the switch from conservation centers to the proposed urban centers will be accompanied by a shift in the training emphasis "from conservation work to industrial occupations." He said he doubted that "pure conservation work was a useful skill for youngsters who will return to industrial areas to find work."

Opponents of closing the centers respond that Shultz is misinformed as to the nature of the conservation center training programs. There is very little "pure conservation work" at the centers, they maintain. They point out that complete vocational training programs are provided for auto service mechanics, carpenters, cooks, bricklayers, cement masons, heavy equipment operators, welder and painters. These vocations are the basis for about 80% of all work projects at the centers. Further, critics argue that the union training programs in process at many of the centers to be closed provide guarantees of union apprenticeship to those who successfully complete the Job Corps union program.

Community impact

The Administration does not appear to have taken into consideration the impact of the conservation centers on the local com-

munities. In many areas they are a key part of the economy of the community. For example 34 of the centers to be closed are located in EDA areas. Not only does the Job Corps hire people from these areas of high unemployment, they also often spend more than \$1 million annually in each county on goods and services. The withdrawal of this source of revenue will be sorely felt.

CENTRALIZED PROCUREMENT

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, recent action by the Department of Defense to consolidate and centralize nonperishable and perishable commodity procurement gives me great concern. The implementation of such proposed action will further concentrate more and more activity into what is already a crowded, high-density eastern seaboard population area and will further remove procurement services from western suppliers.

Although all of this is apparently proposed in the interest of economy, I am not at all convinced that a case has been made. Furthermore, I doubt whether this transfer will result in any actual savings. In fact, the opposite may happen. Western suppliers burdened with added expenses and inconveniences and operating without close liaison with procurement officials may have to increase the cost of their commodities to the government.

Since the Defense Department has a sizable activity and involvement in the western part of the United States and a high level of activity in the Pacific theater, it does not appear consistent with good business practices to separate a major supply source from the procurement agency when the supply and consumption of the product are geographically close together. I include for the RECORD a copy of my letter to the Secretary of Defense and also a copy of a letter from Mr. John V. Vaughn, president of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, to the Defense Supply Agency on the Department of Defense plan for consolidation of procurement functions:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., May 7, 1969.

Hon. MELVIN R. LAIRD,
Secretary of Defense, Department of Defense,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Two recent actions by your Department involving the Defense Supply Agency gives me great concern for several reasons. Not only do I object to the apparent ever-increasing trend toward centralization and transferring of additional personnel and functions into compact areas, but I am also not convinced of any long or even short range economy. True, your analysis does indicate a calculated saving in both personnel and dollars, however, I have great doubt if your budget figures will so reflect in the years ahead.

Considering the Defense Department's sizeable activity and involvement in the western part of the United States and the level of military activity in the Pacific theater, it does not appear consistent nor in the realm

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of efficient planning to further consolidate and centralize activities on the eastern seaboard. I well appreciate that historically Philadelphia has been the home of the Army Quartermaster. Would it not seem that the Defense Department should follow the trend of industry and major corporations in the location and conducting of western-oriented business, close to the center of activity?

Your proposed centralization for procurement of non-perishable items in Philadelphia involves the removal of 67 personnel from the West Coast, 62 being from Oakland, California. This certainly appears to be a small number serving California bidders for non-perishable commodities. I certainly do not have to remind anyone in the Defense Department of California's production in canned fruit and vegetables as one category of items alone. It would appear that any purchaser would have an interest in maintaining much closer liaison with a major source of supply than your actions for consolidation and centralization reflect.

I am also concerned with your proposal to consolidate activities of the perishable subsistence headquarters of the Defense Supply Agency in Los Angeles to Oakland. I would suggest that you review certain statistics surrounding the Southern California area. I am confident that you will find that the purchase of meat and dairy products alone through your Los Angeles office in the last few years substantially exceeded purchases made in other California areas.

Therefore again, as I stressed above, I fail to see an economy or rationale for removing procurement personnel from vendors and suppliers who service an area. True, vendors can work through your proposed new centralized area office, but here again it would appear important that close liaison be maintained with suppliers in major areas. I am sure you appreciate that business establishment representatives, who must now travel, will incur an added expense which is only one item that will be reflected in higher costs to the Government and add to the complications of doing business on a day-to-day basis.

It is therefore my request, Mr. Secretary, that you cancel your plans for consolidation with respect to the non-perishable and the perishable subsistence procurement, as I fail to see where your analysts have made a case in the interest of economy, efficiency, or just plain practical distribution and customer relations.

Sincerely,

GLENN M. ANDERSON,
Member of Congress.

LOS ANGELES AREA
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Los Angeles, Calif., May 2, 1969.

Brig. Gen. W. M. MANTZ,
Commander, Defense Supply Agency Head-
quarters, Defense Personnel Support
Center, Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR GENERAL MANTZ: It has recently come to the attention of this Chamber and its members that the Department of Defense plans to consolidate the activities of the subsistence headquarters of the Defense Supply Agency at Los Angeles with the headquarters at Oakland, California.

Reviewing the statistics surrounding activities of the Los Angeles, Oakland and Seattle offices, the Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce believes that one can readily determine that the bulk of purchasing centers around the Los Angeles office. During fiscal year 1968, meat products purchased through the Los Angeles office represented \$38.5 million, as opposed to \$17.5 million for Oakland and \$6.2 million for Seattle. Dairy products purchased through Los Angeles represented \$21.1 million, contrasted to Oakland \$11.3 million and Seattle \$7.3 million. Figures displayed the same consistency in every category.

Los Angeles is now considered the financial

capital of the West. It is also considered the manufacturing, distributing, wholesaling and retailing capital of the West. D.S.A. contracts with over 600 suppliers in Los Angeles, which total is almost double that of the Oakland office.

We seriously question the economic trade-offs resulting from the eventual elimination of 22 civilian jobs when as a result of this consolidation the following can be expected to occur:

1. Deterioration of competition by moving away from the second largest market in the country.

2. High cost of doing business with D.S.A. in Oakland by businessmen in this area, who must travel to Oakland.

3. High cost imposed upon the government to service and inspect business establishments located in the Los Angeles area from the Oakland office.

4. Delivery and service delays as a result of this geographical separation from the nation's second largest market.

We are aware that D.S.A. from Oakland will attempt to continue to do business with more than 600 suppliers in the Los Angeles area. We are also aware that eventually this list will diminish in size because of the awkwardness of doing business on a day-to-day basis with an office no less than 450 miles from its major source of supply.

We strongly urge D.S.A. to cancel its plans to consolidate the Los Angeles office of D.S.A. into the Oakland office, in order that the business and industrial community of Southern California may continue to supply for the Armed Forces of the United States top quality products and services at the lowest possible cost and within the shortest possible delivery time.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN V. VAUGHN,
President.

THE RELATION BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE RENDER UNTO CAESAR THAT WHICH IS CAESAR'S

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to insert the remarks by the Honorable Ross DiLorenzo, justice of the civil court of New York, at the Father and Son Holy Name Society Communion Breakfast, Precious Blood Church:

THE RELATION BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE RENDER UNTO CAESAR THAT WHICH IS CAESAR'S

Most people who talk so glibly about the "separation of Church and State" haven't the least idea of what it means.

If you want people to read—then write articles on marriage problems, juvenile delinquency or sex.

The interesting problem facing us today is this "insidious doctrine of so-called separation of Church and State." Yet few know just what it means.

In the Southwest section of this country, a "phobia" still exists that the Catholic Church, if "once" given the power, would compel all Americans to become Catholics. Another section looks upon our Church as a monster which is bloodthirsty for world domination; another section claims that the Church wants to transfer Rome to Washington and make it all one government. This belief is the result of ignorance and malicious lies spread by enemies of our Church.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

The intelligent Catholic recognizes the falsity of these representations. But how many are intelligent Catholics, with the necessary knowledge of religion, and therefore ready to answer and defend our Church. Some believe that being a member of the Holy Name Society automatically makes you a good Catholic; others believe that the Knights of Columbus opens the gates to Heaven. Such organizations merely give you a splendid opportunity, if used properly.

Our saintly Pope Pius XII restated the doctrine of the Church concerning its relations to the State, in no uncertain terms, as follows: "No one is to be forced to embrace the Catholic faith against his will, since the Church believes that one's convictions constitutes a reason for tolerance." To support this contention, Pope Pius XII further said that "there is no need for force because religion cannot be forced; that there is nothing more voluntary than religion; that sacrifice comes from the heart, and without the heart, there is no sacrifice which is so necessary for religion."

In 1942, Pope Pius, in a note to the Secretariate of State to the Legation of Yugoslavia stated "that conversion must be the result not of external constraint but an interior adherence of the soul to the truths taught by the Catholic Church, and readmission to the Church is permitted on condition that the person is fully aware of the meaning and consequence of the step he wishes to take."

We who know the origin and function of the Church and State, have no fears of the Church's motives. We know that all things originate from God. So does the State and Church. We know the Church's role is spiritual; the State is temporal. The purpose of the Church is to save souls; the purpose of the State is to aid the material and temporal happiness of its citizens. *That is the only separation that exists and should exist.* To make it more general would then deny that the Church and State both originate from God, and that both are concerned with the same subject—human beings.

Pope Leo XIII defined the limits of the two societies as follows: "the special and proximate end of the State is to care for man's earthly prosperity—while the Church is to procure their heavenly and eternal welfare. It is, therefore, ignorance or bigotry to state that Washington, D.C., may become a little Rome.

COOPERATION BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE

The doctrine of "separation of Church and State" definitely has been promulgated by the irreligious or the bigot.

If both powers originate in God, they must be directed and sustained by their Divine author. While both are independent powers, they cannot ignore one another and still less—fight one another. They must cooperate in mutual understanding for the welfare of the people. With this understanding, the citizen then enjoys a good moral background, all to the benefit of the State. The State will profit from peace and harmony with the Church, when it recognizes that religion guarantees freedom of action within the teachings of God. This is an antidote to error.

CHURCH AND TOTALITARIANISM

Such a state is the enemy of God. It wants a Church that is silent and subservient in every manner, to the whims of human desires.

Against such terrorism of totalitarianism the Catholic Church will never permit herself to be shut up in four walls, and separate religion from life. Faith can produce a genuine and true democracy. A democracy without the rights of God. The dignity of the person would be defective and unsound, even from a political standpoint. The result can easily become totalitarianism, or perhaps authoritarianism—which means a one man rule.

RENDER TO GOD THE THINGS THAT ARE GOD'S—
ETC. (TO CAESAR)

What does this really mean?

Money has always been a touchy subject. Our Lord never had much—for what little he had he gave to Judas for safekeeping—and Judas was a thief. God always scolded people gently for worrying over money.

Only twice did he take money seriously. Both times because of taxes. Once he stated he did not have to pay to enter the Temple because it belonged to God, and he was the Son of God. Yet, Peter had to pay because he was not the Son of God. The tax was for a good purpose—to support the Temple and Christ worshipped there—it was His Father's House.

What Christ took seriously was the question of money affecting others. During the last week of his life, his enemies were out to kill him. Israel had no government in our sense of the word. God was their government. The nation was a vast religious community dedicated to the service of God. Taxes were only to be paid to God. Political authority was obeyed because it was the voice of God. Therefore, what right did the Romans have to tax them. God alone had that right. So during this time, they saw an opportunity to embarrass Him and agreed to make a public spectacle of it. While our Lord was teaching publicly in the Temple they asked him if it is "lawful to give tribute to Caesar," he answered by saying "bring me a denarius to look at and tell me now whose image and inscription appears thereon." Caesar's was the answer, and our Lord then quoted the famous words "Render therefore to Caesar and, et cetera." This meant no more than "pay your debts." Our Lord told them that Caesar or the State and God had rights, but *separate rights*; that the Church's was spiritual and the State's was temporal; that the tax did belong to Caesar, "who had built your roads, gave you police protection and improved your living conditions."

Our Lord never had any quarrel with men who wanted to run the world, but gave them permission to, with the right to collect taxes; yet, drew a line as to where their authority ended. Two thousand years later—we have the same problem—with the shoe on the other foot, with the question asked "has God any rights?"

THE TROUBLED WORLD OF TODAY

Who should decide whether divorce is good or bad? Should the State decide and regulate the control of our children? Should the State alone decide the immigration from overcrowded nations to this country? Should not the voice of the Church be heard—which voice is the interpreter of the law of charity. Who is going to provide charitable relief from public funds and taxes? Is this strictly a political question only? Are we going to tell God what He can do, or should we not ask Him for guidance, and what we can do. Can you separate one from the other?—Hardly! This is the result we are experiencing today. Disrespect for law and order because we fail to recognize and remember God.

At His trial before Pilate, Christ made the same point when He said "Pilate, fear not, I do not interfere with your authority for my kingdom is not of this world."

Separation means just that! That the State and Church are separate societies—both originating from God—for a singular purpose—the welfare of the people, and both must co-operate to that end.

When the authorities—both Church and State—will agree to that end—then we can enjoy the peace of mind that follows law and order. We can then pray and thank our Lord. We can again begin to walk the streets at night. We can then say power is the faith of God—not black—nor white—nor Catholic—nor Jewish—only God—for He is the origination of all and everything.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

FATHER ROBERT I. GANNON, PRESIDENT EMERITUS OF FORDHAM, ADDRESSES CATHOLIC TEACHERS ASSOCIATION OF BROOKLYN AND QUEENS

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, on April 19, the Very Reverend Robert I. Gannon, president emeritus of Fordham University, addressed a communion luncheon of the Catholic Teachers Association of the Diocese of Brooklyn and Queens.

Father Gannon's remarks were addressed to the question of the present and future status of Catholic colleges in the United States. I believe he stated the case in behalf of their support and continuation effectively as well as eloquently.

Since the support and funding of non-public institutions of higher education is of concern to all of us and will come before the Congress during the current session, I believe that Father Gannon's remarks are both timely and valuable.

So that our colleagues may have the benefit of his views, I include the full text of his address at this point in the RECORD:

REMARKS OF FATHER ROBERT I. GANNON

Mr. Toastmaster, you are so gracious, so extravagant you make me regret for the first time that I am the only one in New York City not running for Mayor.

May it please Your Excellency, Most Reverend Bishop, Right Reverend and Very Reverend Monsignor, Reverend Fathers, the two dear Sisters that I recognize and the other Sisters who may be here in disguise, Guests of Honor, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am always delighted to come, first of all because I love teachers, that is, all the teachers I have ever known except the ones I had in class.

It has been a great pleasure sitting here talking with a happy Bishop. In these days you have to come to Brooklyn to find a Bishop who hasn't a care or trouble in the world. But even though he does not have to worry about the wonderful institutions in his own Diocese, he is quite aware how much this morning's topic means to all his brother Bishops. For we are going to try to answer the question: "Shall we scrap our Catholic Colleges?"

SHALL WE SCRAPP OUR CATHOLIC COLLEGES?

Some may wonder what interest a teacher of primary or secondary school might have in scrapping our colleges? Actually, I think more interest than any citizen of the United States who doesn't happen to be a college teacher. As Americans, as educators and, especially, as Catholics interested in spreading the Kingdom of Christ, you are bound to have a very deep interest in the future of Catholic higher education.

The question suggests that we are doing a poor job again; that higher education is another failure of the old out-worn Church! It is no wonder that there is a wave of increasing criticism of everything Catholic rolling in from the Left. One source of this disturbance is a section of our liberal Catholic press; the section that is dominated by the so-called establishment—a name they have chosen for themselves. This is a group of journals and journalists whose most conspicuous members have refused to remove the word "Catholic" from their masthead, though their local Bishop had requested it. The principal target of these molders of thought is the Holy Father, and their boast

is that they are responsible for the Berrigan uproar, for keeping alive the messy issues of celibacy and birth control, and for the disproportionate publicity given to stray priests and nuns.

They recognize, of course, that there is a link between Catholic higher education and the success of the Church itself—the success of the Church that we have known for 1900 years, the Church as established with its hierarchical structure and its Pope, who still insists on being more than a symbol.

So, naturally, our colleges and universities with their many problems are considered fair game. The parochial schools can be ignored. They are on the way out because of financial and vocational difficulties. But if the Establishment doesn't sound the alarm, the colleges may get by with public grants and loans. I was reading the other day that St. Peter's College over in Jersey City received last year in government grants \$1,126,974, besides \$155,000 from various foundations. Of course, that wouldn't mean anything to a rich place like St. Francis. But, if they don't sound the alarm, colleges like St. Peter's may get by, and if they get by it will slow down the elimination of the Institutional Church.

The official line of attack is this: Our attempt at higher education is an obvious failure so let us give it up. The evidence? We have never had in the United States our rightful share of Catholic intellectual leaders. After all these years, where are our Einsteins, where are our Oppenheimer? They never ask Harvard: where are your Michelangelos, where are your Beethovens, where are your Shakespeares? One important fact is always overlooked: from the beginning two-thirds of our Catholic students have always been in non-Catholic institutions, so if we lack intellectuals it is two-thirds the fault of the non-Catholic colleges and universities.

But keep on repeating a slogan: "If it isn't Dannion's it isn't Yogurt—You can take Salem out of the country BUT you can't take the country out of Salem"—just repeat that often enough and the public will eventually believe you. So, the Establishment keeps on saying that Fordham, for instance, is hopelessly outclassed and irrelevant. It is outclassed because it has only six computers, not one atom smasher, and less than one million books in the library. It is irrelevant because of changed conditions. Like all other Catholic colleges, they tell us, it must have been founded for destitute Irish immigrants whose fathers were rioting around the saloons at Five Points. The Italian immigrants behaved so much better! But today we don't need slum colleges any more. Catholics have advanced financially and they can afford lovely, dignified and cultured places like Columbia.

The number of computers and the number of books can wait until the next educational convention. But the irrelevance of Fordham, like that of Seton Hall, St. Joseph's, St. John's, Molloy, and the rest, concerns us today as educators. How did we get involved with them anyway? What was their original purpose and are they still needed?

To go all the way back to beginnings, our American colleges, Catholic and non-Catholic, were started with the same purpose in 1634. In that year the Puritan Fathers began a college in Newtown, Massachusetts, which was one day to become Harvard; while the Jesuit Fathers opened one in Newtown, Maryland which, after many vicissitudes and several suppressions, evolved into Georgetown. The motto of the first was "Christo et Ecclesiae" (for Christ and the Church), while the motto of the second was "Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam" (to the greater glory of God), and both sought to carry out the Medieval tradition of higher education derived by Harvard from Cambridge in England and by the Jesuits from the University of Paris. With the exception of the University of Virginia, all Ameri-

can institutions of learning were religious in their purpose until the middle of the last Century. They were founded to develop leaders, and especially church leaders.

This was less evident in the founding of our women's colleges. Their present popularity in America is one of the few encouraging changes brought about by modern conditions. Seminaries for females—don't you love that?—go way back to the 18th Century, but here in the United States women got into college first when co-eds invaded Oberlin in 1833. Vassar in 1861 was the first college set apart for women, while Notre Dame of Baltimore began our Catholic tradition in the late nineties.

When my sister, for example, went away in 1895 she entered what was then called Manhattanville Academy of the Sacred Heart. When she got out in 1899 there were a lot of things she could do. She could paint. It was still life—very still. I remember that we had oranges and lemons and pineapples and dead fish all over the house. But her diction was perfect; her French a little imperfect. She was a crack theologian, and I remember how I used to stand by the baby grand piano and listen to her play "Alice, Where Art Thou"?

In other words, in 1899 she was all ready for a wedding ring from the right man, or a nun's veil, or a normal school for teachers. She was not ready for a graduate school or the business world. Manhattanville Academy prepared young women for what was then considered leadership, and so did all the other Academies. When these evolved into colleges, the idea of leadership was broadened but the purpose remained the same.

So it was with Fordham. The Bishop of New York, the indomitable John Hughes, whom they used to call "The Lion of Judah", wanted a seminary with a college attached because, as he wrote, "Unless something is done in time to multiply the priesthood and provide Catholic education for our future leaders, thousands of souls must perish for want of the bread of life". So, instead of looking for a basement on Canal Street, he found a beautiful mansion under construction at Rose Hill near the Village of Fordham in Westchester County. He bought it with money he had begged all over Europe and finished it for a college before building a chapel and seminary nearby.

The first college catalog appeared in 1849 with the names of 75 boys. Divided into seven classes, they ranged in age from fourteen to twenty-one. The many boys from South America and the Deep South (there were 16 from Mexico and only 8 from Brooklyn) were probably wealthy, and the local boys in comfortable circumstances. They had to be. The fees they paid, \$200 a year, look modest enough now until we realize that the average laborer before the Civil War earned about \$300 a year. So they were paying eight months wages. In other words, considering equivalent values, we can say that the first generation of students at Fordham were paying what would be today more than \$2500 for board and lodging. Undoubtedly there were many who could not pay and were taken in free. But still it is not the picture of a slum school that has to be phased out because it has become irrelevant.

Along the same lines, we cannot help wondering what became of the 79 boys whose names were in the earliest catalog. One hundred and twenty years later we can still identify a few of them. There was Robert Gould Shaw, who became Colonel of the first negro regiment in the Civil War. His statue is on the Boston Common. There was Thomas Connery, Managing Editor of the New York Herald, then Secretary to the American Legation in Mexico and, later, Editor of "Once a Week." This evolved into Collier's Weekly, which some of us can remember. Then, William Denman, who was Editor of

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EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

The Truth Teller. There was Judge Henry H. Dodge of Ohio, and the two O'Connors, one Lawrence, a well known architect, the other Michael P., a Congressman from South Carolina; and the artist, John LaFarge—all of them successful in after life.

Among those who became clerics there was Sylvester H. Rosecrans, first Bishop of Columbus; William Koegean, Vicar General of Brooklyn; James Hughes, Vicar General of Hartford; John A. Kelly, Vicar General of Trenton; William Plowden Morrough, Superior of the Ecclesiastical Seminary at Fordham, and several Pastors and common ordinary run-of-the-mill Jesuits, like David Merrick, who was President of St. Francis Xavier. All of this from a little school of 79 boys. Someone might still ask "Where are all the Oppenheimmers?" But most of us, I think, would be satisfied.

These details are not mentioned in any spirit of snobbery but merely to show that our purpose has not changed. Our purpose has always been to train leaders, and that is what makes our colleges relevant today.

With regard to professional and graduate schools, the reasons for our involvement at Fordham, as elsewhere, are more varied and complicated. The reason was sometimes money, sometimes prestige, sometimes the public good, sometimes zeal for souls. And here, for the sake of perspective, we should keep in mind the national picture of a century ago.

Father Agustus Thebaud, twice President of Fordham, wrote as late as 1885: "In this country, very few people understand the immense difference between a university and a college. There are 343 educational institutions and 72 are called universities". His French upper lip curled a little bit as he added: "It is in all conscience ludicrous enough". He did not consider Harvard and Yale as "universities" in the sense that is attached to the word in Europe, where he had taken his own degree, and he thought Columbia had a great advantage over Princeton from the fact that there has always been connected with it a grammar school, whereas in Princeton the pupils are received from every quarter; consequently they haven't got the training.

Fordham plunged into the University ranks with very little preparation 65 years ago by suddenly opening schools of medicine and law. This perilous step, taken with the object of prestige, was announced with charming insouciance at the Commencement Exercises in 1904. It always reminds me of that celebrated scene that took place in the Church of St. Paul Outside the Walls when good Pope John turned to a group that was standing nearby and remarked, quite casually, that he thought he would convocate an Ecumenical Council. The Medical School folded in 1921, but the Law School still flourishes. The School of Pharmacy was, frankly, a financial venture; but the School of Education and the School of Social Service were really inspired by zeal for souls and concern for the needs of the Church. The same could be said for the Graduate School. Fifty years ago nuns and brothers who had been teaching successfully for a long time suddenly needed degrees, and one thousand showed up for appropriate courses. About the same time Catholic Charities was organized by the Archdiocese and pointed up the necessity of professional courses for those who cared for the needy.

That is how Fordham got involved and mutatis mutandis you will find this is the story in most of our universities. Some of us feel that our graduate and professional work has given great glory to God. Some are convinced that it would have been wiser to concentrate on our liberal arts colleges; but no one doubts that our institutions of higher learning have been an important part of that century which will soon be recognized

as the Golden Age of the Church in America—1860 to 1960.

We should hesitate, therefore, to scrap our colleges and universities either because they are hopelessly outclassed or because, as slum projects, they are now irrelevant. The first reason represents lump thinking. Hundreds of places are lumped together as though they were equal whereas they are just as varied as their secular neighbors. The second reason ignores history.

But there is a third reason for closing our colleges that is never mentioned by our critics on the Left. So far, thank God, it is only a hypothetical reason and can be put this way: If the sad day ever comes when the present tendency to secularize our campuses achieves its goal, then indeed the time will have come to auction them off for industrial parks and give the proceeds to the foreign missions.

This tendency is frightening enough. In most cases it reflects financial uncertainty. Because of the large sums of money demanded for operation, the Holy Water in some places is beginning to disappear. The term "Christian" has taken the place of "Catholic", and even the religious on the faculty sometimes protest that they would never stoop to "indoctrination", as though the word indoctrinate implied a shot of LSD. All it means is to hand on doctrine or teaching; in religious matters, the teaching of the Church. What is so terrible about that?

The increased power of lay Trustees is not alarming, but some of the curricular changes and the abject surrender of authority by some administrators are quite another matter. Catholic educators have always protested, until recently, that the unique effect to be sought in a Catholic college came from the fact that the student absorbed a "Catholic way of life" from all his teachers and all his courses. A life-long attitude toward God and the universe was the expected result, and that compensated for some of our material disadvantages. Now with their eyes on public funds and non-Catholic foundations, some of our leaders are protesting that all our courses, except theology, should be just what you would find in Berkeley. Then when you check on theology in the catalog, you find that there is not too much difference even there. In some places that I know the student can graduate without having come in direct contact with any traditional Catholic theology. The courses are elective and only two are required: let us say, Indian Theology and Teilhard de Chardin.

I was his superior for four years, and I loved him; he was a very spiritual man, but you have to realize that Teilhard de Chardin was first a poet, then a scientist, then something of a philosopher and, incidentally, a theologian. I think a very fortunate element in his current success is the fact that his name wasn't Jim Mulligan. So many of his fans love to stand up and just pronounce the name: Teilhard de Chardin.

As for the surrender of authority, it has demoralized the student body and the faculty in those places that have not been blessed by having a Father Hesburgh as President.

So, then, we are involved in higher education and, for the glory of God we should remain involved. That we can do even if our fellow citizens in New York continue to deny us our share in the taxes we pay. We can survive if our friends are generous and our administrators and faculties will stop their liberal posturing, return in all simplicity to think with the Church and examine the reasons why Catholic parents will always prefer a real Catholic college, with all its financial problems, to just another cheap imitation of Harvard.

Thank you.

DISCIPLES OF DESTRUCTION

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, to those who have been following the many campus disruptions throughout the country, the name of Students for a Democratic Society—SDS—is no stranger. In response to the disruptions themselves, one school of thought prescribes a minimum of restraint, with the school administrations for the most part left to cope with the disorders. In contrast, others recommend a firm hand in enforcing and punishing violations of the basic laws involved. The taxpayers of the Nation are by no means disinterested bystanders in the controversy as many millions of their tax dollars are consumed by the institutions of higher learning. While sincere debate continues on the most prudent and effective approach to take, most fair-minded viewers agree that radical organizations such as the SDS cannot be allowed to foment trouble in our educational institutions with impunity.

The national news magazine, U.S. News & World Report, of May 12, featured an article on the radical nature and current activities of the SDS which provides a brief but adequate description of the threat posed by these young extremists. Illustrating the seriousness of the SDS movement, the article uses FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to show that the SDS is motivated by an almost passionate desire to destroy, to annihilate, to tear down, and can truly be classified as anarchistic and constitutes a new type of subversion whose danger is great.

The above-mentioned article offers a current and convenient rundown on a militant force which seeks to tear down the educational system of our Nation, and for this reason I insert it in the RECORD at this point:

SPOTLIGHT ON "SDS"—CASE STUDY OF CAMPUS TURMOIL

Look behind almost any of the disturbances that are disrupting American colleges today and you will find a group that calls itself "Students for a Democratic Society."

In the school year now nearing its end, SDS has been involved in disputes with authorities on some 200 campuses.

Now SDS is branching out—moving into high schools and industrial plants as well as into colleges.

High schools in many cities are experiencing disruptions that follow patterns suggested by SDS.

SDS members teamed up with Negro workers to force a temporary halt in production at the Ford Motor Company plant in Mahwah, N.J., on April 28.

Plans have been drawn and instructions issued for a so-called "work-in" this coming summer. Strategy: SDS followers will get jobs in industrial plants in order to agitate among fellow workers.

WARNING FROM FBI

The Chamber of Commerce of the U.S., in its annual meeting on April 27, received a warning from William C. Sullivan, head of domestic intelligence for the Federal Bureau

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of Investigation. Discussing the activities of SDS and other groups now disturbing schools, he told the Chamber:

"Businessmen are next on the list. This summer they intend to test you."

Investigations of the SDS are getting under way in Congress.

Yet, for an organization that has done so much to stir public concern—and often outrage—SDS has remained little known or understood by many Americans.

IDEALISM, RADICALISM

Even parents of SDS adherents ask: Just what is the SDS? How big is it? What does it really stand for? Is it Communist? Anarchistic? Or what?

There are no simple answers to such questions, because SDS is a loose organization of groups that differ from campus to campus and include many individual philosophies—ranging from youthful idealism to destructive radicalism.

The organization is held together by a few so-called "secretaries" and a national committee. Its income—small—is from donations, dues, and earnings of its publication, "New Left Notes."

SDS claims 6,000-dues-paying—\$5 a year—"national members," plus about 35,000 members of local chapters. But those who follow the organization closely estimate that there are as many as 100,000 SDS "adherents" who will join its campaigns and back its causes.

Chapters of SDS are believed to exist on more than 225 campuses—and new ones are constantly being formed.

REVOLUTIONARY TREND

SDS is a growing organization. It is also becoming more revolutionary and more violent. Now SDS leaders talk openly of overthrowing basic American institutions.

Michael Klonsky, national secretary of SDS—the top official—told his organization's national committee at Austin, Tex., on March 30:

"Our primary task is to build a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement."

SDS leaders attack the U.S. as a capitalist, imperialist and racist state and describe the Vietnam war as "capitalist imperialism."

SDS tactics have changed from protest to outright resistance.

At the national convention of the SDS, held at Michigan State University in East Lansing in June, 1968, a panel discussed methods of committing sabotage and making bombs. SDS distributed literature giving detailed instructions.

The SDS is generally regarded as the extreme wing of what has come to be known as "the New Left."

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover told a congressional committee:

"The mood of this movement, which is best typified by its primary spokesman, the Students for a Democratic Society, is a mood of disillusionment, pessimism and alienation. At the center of the movement is an almost passionate desire to destroy, to annihilate, to tear down."

"If anything definite can be said about the Students for a Democratic Society, it is that it can be called anarchistic."

SDS leaders admit that there are Communists in their organization.

National Secretary Klonsky, aged 25, is a son of a sometime official of the Communist Party-U.S.A. He describes himself as "a revolutionary communist"—spelled with a small "c." So does Bernardine Rae Dohrn, a 27-year-old lawyer who is organizational secretary.

The small "c" in the word communist is supposed to denote that they do not follow "old line" Communism—either that of Moscow or that of Peking.

DANGER IS GREAT

Mr. Hoover explained the difference in these words:

"The New Left should not be arbitrarily equated with the traditional old-line left. Although they become prey to the superior organizational ability and talents of the old-line subversive organizations, such as the Communist Party-U.S.A., the Socialist Workers Party and the like, to simply identify them as Moscow or Peking Communists would be missing the point."

"To put it bluntly, they are a new type of subversive and their danger is great."

Some of the SDS "accomplishments" attest to its power.

It was SDS, led by Mark Rudd, that spearheaded the attack on Columbia University in 1968 and closed down that institution for more than a week. On April 30, SDS renewed its attack on Columbia, seizing two buildings.

The SDS was instrumental in organizing the "march on the Pentagon" to protest the Vietnam war in 1967.

SDS helped to plan and lead the demonstrations in Chicago during the Democratic National Convention last year. Thomas E. Hayden, who was one of the organizers of SDS in 1962, was among those indicted on charges of conspiracy to incite riot in connection with the Chicago disorder.

SCOURGE OF CAMPUSES

SDS led in this spring's rebellion at Harvard and has had a hand in nearly every other recent disturbance on campuses all across the country.

In these campus rebellions, SDS often is able to mobilize several thousand students who are willing to seize buildings by force, hold college officials captive, rifle and burn official records, set fires and battle with police.

Yet SDS chapters are relatively small—sometimes only a few dozen members, seldom more than a few hundred. How can so few cause so much trouble?

MASTER TACTICIANS

The answer lies in SDS preparation and tactics, which are modeled on methods developed by Communist revolutionaries over many years in many countries.

SDS seizes on any issue that arises on a campus, exploits it and expands it, and stirs into action many students who normally would not become involved. When the group's tactics have aroused the students, the SDS feeds them suggestions that are actually carefully drawn plans designed to create a confrontation with college officials.

Favorite SDS issues include: the war in Vietnam, the military draft, the Reserve Officers Training Corps, campus recruitment by companies making war materials, military research projects.

The repeated harassment of Dow Chemical Company recruiters when they visited colleges was one of SDS's projects. Dow's manufacture of napalm for the war was used as a reason. Army recruiters and Selective Service officials have been harassed similarly.

Often the issue may involve nothing more than some regulation laid down by college authorities.

Sidney Hook, former head of the philosophy department at New York University, wrote in NYU's "Alumni News":

"On every campus there are always some grievances. Instead of seeking peacefully to resolve them through existing channels of consultation and deliberation, the SDS seeks to inflame them."

"Where grievances don't exist, they can be created. In one piece of advice to chapter members, they were urged to sign up for certain courses in large numbers, and then denounce the university for its large classes."

If university officials move to grant SDS demands, the demands are escalated. Another tactic is to lump some unreasonable demands with some valid demands—and then present the whole package as "nonnegotiable."

RIDICULE, HARASSMENT

A manual of tactics for taking over a university has been written by Carl Davidson, who is known as a "theoretician" of the SDS.

Once an instructor at the University of Nebraska, he has visited Cuba and once had a three-hour talk with Fidel Castro. He describes himself as "a Marxist but not an old leftist."

One of his suggestions is that students try to break down the "legitimizing authority" of campus institutions.

"This," he says, "is the purpose of singing the Mickey Mouse Club jingle at student-government meetings, of ridiculing and harassing student disciplinary hearings and tribunals, of burning the dean of men and/or women in effigy."

Mr. Davidson advises students to "work inside the system" but not "play by the established rules." He warns against backing reforms "which leave the basic rationale of the system unchallenged."

Also, according to Mr. Davidson:

"We should avoid all of the 'comanagement' kinds of reform . . . giving certain 'responsible' student leaders a voice or influence in certain decisionmaking processes. . . . We are not trying to liberalize the existing order, but trying to win our liberation from it. We must refuse the administration's rhetoric of responsibility."

"Ultimately," he says, "we have access to only one source of power within the knowledge factory. And that power lies in our potential ability to stop the university from functioning...."

"Throughout all of our on-campus organizing efforts we should keep this one point in mind: that sooner or later we are going to have to strike—or at least successfully threaten to strike."

DOCTRINE OF DESTRUCTION

A complaint made repeatedly by educators and officials is that SDS seems bent only on destroying the existing system, proposing nothing to put in its place. Mr. Davidson provides SDS members with a reply to such complaints. He writes:

"While it is true that 'abolition' is a negative reform, and while we will be criticized for not offering constructive criticisms, we should reply that the only constructive way to deal with an inherently destructive apparatus is to destroy it."

Representative Elford A. Cederberg (Rep.), of Michigan, who inserted two of Carl Davidson's manuals into the "Congressional Record" April 24, said this:

"The . . . two documents clearly indicate that the so-called Students for a Democratic Society is dedicated to the destruction of our democracy and should be called the Students for the Destruction of a Democratic Society."

WHO MEMBERS ARE

Most SDS members are white, from affluent or middleclass backgrounds.

Black students tend to form their own separate organizations on the campus.

However, the SDS often backs Negro demands, as it did recently during troubles at Cornell.

At the Ford plant in Mahwah, N.J., the SDS—led by Mark Rudd—moved in behind demands of the United Black Brothers (UBB) who were protesting alleged racist policies and demanding recognition of the UBB as a bargaining agent for Negro workers.

This incident may be a warning of what industry can expect next summer from the SDS work-in campaign.

The long-range goal of the work-in is to develop a revolutionary alliance of students and workers.

"Our goal is not to organize the U.S. working class in one summer," an SDS document says.

But, it adds:

"Hopefully, in the not too distant future,

we may be instrumental in forming a new International Union of Revolutionary Youth."

SCHOOL FOR BOMB MAKING

In high schools, SDS encourages challenges of school authorities on issues such as dress regulations, study tracks and student voice in running the school. Senator Gordon Allott (Rep.) of Colorado, told the Senate on April 29:

"Across the nation, SDS has been moving into and organizing high-school students to initiate disruptions..."

"One has only to turn to the suburbs of Washington to find that the SDS prescription is being followed to the letter. The pattern is the same everywhere, of course, including in my own State of Colorado. In fact, I have in my possession an SDS document handed out recently at a Denver East High School basketball game instructing students on how to make home-made bombs..."

One Government official who has observed SDS closely described its relations with the Communist Party this way:

"Even some SDS leaders who call themselves Marxists or small-communists regard the regular Communist Party as outdated. They reject party discipline. Their heroes are guerrilla types such as Cuba's late Ché Guevara or North Vietnam's Ho Chi Minh.

"Communist Party leaders, in turn, do not completely trust the SDS or approve of all its methods. But they use SDS at every opportunity."

Gus Hall, head of the Communist Party-U.S.A., has said:

"Fronts are a thing of the past. We don't need them."

"We've got the Du Bois Clubs, SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) and SDS going for us."

A HARD LOOK AT THE U.S. TECHNOLOGICAL POSTURE

HON. ALEXANDER PIRNIE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. PIRNIE. Mr. Speaker, startling technological developments have highlighted recent decades. We have become accustomed to the wizardry of modern science. There is a real danger that we will be lulled into a false sense of security and not do those things required to achieve the potential of things to come. Complacency will be fatal. The protection and economic strength of our Nation will depend upon our keeping the pace. Insight will permit us to move ahead adequately and efficiently.

The Air Force Systems Command has as its mission the responsibility for advancing aerospace technology, adapting these advances into operational aerospace systems, and acquiring qualitatively superior aerospace systems and materiel needed to accomplish the Air Force mission.

To accomplish this tremendous responsibility, the Systems Command, headquartered at Andrews Air Force Base, Md., directs the operations of a vast network of divisions, development and test centers, and laboratories. One of the branches of this great organization, the Rome Air Development Center, is located in my district.

The commander of the Systems Com-

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mand, Gen. James Ferguson, is a well experienced military officer who possesses a most unusual background of practical experience in the technological development of military aircraft.

In these days of doubt about advancing the capabilities of our military might and the supporting of large national budgets for procurement of materials of war, it is most timely to hear what this expert has to say about our technological development of aerospace systems.

The May issue of the Air Force Space Digest contains an article written by Edgar E. Ulsamer in which very timely views of urgent import are expressed by General Ferguson. Because of his recognized stature in this field, I am sure my colleagues will find them deeply interesting and informative.

The article follows:

A HARD LOOK AT THE U.S. TECHNOLOGICAL POSTURE

(By Edgar E. Ulsamer)

Among paramount Air Force technology requirements are comprehensive upgrading of test facilities, which are "stretched to the breaking point at present," an infusion of about \$300 million in advanced development work across the R&D spectrum, more modification of existing weapon systems, a hypersonic follow-on to the X-series of test aircraft, and "greater technological togetherness" of all sectors of government.

These views were expressed recently to AIR FORCE/SPACE DIGEST by the Commander of the Air Force Systems Command, Gen. James Ferguson, and some of his principal staff officers.

Rating the national technology posture as "not as good as it should be or could be," General Ferguson said a recent Air Force study of specific areas of laboratory-type technology in need of intensified exploration showed that "\$300 million is the sum total—certainly not a staggering amount and only a fraction of what it costs to fight the war in Vietnam for a week—or all the items that we consider productive and worthy of effort, over and above what we are according them now."

The Achilles' heel of the US technology effort, in the view of AFSC, however, is the inadequate condition of US test facilities—a matter of concern not merely to the Air Force but to all components of the Department of Defense, as well as NASA, other government agencies, and industry.

In this area "we are literally stretched to the breaking point. We are using facilities that go back to Peenemuende [the German World War II missile center]. We had to put protective barriers around some of the compressors so that if they disintegrate, they won't injure everybody in the vicinity," General Ferguson explained.

The current test-facility crisis centers on large and costly aerospace facilities involving test ranges, scientific laboratories, space chambers, wind tunnels, shock tubes, instrumented aircraft, computerized analysis, advanced reentry vehicle test tools, and synthetic battleground test capabilities. Planning and constructing such facilities involve a five- to ten-year lead time. These facilities are the incubators and the ultimate pacing factor of future technological advance, according to General Ferguson, and should be viewed by the government as "capital investment" to assure this country's "continued ability to operate profitably and compete effectively."

What is needed, in General Ferguson's view, is the same kind of vision and boldness as the late Dr. Theodore von Kármán displayed in 1945 when he campaigned for a Mach 3 wind tunnel and associated test facilities, which turned out to be the very

foundations of today's technology but which were derided at the time by the skeptics as extravagant and unnecessary.

"We need the willingness to support technology by exploring the unknown, to build something that isn't necessarily in direct support of an approved program. We need to do this not only for the sake of progress but because there are other people in this world who are doing just that. The probability is great that they eventually will force a breakthrough of immense usefulness . . . and we will have to cope with the full lead time to catch up," General Ferguson said.

The need for improved and modernized test facilities, to a large measure, hinges on cost considerations. The inability to test the C-5's engine, the TF39, in that portion of its performance envelop ranging from sea level to 5,000 feet because existing wind tunnels were inadequate for the massive airflow requirement, made it necessary to use a modified B-52. This was not only costly but also disadvantageous because a much greater volume of data can be accumulated in a single hour of test cell operation than is generated by days of flight testing. (Similar test restrictions apply to the General Electric GE4 engine, slated to power the SST.)

The lack of adequate wind-tunnel facilities to test up to Mach 24, for instance, escalates costs of hardware like the Advanced Ballistic Reentry System (ABRES). In place of relatively inexpensive ground simulation, actual test firings are required during the preliminary phase of the program.

The absence of wind tunnels capable of testing V/STOL aircraft in all modes of operation, in the view of General Ferguson, explains in part why fifty-five different prototypes were built in the past few years, "all without sufficient success to justify production." A similar condition prevails with regard to WS-120, the proposed advanced ICBM, which is complicated by the absence of adequate rocket test cells.

Savings achieved by shortchanging the test facilities program may well prove penny-wise and pound-foolish. The Air Force believes, for instance, that the absence of advanced dynamic simulation facilities to test landing gears extracts a price substantially higher than the cost of building such an installation.

THE PROBLEM OF NATIONAL TEST FACILITIES

A number of special circumstances complicate, as well as intensify, the problem of national test facilities, according to General Ferguson. There are indications that Soviet efforts in developing sophisticated test facilities are progressing rapidly. The implication is, as he told the Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee, that "the Soviets intend to develop new systems advanced enough to require these facilities . . . by itself a provocative realization." He added, "We must also recognize that Soviet development-to-development lead time will be effectively shortened, [for] facilities in their economy as in ours are long lead-time items, indispensable to the timely development of new systems."

He urged, therefore, an "imaginative, comprehensive, long-range plan for the design, development, and acquisition of those facilities that will be needed to provide the critical simulation environments, dimensions, and time durations for future systems. I feel such a plan is needed, just as surely as such facilities will be needed, and it must be national in scope."

"It occurs to me that when the Nation has to spend \$50 million or more per facility [about \$100 million for a wind tunnel to test engines of up to 60,000 pounds of thrust], then we should have a plan that spells out in order of priorities where and how the nation should allocate these funds," General Ferguson said. He added that an integrated

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facilities program should be formulated on an interagency basis to reflect the government-wide utility and national resource character of advanced test facilities. AFSC presently administers test facilities and laboratories representing a capital investment of \$1.5 billion. Total DoD facilities are valued at \$2.2 billion, while the government-wide total represents an \$11.2 billion investment.

General Ferguson advocated expansion of the concept of "technological togetherness" to include the aerospace industry in the sharing and development of test facilities. Without questioning industry's need for, and right to have, test facilities of its own, or proposing that "we should confine ourselves to just one facility of a kind in the nation," he suggested that "maybe we have gone too far in building separate facilities [in industry], for in the final analysis it is the government which directly or indirectly pays for them."

He, therefore, proposed that more government facilities be made available at adequate rates to industry, a practice already in effect with regard to some AFSC installations which are industrially funded.

"I can't see any other way of providing these massive facilities which have a primary defense orientation but also furnish invaluable service for the civilian sector," he said. "If you had to test, say, a 100,000-pound-of-thrust jet engine for a future commercial jet transport under ambient conditions," General Ferguson said, "the task would be colossal for industry to undertake on its own."

"Yet, if the company with such a need were to participate in extending our facility at [the Arnold Engineering Development Center in] Tullahoma, Tenn., I would think that we have a situation that is very much in the national interest. We have a precedent of sorts—although not with the private sector—because NASA paid \$4 million toward extending the AEDC wind tunnel to test the upper stages of Saturn, with the result that both its own and the Air Force's capabilities are enhanced."

Other AFSC test facilities which also were used for non-DoD purposes are, in General Ferguson's words:

The 15,000-foot instrumented runway and excellent weight and balance facility at Edwards AFB, Calif., have been made available in support of the DC-8, DC-9, 727, and 737 jetliner certifications.

At the Inhalation Exposure Facility of our Aero-Med Laboratory, technicians are studying the implications of long-term exposure to common chemicals threatening pollution to the atmosphere. The findings of these studies will be applied to the federal standards being set for "clean air."

That same lab's Bio-Acoustic Research Facility is measuring possible effects of the sonic boom on communities, and collaborating with other federal agencies in auto crash research.

And at the Cape, Air Force tracking equipment has been used to track commercial communication satellites from launch to orbit.

General Ferguson stressed that parochialism has no place in orchestrating a national test facilities program, and that management of a given government facility should be exercised by the primary using agency. "This approach works well between us and NASA. For instance, NASA ran tests for the Air Force on the F-X effort; is now testing the F-111 in Sunnyvale, [Calif.]; and will be working with us on the F-15. NASA, of course, was also involved in the C-5 program, and will be in the F-12 effort," he said. As far as DoD's plans for test facilities are concerned, an *ad hoc* committee representing the three services is currently preparing a list of specific requirements for the 1970s.

THE NEED FOR POOLING TECHNOLOGY

Pooling of technology on a nationwide basis as a means of streamlining and also reducing costs in the R&D area was stressed by General Ferguson. The Air Force and NASA, the General pointed out, have held intensive discussions on "where we go from here, in space, for instance. . . . We expect to distill our common goals, determine what technologies are needed to achieve them, and decide on who has the best capability to undertake individual jobs." Among these goals, he said, "is the key to the future in space, the ability to shuttle back and forth between the ground and orbiting space vehicles, which requires exploration of new reentry methods and new hypersonic vehicles."

General Ferguson explained that in addition to the HL-10 and X-24 subsonic lifting-body vehicles currently under test, there is the need to develop hypersonic vehicles in the form of a new family of X-series aircraft. "Perhaps we don't need as many as we had before, but there is a categoric need for a follow-on effort to the X-15 beyond the small, inexpensive proposal that we have submitted jointly with NASA. But we should launch such an effort to explore the hypersonic performance envelope, even if it isn't tied to a specific program but rather as an insurance policy against technological surprise."

Intensified cooperation, he said, should also extend to such agencies as the Department of Transportation and its Federal Aviation Administration. General Ferguson said he planned to discuss with FAA Administrator John H. Shaffer the civilian potential of a number of Air Force projects, such as the long-term promise and "great national importance of the communications-navigation identification [CNI] project." Both military and commercial aircraft are overburdened at present, General Ferguson explained, with the "black boxes" which perform the CNI functions. The Air Force CNI system concept envisions a combination of satellites and ground computers with only one black box, weighing about fifty pounds and miniaturized into one cubic foot of space aboard each aircraft.

Aircraft incorporating this kind of equipment "could be under continuous air traffic control, and could, in all weather, without recourse to conventional ground and air navigation, determine their absolute position within 600 feet," an obvious boon to both military and commercial aerospace utilization. Other promising technology areas with a civilian spinoff potential include heads-up displays, advances in electro-optical systems, and lightweight instrument landing systems (ILS).

General Ferguson said he felt that there are opportunities for "joint ventures" such as examining and treating the Air Force's Light Intratheater Transport (LIT) project "right from the outset in the light of both its military and civilian utility" (see AF/SD, July '68, "LIT—Flexible Airlift for the Front Lines"). Because of the LIT's proposed size, range, speed, and payload—which coincide closely with the commercial requirement—General Ferguson said, "I think both the military and the civilian applications can be worked out without compromise to either side. This, of course, doesn't mean that the military aircraft should be built to civilian specifications or vice versa. But perhaps it might be possible to build a military fuselage and civilian fuselage, or different wings."

The very least that suggests itself in terms of commonality, he added, is "a joint program involving the prototype from which either side can evolve its own final design." This, he said, applies also to the avionics system. "Obviously, LIT illustrates the opportunity for joint approaches and the concomitant substantial economies that could be realized," he said. "Without attempting to

express a new national philosophy," he continued, "it seems to me that we could share in the funding" of such an effort. The Department of Transportation, General Ferguson suggested, might well be the agency to arrange the civilian aspect of the program, while DoD could be charged with "working out the military side of the bargain." He pointed out that the airline industry has already proved its willingness to advance money toward development of an aircraft deemed necessary. This has occurred in the US SST program, which is in part funded by the airlines.

FLEXIBLE DESIGN AND DEVELOPMENT CONCEPT

Historically, there has been a tendency toward stereotype, or, as Dr. John Foster, Director of Defense Research and Engineering, put it, "procrustean rather than innovative" approaches to the design, development, and procurement of sophisticated weapon systems. In General Ferguson's view, the inherent problem has been one of pendulum swings from the extremes of full hardware development on the one hand to all paper studies on the other. "Neither is necessarily a correct approach. The idea is to stop the pendulum somewhere halfway," he said, with the result that AFSC advocates in certain instances a concept formulation combined with hardware development or "competition with hardware" policies.

"The approach, of course, must vary depending on what it is you want to undertake, but there are a number of programs about to be launched that are amenable to the prototype approach," he said. Systems Command feels that these projects require carrying the development beyond the paper study to the point of proving out critical components, a combination of components, a new technology, a new material, or an entire system. General Ferguson pointed out.

"It is no more than good business to make sure that the \$5 billion or \$10 billion you spend on a major weapon system results in a product that gives you the longest life and the greatest productivity. This means taking a modicum of risk and making a moderate investment early in the program to assure that what you will produce at many times the cost and effort of the R&D phase will do what you want it to do, in a manner you want it to, and at a price you are willing to pay," General Ferguson emphasized.

He pointed out that SCAD (the subsonic cruise attack decoy) lends itself "to full prototype flyoff involving two or more contractors." The Light Intratheater Transport, he said, is also being examined with an eye toward the prototype approach, especially with regard to such sophisticated techniques as "stowed-rotor" technology where we might want to test out several individual designs."

General Ferguson and his staff experts rated the temptation of dogmatic approaches and the "blind adherence" to one form of contracting and acquisition as the principal pitfall of the national R&D effort. The tendency to seek "panaceas" has encouraged total negation of "whatever previous approach you might have taken. As you eliminate what you consider a faulty element of your tactics, you are apt to discard all the good points along with it," one AFSC staff officer stressed.

The emergence of the initial-development concept as a prudent approach in certain cases, therefore, should not sound the death knell for total package procurement or any other technique. Nevertheless, General Ferguson feels that during the past eight years too much preference has been given the "paper-study" approach. "If you analyze the total costs of an intricate system, premised on a data base that is not validated, and compare them with one where you have proved out the more demanding hardware aspects, more often than not you will dis-

cover that the latter is the cheaper and more efficient route to go," General Ferguson said.

"In the long run, it generally costs less to go slow in the initial program phase by uncovering technical difficulties, by solving them, and by eliminating the need to make changes downstream in the program when the price for change is much higher," he said. The political advantage of the study approach, of course, is that the initial costs are low and easily defensible in terms of fiscal policy.

General Ferguson cautioned that "we can't go back to the approaches used in the past when we were able to build, either in prototype or production form, thirty-three different fighter airplanes within a decade. The complexity and cost of modern systems make this impossible. But we must get back to a level [of hardware activity] where we can keep the irreplaceable design teams alive. We must intensify efforts to modify the current family of systems, especially aircraft, and periodically produce something that is clearly a step beyond what we have in service today," General Ferguson said.

General Ferguson emphasized that the French aircraft industry has shown exceptional resourcefulness and ingenuity in using modification of existing aircraft as a means to beget "whole families of aircraft, something on the order of what the US automobile industry has also been able to do."

Dassault, he said, "very cleverly parlayed" the original Mirage prototype into a nuclear bomber, a VTOL fighter, and a number of aircraft, by altering engine arrangements, using different wings, including variable sweep, while retaining a cohesive "family resemblance" in all of them.

"Whenever they had a system that was proved out, they didn't start from scratch but used it in the next model, often simply scaling to the new requirements. The French now have a range of aircraft that enables them to sell one type of plane to the Israelis, another one to the Peruvians, and a supersonic swing-wing version to the Japanese, all traceable to one prototype that has been incrementally improved and carried forward over a decade," he said.

The United States, by contrast, General Ferguson said, has done "very little with modification as a means to add to our inventory or our storage of knowledge. . . . With hindsight, it would seem that we should have done what the Russians did, such as experimenting with swinging just the outboard half of a variable-sweep wing. We also might further along if we had prototyped existing aircraft for more intensified work on variable camber, of the type which we plan to incorporate in the F-15," he said.

THE C-5—MISUNDERSTOOD AND MALIGNED

While not a categoric advocate of the total-package procurement concept, General Ferguson defends the performance of this approach in regard to the C-5 Galaxy without reservation and "without need for being protective or defensive about it. . . . Anything we have done in conjunction with this program," he stressed, "we are perfectly willing to go over step by step with any responsible group. The C-5 program is both very much misunderstood and maligned."

From the very outset, the AFSC Commander stressed, the contract defined clearly through a specific formula that the government would make accommodations deemed necessary in conjunction with inflation, increased prices on the subcontractor level, competitive factors involving the suppliers as induced by the Vietnam requirements, and high engineering risks. "Therefore, we provided for a contract step between production run A and run B [first and second half of a total initial buy of 120 aircraft] to look at our experience, our real costs in engineering man-hours, and what really hap-

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peneed in the country as far as inflation is concerned and compare them to our original forecasts," he said.

While this phase has not yet been reached, the actual cost increase, over and above the increase induced by inflation and covered by the inflation clause, "is about ten percent above our forecast, and not 200 percent as claimed" in Congress and by the press, he pointed out.

In conjunction with the six-month slip-page of the C-5 program (see *AF/SD*, April '69, "Such a Nimble Giant"), he said there has been a general overemphasis of "the sanctity of the IOC [Initial Operational Capability]" not just concerning the C-5, but other weapon systems as well. "It is much more important to create something that is reliable and based on solid engineering design before you commit yourself, and have something proved and useful when it does get into the inventory, than to meet a deadline set several years ago," he said.

General Ferguson made clear that the Air Force plans to continue to stress the utility and capability of the system to be acquired in all its procurement efforts, in conjunction with hard looks at IOC. "That way," the Commander of Air Force Systems Command said, "you are ahead in all respects."

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT POLL IN TUCSON

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, the Tucson Daily Citizen, one of the major newspapers in my district, published on May 9 the results of an opinion survey among the high school students of the city.

More than 70 percent of the students voted in the survey, expressing their opinions on questions suggested by the students themselves.

I think the results of this poll of more than 12,000 Tucson high school students gives an interesting indication of how our younger people feel about some of the major issues of the day. Without objection, I will insert the results of this poll in the RECORD at this point:

Ballots cast: 12,035.

1. Does Tucson offer the opportunity for you to live and work in the area after your schooling is completed?

	Ballots	Percent
Yes	5,128	43.15
No	5,423	45.63
No opinion	1,332	11.20

2. Do you feel that your parents—

	Ballots	Percent
Overdiscipline	2,179	18.35
Underdiscipline	843	7.10
Don't care	311	2.61
Are fair	8,540	71.92

3. In the Mideast crisis, the U.S. should support—

	Ballots	Percent
Arabs	263	2.21
Israel	2,640	22.18
Stay neutral	6,829	57.38
No opinion	2,168	18.21

4. For what would you rather have your tax money spent?

	Ballots	Percent
Education	4,425	37.46
Foreign aid	213	1.80
Military	964	8.16
Poverty	5,161	43.69
Space	1,048	8.87

5. For military forces the U.S. should rely on—

	Ballots	Percent
Lottery system	1,155	9.70
Present draft system	4,484	37.66
Volunteer system	4,744	39.84
No opinion	1,522	12.78

6. How should the President of the U.S. be elected?

	Ballots	Percent
Popular vote	7,634	64.14
Present electoral college	1,484	12.46
Revised electoral college	1,753	14.72
Don't know	1,031	8.66

7. Should we always defend our country even if its actions conflict with our own beliefs?

	Ballots	Percent
Yes	6,992	58.75
No	3,594	30.19
No opinion	1,315	11.04

8. At what school level should sex education begin?

	Ballots	Percent
Elementary	4,564	38.27
Junior high	5,019	42.09
High school	1,989	16.68
None	352	2.95

9. Are students justified in ditching school for mass protests or picketing?

	Ballots	Percent
Yes	3,464	29.04
No	7,090	59.43
No opinion	1,374	11.51

10. Should Arizona school districts adopt a 12 month school year?

	Ballots	Percent
Yes	1,841	15.44
No	9,654	80.97
No opinion	427	3.58

11. Should black students be bused to predominantly white schools for the purpose of integration?

	Ballots	Percent
Yes	1,983	16.65
No	8,467	71.09
No opinion	1,459	12.25

12. Do you believe that riots, sit-ins and picketing by college students have any positive results?

	Ballots	Percent
Yes	3,681	30.83
No	7,331	61.40
No opinion	936	7.75

13. Should capital punishment be abolished?

	Ballots	Percent
Yes	4,098	34.32
No	6,686	56.00
No opinion	1,154	9.66

14. Who should decide whether an abortion is justified?

	Ballots	Percent
Doctor	3,964	33.80
Clergy	408	3.47
Legislature	617	5.26
Persons concerned	6,736	57.44

15. Of 5 closest friends, how many have used illegal drugs or narcotics?

	Ballots	Percent
0	5,891	50.13
1	1,478	12.57
2	1,047	8.90
3	870	7.40
4	500	4.25
5	1,965	16.72

16. Where do you get most of your news of current affairs?

	Ballots	Percent
Newspapers	3,251	28.27
Radio	3,345	29.09
TV	3,859	33.56
Magazines	464	4.03
School current events	578	5.02

ANTIUNION CONSPIRACY

HON. ROBERT H. MOLLOHAN

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. MOLLOHAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend to my colleagues attention an editorial from my hometown paper, the Fairmont Times, that sets forth very clearly the controversy involving the United Mine Workers Union of America. Mr. William Evans, who edits this daily newspaper has been an astute observer of the mining economy for many years and his sound judgment and analysis of the industry has the respect of all the people involved with coal.

Over the years the Fairmont Times has rendered the city of Fairmont and Marion County the highly valuable service of giving the reader an indepth view of the news and the factors that cause it. Such is the editorial of April 29, 1969, entitled, "Anti-Union Conspiracy?" The editorial follows:

ANTI-UNION CONSPIRACY?

Ranking officials of the United Mine Workers of America admit they are at loss to understand the sudden surge of criticism of the union and its Welfare and Retirement Fund. Most of them, talking informally while on a visit to Fairmont over the weekend, declared the attacks are unjustified but are in the dark about their origin.

Some feel deeply and sincerely that a "conspiracy" is developing, although they cannot put their fingers on the underlying cause. Dissident members of the rank-and-file politicians and others with personal axes to grind and self-appointed guardians of the American coal miner they can accept, for experience has taught them that these elements are always present.

But what of a man like Ralph Nader, say, who has successively turned his attention to one industry after another in the interest of the consumer. The UMWA hierarchy knew all about Nader's letter to Sen. Ralph Yarborough long before it was released for publication Sunday afternoon and it concerned them.

They wonder, as will others, whose interests Nader is serving, since nothing he has said—and his letter to Yarborough was a summation of criticism of the mine union he has made on many previous occasions—indicates that the ultimate consumer would benefit if all his objections were satisfied.

George Titter, the UMWA vice president who was described at least twice during Sunday's rally here as having "spent more time in jail for the union than most men have on the picket line," was inclined to put the principal blame on the news media for the burgeoning criticism. He singled out a number of newspapers, including the Communist Daily World, by name as among those which have attacked the union.

If the papers he mentioned were all of the same "liberal" stripe, some sort of an ideological collaboration might be suspected. But the Wall Street Journal does not fit this category any more than the organ of the Communist Party, USA. So the pattern is not entirely clear.

Insurrection has reared its ugly head more than once in the United Mine Workers of America. Even the revered John L. Lewis—every mention of whose name drew cheers from Sunday's crowd—had to contend with it. Possibly the sentiment against his successor, Tony Boyle, is stronger, but that remains to be seen.

There is a feeling in some quarters that

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the unrest is simply another manifestation of the times, when all forms of the Establishment are under siege. Politics, race, education and a host of other areas are daily becoming more and more involved.

Most rank-and-file coal miners that we know could be classified as strictly antidisestablishmentarians. Yet each local union has its nucleus of dissenters and the Establishment, as represented by the district office and the international organization, is a handy, accessible whipping boy.

The union is doing the only thing it can to offset its growing number of critics. It is going into the coal fields to tell its own story and prove once again to the membership the advances that have been made through its current and previous leadership.

To what degree the campaign of counter-insurgency exemplified in the district rally here will be successful probably lies with the union's success in getting the mine safety, health and compensation legislation it seeks through Congress.

We believe it is only stating a fact to say that the high command of the union, ever since it reached its present place of eminence in the industry, has followed a policy of aloofness insofar as the ordinary coal miner is concerned. Its major contact with the men at the mines has been limited to conventions held every four years.

If the criticism has done nothing else, it appears to have broken down the barriers between the international offices and the ordinary dues-paying member. And it is only when they start working the same side of the street together that the goals they both seek will be attained.

LETTER TO PRESIDENT NIXON
FROM PRESIDENT OF AMHERST
COLLEGE ON CAMPUS DISORDERS

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, the unrest on our college campuses has become one of the focal issues of our time. In the torrents of political rhetoric, however, too often the voices of reason go unnoticed.

Recently, the students and faculty of Amherst College set aside two days for discussion of the major issues confronting our society today. Instead of demands and violence, these issues were faced by rationality and debate.

As a result of these discussions, the president of Amherst College, Dr. Calvin H. Plimpton, has sent the following letter to President Nixon. Having received permission to revise and extend my remarks, I insert that letter into the RECORD.

AMHERST COLLEGE,
Amherst, Mass., April 29, 1969.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

My DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The faculty and Students of Amherst College have just experienced an extraordinary two days. Our usual educational activities were replaced by debate, discussion and meditation which have given shape to our beliefs about the nature of higher education and the governance of educational institutions. It is clear that we have much to do to set our own house in order. We are convinced, and have shown during these days, that changes, even fundamental ones, can take place without

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physical duress. It will require all our care and energy in the months ahead to combine change with continuity, to provide students with a real and regular role in influencing their education and the College's government, and to honor both intellectual discipline and creativity. We have as a College emerged from these two days with a renewed sense of the urgency and seriousness with which we must attend to our primary purpose.

We have also as a College embraced a new sense of urgency of another kind. We believe that we must speak out to make clear that much of the turmoil among young people and among those who are dedicated to humane and reasoned changes will continue. It will continue until you and the other political leaders of our country address more effectively, massively, and persistently the major social and foreign problems of our society. Part of this turmoil in universities derives from the distance separating the American dream from the American reality. Institutions dedicated to the nurture, husbanding, and growth of critical intelligence, and to inquiry into basic problems cannot but open people's eyes to the shoddiness of many aspects of our society.

In yesterday's *New York Times* it is reported that five officers in your Cabinet "seemed to agree that the disorder was caused by a small minority of students." Our conviction is that such a view is seriously in error if it is taken to mean that no legitimate and important reasons exist for the anger and sense of importance felt by many students and faculty. The pervasive and insistent disquiet on many campuses throughout the nation indicates that unrest results, not from a conspiracy by a few, but from a shared sense that the nation has no adequate plans for meeting the crises of our society. To name only one issue of special concern to the students: since the Kerner Commission's report, there has been no decisive response to its recommendations.

We do not say that all the problems faced by colleges and universities are a reflection of the malaise of the larger society. That is not true. But we do say that until political leadership addresses itself to the major problems of our society—the huge expenditure of national resources for military purposes, the inequities practiced by the present draft system, the critical needs of America's twenty-three million poor, the unequal division of our life on racial issues—until this happens, the concern and energy of those who know the need for change will seek outlets for their frustration.

We realize that in writing this letter we have taken the unusual step of speaking publicly for our community on pressing issues of the moment. We do this out of an urgent concern to question the widely held view that university unrest is merely an internal problem, or at most fomented by an outside influence. More, we believe that if political leaders act on this mistaken assumption, their actions will serve only to widen the separations within the university and between the universities and society at large. If, however, this important element in student unrest is understood, it would be possible for you, Mr. President, to redirect youthful energy toward those more idealistic, creative and generous actions which reflect a concern for others. Your influence can provide that hope which encourages those visionaries to which young men so gladly dedicate themselves, and we will support those efforts.

I send this letter to you on behalf of an overwhelming majority of Amherst students, faculty and administration who attended the closing meeting of our days of inquiry tonight. Copies of this letter with the signatures of all those who wish to subscribe will follow as soon as possible.

Respectfully yours,
CALVIN H. PLIMPTON.

May 12, 1969

PROBLEM CREATED BY MAILING OF OBSCENE MATERIAL

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 5, 1969

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, as a result of various Supreme Court decisions, many Americans have come to believe that they have no viable means to protect themselves from the flood of prurient and sex-oriented mail which comes into their homes, unsolicited and unwanted.

One of the most important parts of President Nixon's message to Congress on this subject is his desire to make the proposed legislation the vehicle for a citizens' crusade against the obscene.

I am pleased to be one of the cosponsors of H.R. 10876, which puts the President's recommendations into legislative form.

I also intend to comply in any manner possible with the President's request that Members of Congress aid in disseminating information on the means available to private citizens under the antipandering provision of Public Law 90-206 to curtail smut pandering. Few Americans seem to be aware of the fact that in 1967 Congress enacted a law which permits a person receiving this mail to determine for himself whether or not it is offensive and to obtain an order from the Postmaster General prohibiting the sender from making any further mailings to him or to his children. This order also requires the mailer to delete their names from his mailing lists.

More than 170,000 citizens have already requested the Post Office Department to initiate a judicially enforceable order to prohibit the senders of such literature from making any further mailings to your homes. This is ample evidence that the public wants the dissemination of this material curbed.

A second important recommendation in the President's plan for regulation of the mailing of sex-oriented materials deals with the sending of such material to young people. I am hopeful that such legislation will be enacted by Congress.

This proposed provision complements a bill which I recently introduced, H.R. 10076, to prohibit the dissemination through interstate commerce or the mails of materials harmful to persons under the age of 16 years.

The passage of strong antiobscenity legislation would go a long way toward establishing more effective regulation of the filth being foisted on our citizens.

I insert H.R. 10076 and H.R. 10876 to be printed at this point in the RECORD:

H.R. 10876

A bill to afford protection to the public from offensive intrusion into their homes through the postal service of sexually oriented mail matter, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Offensive Intrusion of Sexually Oriented Mail Act of 1969".

SEC. 2. (a) The Congress finds—

(1) that the United States mails are being

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used for the indiscriminate dissemination of advertising matter so designed and so presented as to exploit sexual sensationalism for commercial gain;

(2) that such matter is profoundly shocking to many persons who receive it, unsolicited, through the mails;

(3) that such use of the mails subjects these persons to offensive and unwarranted intrusions upon their right to privacy; and

(4) that such use of the mails reduces the ability of responsible parents to protect their minor children from exposure to material which they as parents believe to be harmful to their children.

(b) On the basis of the foregoing the Congress determines that it is contrary to the public policy of the United States for the facilities and services of the United States Post Office Department to be used for the distribution of such materials to persons who do not want their privacy invaded in this manner or to persons who wish to protect their minor children from exposure to such material.

Sec. 3. (a) Chapter 51 of title 39, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sections:

"§ 4011. Mailing of sexually oriented advertisements

"(a) Any person who mails or causes to be mailed any sexually oriented advertisement shall place on the envelope or cover thereof his name and address as the sender thereof and such mark or notice as the Postmaster General may prescribe.

"(b) Any person, on his own behalf or on the behalf of any of his children who have not attained the age of nineteen years and who reside with him, may file with the Postmaster General a statement, in such form and manner as the Postmaster General may prescribe, that he desires to receive no sexually oriented advertisements through the mails. The Postmaster General shall maintain and keep current insofar as practicable a list of the names and addresses of such persons and shall make the list (including portions thereof or changes therein) available to any person, upon such reasonable terms and conditions as he may prescribe, including the payment of such service charge as he determines to be necessary to defray the costs of compiling and maintaining the list, keeping it current, and making it available as provided in this sentence. No person shall mail or cause to be mailed any sexually oriented advertisement to any individual whose name and address has been on the list for more than thirty days.

"(c) No person shall sell, lease, lend, exchange, or license the use of, or, except for the purpose expressly authorized by this section, use any mailing list compiled in whole or in part from the list maintained by the Postmaster General pursuant to this section.

"(d) 'Sexually oriented advertisement' means any advertisement that depicts, in actual or simulated form, or explicitly describes, in a predominantly sexual context, human genitalia, any act of natural or unnatural sexual intercourse, any act of sadism or masochism, or any other erotic subject directly related to the foregoing. Material otherwise within the definition of this subsection shall be deemed not to constitute a sexually oriented advertisement if it constitutes only a small and insignificant part of the whole of a single catalog, book, periodical, or other work the remainder of which is not, primarily devoted to sexual matters.

"§ 4012. Judicial enforcement

"(a) Whenever the Postmaster General believes that any person is mailing or causing to be mailed any sexually oriented advertisement in violation of section 4011 of this

title, he may request the Attorney General to commence a civil action against such person in a district court of the United States. Upon a finding by the court of a violation of that section, it may issue an order including one or more of the following provisions as the court deems just under the circumstances:

"(1) a direction to the defendant to refrain from mailing any sexually oriented advertisement to a specific addressee, to any group of addressees, or to all persons;

"(2) a direction to any postmaster to whom sexually oriented advertisements originating with such defendant are tendered for transmission through the mails to refuse to accept such advertisements for mailing; and

"(3) a direction to any postmaster at the office at which registered or certified letters or other letters or mail arrive, addressed to the defendant or his representative, to return the registered or certified letters or other letters or mail to the sender appropriately marked as being in response to mail in violation of section 4011 of this title, after the defendant, or his representative, has been notified and given reasonable opportunity to examine such letters or mail and to obtain delivery of mail which is clearly not connected with activity alleged to be in violation of section 4011 of this title.

"(b) The statement that remittances may be made to a person named in a sexually oriented advertisement is prima facie evidence that such named person is the agent or representative of the mailer for the receipt of remittances on his behalf. The court is not precluded from ascertaining the existence of the agency on the basis of any other evidence.

"(c) In preparation for or during the pendency of a civil action under subsection (a) of this section, a district court for the United States, upon application therefor by the Attorney General and upon a showing of probable cause to believe the statute is being violated, may enter a temporary restraining order or preliminary injunction containing such terms as the court deems just, including, but not limited to, provisions enjoining the defendant from mailing any sexually oriented advertisement to any person or class of persons, directing any postmaster to refuse to accept such defendant's sexually oriented advertisements for mailing, and directing the detention of the defendant's incoming mail by any postmaster pending the conclusion of the judicial proceedings. Any action taken by a court under this subsection does not affect or determine any fact at issue in any other proceeding under this section.

"(d) A civil action under this section may be brought in the judicial district in which the defendant resides, or has his principal place of business, or in which any sexually oriented advertisement mailed in violation of section 4011 has been delivered by mail according to the direction thereon.

"(e) Nothing in this section or in section 4011 shall be construed as amending, preempting, limiting, modifying, or otherwise in any way affecting section 1461 or 1463 of title 18, or sections 4006, 4007, or 4009 of this title 39, United States Code." (b) The table of contents of chapter 51 of title 39, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"4011. Mailing of sexually oriented advertisements.

"4012. Judicial enforcement."

Sec. 4. (a) Chapter 83 of title 18, United States Code, relating to offense against the postal service, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sections:

"§ 1735. Sexually oriented advertisements

"Whoever willfully uses the mails for the mailing, carriage in the mails or delivery of any sexually oriented advertisement in viola-

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tion of section 4011 of title 39, or willfully violates any regulation of the Postmaster General issued under such section.

"Whoever sells, leases, rents, lends, exchanges, or licenses the use of, or, except for the purpose expressly authorized by section 4011 of title 39, uses a mailing list maintained by the Postmaster General pursuant to such section shall be fined not more than \$5,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both, for the first offense, and shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than ten years, or both, for any second or subsequent offense.

"§ 1736. Restrictive use of information

"(a) No information or evidence obtained by reason of compliance by a natural person with any provision of section 4011 of title 39, or regulations issued thereunder, shall, except as provided in subsection (c) of this section, be used, directly or indirectly, as evidence against that person in a criminal proceeding.

"(b) The fact of the performance of any act by a natural person in compliance with any provision of section 4011 of title 39, or regulations issued thereunder, shall not be deemed the admission of any fact, or otherwise be used, directly or indirectly, as evidence against that person in a criminal proceeding, except as provided in subsection (c) of this section.

"(c) Subsections (a) and (b) of this section shall not preclude the use of any such information or evidence in a prosecution or other action under any applicable provision of law with respect to the furnishing of false information."

"1735. Sexually oriented advertisements.

"1736. Restrictive use of information."

SEC. 5. If any provision of this Act or the application thereof to any person or circumstance is held invalid, the remainder of this Act and the application of such provision to other persons not similarly situated or to other circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

SEC. 6. The provisions of this Act shall become effective on the first day of the sixth month which begins after the date of enactment.

H.R. 10076

A bill to prohibit the dissemination through interstate commerce or the mails of materials harmful to persons under the age of sixteen years, to restrict the exhibition of movies or other presentations harmful to such persons, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) chapter 71 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

"§ 1466. Exposing minors to harmful materials

"(a) It shall be unlawful for any person knowingly—

"(1) to sell, offer for sale, loan, or deliver in interstate commerce or through the mails to any minor—

"(A) any picture, photograph, drawing, sculpture, motion picture film, or similar visual representation or image of a person or portion of the human body which depicts nudity, sexual conduct, or sadomasochistic abuse and which is harmful to minors; or

"(B) any book, pamphlet, magazine, printed matter however reproduced, or sound recording which contains explicit and detailed verbal descriptions or narrative accounts of sexual excitement, sexual conduct, or sadomasochistic abuse and which, taken as a whole, is harmful to minors, or

"(2) to exhibit to a minor a motion picture, show, or other presentation which—

"(A) has moved in interstate commerce or through the mails,

"(B) depicts nudity, sexual conduct, or sadomasochistic abuse, and

"(C) is harmful to minors.

"(3) to import with the intention of selling, offering for sale, loaning, or delivering to any minor—

"(A) any picture, photograph, drawing, sculpture, motion picture film, or similar visual representation or image of a person or portion of the human body which depicts nudity, sexual conduct, or sadomasochistic abuse and which is harmful to minors; or

"(B) any book, pamphlet, magazine, printed matter however reproduced, or sound recording which contains explicit and detailed verbal descriptions or narrative accounts of sexual excitement, sexual conduct, or sadomasochistic abuse and which, taken as a whole, is harmful to minors.

"(4) to import with the intention of exhibiting to a minor a motion picture, show, or other presentation which—

"(A) depicts nudity, sexual conduct, or sadomasochistic abuse, and

"(B) is harmful to minors.

"(b) Whoever violates this section shall be fined not more than \$5,000 or imprisoned for not more than five years, or both, for the first offense, and shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned for not more than ten years, or both, for any second or subsequent offense.

"(c) As used in this section—

"(1) The term 'minor' means any person under the age of sixteen years.

"(2) The term 'nudity' means the showing of the human male or female genitals, pubic area, or buttocks with less than a full opaque covering, the female breast with less than a fully opaque covering of any portion below the top of the nipple, or the depiction of covered male genitals in a discernibly turgid state.

"(3) The term 'sexual conduct' means acts of masturbation, homosexuality, sexual intercourse, physical contact with a person's clothed or unclothed genitals, pubic area, or buttocks, or, in the case of a female, physical contact with her breast.

"(4) The term 'sexual excitement' means the condition of human male or female genitals in a state of sexual stimulation or arousal.

"(5) The term 'sadomasochistic abuse' means flagellation or torture by or upon a person clad in undergarments, a mask, or bizarre costume, or the condition of being fettered, bound, or otherwise physically restrained on the part of one so clothed.

"(6) The term 'harmful to minors' means that quality of any description or representation, in whatever form, of nudity, sexual conduct, sexual excitement, or sadomasochistic abuse, which—

"(A) predominantly appeals to the prudent, shameful, or morbid interest of minors;

"(B) is patently offensive to prevailing standards in the adult community as a whole with respect to what is suitable material for minors; and

"(C) is utterly without redeeming social importance for minors.

"(7) The term 'knowingly' means having general knowledge of, or reason to know, or a belief or ground for belief which warrants further inspection or inquiry of—

"(A) the character and content of any material described in subsection (a) which is reasonably susceptible of examination by the defendant, and

"(B) the age of the minor."

(b) The table of sections for chapter 71 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

"1466. Exposing minors to harmful materials."

Sec. 2. The amendments made by this Act shall take effect on the sixtieth day after the date of the enactment of this Act.

IN SUPPORT OF A FEDERAL SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION BILL

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Dr. George J. Collins, assistant commissioner for school facilities and related services for the Massachusetts Department of Education, has prepared an excellent analysis of the school needs of America.

Dr. Collins appeared earlier this week before the General Subcommittee on Education. His concise presentation was extremely helpful to the members of the subcommittee and I would like to share his remarks with my colleagues in the House. I believe Dr. Collins' impressive analysis of our present and future school needs deserve the widest attention of the Congress and the public.

Dr. Collins' statement follows:

STATEMENT OF DR. GEORGE J. COLLINS, Esq.

First, and foremost Representative Carl D. Perkins from Kentucky should be commended for his recognition of the need and his efforts to introduce a far-reaching bill to eliminate our needs, to prepare us for future growth, and to provide Congressional leadership for improving the quality of education.

Mr. Chairman Roman C. Pucinski and members of this committee should also be applauded by their constituents and all the nation for studying our school construction needs during this period of mild increases in new children entering school. I say this because gentlemen this will be the last opportunity to prepare and construct schools for the upsurge in the number of school children we will have in the late seventies and to the year 2000 and beyond.

Today, gentlemen with your concurrence, I would like to divide my presentation into three parts.

First, I would like to emphasize the findings state by state of the deficiencies in school facilities found in the last study conducted by the U.S. Office of Education and reported by this committee in 1965.

Second, I would like to present an analysis of school construction needs. And finally, I would like to present some specific observations of H.R. 517.

Please feel free to ask any questions or to clarify or correct any of my remarks at any time.

Hearings before the General Subcommittee on Education reported the conditions of public school facilities. (Refer to page 13)

To eliminate overcrowding off-site, nonpermanent and improvised facilities local officials have indicated that they need 187,000 classrooms. (Refer to page 17)

Local officials report a need for 108,500 additional rooms. State by state, the need to eliminate overcrowding is evident in every state. (Refer to page 24)

About 3 of every 4 students are in buildings with less than 2 of 9 building deficiencies. Local officials reported the number of students in nine types of building deficiencies surveyed:

1. Structural defects (1.3 million children).
2. Inadequate heating (2 million).
3. Inadequate fire alarms (2.5 million).
4. Non fire-resistant stairways (3.2 million).
5. Nonenclosed stairways (8.5 million).
6. Insufficient exits (1.7 million).
7. No sprinkler or fire detection systems (28 million).
8. Insufficient electrical service (1.8 million).

9. Lighting below 30 foot-candles (10.6 million).

(Refer to pages 30 and 31)

A report of deficiencies by state reveals that every state has a substantial number of buildings with deficiencies. (Refer to pages 37 and 38)

In addition to the nine building deficiencies, local officials reported the number of students that attend schools without five essential sanitary conditions.

1. Lack of water pressure (850,000).

2. No water in buildings (185,000).

3. Insufficient sanitary facilities (2.7 million).

4. Outdoor privies (518,000).

5. No hot water in lavatories (12.1 million). (Refer to pages 41 and 42.)

In addition to every state reporting deficiencies, urban, suburban and rural communities are burdened by inadequate schools. Our older urban centers are overburdened with older schools, more deficiencies and more overcrowding. (Refer to Table F, page 15 and to page 49.)

The 14 largest cities have critical problems in room and staff deficiencies. They have the highest percentage of older and combustible schools. They lack land, tax resources, and school construction funds from an unfairly discriminating Federal P.L. 815 and H.U.D. programs. (Refer to pages 79 and 80.)

For the second part of my presentation I would like to present an analysis and prediction of school planning needs.

NOW IT'S JOHNNY JR.

Years ago, the cry was "Johnny can't read, and Johnny can't write." Now that we've graduated Johnny with honors and without rioting, his son threatens to become the latest addition to the "Johnny" series. Unless major efforts are instituted to eliminate the present backlog of needed school rooms, the newest cat call will be "Johnny Jr. can't find a seat!"

The accelerating trend toward specialization in our society has placed greater requirements upon our educational institutions from the pre-kindergarten stage through the graduate level. Creative facilities are needed for innovative programs, special laboratories for science and languages, modern teaching stations for physical education, and specialized programs for the handicapped and the educationally disadvantaged are all part of the new modern scheme.

To meet these demands, we are urgently in need of teachers with the highest degree of technical competence to cope with individual students. We have passed the stage wherein as "single standard of performance" is universally applicable to a variety of students with individual emotional, social, and economic backgrounds. Thus an atmosphere where each student can receive proper guidance and attention to develop to his full potential has become an elemental factor in our public school system. Directly related to this goal of personalized education is the availability of funds for capital investment. When school facilities are inadequate, attention is diverted to that program, resulting in a sharp lag in educational programs.

Forecast of school construction needs. There are several factors which indicate that in the next decade, our nation will be faced with a critical shortage of school facilities. For purposes here, the need for additional instructional rooms is based primarily on the median class accommodations of the Nation for 1964-65. These are 27.4 students in an elementary classroom and 27.5 students in a secondary classroom. Most experts contend that a more desirable pupil-teacher ratio is 25:1 in elementary classes and about 20:1 in secondary classes. (Table I) Measures of need are presented for three different models of instructional accommodations. Additional spaces for team teaching would be required.

Birth rate: Expected enrollments are based on a growth rate of 1.5 percent annual increase to 1975 in the number of live births and trends in the birth rate. Birth rates are declining drastically, but inspite of the "pill," parents will generally seek to reproduce themselves and since the number of parents are greater, the number of births will be greater. Pupil increases from 1965-75 are expected to be at a lower rate than during the previous decade, but after 1975 the upsurge in pupil enrollment could easily surpass the baby boom of World War II.

Substantial backlog at a crucial time: Our present backlog is largely accounted for by inadequate and overcrowded conditions. Subsequently, an even greater population explosion is expected in the 70's when the number of women in their most fertile productive years will double the women of the post-World War II period. Unless there is immediate recognition of this problem, our school system will be faced with a trying period in attempting to meet the backlog and demands for population increases.

As of 1966, the backlog of classrooms for the model with median-pupil accommodations was 192,500 instruction rooms, on the basis that 70,000 rooms were constructed during 1966-67. (Table 2) On the assumption that over the next decade annual construction will continue to be 70,000 rooms, the backlog could be reduced to 163,500 rooms for the median accommodation model in 1976. (Tables 3 and 4) Hence, we will remain with a substantial backlog at a crucial time.

Enrollment increases alone during the next decade will not be the foremost consideration in analyzing the need for additional facilities. These increases, however, in conjunction with several other factors will contribute to the need for additional school rooms. These social and educational factors include:

1. Pressures to institute pre-kindergarten and kindergarten classes: With greater emphasis on the early education of children and the increase in the number of "working mothers," schools will be expected to undertake pre-kindergarten and kindergarten programs to accommodate eligible children in the future. Present estimates indicate that by 1975, over 3.15 million children will attend kindergarten classes in contrast to 2.12 million enrolments in 1964. Such programs also provide essential preparation for children who will partake in the new and richer framework of the public school system.

2. Efforts to encourage the completion of high school: In programs to deter potential dropouts provision has been made for more individualized attention for problem students, and improved school guidance techniques, so that more counselors and trained psychologists work with individual students. In addition, work study programs and the presence of more highly qualified teachers has encouraged students to complete their high school education. As a result, an enrollment of 11 million in grades 9 through 12 in 1964 will increase to 15 million by 1975.

3. Demands for more specialized programs: At present there is a shortage of specialized facilities for new programs. For example, the use of earphones and recording equipment in language courses provides excellent stimuli in learning pronunciation. Yet, there is a shortage of such equipment and more elaborate language laboratories which can be doubly effective. Similar problems exist in equipment and rooms for courses in science, physical education, shop, art and music at all levels.

4. Improvements of inadequate and obsolete buildings: No small wonder that so many students prefer the "corner pool room" to geography or intermediate algebra classes. A dismal looking school room provides a poor learning atmosphere. In most cases, money for remodeling and renovating schools in our

older urban centers is cut from the budget because board members and taxpayers naturally place priority on instructional funds. In 1965, there were 230,000 unattractive, inadequate, and obsolete school rooms. Unless current efforts are substantially increased, 93,000 of these rooms will still be in use in 1975 along with subsequent obsolescence during the interim between now and 1975.

5. New programs for handicapped children: Concomitant with the new demands and goals of our educational system have been programs to revolutionize the treatment of the handicapped. Improved teaching techniques, a desire to reduce welfare dependency and emphasis upon the development of each child to his full potential have contributed to a new interest in the problems of the handicapped. However, special equipment and small classes are necessary to fulfill all the requirements to teach these children. Title VI of the Federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act should provide the incentive for much needed new educational facilities.

6. Legislative pressures: The Congress is taking unprecedented action to meet the needs of the public school system. As a result, legislative enactments for school capital will be increasingly prevalent. Libraries, facilities for the underprivileged, school cafeterias, and language and scientific laboratories are receiving prime Federal scrutiny but limited financial consideration presently in competition with Vietnam, Defense, and a multitude of other federal programs.

7. Decline in nonpublic school enrollments: From the point of percentage increases needed and actual cutbacks.

8. Population movement to urban fringe areas: The migratory patterns of the population is one of the main factors contributing to school construction requirements. Statistics reveal that in the next decade urban fringe or suburban areas will be confronted with the greatest construction demands. These areas will have an increase from 34.0 percent of all public school pupils in 1966 to 37.2 percent in 1975 and a million additional children of school age. (Table 5) The problems of newly developing suburban areas are further complicated by difficulties in obtaining funds for school construction. For example, there are constraints on tax assessment practices and various statutory restrictions on debt-limits for the sale of school construction bonds. In the cities, redevelopment and urban renewal programs will offer some assistance to schools. Unfortunately these programs will fail to decrease the great backlog of obsolescent rooms by substantial amounts.

By 1975, the range of construction possibilities with companion costs—60,000 rooms for only the very necessary accommodations; 163,500 rooms for median accommodations; or 550,000 rooms for more desirable accommodations—will extend from a low of 3.4 billion dollars to an outside figure of 30.9 billion dollars. In addition, it is significant to note that the individual cost for constructing a classroom will probably increase to an average of \$55,000 or \$60,000 in contrast to \$45,000 in 1965. Both figures include special and general use facilities. (Table 6) Increases in cost were 5% a year, now are exceeding 12% plus interest increases.

Sources of funding: One can only be pessimistic when viewing the prospects of obtaining the go-ahead funding for school construction programs in the next decade.

Initially, consider the main sources of revenue and the respective amounts allocated for public school construction. The Federal government in 1965 allocated \$1 for every \$4500 of total tax resources for school construction purposes, (today it is \$1 for every \$9600) the State, \$1 for every \$72; and local agencies, \$1 for every \$10 collected in taxes. (Table 7) While the disproportionate percentage is great, the proportion of available

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May 12, 1969

funds relative to total revenues is overwhelming. The Federal government devours the greatest portion of the tax dollar—64 percent, state 19 percent, local 17 percent. States have assumed greater responsibility for financing school construction since 1950, increasing grants from \$43 million or 4 percent of expenditures to about \$750 million or 19 percent.

A comparison of estimated expenditures in 1966 and anticipated expenditures in 1975 by source of revenue indicates these salient factors:

There will be a decline of \$300 million from the 1966 total of \$3.8 billion to the 1975 level of \$3.5 billion in 1966 dollars. Construction will be limited to only the most necessary school needs, even though every factor considered points to more farsighted planning in Washington.

States will increase aid consistent with the trend during the past decade in response to the local need and the state responsibility for public education.

Local funds will decline as provisions for bonded school indebtedness reach higher levels of utilization thus exhausting the leeway needed to incur capital funds for schools.

Federal funds will become more available as a result of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act*, but the major portion of these funds will be used for pupils in areas with a concentration of low income families. (Table 8) The use of funds for construction, however, is still limited to extreme emergency situations by Federal administrators.

The majority of school capital financing is provided by tax-exempt bonds at all government levels. While a shift from local to more state participation is expected in the projected sources of revenue, the tax-exempt market will not decline appreciably since a large portion of state grants are similarly financed. (Table 9)

The sale of school bonds usually requires voter approval. As every local school administrator knows, this method of obtaining funds often receives the sharp brunt of voter discontent with rising taxes from other government taxing bodies. As a result only some 75 percent of bond issues proposed for school construction receive voter approval, and last year it was 65 percent.

Therefore, immediate long-range plans and programs must be undertaken to eliminate the deficit in necessary school rooms and consequential funding. If not, Johnny Jr. may have a difficulty in finding a room, let alone a seat!

Finally, I would like to present some specific observations and suggestions for H.R. 517.

First, I cannot praise Representative Carl D. Perkins, Chairman Roman C. Pucinski and members of this committee sufficiently for presenting and hearing this bill.

Millions of children need this bill. Our future children and grandchildren and their children need this bill. This is the last chance for us to work on the backlog, to improve the quality of our nation's schools, and to prepare for the population upsurge of the mid-seventies.

Local taxpayers are defeating necessary bond issues for schools at the highest rate in our history because of perceived overburdening taxes. This failure to construct necessary schools prevents children from using required facilities for a modern educational program and in the long run causes taxes to increase in the future because of inflationary upward spirals in construction costs.

This bill will induce and stimulate accelerated planning and construction to the benefit of taxpayers, children and our Nation.

TITLE II FOR LOW INCOME FAMILIES

1. Sec. 202. The provisions are commendable to make payments through state departments of education of grants to local districts.

2. Sec. 203(a)(2). Permits states with higher cost of living and larger expenditure requirements to receive more equitable grants (one-half of state average) and poorer states to obtain equalized grants (one-half of the national average).

3. Sec. 203(b)(1). Corrects the inequity of P.L. 815 by allowing larger districts to qualify by a number (100 students) instead of an overrestrictive percentage.

4. Sec. 203(c). Provides for a low-income factor of \$2,000. In 1965 this was fairly satisfactory to states with higher costs of living in the North and West, but the cost of living has increased since then to at least \$2,500.

5. Sec. 204(a)(1). Correctly specifies the use of grants for construction and permits special projects for children in private schools.

6. Sec. 204(a)(3). Helps states by requiring consistency with state plans.

7. Sec. 206(a)(1). Expressly authorizes state agency approval. Elimination of an extra layer of approvals would save time and money, federal as well as local.

8. Sec. 207(b). Provides compensatory payments for increased duties performed by state agencies.

9. Sec. 207(c)(1). Will not overly reimburse districts for construction because with interest the cost of a building is about 150 percent.

10. Sec. 207(a)(2). If the combined fiscal effort means current operating expenditures, it is innocuous. Capital expenditures fluctuate irregularly and should not be used.

TITLE II INCREASES IN ENROLLMENTS

Newly developed subdivisions create a burden on the wealthiest of local communities—some times the lag behind occupation of dwelling precedes credit on the tax rolls for capital borrowing by a year or more.

11. Sec. 203(3). "Minimum facilities", I assume means number of instructional spaces required; and not the minimal cost of construction in a state.

Although this section provides for growth, demolitions for redevelopment cause decreases in number of children and subsequent construction of replacement facilities and new facilities to accommodate population shifts.

12. Sec. 205(5)(c) Provides a new eligibility of twenty children and at least 5 percent.

I recommend that P.L. 815, Sec. 203(b)(1) and Sec. 205(c) all have a similar eligibility requirement—preferably the lowest common factor 20 children or 3 percent.

May I reemphasize again that large cities are unjustly discriminated against by the percentage formula in P.L. 815. A minimal number, such as 500, or a percentage of enrollment provides small and large districts with equal opportunities to obtain federal assistance for students from federal activity Title I. For example, a city like Boston with 90,000-plus students needs an impact of 4,500 students when 5 percent is the criterion for participation. In 1969 this means about \$16 million of local construction. A small district of 1000 students begins to qualify for federal assistance after 50 students or about \$200,000 of local construction. The debt service limits in most states is usually less for the largest cities than other school districts. This doubly affects all students in large cities.

13. Sec. 207 Equitably provides for prorating children who attend less than full-time.

Title III authorizing funds for the construction of supplementary educational centers helps to provide long-term leadership to local educational programs.

Most local taxpayers are so short-sighted that a tremendous backlog of need exists. This title provides the quality spaces which exemplifies the necessary far-reaching leadership that many local taxpayers cannot provide.

Unfortunately, Winston Churchill was in

the most part correct, when he said, "We shape our buildings and then they shape us." Local boards of education seldom accept recommendations for new staff members when no space is available or no special spaces for vocational and industrial arts are available. Once special spaces are provided, school boards generally staff and use the space. Staffing for a 60-year period is ten times the investment in capital construction.

Thank you gentlemen for your patience and inviting me. Please feel free to call or write me in the future, if I can be of service to you, the students in our elementary and secondary schools, and our children's children.

JACK DEMELLO, "FATHER OF THE NEW HAWAII SOUND," NAMED SALESMAN OF THE YEAR IN HAWAII

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA
OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, as pointed out by the Honolulu Advertiser in a recent editorial, the sound of Hawaii today is no longer the "single ukulele and 'grass shack' style of music which never really represented Hawaii." Instead, the music of aloha is just as contemporary as a ditty by the Beatles or a musical score by Leonard Bernstein. Often sophisticated, always relaxed and sensuous, the music of Hawaii also has a beat as rhythmic and pounding as the unceasing surf that beats upon the beaches of Hawaii.

The new image of Hawaii, represented through its music, is projected through the relaxed and polished performances of entertainers like Don Ho, Marlene Sai, Danny Kaleikini and reflected in the lyrics and music of the late Kui Lee and composer-arranger Jack DeMello.

Recently, Mr. DeMello, one of the island's outstanding advertising executives, was honored as Hawaii's "Salesman of the Year." The honor was bestowed upon Mr. DeMello not for his advertising image, but for his "soft sell" of Hawaii through his albums. He is acknowledged as the father of the "new Hawaii sound," and his albums reflect the true lyrical essence of Hawaii's aloha today. Countless albums of DeMello's wonderful world of aloha have been sold around the globe.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues the editorial which first appeared in the Honolulu Advertiser of April 28, 1969, honoring Mr. DeMello as Hawaii's Salesman of the Year 1968:

SALESMAN DEMELLO

The selection of music man Jack DeMello as Salesman of the Year could hardly be more apt.

DeMello, who is acknowledged as father of the "New Hawaii Sound" has created a new image for the Islands through his full, lush and modern interpretation of Hawaii's music. The new image, portrayed in the millions of albums sold throughout the world, is one of sophistication combined with the relaxed and sensuous quality which is the essence of Hawaii's aloha today.

This is the best kind of selling. Gone is the single ukulele and "grass shack" style of music which never really represented

Hawaii. What has replaced it is a new music, one that remains uniquely "Hawaii" yet is as modern as today's jet airplane.

DeMello has been in music since the age of 10, when he appeared as a cornet player in everything from classical concerts to a circus band. He went on to play in the big bands, radio and a stint as an Army conductor in Hawaii.

He finally moved to Hawaii, began composing Hawaiian music and moved into the local entertainment and communications scene.

Today, DeMello works in advertising, but his salesman image doesn't come from that. It comes from the "soft sell" of his albums around the globe. This is quality selling, promoting what is best about Hawaii today in a quality way.

More people should follow his example.

ZERO DEFECTS PROGRAM AT NAVAL AIR STATION ALAMEDA, CALIF.

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, in these times when efficiency in Government is so important to the achievement of our national goals, I am extremely pleased to see that a well conceived and executed program to achieve high standards of performance has been initiated at the Naval Air Rework Facility, Naval Air Station, Alameda, Calif., which is in my congressional district. This program is called the "zero defects" program.

The Naval Air Rework Facility provides aircraft repair and maintenance for our naval air fleet. In order to maintain the combat readiness and effectiveness of our naval air force, it is necessary to perform this mission with great dispatch and at the same time maintain high quality workmanship. To achieve this purpose, several programs involving the employees in the facility have been instituted, including the cost reduction program, the value engineering program, the incentive awards program, and most recently the zero defects program. The prime purpose of the zero defects program is to promote personal pride in doing every job right the first time thus increasing personal interest in tasks assigned while producing a better product at a lower cost. In that zero defects is motivational in nature and each and every employee must be given the zero defects message in order for the program to be successful, three kickoff rallies were held to launch the program. Posters, banners, newspaper coverage and management indoctrination have been used to sustain the tempo of interest and enthusiasm for zero defects generated by the rallies.

The involvement of all employees in the zero defects program is encouraged through the error cause removal—ECR—system, which has been established to provide a means for employees to communicate to management any conditions which they feel could be corrected to improve their ability to produce a defect-free product. It is a systematic method for identifying and removing barriers

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that prevent work from being done right the first time. Supervisors and their employees in most organizational levels at this facility have established goals that reflect an important function of the group and are charting progress toward attainment. Individual zero defects awards are presented to employees for their outstanding efforts toward elimination of errors. These nonmonetary awards provide recognition to those employees who demonstrate a high degree of defect-free performance and are an incentive to all employees to adopt the zero defects attitude.

The emphasis placed on the zero defects program's concepts by the commanding officer, Capt. Samuel T. Armstrong, and the acceptance of the program's challenge of craftsmanship by each employee are two of the motivating factors that help to assure that the Naval Air Rework Facility, Alameda, will continue to provide a high quality product, on time and at the lowest possible cost.

In connection with this program, a newspaper is published as a supplement to the usual naval air station employee newspaper, which is entitled Zero Defects Progress. Several articles which appear in a recent edition graphically portray the tremendous response by the employees to achieve its objectives.

I would like to call this to the attention of my colleagues and to salute the participating naval and civilian personnel for their contribution to the national effort. I therefore insert in the RECORD at this point the following articles from the Zero Defects Progress:

CO'S MESSAGE

As the Commanding Officer of the Naval Air Rework Facility, I will probably be asked my feelings about the Zero Defects Program. Someone from an outside activity might ask: "In view of Alameda's good reputation, why do you feel you need a Zero Defects Program?" In answer to this question, I would first relate my understanding of the basic concepts which make up the Zero Defects Program.

The first premise of Zero Defects is that each individual is important to the success or failure of an organization. Nowhere is that statement more true than here at Alameda. Our work force is made up of more than 130 occupations: none of which can accomplish our complex mission independently. Only through individual responsibility, dedication, and teamwork can we achieve the vital end result of service to the Fleet.

Another concept of Zero Defects involves our tendency to expect perfection in our personal lives, but to accept something less on the job. Zero Defects attempts to change our attitude about the work we do. It is easy to rationalize our mistakes as evidence of our humanity. But can we afford this luxury? I say no. Our Facility, as one of the prime maintenance support facilities for Naval Aviation in the Pacific, has been given an awesome role in the struggle for National Security. The standards we apply to our job must be equal to this challenge.

The third premise of Zero Defects, which is easy to apply here at Alameda, is that excellence should be recognized. This Facility has enjoyed recognition as a center of excellence over the years. Individual accomplishments, far beyond the expected, are not unusual here at Alameda. With this understanding of the basic concepts of Zero Defects, I would explain that even though this is a good Rework Facility—we must be even better.

We are committed to a tremendous production schedule, now and in the foreseeable future. A high level of Fleet activity, causing heavy maintenance requirements, coupled with budgetary and ceiling restrictions, has placed the Facility in the position of having to accomplish more work with less resources. Zero Defects challenges each one of us to give our best effort to the task at hand. This is why I support Zero Defects. I am fully confident that by our fostering the concepts of Zero Defects, we can and will achieve all that we set out to do.

TWO PERCENT TO GO
(By Haydn Purvis, Production Department Head)

In the Bay Area, we are fortunate to have professional football, basketball, and baseball teams. There are many divergent opinions as to which is best and what contributes to winning or losing a ball game. Here at the Naval Air Rework Facility, Alameda, we have as fine a team as there is in the Bay Area, or for that matter, in the nation. Our team is composed of people who are every bit as professional in their approach to their work as any professional athlete.

"Pro" sports provide an excellent example of Zero Defects attitudes in action. Like any professional team, Zero Defects has a special significance for all members of the Production department. I feel that each of us carries an awareness that much depends on the quality, quantity, and low cost of the products we produce. Our success or failure is not measured by numbers on a scoreboard; but rather, by the level of support and service we provide the Fleet.

It is gratifying for me to note the enthusiastic reception given by members of the Production Department to the Zero Defects Program. This acceptance is demonstrated by the fact that 98% of Production Department organizations have set goals for improving their operations; 38 members of the Production Department have been singled out for recognition as Zero Defects Craftsmen, and; 119 have submitted Error Cause Removals identifying problems potentially contributing to errors and defects.

It is a pleasure for me to voice my support of the ideals of Zero Defects, and ask all members of the Production Department to continue to participate in this very worthwhile program—let's get that last 2%!

MATCHLESS CREW LIGHTS UP

Match this one: When the smoke cleared away and the light was seen, it developed that a group NARF employees had made a highly original ZD contribution entirely on their own initiative. What we are talking about, of course, are the book matches with the ZD emblem which are circulating far and wide. The group had 150,000 match books printed, at their own expense, and have handed them out, not only at NARF but to servicemen shipping out. Through this means, the NARF Alameda ZD emblem on the matches has been spotted from NAS Quonset Point to Vietnam.

What started it all? Well, it began with a group of Division 5000 employees who have developed a fine esprit de corps as members of a field team. The men, Bernard Morgan, Raymond Reece, Ray Poole, Thomas Kilgore, Oliver Lanaux, Walter Mathews, Jesse Lewis and Herbert Dunbar have worked together in a close relationship for a long time, both in the NARF shops and on field assignments, at home and abroad.

They are all exceptionally proud of being part of a field team, and naturally, consider their team the best. It was on a field assignment to NAS Lemoore that they first got the idea of the matches. They killed two birds with one stone with the idea. They used an accident prevention message on the front of the book and the name of their field team on the back. It was a good plug for NARF Ala-

meda and they did it because they were proud of their unit.

After NARF inaugurated its ZD program, they thought of the much publicity again. This was a good way to publicize a program in which they believe, since they are proud of their own work and also to reaffirm their pride in their team. The point that has impressed most people, though, is the fact that they did it all on their own initiative and gladly spent their own money for it. When this team gets behind a project, they believe in doing something about it.

HIGH BATTING AVERAGE

In writing about the ECR's turned in by Howard H. Hansford, Production Controller in Branch 516.2, any figures are bound to be obsolete by the time the story is printed. He is the champion suggestor and far ahead in the field.

Howard, at the time we went to press, had submitted 24 Error Cause Removal suggestions. Of that number, 19 had already been accepted and the others were in process. The range of ECR's, covering cost savings, storage space, utilization of equipment and safety, shows a mind alert to its surroundings.

Three of the accepted ECR's were turned in simultaneously as Beneficial Suggestions and have paid off there, too. He believes in submitting ideas which qualify as ECR's and Beneficial Suggestions at the same time because, during the time it takes to figure the cost savings for an Incentive Award, the ECR idea could be put into operation.

When Howard was asked where he got his ideas, he said, "Just by keeping my eyes open." He feels that the eyes have to be trained to see situations so that the mind can analyze the possibilities of improvement.

Howard hired in at NARF in 1947. He graduated from the apprentice program as an aircraft engine mechanic. At the same time, he completed two years of study at College of San Mateo and earned his Associate of Arts degree.

At NARF he has worked throughout Division 6000. Two years ago, as a member of a field team, he spent four months in the Philippines. He was made an Assistant Production Controller in December 1967 and Production Controller in April, 1968.

Howard was born in Alameda and grew up here, graduating from Alameda High School. After graduation, he joined the Air Force and spent two years in the South Pacific before coming to NAS Alameda. He and his wife, Linzie, live in Hayward. They have three daughters. He is the Treasurer of the Production Controllers Association.

STAMP COLLECTING HOBBY THREATENED

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, postage stamp collectors in the United States were utterly flabbergasted with the Government's announcement that even Rhodesian postage stamps are embargoed and prohibited into the United States.

The hobby of stamp collecting is now to be threatened by international regulation? And with the directions from the Federal Reserve Bank?

Interesting enough the prohibited countries along with Rhodesia are listed as Red China, North Vietnam, North Korea, and Cuba—but not Russia, Yugoslavia, and so forth.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Of course, one must remember that this is not a U.S. embargo—rather the United States is subservient to the dictates of the U.N. Organization; so, should stamp collectors wish to retaliate they can voluntarily refrain from buying U.N. postage stamps.

But the American people need expect "no change" in our quasi-declaration of war against Rhodesia since the State Department under the present President has decided to continue to discriminate against Rhodesia as an "illegal regime."

In any event, I shall continue my hobby of stamp collecting—which will include every Rhodesian stamp I can get my hands on. I repudiate any U.N. manifestos as malarky and kindergarten spite play.

Mr. Speaker, a news article and a letter from the State Department follow:

[From the Chicago Tribune, May 11, 1969]

STAMP COLLECTOR—RHODESIA IS A NO-NO

(By John G. Ross)

The Government has embargoed the importation and distribution of Rhodesian postal materials issued after July 29, 1968, and the importation of any of Rhodesia's future stamps.

This means that dealers and collectors may not import such material even tho the source of supply may be from another country, such as Mexico. This places Rhodesian stamps in the same category as those of mainland China, North Viet Nam, North Korea, and Cuba.

The embargo does not restrain the trade with relation to material imported and on the market before the freeze was established, provided it was not obtained from a blocked national of Rhodesia.

Federal sanctions for violation of the embargo are heavy, and dealers and collectors are well-advised to refrain from dealing with these postal materials. Further information may be obtained by writing the Federal Reserve bank, Liberty street, New York City.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., April 21, 1969.

Mr. MICHAEL VAN HORN,
State Chairman, United Republicans of
California, State Headquarters Office,
Los Angeles, Calif.

DEAR MR. VAN HORN: The President has asked that I reply to your letter of February 28 regarding the issuance of a visa to Mr. Ian Smith who has been invited to speak at your Annual Convention Banquet on May 4, 1969. I also have for reply your letter to the Secretary of State on this subject.

Since Mr. Smith was refused a visa in March 1968, he has not reapplyed and no definitive decision can be made until a new application is made. If he were to reapply at this time, our decision would have to be made in light of the mandatory United Nations Security Council Resolution of May 29, 1968, which binds the United States and all other States Members of the United Nations to "prevent the entry into their territories, save on exceptional humanitarian grounds, of any person travelling on a Southern Rhodesian passport . . ." and, further, to "take all possible measures to prevent the entry into their territories of persons whom they have reason to believe to be ordinarily resident in Southern Rhodesia and whom they have reason to believe to have furthered or encouraged, or to be likely to further or encourage, the unlawful actions of the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia . . ."

Sincerely yours,

BARBARA M. WATSON,
Administrator, Bureau of Security and
Consular Affairs.

May 12, 1969

TO OVERTHROW THE U.S.
GOVERNMENT

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL
OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, a number of members of the Northern Virginia Builders Association, in my congressional district, have called my attention to a most unusual article which appeared in their "Footings" magazine for April 1969.

The article, written by a member of the association, Mr. A. W. Powell, Jr., describes in some detail a 40-year plan by a person or persons unnamed to overthrow the Government of the United States. Its message so impressed a number of association members that they felt it should receive more widespread distribution than that obtained in their limited mailing list, and they have therefore asked that I insert the full text in the RECORD.

The article reads as follows:

NVBA MEMBER WRITES 40-YEAR PLANS TO
OVERTHROW U.S. GOVERNMENT

(By A. W. Powell, Jr.)

It was in 1946 that I determined to overthrow the government of the United States. It was a decision of some magnitude and was not a hasty one, for I had considered the possibility for several years. The obstacles to achievement of my objective were formidable indeed, but where the prize is great, so are the risks and work. We had just emerged from the second war to end all wars, national pride and patriotism were running high, agriculture and industry were well developed and financially sound, and a market of almost unbelievable proportions waited to be satisfied with the goods and services not available for five war years. For all of that, there were certain factors on my side.

AMERICANS TIRED OF FIGHTING—HUNGER FOR
MATERIAL THINGS

Americans were tired of conflict, they had an insatiable appetite for material things to satisfy their comforts and pleasures; they had learned to know the world and wanted to help rebuild it in their own image, and eleven million men had to be absorbed into the labor force. Other segments also, would work in my favor. The United States is not a homogeneous society. The northeast was highly industrialized with strong labor organizations. The south was relatively poor economically, had a small-farm agricultural economy, still ranked over the War Between the States, and had a relatively huge population percentage made up of a readily identifiable minority race. The midwest was largely agricultural and the far west was emerging as a population and industrial area to rival the northeast. One thing almost all Americans shared was their open heartedness and their willingness to accept change. That would really be their undoing.

(I allowed forty years to accomplish my task.)

OVERTHROW PLANS ACCELERATE AFTER SLOW
1946 START

My plan to bring this about was not really very well developed in 1946. I knew that many phases would pass before accomplishment and that certain basics must be observed throughout. In a general sense the phases would be: (1) Informational—this would be the initial phase in which I would seek out power center leaders and influences of opinion. I would be available to assist them whenever needed and would be a large

supplier of information slanted toward my point of view, or really any point of view different from that presently held in general.

CORRUPT COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA—A MUST

Special and continuing effort would be given to corrupt the mass communications media, especially the emerging television industry, the educators, and the clergy. At first my big push would be to glamorize internationalism at the expense of nationalism, emphasizing the plights of war-ravaged and primitive nations. Colonialism, of our friends only, would be decried, and our stationing of U.S. troops strategically throughout the world would be attacked as colonial in intent and unnecessary.

UP WITH GROUP INTEREST—DOWN WITH NATIONALISM

I urged the subordination of U.S. national interests to group interests of the United Nations, and ridiculed in public those who held contrary views. I urged on and on, higher and higher foreign spending programs for I realized two things. Poor people despise the rich giver of a gift and foreign giving would help destroy the financial stability of America.

PITS GROUP VS. GROUP

I capitalized on all existing differences between groups—poor vs. wealthy, uneducated vs. educated, non-white vs. white, nationality vs. nationality, region vs. region, radical vs. conservative, and so on. Special attention was given to creating labor unrest and this was relatively easy because many labor leaders were of the same persuasion as I.

GIVES GREAT ATTENTION TO NEGRO CHURCHES—ORGANIZATIONS

Great attention was directed toward Negro organizations already existing and the creation of new ones receptive to my views. The Negro churches were the means to the emotions of their members and most of their ministers were wholeheartedly cooperative. White church leaders became increasingly helpful because of natural affection for the less privileged and the international ecumenical wind that had begun to blow.

BACK-BREAKING WORK PICKS UP CO-CONSPIRATORS

The second phase was Organizational. My backbreaking efforts of the first few years had gained many active co-conspirators and far more sympathizers. Anything that is different from the norm will attract a certain following and my movement was no exception. Most people ignored me because they thought I would go away in time. My agents were placed anywhere they might do some good—newspapers, radio, television, magazines, schools, theological organizations, government, and even a few in the military. Unexpectedly, my cause received a tremendous platform from which to be displayed when the Korean War began. I played on the attitudes of all segments of the populace. I told the young men they should not be torn from their studies or their new jobs. I told parents that their children should not be taken from them at so tender an age. I told all that we should not be fighting another people's war and that we had no interests there to protect. I promoted the no-win, let's compromise, policy and pulled it off beautifully. Our troops in the battlefield could defend only—never attack. You can imagine what happens to morale under those circumstances.

MALE CONVERTS URGED INTO SENSITIVE MILITARY SPOTS

My young male converts were urged to enter military service and work into the most sensitive positions possible. I tried very hard

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

to get at least one of my representatives into each Officer Candidate and Basic Officer course to sow the seeds of dissatisfaction and distrust. ROTC classes at universities were easily infiltrated and I was successful even in placing a few in top military academies. Some of my disciples were captured by the Chinese and North Koreans and helped to distort the thinking of their fellow POW's. They also learned new lessons well to bring back home with them.

PUTS AGENTS IN WAR PLANTS

Our agents in war plants tested their abilities to sabotage, on a very small scale at first; but much later in cutting off electrical power to the entire industrialized northeast. During the war period and especially in its aftermath I spent my energies on developing the command and administrative structures I would need for the ensuing Development phase. Only dependable revolutionaries would hold command positions but they would exert their influence through radicals who were acceptable to large identifiable groups.

WHATEVER IS MUST BE CHANGED

As our Negro population and student groups were most impressionable and the most vociferous, emphasis was centered on them while labor unions received somewhat less attention than before. Student and racial leaders became the voices with my message—"Whatever is, must be changed." Military cadres were formed within those groups, even to the point of building esprit with distinctively colored berets to indicate the type of unit, and necklace and pins to denote junior ranks. These cadres were given the responsibility to plan and to implement various disruptive programs in certain geographic areas.

"LET GEORGE DO IT" FORCES DEFICIT SPENDING

One other major organizational effort deserves particular mention as it has been particularly successful. I knew from the beginning that the U.S. could be forced to spend itself to defeat. I organized the "Let George do it" philosophy and my staff worked hard on the theme that no one likes to work, so none should have to work, and there is something tainted about honest labor. This coupled perfectly with our cry for ever bigger and better welfare payments, formation of welfare recipient's unions, and the deluging of legislators at all levels for direct or indirect handouts and bribes.

BY 1960 ACQUIRES OPINION LEADERS TO HELP

It was in the early 1960's that my movement evolved into the Development stage. I had acquired plenty of opinion leaders by this time. Entertainment idols in large numbers espoused my cause vocally and presented images of attractive immoral conduct to our young people.

PUTS AGENTS IN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

Federal government departments were well infiltrated with my agents, who promoted waste, inefficiency, conflicting activities, and supported my objectives with their influence. All elements of the communications industry were well on my side and some of the larger metropolitan dailies followed my line precisely. The dreamers of society were mine. Social justice over law, change over the proved way, the individual over society were the cries of the day. During the 50's laws to restructure American society had gone on the books and the 60's would see their broadening. Where there were no laws to suit me, the courts made laws—to suit me—by judicial legislation. I knew well that there are no checks on the judiciary except the refusal of a strong executive to implement their edicts, and certainly we had no strong executive to challenge me.

MANY FREEDOMS LOST—WON'T MISS OTHERS TO BE LOST

Americans had given up so many of their freedoms by degrees that they almost had not realized it and now didn't know quite what to do. The Justice Department could shut down whole local school systems and jail public officials who would not do its bidding. The IRS could intimidate any U.S. taxpayer simply by unvoiced threat of investigation which was backed by the presumption of guilty until proved innocent. The FCC entered the attitude control field in full force by using the threat of license revocation or denial to unfriendly stations or to those who would not program my party line. HEW used our own tax money against us in large doses as did similar agencies who paid money to the local governments.

USES MONETARY BLACKMAIL TO INTEGRATE SCHOOLS

Monetary blackmail was used to integrate schools, force cities into urban renewal, build highways to federal specifications. The armed services even went so far as to tell its members where they might not live. Property rights were eliminated as a basis of our democracy. These few examples had eroded the strong, vibrant America into a spongy mess? My disruptive sit-ins, assemblies in public places, marches on a multitude of public edifices all broke down a little more the fiber of America and gave my followers tangible evidence of their ascendancy.

"CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE"—LAW BREAKING SANS PENALTY

"Civil disobedience" became a concept of accepted lawbreaking without penalty. Wanton destruction of property and stealing were all right if done in the name of social justice. Legislative processes in states and in the Congress were disrupted with impunity. My demonstrators who rioted in the U.S. Capitol, intimidating national lawmakers and defacing a national shrine were fined \$10 for their actions—those few who were arrested. Having an outdated auto inspection sticker will cost you \$22.75.

LABOR STRIKES—CITY ADMINISTRATORS COWER

My labor organizations cower city administrations with strike threats. We don't need to control the top when we can cause sewer tie-ups, refuse to collect garbage, tamper with water supplies, immobilize mass transit vehicles, incapacitate the police and fire fighting forces, keep foodstuffs from the markets, close the schools, withhold medical assistance, and on and on and on.

MILD BEGINNINGS GIVE WAY TO BEATINGS, KILLINGS, BURNING, STEALING

As you now reflect on incidents of the past fifteen years you will note the pattern of events. The mild beginnings have given way to beatings, killings, burning, stealing—all the violent actions. All become a little more violent as time passes. We now have rendered the police forces of the nation relatively ineffective because of three things: (1) destruction of morale and restrictive regulations, (2) inability to hire qualified recruits and resultant lowering of acceptability standards to include the criminally convicted, and (3) loss of qualified men who want no part of today's attitudes toward law enforcement.

SOON TO RENDER NATIONAL GUARD INEFFECTIVE

Soon I shall render the National Guard just as ineffective if I am not successful in destroying it altogether. The regular military forces are now marginally undependable in a domestic use situation because of the large percentage of key non-coms and career enlisted men who follow my directives. That unreliability will increase as I destroy the military's control of its members by civilianizing the military functions and restricting the punishments available to commanders and

military courts. We cannot again fight a foreign war because of our explosive domestic situation. This will allow my compatriots abroad to consume the remainder of mankind. Domestically my activities will increase in intensity. Public travel will become a nightmare of uncertainty, water supplies will be poisoned, all firearms will be collected from the populace, the police will become openly friendly to me and terrorize rather than protect, licensing of all kinds will be only to those friendly to me (imagine what cooperation I can get from you with a threat to revoke your auto operation privileges), taxes will be raised higher and higher and squandered to break America economically, the sick and elderly will suffer deprivation, starvation, and extinction through decline in purchasing power.

SHALL USE THE CARROT AND THE STICK

I shall use the carrot and the stick. My followers will be rewarded, my enemies crushed. Only miraculously organized and strong opposition can possibly stop me now. I have no fear that it will arise as Americans are frightfully disorganized and are more concerned in conserving what little they have left, through further compromise, then in fighting for what they have lost. Cooperate in your downfall, give me your minds and your bodies, and I just may allow you to retain life. I am well ahead of schedule in my 40 year plan. By 1986 freedom, liberty and democracy will be gone from the face of the earth, and you are responsible.

LOLA BELLE HOLMES: PATRIOT

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 12, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the students at LSU in my district were treated to a rare and refreshing lecture last month when Lola Belle Holmes spoke on their campus. Her hard-hitting message was that the war in the streets about us, as yet undeclared, is planned in Moscow, and is being financed by the so-called war on poverty.

So that our colleagues can benefit from the dynamic message of this fearless American, I submit a flier covering her billing and the news release of her lecture from the Baton Rouge Morning Advocate for May 1, 1969, for inclusion in the RECORD, as follows:

LOLA BELLE HOLMES: "THE REVOLUTION IS PLANNED"

"The revolution, with its bombs, riots, fires and death is being financed by the War on Poverty."

For every war there are heroes. When a need arises, unlikely people step to the fore to demonstrate unlikely courage, bravery and ability. Such a person is Lola Belle Holmes. She has known for a good while that there is a war in progress, one where a sinister conspiracy makes war against free people everywhere.

Lola Belle Holmes has been in the front lines of this war since 1956 when she infiltrated the Communist apparatus for the F.B.I. For seven long years she took orders from Moscow and reported all to the authorities. She rose to positions of prominence in the Communist-created Negro organizations and in the Communist Party itself. In 1963, she surfaced to give testimony before various government bureaus.

She continues in the front lines of this war, though in a markedly different way. For now Lola Belle Holmes is trying to reach fellow Americans whom she maintains "are in the midst of a revolution of such magnitude that it is like a giant octopus with its tentacles spreading into every walk of life." From her past associations, from continuous knowledge of the strategy of subversion and from an awareness that comes from front-line duty, she has pinpointed the source of the revolution—"The United States Government through its Office of Economic Opportunity is supplying our enemies with the means to destroy our country."

[From the Baton Rouge (La.) Morning Advocate, May 1, 1969]

NEGRO WOMAN SAYS COMMUNISTS SPARK CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

(By Dick Wright)

Mrs. Lola Bell Holmes is a Negro woman from Louisiana who has been most of her life up North and doesn't go for civil rights movements because she says they are planned and fostered by the Communist Party.

And she said the "war on poverty" is financing a communist-inspired revolution in the United States today.

Mrs. Holmes also denounced Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. who she said "the Communist Party reached out and dumped on Negroes."

She declared that Communists planned and wrote the 1965 voting rights bill.

ONE MORE KNIFE

"The coming Negro trouble," she said, "is but one more knife" of the Communists in America.

Mrs. Holmes also predicted a depression "that could make the 1930s look like the good old days."

"I am a Christian and was raised a Christian. I believe in the American way of life," she said. She added that she believes in freedom and that "after analyzing communism, I came to the conclusion it was a detriment . . . to the Negro people."

Mrs. Holmes spoke at a meeting sponsored by the LSU Young Americans for Freedom. Mike Connelly, YAF president, introduced her as a woman who has spent six and a half years as a Communist for the FBI in Illinois.

DEPLORED STUDENT PAUCITY

Most of the crowd were what Connelly described as "townspeople" and deplored the fact that so few students were present to hear Mrs. Holmes.

"Every poster we put up (on campus) gets torn down by somebody," Connelly said. But there were some students there, some who strongly disagreed with Mrs. Holmes' view of civil rights activity. There were about half a dozen Negro students on hand.

During her speech, Mrs. Holmes denounced charges of police brutality as a Communist tactic. After her talk a Negro student asked

her what she thought of policemen who supposedly shot a Negro boy who rode his bicycle into the area where a Montgomery church was bombed.

"Did you see it?" said Mrs. Holmes.

"Maybe the police thought the boy bombed the church I don't know the situation. How do I know that you are telling the truth?"

She suggested that maybe the boy refused to stop when ordered to do so.

Mrs. Holmes gave a major portion of her hour and a half speech to denouncing the Office of Economic Opportunity and how its money fosters allegedly communist front organizations. She also denounced rioting and burning in Negro ghettos acts which she said were in some cases abetted by anti-poverty workers.

"When the smoke clears the OEO boys emerge to declare that the riots are caused by poverty" she said.

"After each new riot the public is treated to double talk."

She also scored the "riot commission" or "Kerner Report" and said it was a "big thick volume with lots of pictures and doubletalk."

She said that everything the report stated met agreement from Gus Hall (a leader in the American Communist Party).

"I honestly believe Gus Hall cannot be duped," she said.

ADVOCATES NEGROES WORK HARD

Mrs. Holmes advocated that Negroes get jobs, work hard and get an education and she said she believed in American capitalism. The war on poverty, she declared, is providing "billions to finance the revolution, your destruction."

"You are in the midst of revolution," she said.

"It is like a giant octopus . . . financed by your dollars."

Asked how the people could stop the anti-poverty program, when elected congressmen don't seem to pay attention to the voter, Mrs. Holmes said Americans still had the right to impeach elected officials. Another member of the audience stood up and said:

"Our congressman from this district is on our side and has been on our side all the time."

"Here's a man who you should support," Mrs. Holmes said.

Asked about the Students for a Democratic Society, Mrs. Holmes said she doesn't know too much about them, except that she had read in a report from FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, that "they planned to blow up some government facilities."

She suggested to the audience they do all they could to keep an SDS chapter from forming at LSU. The SDS, she said, are getting worse than the W.E.B. DuBois Club, a Marxist-oriented group once popular on campuses.

Asked about her feelings on the Ku Klux Klan, Mrs. Holmes said, "I never heard them advocating the overthrow of the government." But she quickly added that she doesn't approve of violence.

Saying she knew little about the Klan, she added, "I can't go under the sheets and find out."

At one point in her talk, when she had been heckled briefly by some students, Mrs. Holmes told the group:

"If you kill me for telling the truth, then I don't care because I'll go home to my God and be free."

SENATE—Tuesday, May 13, 1969

The Senate met at 11:30 a.m., and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Trust in the Lord with all thine heart; and lean not upon thine own understanding. Proverbs 3: 5.

Almighty God, we thank Thee this day that Thou hast gathered our people into a great nation and established their free-

dom under Thy sovereignty. Let not our goodly heritage fade or the bright vision of service to all mankind be disowned. Deepen the root of our life in everlasting righteousness. Make us equal to our high trust; reverent in the use of freedom;